PRELIMINARY REPORT ON INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES ON ARCHAEOLOGY IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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2023

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Publication Date: February 18 2023
A Report by ArchaeoSoft Inc.
Fredericton, New Brunswick

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Cover photo: Nelson Cloud

Statement of Recognition: We gratefully acknowledge that our operations are situated on the unceded territories of the Mi'kmaq, Wolastoqey, and Peskotomuhkadi and that our work takes place on and through the many ancestral territories of Turtle Island. From coast to coast to coast, we respectfully acknowledge the ancestral and unceded territory of the Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples. We offer this land acknowledgement as a first step while seeking ways to "pay our rent" and we offer this report as part of our next steps toward reparation.

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Executive Summary

The purpose of this report is to summarize the initial findings of a study on Indigenous perspectives of archaeology in Canada and the United States. The goal of the study is to investigate the strengths and weaknesses of archaeologists in engaging with Indigenous communities. To do this, we conducted interviews with members of Indigenous communities about their experiences in archaeology. Research questions included the following: 1) Is the discipline important to Indigenous communities? 2) Are archaeologists transparent in their research? 3) Is archaeological data accessible? 4) Can software help archaeologists and Indigenous communities collaborate on projects?

Initial findings show that archaeology reconnects Indigenous communities to their cultural heritage, increasing awareness about the length and depth of Indigenous history in Canada and the United States. Participants' responses shows that there is concern about the speed of cultural resource management (CRM) industries and their extraction, curation, and storage of cultural heritage, especially in Ontario, a geographic focus of this preliminary study. There are ongoing issues in archaeology about the ownership and stewardship of cultural artifacts, with Indigenous communities claiming rights to cultural materials, which is federally mandated by the recognition of the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC).

Reasons for the Study

This study was initiated as part of a partnership between the University of New Brunswick and ArchaeoSoft Inc. ArchaeoSoft is an archaeology software company, and since its inception in 2020, it has sought to understand the potential for harm to, as well as the ways to add value for, Indigenous people using archaeological applications. Potential harm and benefits have been investigated as both direct (for instance, to Indigenous users of applications) and indirect (for instance, to communities and organizations that may be impacted by poor archaeological practices). The study is aimed at understanding the potential harms and benefits of the software as part of its mandate to decolonize archaeological practice and incorporate Two-Eyed Seeing into its user interface (see Wright et al. 2019 for a definition of the theoretical integration of Indigenous and Western perspectives, otherwise known as Two-Eyed Seeing). We provide recommendations to software developers for how best to serve Indigenous communities in North America who may be involved in field-based archaeological work or in putting in place policies concerning archaeology.

Archaeology, Colonialism, and Indigenous Rights

"People feel strongly about colonialism—it has either been a dirty business engaged in by evil people or a praiseworthy endeavor undertaken by fine gentleman for the noble purpose of saving the wretched, the savage, the unfortunate." (Horvath 1972:45)

This research takes as its starting point the deeply harmful impact of colonialist attitudes and practices in archaeology. The history of archaeology—its interpretations of places, materials, and cultures in the past—is tied to Western culture and is associated with the colonization of North America. Scholars have argued that, in archaeology, there is a tendency to view past peoples through a "colonial" lens, a tendency that is also referred to as "eurocentrism," "colonial discourse," or "epistemic colonialism" (Monton-Subias and Hernando 2018; Moro Abadia 2006; Schneider and Hayes 2020). This, and the problematic practices of archaeologists throughout the discipline's history, have caused significant distrust for archaeologists among non-Western and Indigenous cultures.

The colonial history of archaeology is covered by many scholars in the discipline (for example, see Ferris et al. 2014). Archaeology is situated within the historical perspective of "universalism," whereby Europeans, and by extension, Euro-Americans, were seen as the pinnacle of the developmental trajectory of human societies (see Dirlik 1999:3–8). Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, an anthropologist and author of the book *Primitive Culture* (1871), argued that cultures follow a natural progression of development, from savagery to barbarism, and eventually, civilization. Gordon C. Childe, an archaeologist who excavated in Scotland and Northern Ireland, argued in 1950 that human societies moved from small nomadic groups of egalitarian hunter-gatherers to sedentary agriculturalists living in stratified cities and states. His theory emphasized "revolutions" in human history, which, from a European standpoint, were tied to socio-economic reform and improvements in the human condition. Underpinning these theories is an agenda of erasure and, some have

argued, cultural genocide as Euro-descendants increasingly looked for ways to undermine Indigenous attachment to land and to erode Indigenous cultural identity (Wolfe 2006). The profession of archaeology in North America, both in academic and cultural management industries, is shaped and informed by these early European theories on social development, progression, and the trajectory of human history.

Post-processual archaeologists engaged in introspective conversations about their inherent biases and their framing of "the other" in the 1980s and 1990s. Atalay's (2006:285) seminal work on colonialism in archaeology blamed the "othering" on Westerners who studied people who were culturally, geographically, and temporally distanced from themselves, which created a power imbalance. Attached to the idea of "the other" is the drive to reveal "hidden histories," or "absent narratives," which erase Indigenous populations in the present or dissociate living populations from the past (Schneider and Hayes 2020: 130). In North America, the archaeological focus on "the other" and hidden histories is deeply seated in colonial thought, and traces its inception to the 19th-century myth of the "vanishing Indian." This concept is linked to universalism and suggests that civilization will eventually displace and erase Indigenous ways of knowing. Even as late as the 1970s, *Time* magazine used the term "vanishing Indian" to refer to Indigenous populations, which, at the time, were the nation's fastest growing minority (Dippie 1991).

Changing worldviews and dissatisfaction with the relationship to "the other" culminated in the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Several decades prior to the declaration, Jose Martinez Cobo (1986) wrote a resounding critique of the treatment of Indigenous peoples throughout the world. A UN working group on Indigenous populations was formed based on his study on the discrimination of Indigenous peoples, as well as pressure from Indigenous communities, who felt increasingly marginalized in colonial societies (see Davis 2008 for a full history of the development of the Declaration). After many years of debate on the right to self-determination and control over natural resources on traditional lands, the Declaration was adopted in 2007, and signed by 143 countries worldwide (Gilbert 2007). For the practice of archaeology, the declaration was clear in its mandate:

> **"Indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present, and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature." (UN General Assembly 2007)**

Canada (one of four countries that voted against the declaration, along with Australia, New Zealand, and the United States) endorsed UNDRIP as "aspirational," but affirmed that it was not a legally binding instrument (see Nicol 2017:800-803). According to the United Nations, Canada had significant concerns with self-government, intellectual property, military, and the "rights and obligations of Indigenous peoples, Member States, and third parties" (Nicol 2017:800). Canada also maintained its current legal framework (i.e., the Indian Act) and argued that it already addressed the protection of Indigenous rights and its "duty to consult and accommodate" (Coates and Favel 2016). Assembly of First Nations National Chief Phil Fontaine called the vote a betrayal of Canada's worldwide legacy as a protector of human rights and viewed it as a "stain on Canada's reputation" (Lackenbauer and Cooper 2007:113). In 2016, Canada endorsed the declaration, with Carolyn Bennett, Minister for Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, saying: "We intend nothing less than to adopt and implement the declaration in accordance with the Canadian Constitution." (Exner Pirot 2018:176)

In the United States, policy makers denied the document because they said that UNDRIP was flawed, unrepresentative of a consensus declaration, and unlikely to be adopted in law, and furthermore, that it lacked transparency (Frankel et al. 2022:8-9). Even with the endorsement of President Barack Obama, who announced an administrative shift in 2010, Favel and Coates (2016:19) noted that the decision came with expressed concerns, or as one spokesperson said, a voice that reflected the United States' "own domestic and constitutional interests." Many scholars have noted that UNDRIP is not a legally binding document and that it only serves as a moral compass in the United States (Crepelle 2019:22; Favel and Coates 2016). Frankel et al. (2022:1) argue that the country "perpetuates power and ownership" onto Indigenous communities through insincere empathy and ignoring the needs of the people. Crepelle (2019:20) had issues with federal Indian law—"the law of national power and rights developed in the context of Native Nations and Native peoples" (Blackhawk 2019:1795)—which he viewed as primitive, or "anchored in the past." Federal Indian law is a collection of binding decisions made by the United States in regard to the legal and political status of Indigenous peoples. There have been constitutional improvements in the official policy towards Indigenous self-determination, but as Laluk and colleagues (2022:662) highlight, Indigenous sovereignty in the United States is still based on Western foundations and the colonial state. Their main issue in archaeology is the accumulation of information and objects by non-Indigenous researchers, museums, and CRM companies (Laluk and colleagues 2022:661).

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In Canada, awareness of the historic legacy of the residential school system, which was enacted by Sir John A. Macdonald to assimilate

Indigenous people into Euro-Christian society, led to public outrage that finally initiated The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) in 2008 (TRC 2015a). The commission, which concluded in 2015, called for the reform of many Canadian institutions—such as child welfare, education, language and culture, health, and justice—in order to "advance the process of Canadian reconciliation" (TRC 2015b). For archaeology, the TRC re-emphasized the articles under UNDRIP, including Indigenous peoples' right to "maintain, protect, and develop…historical sites [and] artefacts." (TRC 2015a:246, UN General Assembly 2007). According to the TRC, the state should return—or "provide redress through effective mechanisms which may include restitution"—any property obtained without consent (TRC 2015a:246). Under the TRC, Indigenous peoples have the right to their cultural sites, ceremonial objects, and the repatriation of human remains (TRC 2015a:247). For historical documents and archives, which are similar to technical reports produced by cultural management industries, oral history must be on "equal footing" with written history (TRC 2015a:247). The TRC also recommends that cultural institutions and Indigenous communities draft, endorse, and implement ethical guidelines for the interpretation of artifacts. The recommendations of the TRC have had a sweeping impact on archaeology in Canada and the museums and institutions that support it, but there are still many issues with engagement and cultural ownership on provincial and municipal levels.

In Ontario, archaeology is still trying to shake the colonial roots of its past. Most of the archaeology in the province is governed by the Ministry of Citizenship and Multiculturalism and the *Ontario Standards and Guidelines* (OSG 2011), a document that legally requires an archaeologist to adopt a specific methodological, and in some cases, theoretical, approach to archaeology. The document has been contested by many Indigenous communities in the province, with some drafting their own standards and guidelines to motivate more rigorous archaeological investigations (see MCFN 2018). For engaging with Indigenous communities, the *OSG* (2011:40) requires an archaeological project to engage with Indigenous communities "at the end of Stage 2," or "in Stage 3," after an archaeological site has been identified, and a sample of artifacts have been collected for processing and analysis. In contrast, MCFN (2018:13) maintains that engagement is necessary at all stages, and should include consultant archaeologists, as well as approval authorities, proponents, and other decision makers. Although the willingness of archaeologists and proponents to engage at all levels has improved in the industry, there are ongoing issues with stewardship and assessing potential development impacts on archaeological and cultural resources.

Some of the language used in CRM industries in Ontario is also dated and needs to be reconsidered and/or possibly revised. Certain outmoded terms, such as "Paleoindian," are only now being questioned (see Norris 2022 for his usage of the "Paleoindigenous" period). A large portion of the profession still uses "Paleoindian

The TRC re-emphasized the articles under UNDRIP, including Indigenous peoples' right to "maintain, protect, and develop…historical sites [and] artefacts."

period" to refer to sometime between approx. 12,000–9,000 years ago. It is common to see other terms, such as "Precontact," or "Postcontact," which emphasize the importance of the initial colonization of the Americas, rather than "Indigenous" and "Euro-Canadian," which instead focuses on the distinct material expression of their societies. From a CRM perspective, Indigenous representatives in Ontario have often been referred to as "monitors," which carries connotations of policing, or quality assurance, rather than "field-level-representative" or FLR, which places emphasis on connection to communities and, by extension, the culture history of the landscape. Mississauga of the Credit First Nation note in their Standards and Guidelines that there is a misunderstanding about the FLRs' role and their responsibility to "represent MCFN's stewardship interest" (MCFN 2018:5). They argue that FLRs are employed to "observe fieldwork, provide cultural advice, and assist with compliance," rather than "question the professional judgment" of archaeologists (MCFN 2018: 5). Common language in the industry may seem trivial, but it has affected the relationship of Indigenous and non-Indigenous practitioners.

Awareness of these issues has initiated many changes in how archaeology is conducted. There are numerous examples of CRM companies going beyond regulatory requirements to engage with Indigenous communities to inform about their activities and incorporate needs and desires of Indigenous people in regard to archaeology (e.g., CAA 2019). However, increasingly prevalent is the call for Indigenous people to be able to tell their own stories and to have voices within archaeology. In this report, we acknowledge efforts in government, private archaeology, and academia to include Indigenous voices and to support Indigenous stories about cultural heritage alongside archaeological narratives. We seek to add to these efforts by asking Indigenous people across Canada and the United States to share their perspectives about how archaeology affects them and how they would like to see it change.

Methods

This study draws on the interactions of Indigenous community members who volunteered to provide their opinions and perspectives on archaeology. As part of the Indigenous engagement process, contact was made with several governmental and not-for-profit entities, as well as individuals from existing social networks, including 16 Indigenous communities, spread across 4 provinces (British Columbia, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia), and the United States (Kansas and Oklahoma). Each community was contacted via email and included a targeted selection of the Algonquins of Ontario, the Conseil de la Nation Huronne-Wendat, Cowichan Tribes, Curve Lake First Nation, Espquimalt Nation, the Haudenosaunee Development Institute, Hiawatha First Nation, the Kwilmu'kw Maw-klusuaqn (KMKNO), Madawaska First Nation, Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, Musqueam First Nation, Peskotomuhkati Nation, Six Nations of the Grand River Territory, Songhees Nation, Squamish First Nation, and the Wolastoqey Nation of New Brunswick (WNNB). Several other Indigenous communities

were indirectly contacted through social media posts and advertising, including the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, United States, the Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, United States, and the Little Shuswap Lake Band of British Columbia, Canada.

Most of the organizations and communities requested rescheduling, did not respond, or indicated that they did not have the capacity to meet with us at the time. Of the communities and organizations we met with, all stated that they were very interested in the project but that they were struggling with the workloads they had and could not add new initiatives. For instance, the WNNB met with us twice and, upon request to continue the conversation, they directed us to meet with their archaeologist, who would pass on the contents of the conversation to the organization. Of those that were contacted, six communities responded, including the Conseil de la Nation Huronne-Wendat, Curve Lake First Nation, Hiawatha First Nation, Little Shuswap Lake Band, Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, and the Wyandot Nation of Kansas. For this preliminary study, we focus on the interviews and opinions of members of four Indigenous communities, including the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, the Haudenosaunee Development Institute, the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory. A Letter of Information (LOI) was sent to the participants prior to the interview, which outlined the purpose of the study, the study procedures, possible risks, harms, and benefits, and the inclusion/exclusion criteria. To be involved in the study, participants were required to be a member of an Indigenous community, self-identify as Indigenous, have experience in archaeology, and speak in either English or French. Issues have been raised with the use of "self-identification" in the hiring process, with some institutions requiring investigations of Indigenous ancestry (Wilfrid Laurier University 2022), especially after several high-profile cases of identity fraud (Dayal 2021). Individual investigations of participants is beyond the scope of this project and the universities' traditional stance on identification is to require a self-declaration from the participant. Each participant in this report generously agreed to include their name and Indigenous affiliation. The names and Indigenous affiliations of each participant are listed in Table 1.

Archaeology is important to Indigenous communities, especially as a way to reclaim their history, or as one respondent said, to "gain some of that knowledge that we've lost."

Table 1: Names affiliations of study participants.

	Participant Name	Nation and/or Territory
1	Adam Laforme	Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, Canada
2	Jamie Laforme	Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, Canada
3	Jordan Jamieson	Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, Canada
4	Jubal Jamieson	Haudenosaunee Development Institute, Canada
5	Richard Zane Smith	Wyandot Nation of Kansas, United States
6	William Lucas	Six Nations of the Grand River Territory, Canada

The interview was semi-structured and approved by the University of New Brunswick Research Ethics Boards (REB# 2022-136). Each participant was asked between 10–15 questions, depending on their prior experience in archaeology and their current roles within the industry. At times, participants were asked questions that deviated from the script, but this was only done to elaborate on specific points or to provide clarity in previous statements. Generally speaking, questions focused on the position/role of the individual, their experiences in archaeology, the strengths and weaknesses of the engagement process, and the tools and technologies that archaeologists use in the field. Table 2 contains examples of some of the questions that were asked:

Table 2: Examples of questions asked during interviews with participants.

	Question
1	Is archaeology important to Indigenous people? If so, can you tell me why you believe this?
2	Do archaeologists do their best to communicate the results of their surveys/excavations with Indigenous communities?
3	Do archaeologists use the most up-to-date techniques and technologies in the field?
4	If a tool existed for digitally recording data, what features would you like to see in the application?

This report summarizes some of the general themes that are starting to develop out of conversations with members of Indigenous communities. Each interview was transcribed, reviewed, and assessed for commonalities. Future analysis will use established and systematic forms of qualitative and thematic analysis to identify and catalogue different sources of meaning (see Braun and Clarke 2006, 2009, 2022). The themes of this type of analysis are sometimes referred as "emerging" (Braun and Clarke 2006) or as "constellations" (Joffe 2012), and represent some of the salient points in each discussion. Once this study is completed, the transcripts will be coded in different colours to represent different sets of meaning. For this preliminary report, we adopted a less systematic approach to analyze the data and formed the discussion into four overarching topics: 1) archaeology and its impact on Indigenous communities, 2) accessibility of archaeological research and artifacts, 3) archaeological methods, and 4) the impact of new technologies in archaeology.

Results

Discussion with participants in the study has shown that archaeology is important to Indigenous communities, especially as a way to reclaim their history, or as one respondent said, to "gain some of that knowledge that we've lost" (1). For most of the respondents, their experiences on archaeological sites and their handling of Indigenous artifacts have rekindled an interest in the history of their peoples. Interviews with members of Indigenous communities in Ontario, Canada, suggest that archaeology has positively impacted their communities through opportunities in culture heritage, which provides a "reintegration of culture," or as one respondent stated, a "physical connection to the past" (3). A participant from the Wyandot Nation of Kansas commented on the importance of artifacts:

"I mean, there's nothing more powerful than finding a piece of your own, your ancestral pottery, you

know, and in the soil, you know, that's blackened from charcoal and picking it up and looking at it, studying it, even wanting to take it back so that you can hold it in your hands and you can connect with it and live with it." (5)

Most of the participants agreed that archaeology is beneficial to Indigenous communities, but some warned against the sustainability of the industry and using cultural heritage as a form of currency. One participant commented on the finite nature of archaeological resources and the speed/rapidity of the archaeological process, suggesting it was like a "machine," or "a factory" (1). Another said that the pace of excavations was harmful and that their community lacked the capacity to be involved in every project. In Ontario, the MTCS released a report that showed a steady increase in the number of Project Information Forms (PIFs) and the number of reports filed by year, which is a statistical reflection of the intensity of archaeology in the province over the last 10 years (MTCS 2022). One participant commented on the quick removal of cultural heritage and critiqued the storage of archaeological materials: "And eventually there will be nothing…left in the end, right? So there will be no evidence. It will all be gone. Warehouses" (1).

Respondents were asked if archaeologists were transparent in their research and did their best to share the results of their studies with Indigenous communities. Most of the participants answered "no" (5 out of 6). One respondent commented that archaeologists are "guarded with their information," which was puzzling to the participant, because the information "really doesn't belong to them" (2). The issue of ownership and stewardship was mentioned many times throughout the interviews, which was an expected outcome of this research given that this is a contentious subject in archaeology (see Atalay 2006; Burke et al. 2006).[i] One respondent mentioned confidentiality agreements between clients and proponents, executive rights, and the way reports (i.e., information about the past) are submitted into public databases. The participant commented that archaeological data is purchased by private companies, who then own and control the information: "because they're the ones [who] paid for it. So, it's like, whose heritage is it, right?" (1) The respondent noted that public archaeological databases in Ontario are restricted to license holders, which require extensive experience and advanced education to access. This bars many individuals in Indigenous communities from accessing reports about their cultural heritage in the province.

"And eventually there will be nothing … left in the end, right? So there will be no evidence. It will all be gone. Warehouses."

Participants agreed that archaeologists generally use the best and most up-to-date techniques and technologies in the field, but one respondent suggested that it differs on a "company-to-company basis" (6). As the participant noted, the *Ontario Standards and Guidelines* provides a base level of requirements for archaeological survey and excavations in Ontario, but sometimes companies will adopt more rigorous archaeological methods, likely at an increased cost to the company. For example, the respondent said they have witnessed tape-and-compass grids, with pen-and-paper maps, and artifacts collected in samples of 5x5m squares,

whereas other archaeologists have used high-accuracy Trimble GPS systems to map and record every artifact on a site within centimeters of accuracy (6). The participant argues that it is beneficial to have high-end equipment on site, but because only the "very basic, minimal amount is required, there's no onus to upgrade" (6). When another respondent was asked if archaeologists use the best tools for the job, the response was, "I don't think so" (5). The participant commented that "there's better technology out there and there's better methods," but usually someone is paying the bill, and consequently, archaeology is done "to the best of our abilities with the tools we have at hand" (5).

Participants were concerned about the use of inconsistent recording methods, but they were optimistic about the impact of new technologies, such as applications used for data capture, or data collection software. Most consulting companies and Indigenous communities use a combination of software to collect, manage, and assess a range of disparate types of data. Data is usually recorded daily in a form template, which is either paper or electronic, and redirected to office staff, who sort, organize, and file the templates into a database. One respondent noted that the form contains information on the staff, the weather, issues with archaeological methods, the level of engagement on the site, progress of the site, notable finds, and so on (2). Other Indigenous communities have opted for third-party solutions, such as Trailmark Systems, which offers services in Indigenous land use planning, custom software and GIS web development, and custom mobile apps (Trailmark Systems 2022). Another mobile application that has been used in the field is Geokeeper, which is developed by Kwusen Research and Media, and aims to support community-based monitoring programs by providing data collection via handheld devices (Kwusen Research and Media 2022).

Discussion

The evidence from these interviews suggests that archaeology is seen as important to Indigenous people, but that it remains problematic in many ways. While the opportunity to connect with the past is appealing and invigorating for some, there are also troubling practices within archaeology that the respondents would like to see addressed. One of these issues is the dramatic increase in archaeological work over the past 10 years, making archaeological sites a finite resource that may run out very soon. Another troubling policy is the way in which artifacts are kept, often in inaccessible repositories or even in archaeologists' homes, but generally not in the possession of Indigenous people.

"There's better technology out there and there's better methods."

Based on the responses received, trust and relationship building are key to establishing ethical and responsible land-use management strategies. Unfortunately, there is a distinct lack of relationship building in the eyes of the respondents. For example, Bill 23, called the *More Homes Built Faster Act*, has faced condemnation, especially from the Mississaugas of Scugog Island, who were "disgusted" by the government's lack of consultation (McConnell 2022). As a result of projected growth in communities throughout Canada, especially through immigration, politicians in Ontario have opted to open large areas of protected Greenbelt for housing development projects to compensate for an influx of new Canadians (approx. 500,000 a year by

2025) (Lundy 2022). These new lands will have to be surveyed and excavated by archaeologists with the support of Indigenous communities prior to the start of construction. Archaeologists are affected by the governments' disregard for Indigenous engagement, especially because they are the first to "break ground" on these new housing development projects. As one participant mentioned, Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships depend on "how [Indigenous communities] interact with archaeologists, how they interact with us, and how that relationship kind of goes" (3). In this case, archaeologists enter a relationship that is already mired in mistrust because of government inaction, among other factors mentioned above.

These issues point to a desire for more dialogue, consultation, and engagement from non-Indigenous governments and companies around archaeology. In addition to the respondents who mentioned a lack of relationship building, the process of recruiting respondents also led to some interesting discussions with organizations such as the WNNB, who were interested in how to engage government in gaining access to existing collections of artifacts. Significant frustration was often expressed around these issues with various organizations and communities with whom we spoke. Some communities, such as the Metepenagiag First Nation, have worked to create their own curatorial institutions to house important archaeological collections, but many communities do not have the resources to achieve similarly large projects. As a result, they can sometimes feel shut out of the curatorial and stewardship conversation (Gupta et al. 2020).

There is clearly a desire for more communication, especially through channels (such as email threads) that can be returned to for reference. However, the issue of engagement and communication with Indigenous communities seems to go beyond simply sending messages or informing of archaeological work. Respondents noted that Indigenous communities and organizations across the board are stretched to capacity and beyond, and the speed of archaeological work makes careful consideration of each archaeological project impossible even if each community had the capacity to respond. This is a troubling observation since increasing communication would help but would not address what is perceived as a breakneck pace. Technological solutions should be carefully considered in this light.

At the same time, the responses suggest that better technology suited for archaeological field work is desired by Indigenous archaeologists and their partners. Respondents are already using a range of solutions and applications for field work and mapping, and many report that they prefer archaeologists to use the most up-to-date technology to capture high-resolution data (e.g., sub-meter artifact positions). This suggests that there is room for improvement in data collection

methods, particularly in terms of technologies that are better suited both to archaeological field work and to Indigenous data management (e.g., land use data collection).

The development of third-party data collection software and in-house solutions in archaeology has unfortunately aided in the creation of "data silos" (i.e., data that is only accessible by certain communities and/or companies). It is apparent through interviews with Indigenous communities and experience in CRM in Ontario that there is significant overlap in the collection of data by communities and consultants, with minimal integration of datasets. It is also common for consultants to hold an unequal share, or a monopoly, on the interpretation of artifacts, features, and sites, which are created and codified in a report, in an office setting, outside of Indigenous engagements in the field. One participant emphasized the importance of email chains between communities and consultants, which provides a historical record of the engagement process (6). For a field-level software application in archaeology, it would be beneficial to trace the interpretations of individual artifacts over time, like an email chain, with input from archaeologists and Indigenous communities—creating a multi-vocal record of the past on a single user platform. Consultants and communities could solve issues related to ownership, sharing, and access, if they used the same applications for data capture, and allowed this information to be created, accessed, and manipulated by both parties.

Recommendations and Conclusions

Archaeologists have started to break down the colonial history of the discipline, but our preliminary results show that there are still problems with the collection, maintenance, and storage of artifacts in the field and in museum/CRM settings. Archaeology offers members of Indigenous communities an opportunity to re-engage with their past through the discovery of new sites and archaeological materials. The respondents in the preliminary portion of this study argue that the progress of the cultural management industry in Ontario outpaces the capacity of Indigenous communities to meaningfully engage with the sites and artifacts identified on their historically unceded territories. Stewardship and the ownership of archaeological materials is still an issue in archaeology, but there have been many examples of repatriation from museums, universities, and cultural heritage companies. Customizable software for in-field data capture should try to find new ways to increase the accessibility of data and improve the multivocality of the discipline by bridging "data silos" and allowing for text-chains of interpretations.

It is also common for consultants to hold an unequal share, or a monopoly, on the interpretation of artifacts, features, and sites, which are created and codified in a report, in an office setting, outside of Indigenous engagements in the field.

We recommend that archaeologists carefully consider how technology being used is helping to engage Indigenous communities and organizations. Simply sending more emails may not be filling the request for engagement if the emails are not being responded to or incorporated into the receiving community's thinking. Better communication of results through more impactful media or channels may be required if true engagement is being sought. However, we recognize that this may look different for each community and therefore may represent an exponential increase in labour and time and, additionally, may not ultimately achieve the desired goal of effective communication.

[i] As early as the 1990s, ownership of archaeological resources, such as the skeletal remains of a Paleo-indigenous man found on a bank of the Columbia River, in Kennewick, Washington, has caused controversy in the discipline (see Rasmussen et al. 2015). In this case, descendant groups requested for the remains to be repatriated and reburied, as per the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Archaeologists suggested that the morphology—or composition—of the human remains were unrelated to living Indigenous communities. The ownership of the past has remained a contentious issue in Canada and the United States, but there are strides being made by Indigenous communities to reclaim the artifacts of their peoples. More recently, a stone knife that was found in Parliament Hill, Ottawa, dating from 2,500–4,000 years ago, was returned to the stewardship of the Algonquin First Nation (Woolf 2021).

Recommendations

The following are recommendations from this study for archaeologists looking to implement Indigenous engagement practices into their archaeological field work.

- Create a communication channel (for example, an automatic update on a website) that is specifically intended for one Indigenous community or organization representative;
- Develop an easy-to-use online system of sharing maps (for example, a Google Drive with a shared folder of images as well as data);
- Request input on data collection methods and implement any recommendations for higher-resolution data collection (for example, RTK instead of Garmin handheld GPS);
- Develop protocols and MOUs for handing over collected data according to OCAP principals;
- Invite community members to visit while conducting archaeological work;
- Develop data-sharing protocols with the First Nations Information Governance Centre (https://fnigc.ca/);
- Create documents about the archaeological work that are intended for an Indigenous audience; and
- Implement policies with clients that create time in a project to inform the local First Nation community(ies).

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the respondents from the Six Nations of the Grand River, the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, the Haudenosaunee Development Institute, and the Wyandot Nation of Kansas for their participation in this project. This article would not have been possible without the Indigenous communities' support and collaboration. We are also grateful for funding for our project from Mitacs and the New Brunswick Innovation Foundation.

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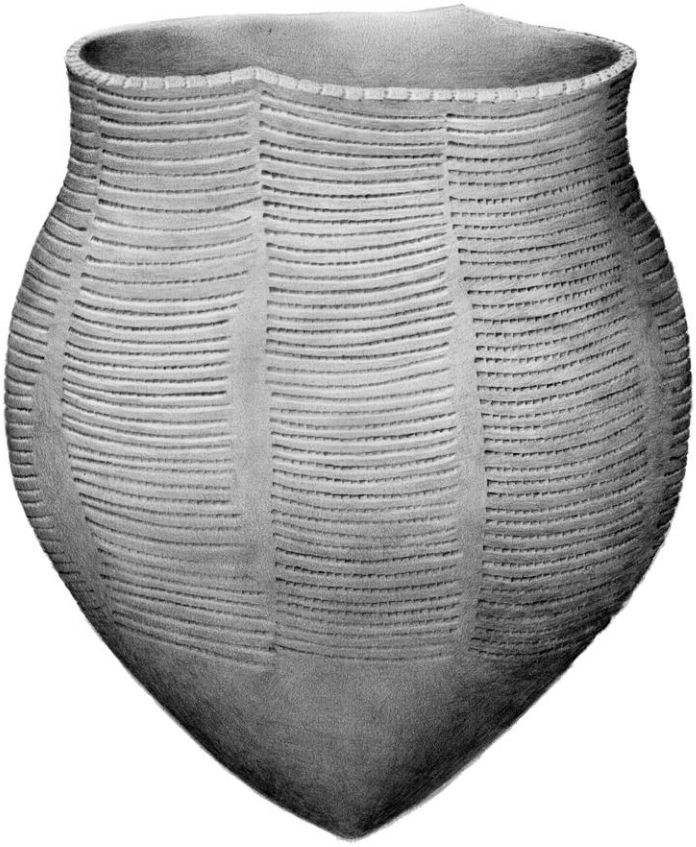

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