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### Publication Date

2016

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Archaeology For, By, and With the Navajo People- the *Nihookáá*  
*Dine'é' Bila' Ashdla'ii* Way

By

Ora Viola Marek-Martinez

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Anthropology  
in the  
Graduate Division  
of the  
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:  
Professor Margaret W. Conkey  
Professor Kent G. Lightfoot  
Professor Thomas Biolsi

Summer 2016



## Abstract

Archaeology For, By, and With the Navajo People- the *Nihookáá Dine'é' Bila' Ashdla'ii* Way

By

Ora Viola Marek-Martinez

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Margaret W. Conkey, Chair

The following chapters are a dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology in the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley. This dissertation is a project that attempts to develop a template for implementing an "Indigenous archaeological" research paradigm for the Navajo Nation. The first chapter is a reflexive narrative, which is intended to situate the project within the field and within the wider socio-economic politics of becoming an "indigenous archaeologist." In the next chapter, a description and analysis of Indigenous archaeological concepts and practices that can be used to create a Navajo approach to archaeology are discussed. Following this chapter is a presentation of a case study on the anthropological and archaeological historical legacy that has created and perpetuated the displacement of Navajo people in the prehistory of the Southwestern US; which will include examples of influential projects that has shaped Navajo displacement from the past. The fourth chapter will present a research design adopted by the Navajo Nation Council that will guide research on Navajo prehistory and history, and one which will allow for a uniquely Navajo perspective and history. The concluding chapter will discuss some of the wider implications of the research and provide recommendations for working with tribal communities to create tribally centered archaeological practices.

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## Acknowledgements

*Ahe'hee', Q'cew'yew', and* Thank you to all of my support networks for having the faith and courage to stand with me in my long doctoral degree journey! My Parents- Larry and Martha Marek have always pushed and encouraged me to do my best to achieve my goals, even if we didn't always see eye to eye on things. My husband- Victor Martinez has stood by me through the good and the bad, the highs and the lows, and has made me realize my work is a product of my life and is a reflection of my passion- *te amo mucho mi Amor!* My children- Victor, Alessandro, and Appolonia are a constant reminder of the importance of my work and their love and devotion are what has encouraged me to finish. My siblings- Ronnie, Cece, Izzy, and Larry- have each helped me in their own ways, and I am eternally grateful for all of the pushes, reminders, and pep talks to help me finish.

My academic family has shown me an enormous amount of love and support that has been a constant reminder of my strength and place in the world! Thank you to Dr. Meg Conkey for always helping and caring, I'm not sure I would have been able to do this without you; Thank you to Dr. Kent Lightfoot whom has always supported me and encouraged me; to Dr. Laurie Wilkie, whom has reminded me of the reality of the situation and provided me with love and support; and finally, a thank you to Dr. Tom Biolsi, who has also been a strong supporter!

Sara Gonzalez and Pattie Garcia-Plotkin you both mean the world to me and I thank you for always giving me those pep talks and for your laughter, humor, and love! You two are truly my soul mates! Finally, a huge *Ahe'hee', Q'cew'yew', and* Thank you to the Closet Chickens!

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

The following chapters are a dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology in the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley. This dissertation is a project that attempts to develop a template for implementing an "Indigenous archaeological" research paradigm for the Navajo Nation. The first chapter is a reflexive narrative, which is intended to situate the project within the field and within the wider socio-economic politics of becoming an "indigenous archaeologist." In the next chapter, a description and analysis of Indigenous archaeological concepts and practices that can be used to create a Navajo approach to archaeology are discussed. Following this chapter is a presentation of a case study on the anthropological and archaeological historical legacy that has created and perpetuated the displacement of Navajo people in the prehistory of the Southwestern US; which will include examples of influential projects that have shaped Navajo displacement from the past. The fourth chapter will present a research design adopted by the Navajo Nation Council that will guide research on Navajo prehistory and history, and one which will allow for a uniquely Navajo perspective and history. The concluding chapter will discuss some of the wider implications of the research and provide recommendations for working with tribal communities to create tribally centered archaeological practices.

For many years, Navajo claims to the prehistoric past were either ignored or disregarded as mythical depictions of the past. The displacement of the Navajo People from Southwestern prehistory has been a result of archaeological and anthropological interpretations and research that was conducted without Navajo involvement or perspectives. This disregard for Navajo history and oral traditions has had many implications for the Navajo people, including epistemological, 'real-life', and cultural implications. The focus of this dissertation will be to discuss these implications and use them to create a foundation from which a Navajo approach to archaeology can emerge; one which is congruent with Navajo spirituality, traditions, and lifeways and that balances current issues facing the tribe (i.e. economic development and infrastructure development) with cultural values. Through the use of concepts and methodologies from Indigenous archaeology and applied archaeology, a Navajo-centered research design is described, which will allow the Navajo Nation and Navajo communities to perform archaeological investigations that will reveal a prehistoric and historic *Navajo*



past. Concluding remarks will discuss some of the wider implications of the research and provide recommendations for working with tribal communities to create tribally centered approaches to archaeology.

The archaeological and anthropological interpretations that have caused Navajo displacement have a long history of epistemological implications. Specifically, that the construction of the archaeological record in the Southwest was built upon the interpretations of archaeologists that viewed Native Americans as inferior or as "savages," which provided some ground for the justification to ignore Navajo claims to the prehistoric US Southwestern past. The socio-cultural lens through which nineteenth and twentieth century archaeologists and anthropologists viewed Navajos effected the interpretation of archaeological sites and materials, a trend, which unfortunately continues to this day. Additionally, many Navajos who held esoteric knowledge warned others of the dangers in divulging such information to outsiders, especially outsiders who were disrupting natural cycles of decomposition (excavating) at important ceremonial and sacred sites, e.g. Chaco Canyon's Pueblo Bonito and Mesa Verde. The resulting research and publications of these and more recent archaeologists and anthropologists have in turn denied that further research is merited for investigating the possibility of prehistoric Navajo occupation in the Southwest. Thus, research that has investigated prehistoric Navajo occupations and material traces are not seriously discussed or are dismissed as a misinterpretation of data.

Other effects of this displacement include "real- life" implications for the Navajo people, such as the loss of land, water, and mineral rights due to claims that are denied based on the chronology and occupation of archaeological sites that are deemed to be "Puebloan"<sup>1</sup>. The loss of culture and loss of ceremonial knowledge is an effect due to the denied or limited access of Navajo participants to practice ceremonial rites and give offerings at significant archaeological sites due to the determination by various federal agencies of Navajo Nation having "no cultural affiliation". Additionally, there are cultural implications that cannot be ignored. Due to the construction and wide dissemination of the knowledge used to displace Navajos, the Navajo public has come to view archaeology as harmful and unnecessary. For many Navajos, prehistoric sites and materials are avoided, it is taught that these areas must be avoided to allow for natural cycles of decomposition to occur, which is a condition stipulated in many ceremonies and prayers. Currently

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<sup>1</sup> The term "Puebloan" is widely used throughout archaeological field reports and other literature resulting from field investigations in the US Southwest. The term is used by J. Walter Fewkes (Fewkes 1896) to indicate the Hopi in the Tusayan District.

within the Navajo Nation, archaeological projects have become infamous symbols of stopping development and thus progress, as historic preservation and archaeological legislation mandates the identification and subsequent mitigation of historic properties<sup>2</sup> before construction or maintenance activities, thus slowing all roads, home, and business construction and maintenance. Historically, the resources<sup>3</sup> identified and therefore protected or mitigated during Cultural Resources Management (hereafter CRM) investigations by non-Navajo researchers sometimes have little or no "value" for Navajos. Several communities and Navajo Council Delegates have voiced this<sup>4</sup> for many years, which have unfortunately cast doubt and suspicion on archaeology in general by many Navajo communities.

To best address these issues, I utilized approaches from both Applied and Indigenous archaeology in creating the research. Applied anthropology is best summarized as "putting archaeology to use" (Van Willigen, 2002:7). A more formal definition of applied anthropology comes from George McClelland Foster in his book Applied Anthropology:

Applied anthropology is the phrase commonly used by anthropologists to describe their professional activities in programs that have as primary goals changes in human behavior believed to ameliorate contemporary social, economic, and technological problems, rather than the development of social and cultural theory [1969:54].

Both definitions refer to anthropologists applying anthropological theory and method to solve "real-life" problems. For the purposes of this research, the concept of applied archaeology was borrowed from the Society for American Archaeology's Public Education webpage<sup>5</sup> discussing curriculum development for a Master's program in Applied Archaeology, and it states that:

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<sup>2</sup> Refers to the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. Section 470(w)(5)). "Historic Property" is "any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, structure, or object included in, or eligible for inclusion on the National Register"; such term includes artifacts, records, and remains which are related to such district, site, building, structure, or object."

<sup>3</sup> Navajo Nation's Cultural Resources Protection Act defines 7 different classes of "historic properties" these are "cultural property", "cultural resource", "District", "Object", "Place", "Site", and "Structure".

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 3 for a full discussion on current Navajo attitudes and perceptions on archaeology and the CRM process.

<sup>5</sup> See webpage at:

<http://www.saa.org/AbouttheSociety/EducationandOutreach/tabid/128/Default.aspx>; for the

Applied archaeology is the application of archaeological research and its results to address contemporary human problems including (but not limited to) issues that involve cultural resource management, heritage tourism and development, long-term modeling of human/environment dynamics, and public education aimed at awareness and stewardship of archaeological remains [Committee on Curriculum, 2008:1].

In terms of applied archaeology, the research objectives of the dissertation research were twofold: the first was to address a longstanding point of contention, to create an archaeological research paradigm that produces information that is useful to the Navajo public. Most importantly, being able to create a way for Navajo tribal departments to conduct CRM investigations using archaeological methods in conjunction with a research design focused on investigating Navajo domains, such as Navajo ceremonies, Navajo archaeological sites, and relationships with other groups. The second objective, in keeping with the aims of the 'applied' aspect of the dissertation, included promoting and incorporating research methods to expedite economic development activities that require archaeological investigations on the reservation, such as road construction and maintenance, homesite and business site leases, natural resource extraction (i.e. Timber, and minerals), and more recently- casinos.

Indigenous archaeology is above all, archaeological research with, by, and for Indigenous peoples. Other important definitions come from scholars well known for incorporating Indigenous groups into the archaeological process. The first definition comes from Joe Watkins' (2001) book, *Indigenous Archaeology, American Indian Values and Scientific Practices*, in which he conceives of Indigenous Archaeology as concerning the control and ownership of Indigenous pasts and cultural materials, and the ability of Indigenous people to influence the quality and outcomes of archaeological research. In addition, Watkins believes that Indigenous groups should have control over what resources are protected and how they are protected for Indigenous archaeology to actually flourish. He also calls for the education of Indigenous peoples in archaeology, also calls for non-Indigenous researchers to be educated in cultural sensitivity and issues that are important to Indigenous peoples. Claire Smith and Martin Wobst see Indigenous archaeology as the empowerment of Indigenous Peoples in reclaiming Indigenous pasts (Smith and Wobst 2005). Sonya Atalay sees Indigenous

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description of applied archaeology see the document at:  
<http://www.saa.org/Portals/0/SAA/new/MAA.pdf>.

archaeology as creating counter-discourses to Western archaeology and investigating and recovering Indigenous experiences, practices and knowledge (Atalay 2006).

In terms of Indigenous Archaeology, the research objectives aimed to create opportunities for the Navajo public to become active participants throughout the archaeological process, particularly in managing and protecting cultural and historic properties, Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs), Sacred sites, and other places within their own Chapter boundaries or communities. The Navajo Nation has 110 Chapters that are the local government for communities. These local governments have their own issues and needs that are unique to each community; therefore, each community has a different perspective on the past and on archaeology. For instance, there were many Chapters that expressed great interest in creating research domains and being a part of the archaeological process. There were other Chapters that labeled themselves as being "traditional" and viewed archaeology as taboo and thus had little or no interest in being a part of the archaeological process, but felt they should protect ceremonial sites and other areas important to the community. Lastly, there were other communities that were self-proclaimed to be more "Christian" than other Chapters and felt there was no real connections to the archaeology in the area, and to just proceed with the archaeological process so their Chapter can receive the requested service (e.g. water or power lines, road construction and maintenance, etc.). One of the other important research objectives was to give the Navajo people a claim to the prehistory of the Southwest, both archaeologically and pedagogically. The development of a Navajo cultural affiliation statement for Section 106 consultation and repatriation consultation was used to openly state that the Navajo people do have a prehistory in the Southwest and to inform Navajos about this prehistory. The cultural affiliation statement is absolutely necessary and it will reinforce the Navajo Nation's official position on their history and affiliation with the prehistoric past.

By combining concepts from the Applied and Indigenous both approaches, the research focused on the creation of an archaeological research design that supports Navajo sovereignty and history, and that will guide archaeological and anthropological research on Navajo lands. This resulted in a multi-dimensional project; the first being discussions<sup>6</sup> with

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<sup>6</sup> I did have a formal interview questionnaire to conduct ethnographic interviews, however, after unsuccessful attempts, I ended up sponsoring discussions and asking some of my questions at meetings where a majority of my predetermined judgmental sample population was present. See Chapter 4 for a formal discussion.

knowledgeable individuals, tribal employees, and Navajo archeologists and the survey of attitudes and perceptions of archaeology by tribal employees and archaeologists working on Navajo lands. The second dimension is the development of a cultural affiliation statement that will guide and regulate research concerning the ancient Navajo past. The third dimension is the creation and adoption of a "Navajo-centric" research design by the Navajo Tribal Council's Resources and Development Committee. Thus, a new system that reflects the current needs and concerns of the Navajo public, governmental entities, and researchers was employed to replace the antiquated, patriarchal system that has been operating for years, therefore successfully initiating an applied Indigenous archaeological process on tribal lands.

The dissertation research was an Applied and Indigenous archaeology project undertaken when I worked with the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (*hereafter* HPD)- Roads Planning Program (HPD-RPP) as a Supervisory Archaeologist to contract for archaeological services for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. As part of the research, I spoke with and informally interviewed archaeologists and the Navajo public on the state of archaeology on the reservation. The sample size was 39 people; 10 from HPD, 5 archaeologists from other Navajo Nation departments; 4 archaeologists self-identifying as Navajo; and 20 Navajo community members. I asked them questions concerning:

1. Their careers
2. Research paradigm used in their work
3. Their opinion of archaeology on Navajo lands
4. What do they deem as the "problem" in CRM on Navajo lands
5. What can be done to address the situation
6. Anything else they wanted to discuss relating to archaeology

The analysis revealed that the informants felt there is a definite lack of Navajo perspectives, culture, and history in archaeological and CRM research. They also felt the Navajo Nation needs a preservation management plan and a research design to guide research on the reservation and in the Southwest. Finally, they felt the archaeological process is "the problem"- the main issue being that all archaeological interpretations result in a 'Pueblo' affiliation and thus Puebloan history that effectively denies a prehistoric Navajo presence.

The development of the Cultural Affiliation Statement was a group effort by HPD employees that met over a period of six months, although the

Cultural Affiliation Statement has been in the planning process for at least the past 20 years. The decision to finally create the statement was a unanimous vote by all HPD employees when determining the highest priority activity for HPD. Since this was a process 20 years in the making, there were bits and pieces of information that archaeologists, elders, and others felt was important to include in such a statement. During our meetings, we used this information and compiled the actual statement and supporting documentation. There were many debates concerning the content of the statement and several times the Hataalii Advisory Committee (HAC) was consulted regarding the appropriateness of including esoteric knowledge in the statement. In a departure from their normal stance, the HAC informed our liaisons that this statement needed to be put into the mainstream, the esoteric knowledge once withheld can be and should be shared with non-Navajos and non-practitioners in order to protect our ceremonial and sacred sites. Many of these sites are actually well known archaeological areas, such as Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde. The statement is concise and discusses the various lines of evidence the Navajo used to affiliate themselves with the prehistoric Southwest. The creation and finalization of the statement reflects the necessity and danger perceived by the Navajo Nation in not making a direct attempt to manage and control resources throughout their lands.

Currently, Processual Archaeology theory and methodologies are the dominant research paradigm on the Navajo Nation, and most archaeologists are under the impression that they either have to enforce this paradigm in their work, or they do not know how to implement Indigenous archaeological methods in the field. The continued use of these approaches in archaeological and CRM projects contributes to further displacement of Navajos from the prehistoric Southwest. Especially because these approaches ignore Navajo conceptions of the past and the material traces left by Navajos, which is based mostly on early twentieth century linguistic research<sup>7</sup>. Additionally, issues studied under Processual approaches are not of concern to the Navajo public; they have a clear understanding of how the environment was utilized for maximum efficiency- they have to continue this process for survival today. Therefore, how do we address these issues? The development and eventual implementation of a Navajo centered research design is one way that these issues can be addressed.

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<sup>7</sup> This hypothesis is undertaken by Sapir based on his analysis of Navajo words and their units of meaning to suggest root words that have no connection to Southwestern environments, thus implying a Northern Athapaskan origin (Sapir 1936).

## ***The Formation of an Indigenous Archaeologist***

Navajo worldview or philosophy sees the entire world and all things as being connected- our individual actions, thoughts, and words will affect every other thing on this Earth, whether we intend them to or not. A visual model of this belief would be seeing the universe as a still body of water and our actions, thoughts, and words are like a pebble being thrown in the water, wherein they disturb the still water and send waves throughout the entire body of water. However, the waves eventually come back to the place they originated, so it is taught to be thoughtful and aware of your actions, thoughts, and words. However, it is also taught that 'disturbances' are necessary to ensure continuity into the future; there must be difference in thought, actions, and words. Following this philosophy, it has been my intent to not discredit or devalue the research and interpretations of Southwestern archaeological theory, rather I have attempted to create a means for Navajo people to investigate their prehistory in ways that are meaningful and beneficial and that strengthen and empower their communities. The experiences that are a part of this chapter relate my story of becoming an archaeologist and creating the context for the research and the impact it has made upon those involved and those to come in the next generation- it is one strand in the story of reclaiming deep history for the *Nihookaa Dine'e' Bila Ashdlaa'ii*, the Five fingered surface People- today's Navajo.

I would like to begin with a traditional Navajo introduction, which is the appropriate way that many Indigenous peoples interact and connect with one another. Additionally, since the subject of this research is regarded as esoteric, it is befitting that I honor the knowledge and respect my relations. A large part of the identity of any Indigenous person comes from their 'bloodline' or their people, their clans and their homelands. In Navajo culture, we are taught to establish our relations with people, which is the culturally appropriate way to introduce oneself. I would like to begin this dissertation with an introduction of who I am.

Ya'at'eeh, shi ei Walks Far Woman doo Ora Marek Martinez yinishye. Dzil'tlahnii nishli, aadoo Nimipuu ei baashishchiin. Kiis'aani ei dashichei aadoo Bilagaana ei dashinali. Akot'eego ei asdzaa. Lapwai, Idahodee iyisii naasha doo Kinlanidi naashaagoo.

Hello, my name is Walks Far Woman and Ora Marek-Martinez. I am of the Navajo Mountain Cove people and born for the Nez Perce tribe. My maternal grandfather is of the Hopi tribe and my paternal grandfather is of the Bohemian and Italian people. Because of my clans, I am a woman. I am originally from Lapwai, Idaho, but I now live in Flagstaff, Arizona.

As a trained cultural anthropologist, I would like to begin with a reflexive exercise. It would be a disservice to the field if I did not include a monologic reflexive chapter. Like other cultural anthropologists, the reflexive exercise provides the necessary foundation for this dissertation. However, rather than presenting an etic description of archaeology on the Navajo Nation, I will be presenting an emic account of archaeology and all that it entails on Navajo lands. This reflexive exercise will allow me to recreate the context for the course of this dissertation. Additionally, as a Native person, I was taught that the course of your (his)story should start at the realization of your life's path, or more appropriately the point in my life at which my passion for archaeology began. Therefore, I would like to begin with the four major events that led me to become an archaeologist.

The first experience was my upbringing as an Indigenous woman, as both a *Din4* (Navajo) and a *Nimipuu* (Nez Perce). The cultural and spiritual traditions that I learned gave me, as a female a life path and responsibilities to bear, which were to care for and protect our People, the land, and our traditions for the coming generations. My mother is both Navajo and Hopi, whom was raised in a reservation border town- Flagstaff, Arizona. Her mother is originally from Nenahnezad, New Mexico, and her Mother is originally from the Cedar Springs area near Teesto, Arizona. My matrilineal line has moved all across the great Navajo reservation and I have many relatives throughout *Dine' Bi'keyah* (Navajo land). My father's mother is *Nimipuu* or Nez Perce, from the Pacific Northwest. His father is of Italian and Bohemian lineage, and came to Idaho in the 1800s to ranch, like many other White Settlers. I have used my bloodlines as a source of strength and as a means to understand the complex relations that exist in this world.

As a child, I learned on many occasions that all events occur for a reason and will have an unforeseen effect upon other events in my life. With this in mind, the events that played a critical role in leading me to become an archaeologist began with the songs, prayers, and ceremonies of my People, both *Dine' and Nimipuu*. I was taught many important lessons through these words, but the ones that resonated with me were the importance of learning and passing on our cultural and spiritual beliefs to the next generation and that women play a critical role in transmitting our culture and beliefs. Therefore, it is a woman's responsibility to protect and care for our culture, language, and (his)stories. I also learned that our history is unique and helps guide our people every day, and as such, we have a duty to pass our stories to the next generation.

Learning these words, I was a participant-observer of three different cultures that often times clashed. One day I would be learning about the



Oregon Trail in school, the next day I was in the traditional mountains of my people learning the properties of roots and plants. I participated in ceremonies, prayers, and songs that left vivid and indelible memories in my mind. These times were some of the most intense; however, they prepared me for the battles that I would have to fight in my life. Many times females were separated from the males and the elder women taught us. The female elders told us about what it means to be a Woman and the responsibilities and duties we would eventually carry for our People.

More often than not, they took us places to show us how our ancestors lived and survived. Most importantly, they took us to significant places on the landscape, commonly referred to as Traditional Cultural Properties<sup>8</sup> (TCPs), where they relayed stories about our past and about our ancestors. They also told us to hold onto these stories; they would help us throughout our lives. They took us to the usual and accustomed hunting and gathering places, and again they told us stories, they made sure that we understood the importance and esoteric value of these places.

I learned about being a human being during these times. It was here that I realized how important our landscape, our usual and accustomed places, and our stories were for the survival of our People. I took the words of my elders to heart and I set out on my life's journey armed with this knowledge and the (his)stories of my people. I feel that this early participant-observer experience prepared me for the training I would later receive in cultural anthropology and in creating ethnographies.

In the cycle of my life, the second event that was the catalyst for my ferocity for protecting TCPs and other sites important to Native peoples related to the destruction of an important TCP for the Nez Perce people. The Pacific Northwest was my home for 15 years; I learned the diversity of the lands, the animals, and the plants. I also became attached to the land and the stories that were told, and our family outings to archaeological and traditional sites became a favorite activity for me. I was enthralled with the stories my family told me about traditional hunting and gathering areas, especially when they showed us tools that were traditionally used to gather and treat plants and other food items. It was experimental archaeology coming alive at the hands of my father and his family.

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<sup>8</sup> A TCP can be defined generally as a site that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community, and are (c) over 50 years old. See the National Park Service for further information at: <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38/nrb38%20introduction.htm#tcp>.



**Figure 1. Buffalo Eddy Petroglyph on the Snake River, near Asotin, WA.**

The event that has single-handedly compelled me to protect the cultural and natural resources and histories of Native Americans occurred on the traditional area that my clan frequented. I was a young child living on the Nez Perce reservation in Idaho; it was summer in the mid-1980s. Every summer my family travelled to Buffalo Eddy (see Figure 1.), a beach on the Snake River along the Washington and Idaho border. This spot contained the stories of my ancestors etched onto the black walls of the cliffs, they were beautiful, symmetrical, and asymmetrical at the same time: swirls, fish, people, and animals. The petroglyphs recreated vivid accounts of the past and of our people's accomplishments. I was completely amazed at what I saw and heard. I wanted to touch and feel the marks my ancestors left, but my Dad would not let us, instead he told us to feel the rock wall of the cliff and close our eyes and contemplate what we had taken in and the stories of

our people. I learned many lessons from those times that have formed the core of my belief system and my path in life.

That particular day was especially hot and stifling, the temperatures that summer had been over 110 degrees, everything was parched, and something seemed amiss. My dad was first to see the petroglyphs, and he was completely still, standing in front of the panel. As I moved in front of my dad, I saw that the panel was gone! It had been chipped completely out of the cliff-face and all that was left were fragmented petroglyphs.

I was in complete and utter shock. I could not fathom what had happened to our ancestors' stories. I asked my Dad what had happened to them. He still could not answer me, I felt scared, and I have never known my Dad to not answer me. When he finally mustered up his words, he said they were gone forever and that they were either in a museum or someone's back yard. "Someone's back yard? In a museum?" I thought to myself, "who could do such awful things?" How could they just take something so important to the *Nimipuu*? How would the coming generations learn from our ancestors?

After that summer, Buffalo Eddy was never the same for me, it felt disturbed, and I always felt angry with those who stole the stories of my ancestors. I still haven't completely let go of that feeling, I still want those stories returned to the tribe, and I still want to protect my peoples' history. It wasn't until years later that I realized that what I was passionate about would be classified as "archaeology". This deeply disturbed me. I flashed back to the countless pow-wow's and feasts on the reservation, when those damn anthropologists and archaeologists asked questions, always wanting to take pictures, I could not believe that I wanted to be one of those...an archaeologist! Those feelings remain with me today, and are the driving force behind finishing this dissertation.

I began to understand that the attack on Native Americans, that we were 'extinct' and that we were comparable to scientific specimen than to human beings; that the theft of our histories and our cultural items, and the appropriation of our histories created the situation I experienced within my community. How can any person grow when they are constantly being told there is no hope for survival, that our ways are obsolete in the modern world? How can the connections we as Native people have with each other, our lands, the animals, the air, the heavens, the earth, and with our past and future survive when these connections are not recognized or studied when researchers interpret our pasts and become experts on our ways?

My family taught me to acknowledge and respect connections and relations, to hold them with the proper reverence. Knowing these things, I had a sense of purpose and pride in my life. To this day I do not see Native Americans as extinct, our languages are not dying; we are a strong people, we have always adapted, our cultures and our ceremonies are fluid, ever changing. We see our lands in this manner and this also extends to archaeological sites. There are certain aspects about the landscape that give these areas a certain status in our world. Archaeological sites can link us to our past, to our ancestors, but they also ground us in our present life, and make us prepare for the future, just as our ancestors did, as is evidenced in the archaeological record.

The third event that spurred me into becoming an archaeologist was my experience at Northern Arizona University (NAU). I began college as a major in mechanical engineering, but soon changed to anthropology. The classes and other experiences I had with archaeology still left a negative impression in my mind of archaeologists and archaeology in general. But through a series of events, I began to see that archaeology could play an important- if not critical role in the efforts of Native Americans to protect and manage cultural resources in accordance with their cultural and spiritual beliefs.

When I entered college as an undergraduate, I was convinced that I wanted to be a mechanical engineer; I enrolled in the summer bridge program at Northern Arizona University called STAR PALS, specifically for aspiring engineers "of color". I enjoyed the program and the company, but after hearing what our NAU student guides had to say about their majors, particularly the anthropology students, I yearned to be a Social Science major. They spoke of their experiences working with tribes to revitalize traditional practices, relating to ecology, agriculture, anthropology, and archaeology. I could not believe what I was hearing, anthropologists and archaeologists actually working *with and for* tribes? Dr. George Gumerman III, an archaeologist who worked with tribes in the area, supported and even encouraged my decision in a presentation where he presented his research. This presentation was about "What you can do with a degree in Anthropology," and on working with tribes to understand and interpret the archaeological record. I was amazed at the cooperative spirit of the research and that this archaeologist actually wanted to hear what tribes had to say about their past, and that he did not mind changing his research at the request of tribes. This was a complete reversal of the trend I had witnessed growing up- I was intrigued.

I began to second-guess my initial decision to be an engineer. I spoke to several people, including the Chair of the Anthropology department who advised me that a degree in anthropology would lead me into any number of careers. He also explained to me that recently (I entered college in 1996) several tribes had begun to initiate Cultural Resource Management or CRM departments within their tribal governments and that I would have no problem finding employment. This prospect excited me, the thought of working with tribes to protect and manage cultural resources appealed to me. I left his office with a starry eyed look that I haven't lost to this day. It took me a little while to come to terms with my decision, but I announced to the director that I was switching my major to anthropology. My mentors at the STAR PALS program could not believe that I was switching to anthropology and tried to talk me out of it. Everyone did, even my mother! It was of no use; I was determined to be an anthropologist.

As a college student, I was in need of a part time job that wouldn't take me away from my studies. I found such a position after meeting a girl who was already working for the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department (NNAD) on NAUs campus. She encouraged me to stop by and speak with the Student Training Program coordinator. I stopped by the office one day and spoke with the Coordinator, as I was a little apprehensive about working as an archaeologist since my training was more oriented towards cultural anthropology. I began working for NNAD in the fall of 1999 as an archaeological aide. I was assigned menial tasks until my knowledge base expanded and I gained more experience both in the field and lab. However, as I was starting at the very bottom, I wasn't allowed to go into the field just yet.

My first task was sorting and washing sherds from archaeological excavations for construction of a road leading to Navajo Mountain. I washed more than 5000 sherds! It was my first official experience at basic cataloguing and I enjoyed the process. After the sherd washing subsided, I was assigned curation of the artifacts, and I labeled, bagged, and inventoried thousands of artifacts. This laboratory experience drew my attention to the sometimes unnecessary collection of all artifacts within excavation units. This practice took some time to get used to, especially since I had been told by others, my family, including my maternal Grandmother to leave "those things" alone.

*Shimasani*, my maternal Grandmother, wanted me to be mindful of what I was getting myself into, culturally. *Shimasani* was a product of Mission Boarding Schools and was still afraid to speak her language- *Dine' Bizaad* and to participate in cultural events. But she was adamant that I

understand the cultural aspect of my actions and chosen career. She spoke to me at great length on this topic, and provided me with a framework that I use to this day to guide me in my research. Mostly, she was afraid that I would bring bad energy/spirits back from the archaeological sites that I visited, and this would not only affect me, but my entire family. I underwent a series of ceremonies, from both my father's and my mother's sides to protect us from what I might encounter in the field. To this day, I ensure that I protect my family and myself and observe all of the cultural traditions I was taught. Although archaeological sites have been regarded as "taboo" in many Navajo households, my Grandmother once told me that she was glad that I was the one taking care of our ancestors, instead of some *Bilagaana* (Anglo) archaeologist who did not respect our ancestors. I was relieved that she supported my decision to be an archaeologist, which ultimately meant that the rest of my family would have to support this decision as well! When my family realized that I was an archaeologist, even better that I could provide them with the services needed to obtain "archaeological clearance" for establishing their homesite on the reservation- they provided me with a lot of support.

With my mind and spirit 'cleared' and protected, I engaged with archaeology both at work and in school. I enjoyed the time that I spent on the reservation performing CRM clearance work. I met many community members who were at first hostile to me for being an archaeologist -- and I could relate to their hostile attitude-- but I spoke with them and informed them of what I was doing, and what it would accomplish. Many of them told me stories about their family histories and their concerns for particular areas. Some people referred me to other people who had more information about the area. There were also people who shared the same sentiment as my Grandmother and felt that it was better for someone like me to take care of our cultural resources, and for our ancestors. I was slowly being "hooked" on archaeology.

It was during fieldwork that many people voiced their frustration with the bureaucracy of the Navajo Nation when establishing homesites, requesting installation of utilities, or any other ground disturbing activities. As it stands, the Navajo Nation requires archaeological clearance for all ground disturbing activities or when securing a homesite. The tribe will not perform the archaeological survey necessary; rather, they charge tribal members a flat rate fee of \$200 to \$294 to complete the archaeological process<sup>9</sup>. However, for many tribal members this fee may be up to 25% of

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<sup>9</sup> Other Cultural Resources Management firms charge anywhere from \$200 to \$2,000 for these services. According to the Navajo Land Department's regulations, all new roads

their yearly income<sup>10</sup>. In this light, many Navajo tribal members are seeing archaeology as a hindrance; it is unnecessary and causes numerous problems, and it stops progress. I began to wonder if CRM on the reservation was actually helping our people, or was it a way to create funding for tribal enterprises. What exactly had I gotten myself into?

It soon came to light that our program was having problems obtaining contracts for work necessary to keep the staff employed. It was about this time that I received an email from a friend that described a collections internship with the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) for a Native American anthropology/archaeology student. After a couple of days, I decided to apply. I had learned a lot about CRM on the reservation while at NNAD, but I had gained little in terms of collections management, artifact analysis and curation. I felt the internship would introduce me to these areas, and so I applied. I received word from MNA that I received the internship and I was ecstatic! But, I was sad that I would have to leave NNAD and I informed the Program Manager that I would be working for MNA. Rather than have me leave, she granted me a leave of absence and allowed me to take time off from NNAD to complete the internship. She agreed that it would be beneficial not only to me but also to NNAD if I learned the basics of artifact curation and archiving processes.

At the Museum, I learned about my People's history, about what it means to be Dine' from the artifacts and objects that I handled. These were not "ancient relics" they were alive and carried the spirit of my ancestors. I learned the intangible aspects that artifacts carry before I learned the archaeological attributes of artifacts. To this day, I carry this sentiment with me. I feel that this understanding of the archaeological record has prepared me to use a holistic approach when interpreting archaeological sites. My time at the museum has continued to shape my perspective on archaeological research, and has made me cognizant of the importance and critical nature of integrating and using traditional knowledge in archaeological interpretations and discussions.

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leading to these new homesites must be surveyed as well, this adds additional costs for the survey and this service increases based on the length of the road and may cost upwards of \$5,000 or more.

<sup>10</sup> According to the Navajo Nation Economic Development Office, it was reported in the 2010 US Census, that the median income of Navajo households is \$25,456, while the per capita income is \$7122. For more information see the website at: <http://www.navajobusiness.com/fastFacts/index.htm>.

All the while, I was working at MNA; I was enrolled full time in the Cultural Anthropology Graduate program at NAU. The few archaeology classes that I had to take in order to graduate were awful experiences for me. I voiced my opinion to the professors about the historical relationship between Native Americans and archaeologists that I knew persisted on Indian lands. I was called a troublemaker, a creationist, and ignorant. It didn't matter to me, I had been called worse; after all, I grew up in Idaho! I felt that the other students needed to hear the perspective of an actual 'real life Indian'. I took great satisfaction in the fact that I made these budding archaeologists ponder the ethical considerations of performing archaeological investigations on tribal lands.

In the fall of 2000, my attitude changed when I had enrolled in Anthropology 499, Contemporary Developments- Indigenous Cultural Resource Management. This class was *the* class that began to change my mind about archaeology, the language used was not derogatory in regards to tribal cultural resources, and I learned that there were many tribes that were engaged in CRM on their lands and attempting to utilize traditional ways of knowing to effectively manage, preserve, and maintain cultural resources. Most of all, that archaeologists and anthropologists were committed to working with tribes in their research by making tribes equal partners/participants in the research and giving them control of the research. This was an amazing feat in my mind.

The professor explained to our small, mostly Native American class the importance of engaging tribal communities in archaeological projects and research, which it was hoped would produce a more "holistic" representation of the past. I will never forget this explanation of Indigenous CRM, and it has motivated me ever since. This was what I had been looking for: tribal members protecting tribal interests, tribal members recreating imposed histories, tribal members becoming the "experts" of their own histories, and finally the opportunity for collaborative research.

This class piqued my interest in archaeology, although I still had a negative attitude toward archaeologists. Nevertheless, the CRM aspect appealed to me, as it was an opportunity for tribal members to engage in archaeology and research on their lands in the manner they deemed culturally appropriate. Additionally, the class brought to light a multitude of issues that affect Indigenous communities that are never discussed in mainstream archaeological classes. Such issues ranged from the effects of resource drilling and mining on archaeological sites on tribal lands to the complete avoidance of archaeological sites by some tribal members.



It was at this point that I began to realize that the interpretations made by archaeologists regarding archaeological sites on tribal lands directly affected the sovereignty of tribal nations. Their interpretations were used to create Native American and other colonized histories and to justify the unethical treatment of Indigenous peoples. The best example of this trend is the displacement of the Navajo from the prehistory of the Southwest, although their creation stories place them in the Southwest from emergence into this world and out-migrating, unlike other tribes that are assigned primacy in the Southwest whose creation stories have them in-migrating to the Southwest. The sometimes callous interpretations by archaeologists of indigenous histories has created an environment that has placed indigenous stories of the past in the realm of myth and fantasy with little "truth", and has placed "scientific" interpretations as the standard by which fact is judged. This scheme has ensured that Indigenous peoples are seen as scientific objects of study and as examples of "primitive" lifeways.

This same dichotomy has been entrenched in the minds of some archaeologists that work in the US due to the passage of or the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA)<sup>11</sup>. Many archaeologists to this day continue to object to the repatriation of affiliated and now un-affiliated Native American human remains, associated and unassociated burial objects, objects of cultural patrimony, and items that are sacred to their home communities. I could never understand this line of reasoning, until I realized that many archaeologists still view the ancient past of the Americas as being disconnected from contemporaneous Indigenous communities. It seems the common misconception is that if there are no "links" to current tribal communities, the excavation of archaeological sites, especially sites with burials on tribal lands becomes scientifically justified.

A perfect example is the case of the Ancient One, more popularly known as 'Kennewick Man', found on the bank of the Columbia River, a river prehistorically and historically important to numerous tribes on the Columbia Plateau and within the Northwest Coast. Although numerous tribes have oral traditions placing them in the same area that date back several generations,

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<sup>11</sup> Also known as P.L. 101-601; 25 USC 3001 et seq.; 43 CFR 10. NAGPRA is human rights legislation for Native Americans, wherein all graves intentionally or unintentionally discovered on tribal lands are protected from excavation; additionally, NAGPRA provides for the repatriation of Native American human remains, funerary items, and objects of cultural patrimony to affiliated tribes; in some cases to a designated un-affiliated tribe. For text of law and regulations see the National NAGPRA website at:

<http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/MANDATES/INDEX.HTM>.

the “scientific facts” assembled by the bioarchaeologists demanding to study the Ancient One were given precedence over the coalition of tribes working to repatriate and rebury the Ancient One<sup>12</sup>. The edited book by Heather Burke, Claire Smith, and Dorothy Lippert on the Ancient One is an excellent synopsis of this situation and provides great insight into the dichotomy between archaeology and tribal perspectives of the past.

On the first day of my internship at MNA, I was introduced to the bulk collections area, which was essentially a warehouse with at least 35 shelving units that were 15 feet high by 20 feet long, each one filled to capacity with variously sized cardboard boxes filled to the brim with artifacts. Other shelves were stacked with complete and fragmented ancient pottery of all shapes, sizes, and decorations<sup>13</sup>. The majority of these collections were the result of surface collection from projects on tribal and federal lands. I was shocked at the amount of artifacts taken from tribal lands, but I began working on the first box. Many of these boxes had not been opened since they were initially stored, with some of them dating to the early twentieth century. Box after box was analyzed, catalogued, and curated. At the end of my internship, I had inventoried thousands of artifacts and re-housed almost 250 cubic feet of collection space. Nevertheless, there were still hundreds, if not thousands of boxes in the warehouse that I had not been able to open by the time my internship was over.

What amazed me was the sheer volume of artifacts collected during archaeological investigations by the museum, by various universities, by federal agencies and departments, by amateur archaeologists and by collectors that constituted the “BIA bulk collections” which were various sized boxes of surface collected artifacts located during survey or before excavation. More importantly, these were surface collections, and not the result of excavation. All of these collections were taken from either Indian lands or federal lands within Arizona, and the artifacts that were in these boxes were most likely from the customary and aboriginal lands that my people occupied. Could it be that diagnostic artifacts of early Navajo occupation of the Southwest were in these bulk collections? What types of

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<sup>12</sup> For more information refer to Heather Burke’s, Claire Smith’s, and Dorothy Lippert’s 2008 book, *Kennewick Man: Perspectives on the Ancient One*. Left Coast Press: Walnut Creek, CA.

<sup>13</sup> The Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) is home to type collections for the archaeological sequences making up contemporary Southwestern archaeology. Information to access these collections can be accessed online at the MNA website at: <http://www.musnaz.org/research/collections.shtml>.

diagnostic artifacts are contained in the bulk collections that most likely will never be analyzed?

The task of cataloguing and curating the bulk collections was daunting, but I relished in the fact that I would be the first to open boxes that had not seen the light of day since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although the majority of the collections were lithic debitage and ceramic fragments, there were some reworked and misidentified artifacts that had to be integrated into the appropriate museum collections. There were also Navajo cultural items that were essentially re-worked artifacts that were not meant to be collected, but that had made it into the bulk collections by unknowing archaeologists. Based on my cultural knowledge, I was able to discern the spiritual identifiers of offerings and other spiritual paraphilia and move these out of the bulk collections. I realized that if my family had not culturally educated me, I would have misidentified these artifacts as well. I turned these objects over to the collections manager and informed them of the cultural connotations associated with the artifact and they were relabeled as NAGPRA items and, I hope, will be/have been returned to their original location. I began to wonder how many of these offerings and other items were collected and became part of the museum collection.

I began to question the other collections' interns to see if they had seen any other artifacts similar to the ones I had identified as cultural, or in NAGPRA terminology, items of cultural patrimony or sacred items. They were honest and stated they did not even look for artifacts with the characteristics I identified as cultural. At first, it struck me as odd that the museum employees did not have any sort of cultural training or cultural sensitivity training, especially since they were consulting with local tribes under NAGPRA. How many other cultural items were categorized as part of the bulk collections or simply as a 'reworked' artifact?

When going through the bulk collections, I began to question the collection practices of other institutions and organizations. I came to realize that it was general practice for many institutions, during archaeological investigations, to collect all artifacts, including small fragments in the interest of provenience and context for archaeological interpretations. This alarmed me: I knew that there were ceremonies that used archaeological artifacts and part of the ceremony is to reintegrate the artifact back into the natural environment. It was troubling to think about the number of these items that may have been collected, thus not allowing the ceremony to complete its natural cycle. Although I was not the person who collected these items, I was handling them, which for some Native Americans is inappropriate and can provoke dangerous situations.

The lessons I was taught about ceremonial practice came to mind every time I encountered these types of artifacts. These artifacts were supposed to be disintegrating back into the natural environment; the ceremonial cycle would not be complete until these artifacts were repatriated. I understood that a large part of the power of the ceremony was in the prayers and offerings made, which were unfortunately a part of the permanent collection. How could I support this type of archaeological activity when I knew the repercussions for my people as well as for my family and myself? It began to dawn on me that the Elders were correct when they told us that our current situation on the reservation (i.e. poverty, homicides, drug use, alcoholism, suicides) was due to our negligence of our cultural traditions and ceremonies. We needed to return to our traditions to get back on the correct path in life. At this moment, I realized that archaeology and anthropology could offer innovative methods to tribes and tribal communities in their cultural retention efforts. I wasn't quite sure how this could be achieved, but I began to understand the value of archaeology to recreate history.

One of the most valuable lessons learned while working at the museum was the importance of Native and/or Indigenous researchers working at institutions to ensure compliance with various laws, and being able to identify cultural objects. This idea was solidified when I began working with the NAGPRA projects. There was a separate locked room dedicated to the NAGPRA related site files. A part of my internship was to inventory the site files and ensure that none of the attached collections were housed in the bulk collections warehouse. When reviewing the site files, I was shocked at the carelessness of twentieth century researchers who seemingly had no respect for Native American burials, which was evidenced by the field and site notes and the level of care a burial and/or associated objects, were accorded. But then again, during the time periods represented, Native Americans were relegated to "scientific specimen" thus collection of burials and associated objects was acceptable and status quo. However, the following situation crystallized the importance of Native/Indigenous archaeologists.

During my regular duties, I came across a box that was filled with small children's toys, a speckled blue enamel miniature set of a cup, plate, fork, spoon, and small coffee pot, all wrapped in an old canvas rag. As I grabbed the rag to pull the items out of the box, I felt a shock run through my hands up my arms and to my head. I immediately dropped the items and backed up, almost falling over my chair as I did. I checked my hands, maybe an insect that had made the box home bit me, but there were no bite marks. I stood there for a minute trying to regain my composure, and I

began to feel light headed. I went to the bathroom and washed my face, but my hands felt like they were burning and tingling at the same time.

A bit puzzled and literally shocked, I decided that I needed some fresh air. I went outside but I still felt frazzled, I called my Mom and told her what I was experiencing. Her first question was what did I touch? I didn't understand at first, and told her nothing, that I was doing my usual job, re-housing artifacts. She asked me again, but the tone in her voice changed, what did you touch? My mind was racing and I thought back to what I was doing and the contents in the box, I was speechless. I knew what it was and I told her I would call her back. I went back in to investigate the box, I went to the site file room and could not locate the file; this struck me as odd. I went to my supervisor and asked if I could look in the NAGPRA file room, maybe it was misfiled, I wistfully thought. I unlocked the room and looked for the site file and there it was. I read through and discovered the contents of the box were removed from the Navajo reservation during the construction of the Cameron suspension bridge, but these were not the main items removed, they were associated funerary items.

The file stated that the construction foreman brought the contents of the box and an additional box to the museum because he did not want to disrupt the bridge construction work of the mostly Navajo labor due to their 'superstitions'. He didn't know what to do with the items and felt the museum would take care of the items. The file revealed that the contents of the box were associated funerary items, and the other box held the remains of a small Navajo child. The burial was removed without the knowledge or consent of the family, or the tribe. I went back to the box and sat there trying to sort out in my mind what needed to be done.

I decided the first thing to do was to pray and smudge myself; I was already feeling the effects of handling the items. I needed to leave to take care of myself; I went home and prayed with my family, I brought some sage to the museum and explained to my supervisor what I had discovered and that I needed to cleanse the office. She agreed to it and let me perform my prayers. I understood that I needed to take care of the items and prepared them for temporary re-housing until repatriation. The tribe was notified and to this day, I am not sure of what transpired as I was excluded from this portion of the process. However, I never did come across the box again.

I realized then how the field of archaeology and the collection practices were wreaking havoc on contemporary Native communities. Throughout my life and work, I have witnessed the spiritual and cultural implications of

these practices. It was right before my face and I had become a part of it. It was at this time that I knew I was at a level that I could not initiate change, which became readily apparent when I was excused from the repatriation process. I decided that summer that I needed to continue my education if I really wanted to effect change in Native American and Indigenous communities.

I entered the NAU Master of Arts anthropology program in the fall of 2001 with a cautiously optimistic feeling about archaeology, but I decided to major in applied cultural anthropology. Throughout my course of education in the department, I learned to love anthropology, but the same archaic and paternalistic attitude towards Native Americans, Indigenous peoples, or “the Other” pervaded our readings, lectures, and discussions. I was the living example of “the Other”, and for many of my classmates I was a fountain of knowledge about all things Indigenous. I did not mind that part of it; I enjoyed remembering my days on the reservation and telling our stories. Sometimes this reminded me of the stories that I told to anthropologists and archaeologists at pow-wows and other gatherings in my adolescence. But this time the stories were true!

One of the major requirements of the NAU Anthropology Department’s graduate program was to complete an internship project. I chose an internship with an applied approach to Native American CRM. However, since I had already worked for a tribal CRM department, I decided to pursue an internship with a federal agency to determine what their approach was to working with tribes. My internship was at the headquarters office for Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), an agency created by Presidential Executive Order. The FEMA Historic Preservation section needed an emic tribal perspective to assist them in creating a Section 106<sup>14</sup> Tribal consultation policy, and I filled the position.

The Section 106 process is essentially a consultation process for a project that involves federal land, trust land, or federal monies. The federal agency whose land or monies are involved is the lead agency and must ensure that all historic and cultural properties within the project area are identified, evaluated, and potential damage mitigated, but with the consultation of interested parties, State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPO) or Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (THPO), and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). Basically, Section 106 allows all interested

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<sup>14</sup> Refers to the National Historic Preservation Act (16 USC 470), Section 106 (36 CFR 800) that requires all Federal Agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic and cultural properties and consult with interested parties. See <http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/1966.htm> for the full text of the law.

parties the opportunity to voice their opinion on the project, the identified historic properties (sites, TCPs, etc.), and the recommended treatment of the properties. As tribal lands are considered trust lands, all ground disturbing activities on tribal lands are subject to the Section 106 process, which created the need for a tribal-specific consultation process.

I began the internship rather naively, and assumed that it would be an easy task. After attending several initial scoping meetings, I realized that this federal agency had no idea how to consult with tribes, as was federally mandated under certain laws. Although FEMA had hired me, they had no idea how or where to begin and I was left with the task of organizing a project that resulted in a Tribal Section 106 consultation policy. I thought it was best to create a handbook or manual for regional office and responder use. This included basic contact information of all federally recognized tribes, reservation size and location, maps of the aboriginal and accustomed lands of tribes, and notable TCPs, archaeological sites, or other properties located on or near tribal lands. My hope was to give each region a copy of the handbook for their use in emergency and disaster planning and response and in consulting with local or effected tribes.

In creating this manual, I heard several of the managers state that I didn't have to "reinvent the wheel" when creating this policy. I decided that they really wanted me to see what other federal agencies were creating and to use their policies. I decided the best course of action was to interview Federal Preservation Officers<sup>15</sup> (FPOs) in regards to their Section 106 Tribal consultation policy, as they are responsible for ensuring compliance with Section 106. In 2002 when the research was completed, there were 53 FPOs that represented a range of federal departments and agencies. I interviewed twelve FPOs<sup>16</sup> and I was able to get a copy of the Section 106 consultation policy for thirteen other federal agencies and departments. The remaining FPOs either did not have a policy or they were also in the process of creating a policy suited to their lands and needs. The analysis of the policies and

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<sup>15</sup> According to 36 CFR 60.3 [Title 36- Parks, Forests, and Public Property; Chapter I- National Park Service, Department of the Interior; Part 60-- National Register of Historic Places], Federal Preservation Officer is "the official designated by the head of each Federal agency responsible for coordinating that agency's activities under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and Executive Order 11593 including nominating properties under that agency's ownership or control to the National Register." Website for regulations can be accessed at: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/granule/CFR-2011-title36-vol1/CFR-2011-title36-vol1-sec60-3/content-detail.html>.

<sup>16</sup> The research for this project was completed from June to August of 2002. This research was a part of the requirements for the fulfillment of a MA in Anthropology at Northern Arizona University.

interviews revealed six general trends in consulting with Native American tribes.

In 2016, these trends are still very much appropriate and seem to be necessary for consultation with Native American tribes.

1. The need for cultural sensitivity training by federal employees and outsiders to the tribal community.
2. The need for open and honest dialogue between federal agencies and tribes.
3. The need for early consultation with tribes.
4. The need for developing policies for tribal consultation, even if the agency has no real or regular involvement with tribal communities.
5. The need for working at the local tribal level and having a range of different contacts.
6. The need for including tribes in the initial steps of developing policies and programs.

The underlying trend is the need for federal and other 'outsiders' to receive training in cultural sensitivity<sup>17</sup>. In my experience, federal bureaucrats and outside researchers are unaware of the intricacies of the relationship Native Americans have with the lands and resources, and some are ignorant of how to communicate with Native Americans. During the interviews, many of the FPOs and other representatives stated that tribes were justifiably suspicious of the "feds" and did not want to meet or communicate with them, which proved to be a disservice for tribes after projects were underway. More specifically, communication with tribes should ideally begin before a project begins, which will allow tribes to be a part of the entire process. Similar to the third trend, it is better for federal agencies and others to begin planning early with tribal participation. Interviewees reported that by communicating often and through a range of tribal contacts, formal consultation processes were often more amicable and productive. Some of the interviewees also reported that they sponsored "listening sessions" with local tribes to discuss consultation regarding Section 106, and this proved to be successful for future work.

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<sup>17</sup> Numerous federal agencies have begun to hire tribal liaisons, most often of Native American descent, to consult with tribes and to establish and maintain a viable and productive relationship. The Advisory Council for Historic Preservation posted a listing of federal agency tribal consultation contacts for use and it can be found here: <http://www.achp.gov/docs/FederalAgencyContacts.pdf>.



I reported my findings to the Historic Preservation Section at FEMA and they incorporated them into a final policy. The policy was created by a separate section and was sent back to us. We reviewed the policy and met with a firm that performed Section 106 tribal consultation for several different federal agencies and they critiqued the policy and we discussed changes. I was the only tribal representation at these meetings and I discovered that the federal bureaucrats that I was working with were ignorant about tribal cultural resources and about cultural sensitivity. I realized then that even though federal agencies are aware of tribal concerns, they were secondary to those of the agency.

Armed with this knowledge I began my thesis or internship paper on Tribal Cultural Resource Management and federal agencies. Once the paper was completed, I sent a copy to FEMA, although the policy had already been drafted. The final phase of my MA program was to successfully defend my research and paper. I presented my research and my recommendations, and then came the question and answers with my Committee members. Everything went well until the final professor began his line of questioning. My "objectivity" and successfulness as a researcher was called into question, specifically he believed that it was not possible for me as a Native American to realistically and objectively study Native American issues. I thought for a while and responded that he was not really asking me a question, rather he answered his own question; that he didn't think I could be an objective, therefore "good" anthropologist studying Native American cultures and issues, as a Native American. I told him that I believed that the skills they taught me at NAU would allow me to see my bias and be an objective anthropologist, but also that my status increased the passion I held for my research. I then asked him, if he thought he was more objective or a 'better anthropologist' because he was an Anglo studying Native American issues. I passed this defense with flying colors and graduated with honors.

I had been working with NNAD-NAU as an archaeologist after I returned from FEMA in Washington, D.C. I had learned numerous skills that I was able to apply to my work for NNAD. I was the editor and used my skills in finalizing the NRHP nomination reports, it was during this time that I became interested in the archaeological process, particularly in the interpretation of archaeological sites and research on tribal lands. The research the archaeologists were producing at NNAD did not incorporate Navajo perspectives of the past, rather the interpretations were regurgitations of Southwestern archaeological theory i.e. Navajos entered the Southwest by the eighteenth century. This was troublesome, where was the Navajo perspective or even a Navajo presence? After informal conversations with several Diné archaeologists, the consensus seemed to be

that a real Dine' archaeological paradigm should be implemented for research on the past. However, there were no suggestions on where to begin, what would this look like? How would it be implemented and regulated? My time at NNAD was cut short when funding ran out for my position and I was laid off, however I did have a plan.

The experiences and education described have provided a firm foundation that will support Indigenous archaeology in its different conceptions. These four events have contributed to the creation of an Indigenous archaeologist, and I am not alone. There are numerous archaeologists of Indigenous descent and other backgrounds that share similar experiences<sup>18</sup>. Many of these experiences have led to the creation of Indigenous archaeological concepts and approaches. In the next chapter, I will provide an introduction and analysis of Indigenous archaeological concepts and practices that can be used to create a Dine' archaeological paradigm.

### ***Indigenous Archaeology: The Creation of a Space for a Navajo Approach to Archaeology***

In this chapter the context for the creation of an Indigenous archaeologist was described in part to situate a space for an Indigenous approach to archaeology, more specifically a Navajo approach to archaeology. The other part was to provide an understanding of the life cycle that Indigenous archaeological approaches have taken. Life cycles are critical concepts in Native American philosophies<sup>19</sup>, and their lessons provide the foundation for life choices for many Native Americans. Life trajectories are usually associated with the cardinal directions- East, North, West, and South and symbolize the lessons representative of these directions. In Navajo worldview, each of these directions mark a transition in life wherein an individual must learn to observe and initiate actions that are associated with a particular stage in order to sustain a marked balance and harmony in their life. These are often utilized to plan not only for the long term, but to plan for an individual's day. It is understood by Navajos that by partaking in such

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<sup>18</sup> See for example the edited collection by Claire Smith and H. Martin Wobst, and the collection by Marge Bruchac, Siobhan Hart, and H. Martin Wobst, which provides a thoughtful and captivating examination of what Indigenous archaeology entails and what it promises for the future.

<sup>19</sup> In terms of Navajo philosophies please refer to John Farella (1990). For a broader look at Native American philosophies refer to Gregory Cajete (2000), Donald Fixico (2003), and Anne Waters (2004).

characteristics/actions, an individual is in balance and therefore good things are sure to follow. Therefore, it is posited that when such perspectives and thus actions are utilized in ways that are important to tribal communities, a plan will succeed. Indigenous archaeological approaches can thus provide ways that Indigenous archaeologists<sup>20</sup> can integrate such approaches into archaeological research that is both tribally unique and enlightens mainstream audiences to the importance of site preservation, stewardship, and tribal sovereignty.

The stories that many other archaeologists of Native American or Indigenous heritage hold of becoming an archaeologist are emotionally charged decisions<sup>21</sup> due to the historical relationship between archaeologists and Indigenous communities and sometimes cultural beliefs that limit or prohibit archaeological activities, e.g. the excavation of sites. American Archaeology has developed in such a fashion that it is inherently an act of colonization and appropriation of Native American pasts. By critically evaluating and analyzing this history, the next chapter will discuss Indigenous archaeological research and approaches and why such an approach is necessary, demonstrated through the use of case studies discussing the displacement of Indigenous histories by archaeological research and interpretations. Within the framework of federally mandated laws and regulations in regards to Native American tribes, Indigenous archaeological approaches are discussed that will enable tribes to reclaim archaeologically based ancient histories to aid in community empowerment and cultural retention. These discussions will culminate in an introduction to the Navajo Nation case study and the resulting research.

In relation to Indigenous archaeology, I firmly believe that the field of archaeology needs to focus on (re)creating archaeological methodologies and paradigms that incorporate Indigenous knowledge systems of resource management and of "the ancient past." I want to stress that this research is not an attempt to create a new archaeology *per se* but is an attempt to synthesize two very different types of investigations of the past, which will enable Indigenous groups to reclaim their archaeologically appropriated histories. From a Native perspective, archaeology is viewed as a disruption

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<sup>20</sup> 'Indigenous archaeologists' as used here refers to researchers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, that have undertaken archaeological research with, by, and for Indigenous communities.

<sup>21</sup> Much of the early literature regarding Indigenous or Native Americans and archaeology were personal testimonies recounting the decision to enter archaeology, see for instance Kurt E. Dongoske, Mark S. Aldenderfer, Karen Doehner 2000 book entitled *Working Together: Native Americans and archaeologists*, which provides great case studies of collaborative archaeological projects.

of natural cycles. Rather than allowing archaeological sites (which are often imbued with power) to disintegrate into the natural environment, archaeological methods interrupt the cycle, therefore interrupting the esoteric processes (whether it is a ceremony, prayer, or offering) associated with that particular site. It has been a constant experience throughout work on the Navajo reservation to be told that archaeology is taboo<sup>22</sup>, and that 'we' should "leave the ancestors alone." I feel that these types of attitudes and the labeling of archaeology, in addition to the memories of past archaeological transgressions prevent Native Americans from entering into the archaeological profession and cause a negative association with archaeologists and archaeology in general. Thus, these attitudes prevent productive discussions aimed at integrating and synthesizing two different types of evidence and therefore limiting a holistic perspective of the ancient past.

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<sup>22</sup> See Richard Begay's article "The role of archaeology on Indian lands: the Navajo Nation" in the edited volume *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground* for a particularly poignant description of the need for Navajo perspectives in archaeological research on the Navajo Reservation.

## Chapter 2

### Indigenous Archaeology: An Overview

The field of Indigenous archaeology is in a constant cycle of development. Like other Indigenous concepts or philosophies there are usually four stages and/or directions that nature and thus life precede. In *Dine'* or Navajo thought- we begin in the East at Dawn and early age. This early stage is associated with the development of concentration and the senses and the formation of positive thinking. Next we transition to the South at Mid-day in our adolescence, which is the time we are encouraged to plan, organize, communicate, comprehend, and plant seeds in preparation for the future. In adulthood, we transition to the West at Night, we are reminded of the importance of kinships and social responsibilities. In this analogy, the methods that we hypothesize, observe, test, interpret, and retest in adolescence (the South) are used for the development and benefit of all of our relations- both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. As we enter the North in the Darkest of Night, we enter old age, where we focus on such areas of importance as the natural order, sacred songs, prayers, ceremonies, and protection. At this point, the cycle begins again.

Applying this analogy to the development of Indigenous Archaeology, we have transitioned from the Dawn, when most attention was paid to the most visible issue- the lack of Native/Indigenous archaeologists and perspectives in archaeology. This initial conception of the problem led to greater awareness and discussions about how to reconcile it. Indigenous archaeology is now in the West or the Adolescent stage, wherein archaeologists have had time to understand our place and the implications of being Indigenous within the "academy", and within the larger realm of archaeology, and thus are beginning to understand the need to organize and communicate to create approaches that will help our communities. By spreading this message and our personal narratives as Indigenous archaeologists, we are planting seeds (for the development of our approaches) within the field of archaeology to prepare us for the next stage. This dissertation research is one of those mechanisms that will aid both Indigenous and non-Indigenous archaeologists to proceed into the next phase- adulthood. In adulthood, we begin to see the larger implications of our work and growth as such we will take the time to discuss the next course of action. In Old Age, and to the North, in this analogy, Indigenous archaeological concepts and approaches developed throughout the cycle are seen as critical approaches that cannot be untangled or unwoven from

archaeological processes. These methods and approaches are the lifeblood of the People, they were created by, for, and with Indigenous People.

In the last chapter, an exploration of the Dawn or emergence of an Indigenous archaeologist was described. My experiences as a Navajo, female, and archaeologist when woven together revealed a story similar to other Indigenous scholars and the need for such approaches in archaeology. In this chapter, having moved into the next stage of development- into adolescence- discussions of organizing a new approach to Navajo archaeology and Indigenous archaeology in general will lead to a template for such an approach. It is hoped that this template will enable and empower other groups to reclaim their ancient pasts, and rebuild history in a way that not only relates their stories, but also empowers youth and the community in general.

Generally, males socialized in Anglo American knowledge systems have dominated the construction and distribution of academic knowledge, which has been used to discriminate based on gender, class, and race factors (Bentz 1997, Biolsi 1997, Deloria 1997, Francis 1998, Landsman 1997, Spector 1991, 2000, Whitley 1997). The construction and distribution of such knowledge has created deeply problematic and false representations of different genders, races, and classes within anthropological and archaeological research, and effected the pedagogy of archaeology for many generations of archaeologists. The epistemological implications of the research completed under these types of research paradigms created a niche for Post-Processual approaches in archaeology. These approaches offered different and numerous ways of understanding the past, and, unlike other paradigms<sup>23</sup>, allowed different 'ways' of understanding the past to be evaluated within the frameworks of marginalized peoples (Preucel 1995).

Post-Processual archaeology focuses on "humanistic perspectives attuned to the multiple voices of history" (Hurst Thomas 2007:59) certain characteristics such as concerns with power, meaning, negotiation, texts, deconstruction, structure, ideology, identity, and agency (Hegmon 2003, Hodder 1991) emerged" from post-Processual archaeology. In addition, post-Processual archaeology emerged from the dissatisfaction with the New Archaeology School, e.g. Processualism, especially the positivist paradigm that many Processual archaeologists held so dearly (Preucel 1995).

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<sup>23</sup> See Matthew Johnson's book- *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* (2010) for considerations of these different interpretive and programmatic paradigms for archaeological research.

New epistemological perspectives provided by post-Processual scholars offered innovative ways to investigate the past that allowed marginal groups to participate in the archaeological process. An introduction to Indigenous archaeology through a literary context will reveal the stages that the field has undergone thus far. Although Indigenous concerns with archaeology had been made explicit in the past, especially in the 1970s with protests by American Indian Movement activists to stop excavation of tribal graves, it wasn't until the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 that the idea of Indigenous archaeology was recognized in mainstream academia. Some of the better-known conceptions of Indigenous archaeology come from sources by Watkins (2000), Smith and Wobst (2005), and Atalay (2006); there are also numerous journal articles dedicated to discussing Indigenous archaeological concepts and approaches. The bulk of these resources discuss the lack of Indigenous voices and presence in anthropology and archaeology, and they call for changes in the processes of collaboration, and for the participation of Indigenous communities throughout the entire research process.

Atalay's (2006) conception of Indigenous archaeology concerns creating counter-discourses to Western archaeology that deconstruct and critique existing archaeological practice, utilizing a decolonized archaeological practice for, with, and by Indigenous communities, and investigating and recovering Indigenous experiences, practices and knowledge. One of the key elements of Atalay's conception of Indigenous archaeology is the blending of Indigenous forms of science, history, and heritage management with Western concepts of archaeology to create a de-centered form of archaeological investigation. Indigenous archaeology, according to Atalay, has global applicability in that it can be used to decolonize and democratize knowledge production in archeology and in the social sciences. This is a critically important tenet to remember when working with Indigenous groups and above all other tenets should be used when explaining what exactly we mean when we say "Indigenous archaeology".

According to Smith and Wobst (2005), Indigenous archaeology is overall the empowerment of Indigenous peoples. There are several ways to achieve this empowerment but in the case of archaeology, archaeologists need to include Indigenous voices in publications and conference presentations, they need to develop ethical archaeological practices, make spaces for the active involvement and control over archaeological research and interpretations for and with Indigenous peoples. In their overall conception of what Indigenous archaeology is, they feel that reclaiming

Indigenous pasts for Indigenous peoples and conducting research with and for Indigenous peoples is the most essential aspect.

Watkins (2005) describes Indigenous archaeology as concerning the control and ownership of Indigenous pasts and cultural materials, including the ability of Indigenous people to influence the quality and outcomes of archaeological investigation. In addition, Watkins believes that it is only until Indigenous groups have some control over what resources are protected and how they are protected that Indigenous archaeology can flourish. An important component of Watkins' conception of Indigenous archaeology that is unique is his call for education, not just of Indigenous peoples in archaeology, but also of non-Indigenous researchers, in cultural sensitivity and issues important to Indigenous peoples.

Therefore, Indigenous archaeology is understood to be archaeology "by, with and for Indigenous people" (Atalay 2006; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Smith and Wobst 2005; Watkins 2005). As a 'child' of Post-Processual approaches to archaeology, Indigenous archaeology provides a framework from which different ways of understanding the past are evaluated within Indigenous or Native frameworks, thus providing innovative and inclusive approaches to understanding and interpreting the past. The advent of the field of Indigenous archaeology has allowed archaeologists, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, to suggest that past western archaeological practice has perpetuated the denigration of cultural knowledge and the appropriation of tribal histories<sup>24</sup> (Bentz 1997; Ferguson et al. 2000; King 1997; Mathis and Weik 2005; McGuire 1997; Silliman 2008; Spector 2000; Trigger 1980, Welch 2000; Whiteley 1997; Wobst 2005; Zimmerman 1997). Many Native and Non-Native scholars have discussed the negative implications of definitions and histories created by Anglo Americans for Native American cultural resources and sites, which effect the integrity and historicity of a site, area, or landscape (Beck et al 2005; Begay 1997; Bruchac 2005, Echo-Hawk 2000a; Ferguson 2000; Harris 2005; Million 2005; Shull 2001; Tsosie 1997; Watkins 2005; Welch 2000; White Deer 1997; Wobst 2005).

A large component of Indigenous archaeology is the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge in the archaeological interpretation of the past, as such many archaeologists have attempted to incorporate Indigenous knowledge into archaeological or Western knowledge and feel that the field of archaeology and CRM will benefit from the integration of Indigenous perspectives (Begay 1997; Bruchac 2005; Cohen and Swidler 2000;

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<sup>24</sup> For an examination of this issue on an international level, please see Hemming and Trevorrow 2005; Beck et al 2005; May et al 2005;



Dongoske and Anyon 1997; Downer 2000; Ferguson 2000; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Killion 2008; Lippert 2008a and b, ; Loring 2008; May et al 2005; Million 2005; Nicholas 2005; Spector 2000; Stapp and Burney 2002; Stapp and Longenecker 2005; Welch 2000; Welch, Mahaney, and Riley 2000). The very act of Indigenous groups becoming active participants in archaeology is an act of reclaiming the past, and is a way for tribes to become involved in processes from which they were previously excluded; to voice their opinions, and to ensure their culture is incorporated into the management of cultural resources (Beck et al 2005; Begay 1997; Harris 2005; Killion 2008; Knecht 2000; Loring 2008; Martin 1997; Nicholas 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005; Stapp and Longenecker 2005).

To better understand the practices of Indigenous archaeology, I employ three approaches that underlie and crosscut various schools of post-Processualism as identified by Preucel (1995). As outlined below, the Hermeneutic, Critical, and Analytical approaches are helpful in understanding the impacts of Indigenous archaeology.

1) Hermeneutic approaches to Indigenous archaeology focus on the actor's point of view, in this case, the view from Indigenous communities, rather than the "God's eye" view taken by the western archaeological community. Deloria (1992) summarizes this position when he states that Native Americans have been the 'specimen' of scientific study for many years and are now demanding to become people and not specimens<sup>25</sup>. This type of archaeology has served to displace Native Americans and other Indigenous groups from history and places them in fictional and ahistorical limbo. The oral traditions/ histories of Native Americans are often displaced by American archaeological interpretations, are relegated to the status of fanciful myths, and are conveniently pushed aside in favor of 'real' or written histories.

Hermeneutic approaches to Indigenous archaeology are important because they allow for the use of oral traditions in archaeological interpretations, which can enhance archaeological interpretations and present an emic perspective that is rarely seen in archaeology. The larger field of archaeology is greatly influenced and structured by Anglo American culture and traditions, which has left Indigenous perspectives of the past forgotten and ignored. To date, there are few ways in which archaeology can

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<sup>25</sup> See also the discussion by David Hurst Thomas (2007) regarding Native Americans as "specimens" in *Opening Archaeology: Repatriation's Impact on Contemporary Research & Practice*.

be made accessible to Indigenous peoples, and so there are no processes that make archaeology intelligible to Indigenous peoples.

The construction of history and identities of marginal groups by western archaeologists has effectively undermined the self-determination and rights of Native Americans and serves to disintegrate Indigenous cultures and histories (Bentz 1997; Biolsi 1997; Deloria 1997; Hemming and Trevorrow 2005; King 1997; McGuire 1997; Silliman 2008; Spector 1991, 2000; Thomas 2000; Welch 2000; Whitley 1997; Zimmerman 1997). In many cases, the production of western archaeological knowledge of Native American cultures, practices, and pasts essentialize and reinforces negative stereotypes and disenfranchises Native Americans from antiquity (Biolsi 1997; Bray 2007; Deloria 1997; Echo-Hawk 2000a; Echo-Hawk 2000b; Loring 2008; King 1997; Whiteley 1997; Zimmerman 1997, 2007). On an international scale, constructions of Indigenous cultures, practices, and pasts by the dominant culture have created a discord between the dominant culture and Indigenous groups. Scholars of these diverse Indigenous cultures and areas are now reinvestigating the past and attempting to recreate the past in a more inclusive manner and have also elicited Indigenous participation in these processes (Beck et al 2005; Echo-Hawk 2000a; El-haj 2002; Ferguson et al. 2000; Francis 1998; Million, 2005; Verdesio 2001; Welch 2000).

2) Critical approaches within Indigenous archaeology attempt to create a dialogue between western archaeologists and Indigenous groups that may lead to challenging existing power relations and how they affect current archaeological practice. Ferguson, Watkins, and Pullar (1997) take a critical approach when they claim that both western archaeologists and Indigenous peoples must examine existing archaeological thought if there is to be a complete understanding of the archaeological past. They discuss the implications of the existing power structure in American archaeology that forces Indigenous archaeologists to choose between archaeological theory and methods and tribal traditions and histories, by enforcing a scientific colonialist agenda<sup>26</sup>.

Critical Indigenous archaeology approaches allow for dialogues concerning the disproportionate power structures in archaeology and utilize archaeology as relevant and beneficial to Indigenous communities. Hodder (1991) emphasizes this fact and states that if archaeology is to evolve, archaeologists need to come out of the ivory tower of academia and join real

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<sup>26</sup> As defined by Larry Zimmerman (2007:91) in his chapter entitled *Multivocality, Descendant Communities, and Some Epistemological Shifts Forced by Repatriation*.

people and communities. The production of archaeological knowledge therefore is a tantamount issue in critical approaches, wherein archaeologists believe that the “application of agreed-upon methods, models, and categories will lead to a common understanding of a unitary past” (Bray 2007:80), which often times leads to the displacement of Native American discourses. The realization that western productions of archaeological knowledge are localized like Native American and Indigenous knowledge creates space for an Indigenous presence in archaeology that may create a common ground between archaeologists and Indigenous communities.

Large proportions of the sources discuss and analyze the history between Native Americans and archaeologists, and the results on current research and attitudes. In the United States, the relationship between archaeologists and Native peoples has been historically weak and marred by misunderstandings, conflicts, and disrespect (Deloria 1995, Downer 1997, McGuire 1992, Trigger 1980, Watkins 2005, Zimmerman 1997). The history of this rocky relationship has been well documented in numerous articles, books, and exposés<sup>27</sup>. Until recently, much research and scholarship regarding archaeology on Native American lands was based on this relationship and the effects upon collaborative archaeological research. Unfortunately, there were few examples of successful archaeological research endeavors and recommendations for creating and maintaining healthy relationships with Native American communities.

Although these early resources focused on describing the situation rather than the solution, they provided archaeologists and other researchers with the proverbial “looking glass” from which they were given the opportunity to evaluate their behavior and attitude towards collaborating with Native Americans. This has proven to be a useful technique, as the

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<sup>27</sup> See for instance Robert Bieder (1986), Alice Kehoe (1998), Randall McGuire (1997), David Hurst Thomas (2000), Bruce Trigger (1980), and Nina Swidler et al 1997 book entitled *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*, which provides excellent insights into this relationship from the field level. Other recent works include the book by John Stephen, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, and Thomas John Ferguson entitled *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities*, which provides readers with case studies of collaborative projects and provides advice for those engaging descendant communities in their research. T.J. Ferguson provides an overview of this relationship and provides recommendations for collaboration with Native Americans in his 1996 article Native Americans and the Practice of Archaeology. Also, see Bruce Triggers 1989 book entitled *A History of Archaeological Thought*, which provides readers with an overview of archaeological theory and the relationship with Native Americans; and his 1980 article Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian, which is an explanation of the relationship between Native Americans and archaeologists.

number of collaborative, community based, and Indigenous archaeological projects have increased tremendously, as can be identified in the number of articles, books, and conference sessions that are now dedicated to this topic<sup>28</sup>. Several books and edited volumes have described the processes these collaborative projects have undertaken, several of which will be used to create a Navajo based archaeology.

Consequently, the historical roots of this relationship have created negative views about archaeology in the minds of Native peoples, and caused many tribes and tribal communities to view archaeology and the use of archaeological methods with suspicion<sup>29</sup>. Such great anthropologists and archaeologists as Franz Boas, Frank Hamilton Cushing, J. Walter Fewkes, and Alfred Kroeber are viewed as the fathers of American anthropology and are revered as great scholars; however, the acts they committed against the communities they were studying have left deep scars in the minds of Native and Indigenous communities, as stories and memories of these acts are discussed and remembered. More recently, the battle over the Ancient One (Kennewick Man) has prompted a polarization of archaeologists and Native American communities that has negatively affected consultation efforts with tribes<sup>30</sup>.

The acts and research of the forefathers of American Archaeology have created a situation wherein marginal groups in America, namely Native Americans, have been regarded as a 'prime' specimen of archaeological investigation. This trend accelerated the acceptance of generations of archaeologists to "cling to antiquated notions of objectivity, the search for the truth, and the neutrality of scientific practice" (Bray 2007:81). In many instances, research conducted on or regarding Indigenous groups has stemmed from racist evolutionary assumptions about Indigenous peoples<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> See for instance the 2008 book by Stephen Silliman- "Collaborating at the Trowel's Edge", which provides excellent firsthand accounts of collaborative archaeological projects; also see the book by John Stephen, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, and Thomas John Ferguson entitled *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities*, which also provides accounts of collaborative projects and tips for engaging in such projects.

<sup>29</sup> See Joe Watkins article, "Through Wary Eyes," which provides an excellent example of tribal and Indigenous views on the archaeological process. See also Dorothy Lippert's (2008a) article "*The Rise of Indigenous Archaeology: How Repatriation Has Transformed Archaeological Ethics and Practice.*"

<sup>30</sup> See the edited volume by Heather Burke, Claire Smith, Dorothy Lippert, Joe Watkins, and Larry Zimmerman entitled *Kennewick Man: Perspectives on the Ancient One*, which provides an in-depth look at the sequence of events and the aftermath of the Court decisions.

<sup>31</sup> For example, the craniology research of Samuel Morton in *Crania Americana* (1839), wherein Morton measures the crania of "races" throughout North and South America and

For instance, the Mound Builder debate essentially denied that Native Americans were the creators of the mounds; rather, it was believed that a civilized white race built the mounds before the arrival of Native Americans, which were later overtaken by local Native American populations (Echo-Hawk and Zimmerman 2006; McGuire 1997). Denying Indigenous antiquity in the US or North America has been a historical trend in archaeological interpretations and has effectively denied the antiquity of several groups, including the Navajo.

The myth of the Aztecs in the Southwest is an additional example of the denial of Indigenous pasts based on social evolutionary interpretations that claimed that it was the Aztecs, and not the Pueblo groups (or even Navajo clans) who created the impressive ancient structures throughout the Southwest (McGuire 1997). In turn, the conclusions drawn from this type of research has served as justification for the racist treatment of tribal groups by dominant groups, including scholars and scientists. Nevertheless, I feel that it is a revised practice of archaeology that integrates tribal/ Indigenous conceptions of the past, rather than a complete rejection of archaeology that may assist in reversing some of the racist stereotypes that were a product of earlier biased archaeological investigations and subsequent interpretations. As such, these approaches will allow Indigenous communities to re-define and re-establish their histories and the boundaries and practices of their own cultures, and to have a stake in the reconstruction of their ancient pasts.

Within archaeology, the consequences of racist archaeological practice are particularly evident in the lack of representation of marginal groups in research and in interpretations of the past. This kind of cultural hegemony has pervaded the study of Native Americans and Indigenous peoples throughout the world since the inception of the field of anthropology. Indigenous archaeological approaches recognize the damaging effects of this type of racist research to mainstream America, and simultaneously allows Native Americans, Indigenous groups, and descendant communities to demand cooperation and participation in archaeological research, which also benefits archaeological interpretations (Aldenderfer 2000; Bentz 1997; Deloria 1997; Ferguson 2000; Ferguson et al 2000; Harris 2005; Kluth 2000; Knecht 2000; Million 2005; McGuire 1997; Nicholas 2000; Smith and Wobst 2005; Stapp and Longenecker 2005; Welch 2000; Zimmerman 1997). For example, many archaeologists and scholars who work with tribal

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comes to conclusions regarding racial traits and intelligence, with Native Americans being placed at the bottom of the social evolutionary scale. It is well documented that Morton obtained Native American crania by acts of grave-robbing both ancient and recent Native American graves during the "Indian Wars."

and federal entities have claimed that the conflicts and misunderstandings that have dictated the relationship between archaeologists and Indigenous groups are the result of improper consultation and no collaboration (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006; Downer 1997; Ferguson 2000; Goldstein and Kintigh 2000; Klesert and Powell 2000; Kluth 2000; Matero 2000; Miri 2001; Nicholas 2000; Nichols 2000; Salazar et al 2000; Shull 2001; Spector 2000; Stapp 2000; Stapp and Burney 2002; Swidler et al. 2000; Welch 2000).

3) An analytic approach to Indigenous archaeology acknowledges the fact that western archaeology creates the objects that it studies and creates hierarchies that determines what is appropriate to study, interpret, and who can speak; it also determines what is seen as rational, irrational, proper and improper (Olsen 1991; Spector 2000). In addition, Schmidt and Patterson (1996) indicate that the resulting concepts and ideas prevalent in western archaeology are not subject to a full examination that may reveal underlying ethnocentric assumptions and the implications of maintaining assumptions that reproduce existing dominant power structures. These unexamined and unstated assumptions allow western conceptions of Indigenous peoples to be perpetuated and, as a result, those who try to challenge western histories are suppressed. This type of inference by western archaeologists places Native Americans and other Indigenous groups in an inferior position; wherein they cannot create their own histories as they are not the "expert" (Ferguson et al. 2000, Olsen 1991).

Analytic approaches acknowledge that Western archaeological practice has dictated the creation of the boundaries and practices of Indigenous cultures. However, in recent years, especially in the U.S., tribal groups have worked to recreate their own cultures and identities with the help of archaeologists that have considered the past and present situation of a group to create a more holistic and inclusive picture of the past (Echo-Hawk 2000a; Ferguson 2000; Ferguson et al. 1997; Ferguson et al. 2000; Killion 2008; Kluth 2000; Knecht 2000; Nicholas 2000; Spector 2000; Wilkie 2001). Using analytic approaches in archaeological interpretations will give Indigenous groups the footing to challenge the power of academic institutions and place themselves in positions of power that will at least recognize Indigenous perspectives of the past.

Ignoring the construction of Native American identity is detrimental to archaeological inquiries and interpretations. However, when tribes are allowed to re-examine Anglo American interpretations of the archaeological record, features of a unique tribal identity can emerge, one not dictated by western scholars. Additionally, a reconfigured archaeological practice will

allow for the interpretation of artifacts and sites by descendant communities who are familiar with the space and traditions of their ancestors, rather than by outsiders who are oblivious to such inside understanding. Many tribes have utilized this practice, such as the Navajo, Hopi, White Mountain Apache tribes and the Confederated tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, to name just a few, and have found that it has increased the participation of the community in archaeology and has given tribes a voice in archaeological interpretation (Ferguson et al. 2000; Swidler and Cohen 2000; Stapp and Burney 2002; Welch 2000). By following the lead of some of these archaeologists, hermeneutic archaeology can be a way for marginal groups to rewrite their history, and to recreate the boundaries of their culture.

Interpretations of Indigenous archaeological sites by western archaeologists describe Indigenous peoples as not capable of creating their own histories or as 'squatters', which essentially allows archaeologists and anthropologists to deny Native/Indigenous primacy to North America (Bieder 1990; Deloria 1995; May et al 2005; McGuire 1997; Patterson 1995; Trigger 1980). The representation of Native Americans in the archaeological record and in mainstream society has created a discord between tribes and archaeologists, which eventually influenced the larger dominant society, wherein negative stereotypes are perpetuated consciously and unconsciously. Such continually propagated interpretations have had negative impacts on Indigenous communities and cognition. Many Native and/or Indigenous communities rely on the use of such historical records as testimonies and storytelling as a means of regeneration and recuperation from past transgressions. Through the use of such techniques, Indigenous and Applied archaeological methods have the potential to allow tribes, but in the case- the Navajo Nation- to reclaim their ancient histories.

The widespread and accepted use of the loaded term "Indigenous" is of great concern and needs discussion. There is a broad range of negative and positive implications for using the term "Indigenous", some of which are discussed below. Although many Indigenous groups would agree that it is excellent that "Indigenous archaeologies" exist, most would caution scholars against creating universal truths for all Indigenous groups, which is what Indigenous archaeology is supposed to be correcting. Nevertheless, the socio-political situations that surround many Indigenous groups worldwide create similar issues and concerns that were previously discussed within archaeology. Understanding both the positive and negative implications of using the term "Indigenous" is necessary and should be openly discussed by all involved in these kinds of archaeological investigations.

One of the main negative implications of using the term Indigenous is the idea that a "pan" culture exists for all Indigenous groups. This idea undermines the diversity of groups and communities that comprise Indigenous identities, which reinforces the idea that one imposed history is sufficient for all the diverse groups that are considered "Indigenous". When archaeologists subscribe to the idea of a pan-Indigenous culture, they are able to exclude Indigenous groups from the archaeological process and then determine the legitimacy of Indigenous claims to cultural resources. Such an example is the use of "culture area" names to denote occupation of areas by ancient populations, such as the term "Anasazi" in the Southwest. The consequences of the representation of Indigenous groups by Western academic culture has resulted in the exclusion of Indigenous groups within the archaeological record and gives western archaeologists the ability to construct biased interpretations of Indigenous cultures and histories.

The very use of the term "Indigenous" in archaeology reflects the colonial agenda that was the foundation of archaeological theory. Archaeologists have traditionally focused their research on Indigenous groups throughout the world, this "gaze" towards the "Other" was a method used to understand one's own culture and self. This history created a socio-political milieu that has come back to the field in the form of different 'ethnic' archaeologies such as Indigenous and African archaeologies. The very existence of separate 'ethnic' archaeologies like these reveals the colonial underpinnings of archaeology. Studying the exotic "Other" has enticed many archaeologists' interests and was the basis for much of the funding for archaeological investigations. In my own research, I use the term "Indigenous" with a capital 'I' to denote the special political status that surrounds those groups that are considered Indigenous by colonial governments, such as Maoris of New Zealand, Aboriginal groups of Australia, First Nations' from Canada, Native Americans of the United States, and numerous groups in South America.

However, there are also positive implications for using the term "Indigenous". For instance, the recognition that Indigenous groups are demanding to be active participants in the archaeological process, and not just "collaborative voices" or "specimen". Subsequent Indigenous archaeological research has assisted tribes in rejuvenating tribal traditions and practices and has been used in reclaiming aboriginal homelands, waterways, and artifacts. Indigenous people around the world have recognized the benefits of Indigenous archaeologies and have enlisted archaeologists to assist them, particularly in advocacy roles, whether in an archaeological capacity or in other areas such as healthcare or economic



development<sup>32</sup>. It is through these positive implications that Indigenous archaeology will continue to be used in Indigenous communities and will provide archaeologists with challenging and diverse research opportunities.

The conception of Indigenous archaeology utilized for this research is critically evaluating the inherent power structure of archaeological practice and the resulting absence of Indigenous peoples so that it includes an Indigenous point of view, participation of Indigenous peoples in archaeology, and the creation and management of archaeological investigations by Indigenous peoples. However, I feel that the breadth of Indigenous peoples around the globe restricts me from creating a solid definition of what Indigenous archaeology is or has to be so that in my own work in the United States, I have found it useful to call my work tribal archaeology. I am sure that many other Indigenous peoples and archaeologists may feel the same way and describe their work based on the specific group(s) they are working with.

The described field of Indigenous archaeology thus far can provide a platform for discussing the creation of an innovative approach to archaeology that utilizes traditional archaeological theory and methods and Indigenous knowledge systems, culture, language and traditions. This approach will provide opportunities for Indigenous peoples to conceptualize and create programs that will give them the ability to interpret archaeological materials and create and record their history. By teasing out such nuances of archaeological research, it is hoped that the larger field of archaeology will take heed and begin to incorporate such approaches into methods and theory, therefore lessening the need for a separate "Indigenous Archaeology"<sup>33</sup>. Finally, when the successful utilization of Indigenous archaeological approaches has been integrated into the larger field, archaeology will be faced with a "paradigmatic shift" (Kuhn 1962),

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<sup>32</sup> See for example Beck et al (2005) in *Indigenous Archaeologies*, wherein the reconstruction of the archaeological past has created opportunities to create a Cultural Center from which the tribe receives revenues, but who are also able to actively research and reconfirm their relationship to their aboriginal lands. See also Hemming and Trevorrow (2005) for an example of ways archaeology can be used to support Indigenous rights and interests to their lands. See Silliman (2008) as he refers to collaborative indigenous archaeology as a means to transform archaeological practice into a cultural practice that gives back to communities in responsible and needed ways. See Stapp (2007) for a personal account of his personal and professional transformation from a "New" archaeologist to an activist. See Zimmerman (2007) for a discussion regarding the use of archaeology by descendant communities to build communities.

<sup>33</sup> See Larry Zimmerman (2007) and George Nicholas (2006) articles for the incorporation of Indigenous archaeological methods into mainstream archaeology.

wherein such approaches will be common practice in interpretations and in creating a holistic archaeological record.

### ***Federally Mandated Inclusion of Native Americans in the Archaeological Process***

On all federally recognized tribal reservations- or those lands held in federal trust- federal law dictates consultation with the affected tribe (or Interested Party) to mitigate the effects of the federal undertaking ground disturbing activities on tribal cultural or historical properties, including archaeological sites. It was not until 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 Section 101 that tribes were allowed to make decisions regarding cultural and historic properties on their lands. Since that time, there are one hundred and thirty six federally recognized tribes have taken over the responsibility of managing and protecting cultural or historical properties (i.e. archaeological sites) on their own lands as Tribal Historic Preservation Officers<sup>34</sup>. This has been an excellent approach to reclaiming tribal histories and investigating research domains deemed important by tribes. Unfortunately, there are few Native Americans who have the educational background and formal training in archaeology and historic preservation to manage such tribal programs and/or departments.

Furthermore, it is those upper management positions that are the gatekeepers for research on tribal lands, in addition to being responsible for creating historic preservation management plans and research designs that guide all archaeological research on tribal lands. Although tribes are taking over the management of tribal resources/properties, tribal values and beliefs are not effectively incorporated into archaeological research, and in the case of the Navajo Nation, archaeological research undertaken by the tribe has further displaced traditional forms of Navajo histories. An unfortunate effect of this type of normative research has been the labeling of all archaeology or anything related to archaeology as a taboo endeavor by Navajo communities. Nevertheless, there are certain aspects of the archaeological process that are deemed 'taboo', mostly because the action behind the archaeology disrupts the natural decomposition cycle that sites or human remains undergo, therefore disrupting prayers or ceremonies performed to complete a specific cycle, thus disrupting balance and harmony which has negative effects upon the lives of Navajos and the larger global public.

To date, there are few ways in which the archaeological process is made accessible or intelligible to Indigenous peoples in a convenient and

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<sup>34</sup> As of January 10, 2013, this number was taken from the National Association for Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (NATHPO) website at: <http://www.nathpo.org/map.html>.

culturally appropriate manner, and so there is no real process that makes archaeology functional to Indigenous communities. The research of this dissertation will explore and create spaces to “Indigenize” the archaeological process on tribal lands and allow for spaces where Indigenous peoples can themselves identify and implement an archaeological process that is both accessible and relevant to their culture, worldview, and everyday needs. In an applied context, the research sought to establish a timelier archaeological process for tribal communities, as all “ground disturbing activities”<sup>35</sup> on tribal lands e.g. lands held in trust by the Federal government, must undergo “archaeological clearance”,<sup>36</sup> a process that often spans up to five years on many reservations.

Unfortunately for many tribal communities, critical infrastructural services can be delayed for up to 10 years, especially the construction of roads, due to the lag time associated with completing current archaeological processes on tribal lands. It is hypothesized that this situation is produced by the continuous implementation of normative archaeological theory and methods on tribal lands that further create the need for the same archeological investigation of the site. These sites are then interpreted without consideration or integration of tribal histories and worldviews, therefore creating histories that have no significance or meaning to tribal communities.

Additionally, this situation is compounded by the generational regurgitation of normative theory and methods, the results of which further displace Indigenous peoples- such as the Navajo. This in turn contributes to the creation of a stagnant research environment and the eventual complacency by tribal archaeologists to not participate or contribute to the archaeological research community. Archaeological theory and method have historically been created, modified by, and consumed by non-Native audiences, whereby the resulting interpretations have little importance to tribal communities<sup>37</sup>. Therefore, by creating recommendations, and providing a case study of a uniquely tribal archaeological process, tribes will have the opportunity to “Indigenize” the current archaeological process on

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<sup>35</sup> These include any activities that disturb the ground, such as road construction and maintenance, installation of water, sewer, and power lines, and leases for home sites and business sites.

<sup>36</sup> “Archaeological clearance” refers to compliance with federal and tribal historic preservation and archaeological regulations as a means to identify and mitigate effects upon historic and cultural resources on tribal lands.

<sup>37</sup> See Joe Watkins article, “Through Wary Eyes,” which provides an excellent example of tribal and Indigenous views on the archaeological process. Also, see Chapter 4 for analysis of personal interviews.

their lands and it is hoped to reclaim tribal histories and to become active participants in the archaeological research community.

In the case of the Navajo Nation, the established anthropological and archaeological processes contributed to the displacement of the Navajo in mainstream Southwestern archaeological theory<sup>38</sup>. The continued use of Processually based theory and methods for investigating archaeological sites on Navajo lands resulted in the widespread denial of Navajo antiquity in the Southwest and consequently the portrayal of Navajos as squatters within their own homelands<sup>39</sup>. At the time the research was conducted, beginning in 2008- almost all archaeological research on Navajo lands was Processually based and ignored Navajo histories, except as the results of "ethnographic interviews" with community members. Several meetings, local newspaper articles, and public outcry identified the Navajo Nation's established archaeological process as being the hindrance to prompt services for critical infrastructure services on the Navajo Nation<sup>40</sup>. In addition, Joe Watkins summarizes part of the Navajo issue in his discussion of the utility of taxonomic systems to the tribes such as the Navajo when he asks "How would a Navajo structure the chronology of the past to make it worthwhile? And, above all does archaeology even have relevance to Navajo outside of a strictly compliance-oriented process required by an outside government?" (2007:171).

The current paradigm the Navajo Nation is working under is antiquated and is based on a hierarchical and paternalistic gatekeeping system that

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<sup>38</sup> The reliance on linguistic research on glottal chronology of Athapaskan language undertaken by Sapir (1936) suggested that Navajo and Apache peoples were migrants from the Northern Athapaskan language family from Canada, thus not aboriginal to the Southwest. A majority of archaeological and anthropological research thus rely on this research and support a late entrance date into the Southwest by the Navajo, see for instance David Brugge (1983), Linda Cordell (1984), (1997), Dolores A. Gunnerson (1956), James Gunnerson (1979), John P Harrington (1940), James Hester (1962), James Hester and Joel Shiner (1963), Frederick W. Hodge (1895), Ales Hrdlicka (1900), Betty and Harold Huscher (1942), (1943), Dorothy Keur (1944), Alfred Kidder (1920), Harry Mera (1938), Roy Malcolm (1939), Cosmos Mindeleff (1898), Curtis Schaafsma (2002), Ronald Towner (1996), David R. Wilcox (1981), and David Worcester (1951). See also, Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton (1962) for an acknowledgement of recent Navajo antiquity due to sparse archaeological evidence confirming such hypotheses of the Navajo origin.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter 3 for an in-depth examination of this issue.

<sup>40</sup> See Cindy Yurth's articles entitled "Where's the Tar?" in the Navajo Times, 11 February 2010; and "Archaeologist: Departmental Infighting hinders paving" in the Navajo Times 26 February 2010. See Jenny Kane's article entitled "Navajo Nation roads hamper travel in winter weather" in the Farmington Daily Times 21 December 2012.

often does not consult with or incorporate the views of the general Navajo public<sup>41</sup>. Projects under the administration of other tribal departments, such as the Archaeology Department and Capital Improvement, have conditions established where the local community must be notified of the undertaking at a local Chapter meeting, and the names of knowledgeable individuals are requested for ethnographic work. However, this is usually the extent of the public involvement. There are currently no tribal policies mandating the solicitation of community participation or input in the development of the research investigation proposal, which creates a top heavy, hierarchical process.

However, in order for archaeological or CRM research to proceed on Navajo lands, either the THPO or the Compliance Officer (both of whom are currently and have always been non-Navajo), must approve the proposal. An IRB was created within Navajo Nation, however their concerns are focused on medical research; any proposals relating to archaeology are given to the Compliance Officer for approval. There is often a disconnect between what Historic Preservation Department deems appropriate for research and what the community believes is appropriate, wherein HPD's notions are held as the standard and the community's notions are dismissed, therefore creating a paternalistic approach to research on Navajo lands. Nevertheless, the THPO has successfully protected and collaborated to repatriate invaluable items of cultural patrimony to the Navajo Nation, a feat in itself with limited funding. As such, the THPO has limited academic and professional research on Navajo Nation lands at the detriment of furthering research about Navajo antiquity. There are simply not enough qualified employees to evaluate and inspect research throughout the entire Navajo Nation<sup>42</sup>.

Nevertheless, there are several historical and current anthropological texts that have recorded Navajo oral histories throughout time and that refer to certain Navajo clans originating from archaeological sites throughout the Southwest, thus giving some antiquity to Navajos<sup>43</sup>. Although additional

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<sup>41</sup> In 1989, the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (hereafter HPD) undertook a pilot project that aimed to establish a management plan for the newly created HPD and sought to record and collect Navajo communities' TCPs, archaeological sites, and sacred sites. However, only 6 Chapters of 110 Chapters were contacted, since this project, Navajo Chapters (i.e. communities) are consulted mainly during infrastructural or federally funded projects within their boundaries.

<sup>42</sup> The Navajo Nation encompasses nearly 27,000 square miles spanning three states- Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah- all with different archaeological and historic preservation laws and regulations.

<sup>43</sup> Early anthropological research conducted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century revealed the multiple histories of the Navajo "tribe" as they were labeled in that time, including recording

positive archaeological evidence supporting such hypotheses has yet to be found beyond the 1000 A.D. date, the potential exists, thus reinforcing the need for archaeological research conducted in the Navajo way- from a Navajo perspective and synthesized with Navajo language and culture. The

With this knowledge and understanding of the historical archaeological processes on the Navajo Nation, the research attempted to, on an applied level and with, by and for the Navajo people, achieve an expedited process for completing the archaeological process that integrates Navajo worldviews of the past and promotes the inclusion of Navajo community participation and stewardship over resources within local communities. This was partially completed as an organizational project while working for the HPD and the Navajo Nation Division of Transportation. The aim was to create an expedited process that the Navajo Nation could implement Nationwide to complete archaeological projects in a timely and culturally relevant manner. A large part of this project was an examination of existing programs that provide archaeological "clearance" services for various Sponsors (e.g. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Health Service, and Navajo Electric and Utility Company) that provide a range of infrastructure services to Navajo communities in an expedited manner. From discussions and other interactions and news from the Navajo Public, it was learned that the People wanted to revise the process in order to expedite the process and to create ways to integrate local communities in the overall archaeological process. This notion of helping people on tribal lands to develop and build capacity and infrastructure, is what I would describe this as tribal archaeology.

The second part of the dissertation project involved creating a Navajo research design informed and shaped by Applied and Indigenous archaeological approaches to guide anthropological and archaeological research on the Navajo Nation. Discussions with knowledgeable people, tribal archaeologists, and archaeologists of Navajo descent assisted in forming research domains and understanding the larger implications of archaeological and anthropological research on the Navajo people. The insights and opinions collected from the research have provided a critical component to the research design. The research design explores relationships with *Anasaazi* and utilizes the timeline for archaeological

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relationships (kinship or biological) to Anasazi see for example David Brugge (1999), Franciscan Fathers (1910), Pliny Earle Goddard (1933), Berard Haile (1938, 1943, 1978, 1981), Klara Kelley and Harris Francis (1998), Hosteen Klah (1942), Clyde Kluckhohn (1967), Laurance Linford (2000), Washington Matthews (1897, 1902), Aileen O'Bryan (1956), Mary C. Wheelwright (1946, 1956, 1958), and Richard Van Valkenburgh (1941, 1974).

research created under the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department for the Navajo Cultural Affiliation Statement. The approaches contained in the research design were created using Navajo philosophies and language that integrate current archaeological practices and methods.

As a tribal member and archaeologist for the Navajo Nation, I have witnessed the importance of tribal cultural resource programs that foreground the perspectives, methods, and goals of the tribe and that are integral to archaeology programs and tribal activities. The purpose in conducting this research is to create approaches for tribal archaeology programs that can be infused with individual tribal needs, beliefs, and concerns, while also utilizing archaeological theory and protocol. These approaches will enable tribes to create unique programs to manage tribal cultural resources, to initiate contacts and contracts with fellow tribes and other governmental entities, nongovernmental entities, museums, and communities while maintaining the traditions and practices of their culture. The approaches utilized for the Navajo Nation were specifically designed for the Navajo people, however, these approaches should be applicable to a whole range of communities and audiences, hopefully demonstrating to the larger archaeological field that Indigenous archaeologies are not exclusive, rather they are providing insightful and important approaches that provide researchers with an entirely new data set for analysis and further research.

This dissertation project emphasizes that Indigenous archaeological approaches can provide great opportunities for Native Americans to conceptualize and create approaches that will give them the ability to interpret archaeological materials within tribal worldviews and in reclaiming and recording their history, a tribal archaeology. My goal in writing this dissertation is to create an avenue for the discussion of archaeological theory and practice among tribes, which is needed to ensure that traditional archaeological theory and methods are understood and utilized by tribes. I will develop an Indigenous archaeology program for the Navajo Nation that will serve as a case study for these broader discussions. This type of project has not been attempted or completed in the Indigenous community, although there is sufficient need for this type of research. It should be stressed that this project is not an attempt to create a new archaeology *per se* but is an attempt to synthesize two very different types of investigation of the past, which can enable tribes to reshape their history.

Looking again to the example of the Navajo direction of life, or stages of life, Indigenous archaeology is moving towards the south- to the direction of adulthood and the responsibilities inherent in being a fully capable adult. A large part of this recognition and new status is beginning to understand

the need to organize and communicate to create approaches that will help our communities. In adulthood, we begin to see the larger implications of our work and growth as such we will take the time to discuss the next course of action. In Old Age, and to the North, in this analogy, Indigenous archaeological concepts and approaches developed throughout the cycle are seen as critical approaches that cannot be untangled or unwoven from archaeological processes.

These methods and approaches are the lifeblood of *the People*, they were created by, for, and with Indigenous People. In this chapter, having moved into the next stage of development- into adolescence- discussions of organizing a new approach to Navajo archaeology and Indigenous archaeology in general will lead to ideas and approaches that may hopefully be replicated by other tribal nations or Indigenous communities. It is hoped that these approaches will enable and empower other groups to reclaim their ancient pasts, and rebuild history in a way that not only relates their stories, but also empowers youth and the community in general. In the case of the Navajo Nation, the next step will be to adopt and implement the research design and empower local communities in recording and telling their histories, in ways that are meaningful for their community. The Navajo Nation has been an amalgam of different people/clans<sup>44</sup> that have adopted one another and still rely on reciprocal relationships established through kinship to survive, creating a unique chain of historical events for each clan and even each family. This nuanced version of Navajo history has made it difficult for Western archaeologists and anthropologists to record a universal Navajo *tribal* history. However, through the use of Indigenous archaeology such nuanced histories are documented and explored using a variety of approaches that will enable the community to maintain ownership over their pasts and ensure retention of such histories for the coming generations.

The strength of the Navajo people is their ability to adapt and remain true to their philosophical teachings throughout such changes, by integrating such teachings into archaeological research, the results will be beneficial for the community, the researcher, and to academia. The pedagogy created through the use of Indigenous and Applied archaeological approaches will undoubtedly contribute to the education of future generations of Indigenous peoples and archaeologists. The ability of Indigenous archaeological approaches to provide such support and creativity to integrate and recognize such teachings is its true value to archaeological theory and method.

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<sup>44</sup> See for instance the webpage at: [http://www.lapahie.com/dine\\_clans.cfm](http://www.lapahie.com/dine_clans.cfm), that lists Navajo clans and their relationships, the author also provides some cultural history of clan origins.



In the next chapter, I intend to provide a description of the issues surrounding the displacement of the Navajo from Southwestern prehistory, discussing the real life and epistemological implications of such research and scholarship. A research design that will enable the Navajo tribe and Navajo communities the opportunity to recreate their communal histories and to become active stewards of their collective past, was created utilizing public and community input from Navajo tribal members. An attempt to decolonize current pedagogy about Southwestern prehistory was undertaken during the course of creating the research design, which included creating educational materials for use in Public Outreach and Education with local and Navajo communities and schools.

## Chapter 3

### **NIHOKÁÁ' DINE'É BILA' ASHDLA'II (NAVAJO) ARCHAEOLOGY: The Past, the Present, and the Future**

The previous chapter provided an overview of the emergence and growth of Indigenous archaeology, including discussions regarding the utility and applicability of such concepts. In a Navajo framework, Indigenous archaeology is fully emerged in the adolescent stage, which will be explored throughout this chapter. In Navajo culture, the adolescent stage is associated with the Southern direction and represents the Navajo 'scientific method' or traditional way to approach planning or *Nahata'*. This analogy will be applied to the research conducted for this dissertation, wherein methods, ideas, or adaptations discussed in the previous chapter are hypothesized, observed, tested, interpreted, and retested. In Navajo culture, 'adolescence' is the time for preparation for the future and an attempt is made to ensure that the preparation and analysis conducted in this stage will sustain and support us in our "old age", the stage occupying the North. The research and work discussed in the previous chapters have provided Indigenous archaeology with a foundation from which to grow, it provided an essential forum for Native American and Indigenous communities to archaeologically and anthropologically explore their pasts and cultures on their own terms and in a way that was culturally sensitive and inclusive of their voices. For the first time in decades, anthropology and archaeology surrendered authority to Native Americans and Indigenous peoples to tell *their* histories and pasts. This chapter is an exploration of how Native American and Indigenous philosophies and cultural traditions can empower archaeological research through the application of Indigenous archaeological concepts, with an examination of the efforts of the Navajo Nation.

In the 'youth' of Indigenous archaeology, numerous archaeologists expressed their desire to include Indigenous perspectives in archaeological interpretations, especially with increased awareness of the damage and consequences of archaeological and anthropological research among Native American and Indigenous populations (e.g. Atalay 2006, Bruchac, Hart and Wobst 2010, Dongoske, Aldenderfer and Doehner 2000, Smith and Wobst 2005, Swidler, et al. 1997, Watkins 2000). This awakening, so to speak, of archaeological discourse has led to a space in archaeology for archaeologists to collaborate with and include Indigenous peoples in archaeological practice and in interpreting resulting data, which has led to new and exciting

research<sup>45</sup>. In the adolescence of Indigenous archaeology, archaeologists and Indigenous groups are working together to create a body of theory and methods that future generations can use to further advance and humanize the archaeological process, which can include enacting an *indigenized* approach to hypothesize, observe, test, interpret, and retest ideas. Such seeds of collaborative work will be planted for future generations to use and create beneficial and responsible scholarship and research<sup>46</sup>.

Anthropologists have observed, participated, and left indelible marks on cultures throughout the world, wherein their task has been to analyze cultures to reveal cross cultural comparisons and contrasts between their culture and others to better understand humans and human interaction. A large part of their work was undertaken with the assumption that they were salvaging the last “pure” aspects of cultures and traditions of Indigenous groups, particularly those groups who were subject to colonized nations. In this belief, archaeologists and anthropologists established a hierarchy of “Indian-ness” wherein any tribal members who did not exhibit or follow the traits recorded by anthropologists and archaeologists were not “traditional” Indians. The static nature of this assumption has resulted in the mainstream impression or assumption that archaeology conflicts with Native American and Indigenous cultures, more specifically philosophies, so that the issue becomes polarized between the two sides- science and rationality versus religious superstitions or myths.

Archaeologists must realize that issues such as managing cultural resources, artifact collection, and the practice of unethical research involving tribal lands, resources, or peoples has far-reaching and profound implications on the cultural retention and transmission of Indigenous cultures from one generation to the next. Historically, the relationship between tribal entities, archaeologists, anthropologists, and museum personnel has been one of distrust and misunderstanding. This unfortunate history contributes to strained relations and a hesitancy to work with or

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<sup>45</sup> See for instance the archaeological project undertaken by the Makah tribe and archaeologists with Washington State University at the Ozette archaeological site, which included collaborative work and inclusion of tribal perspectives of the past to create the tribal museum. For further information please see the website at: <http://www.makah.com/ozettesite.html>. Also, see the Society for American Archaeology’s (SAA) book regarding collaborative archaeological research, which describes the projects and perspectives of archaeologists working together with descendant communities (Dongoske, Aldenderfer and Doehner 2000).

<sup>46</sup> The edited book by Stephen W. Silliman entitled “Collaborating at the Trowel’s Edge: Teaching and Learning in Indigenous Archaeology” (2008) is an excellent source for reviewing projects that have incorporated Indigenous archaeological concepts in archaeological research with tribal and/or Indigenous communities.

assist those researchers who are genuinely interested in helping tribal entities with cultural resources management, archaeological investigations, and cultural retention efforts.

For many tribes, this history has manifested itself into a perceived lack of protection for sites and cultural resources significant to Native American tribes by archaeologists and federal agencies both on and off tribal lands. Historic Preservation, archaeological, and related laws and regulations are often seen as dismissive of tribal concerns and traditions, which is usually based on the outcome of 'consultation' with federal agencies and the final action taken to mitigate adverse effects on important sacred places. The discussions at these consultation meetings center on convincing tribes of the merits of the pre-determined decisions of the federal agencies and they usually avoid working with tribes to create alternative strategies that satisfy both parties. These types of approaches stymie the growth of collaborative relationships and further the polarization of beliefs between both parties, thus reinforcing distrust and misunderstandings. Within this approach, cultural resources and sacred areas are destroyed and the integrity of such places is often diminished.

This directly contributes to cultural loss for many generations of Native peoples, since ceremonial sites, sacred sites, and other culturally significant sites are an integral and inseparable part of the entire culture. When the integrity of a site is compromised or destroyed, it hinders the transmission of culture from one generation to the next for Indigenous peoples. I contend that although some of these sites are dated to prehistoric horizons, the ties that some tribal members have with these sites and areas are nevertheless significant and should be acknowledged and recognized by those agencies or entities managing the land holding said resources. Although not *all* members of a particular tribe recognize these sites as significant, there are however, sites that are significant to a select number of tribal members, dependent upon their location, clan, ceremony, or knowledge they are or are learning. I have learned from my research that this is true for the Navajo or Dine' as expressed from my sources.

In this paradigm, there is little room for reconciliation and the *status quo* remains to be the consensus that Native Americans and thus Native American philosophies have no place in scientific investigations, e.g. in archaeological investigations. However, when utilizing a paradigm such as Indigenous archaeology, the poles are removed and replaced by a braid, wherein archaeology is but one strand of a braid that is reinforced by Indigenous/Native American philosophies and cultures, in addition to a number of other strands that create an inclusive and holistic story of "Our

Past". However, in order to achieve such results, archaeologists and Indigenous groups must work with one another in ways that may be uncomfortable and possibly confrontational, but which create benefits for both sides.

This chapter is an exploration of how Native American and Indigenous philosophies and cultural traditions can empower archaeological research through the application of Indigenous archaeological concepts; this is exemplified through the use of research conducted at the Navajo Nation. Although the Navajo Nation has had an archaeology department since 1977, much of the archaeological research conducted on the Navajo Nation has been by non-Navajo archaeologists who ignore Navajo history. The outright displacement of the Navajo people from Southwestern prehistory is seen as an act of transgression against the Navajo people by Western or Anglo archaeologists, as witnessed at several tribal meetings and from Tribal Council delegates. Many Navajo archaeologists, tribal members employed in archaeological positions, and tribal members feel that early archaeologists and anthropologists ignored Navajo laborers and informants who recounted oral histories heard from their ancestors to anthropologists and archaeologists; thereby ignoring Navajo relationships, whether ceremonial or through clan histories with ancient archaeological sites lying within the four sacred mountains<sup>47</sup> considered to be *Dine' Bi'keyah* or Navajo lands.

Despite the Navajo Nation's objections to this history, the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (HPD) and the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department (NNAD) actively conducted research that supported the displacement of Navajos from prehistory<sup>48</sup>. This disconnect between the interests of the central tribal bureaucracy and local communities was reflected in the direction and type of archaeological research conducted, including the absence of Navajo perspectives in research until the 1990s, when "ethnographic or TCP (Tribal Cultural Property) interviews" were initiated on tribal lands. As part of this dissertation research, I investigated this problem while working with the HPD. However, in order to understand this dichotomy, a summarization of the research that created the situation is necessary and follows. This description will provide an overview and begin to

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<sup>47</sup> Mount Blanca to the East, Mount Taylor to the South, San Francisco Peaks to the West, and Mount Hesperus to the North.

<sup>48</sup> Search and review any one of the Navajo Nation Papers in Anthropology or the road construction projects undertaken by the Historic Preservation Department; the research designs and questions all begin with the tacit assumption that Navajo peoples were not in the Southwest until after the 1500s. This basic assumption, in the author's opinion, skews the possible results and outcomes of the archaeological investigations, which forms the basis of the interpretations and resulting prehistory of the Southwest.

lay out some of the framework to create a Navajo approach to archaeology or a tribal archaeology.

The theory of epistemic injustice, as outlined by Miranda Fricker (2007) provides some insights into the denial of an ancient Navajo presence in the Southwest by many archaeologists and anthropologists. The exploration of such core concepts of epistemic injustice as recognition, credibility, authenticity, and oppression provide a framework in which critical and nuanced conversations about Navajos as “credible knowers” of their ancient connections with the lands they identify as *Dine’ Bi’keyah*. The use of these concepts as tools will enable scholars to understand the privileged epistemic space they occupy in relation to ‘recognizing’ and ‘authenticating’ Navajo histories. Conversations that reflect upon the privileged nature of Southwestern archaeological interpretations and the creation of the archaeological record will provide the necessary space to critically analyze the nature and intent of interpretations that do not consider ancient Navajo histories. These conversations may generate research domains that can be investigated collaboratively for, by, and with Navajo communities.

Within Fricker’s discussion of epistemic injustice, she relies on the use of the following concepts: recognition, credibility, authenticity, and five types of oppression to explore and critically analyze the denial of authenticity as a form of domination of a particular group. In applying this framework to the denial of an ancient Navajo presence in the Southwest by mainstream Anglo archaeologists, we begin to see how the five faces of oppression<sup>49</sup> both create and reinforce the marginalization of Navajo ‘knowers’ of the past, and strips them of the ‘authenticity’ of being able to access the often exclusive “rhetorical spaces” of archaeological interpretations and to have their knowledge acknowledged as being credible. The application of Fricker’s analysis to the Navajo case will provide other Indigenous People with a tangible example from an Indigenous perspective and an understanding of the implications of the deeper oppression rooted in archaeological interpretations by the dominant group.

### ***The Past of Navajo Archaeology***

This section will provide an overview of the literature relating to the exclusion of a Navajo presence in the prehistory of the Southwest. This overview will begin with literature that has the earliest descriptions of

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<sup>49</sup> Fricker (2007) describes these as exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence.

Navajo prehistory in the Southwest. The descriptions are utilized to create a timeline for the prehistoric Southwest, which eventually influenced the research and the perspectives of early and modern archaeologists and anthropologists. Much of the resulting data reflects a very curious dichotomy based on the misinterpretation of information collected and the willingness of these early researchers to record and learn from Navajo informants. Other trends learned from the data are the implications of exclusionary research due to differing epistemological frameworks as seen in the creation of research that has allowed archaeologists to continue to ignore Navajo contributions to the narrative of the Southwest.

The Navajo or *Diné* are one of the most, if not the most, anthropologically studied tribes in the United States. The investigation, study, and collection of Navajo information have generated at least 25,000 manuscripts on Navajo life to date. The anthropological literature of Navajo lifeways, especially research documenting ceremonial knowledge and the Navajo archaeological record is abundant. However, there is a mysterious lack of archaeological and anthropological research and scholarship from Navajos or at least from a Navajo perspective<sup>50</sup> available to the public. In terms of archaeological and anthropological research, the Navajo Nation has a strict moratorium on research not approved by the HPD, which has limited the scope of research conducted on Navajo histories. Strict research guidelines are due to pending litigation involving natural resources that the Navajo Nation depends on for the livelihood of the tribe, such as access to and retention of water, mineral, and land rights. Nevertheless, there are very few Navajo archaeologists who are represented in the literature<sup>51</sup>, several of them not publishing until the 1990s to the mid-2000s.

A review of the literature has revealed interesting trends in the collection and interpretation of Navajo knowledge and history. The earliest descriptions of Navajo prehistory result from documentation by early Spanish explorers of the people and environments they were “discovering” in their initial explorations of the Southwest<sup>52</sup>. These expeditions were sent throughout the Northern hinterland to look for gold and other precious metals and gems. However, they encountered numerous Native communities

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<sup>50</sup> Notwithstanding the large amount of “grey literature” that exists for work undertaken by Navajo employees on Navajo lands for the installation and improvement of infrastructure throughout the Navajo Nation, which are only housed at HPD or at the NNAD offices in Window Rock, Arizona.

<sup>51</sup> See for instance the work of Ms. Davina Two Bears (2000, 2003, 2006), Miranda and Richard Begay (2006), and the author (Marek 2000-2003).

<sup>52</sup> See for example the accounts from Benavides, Castaneda, Coronado, and Jaramillo as described by Bancroft (1889).

rather than the precious items they were seeking. Many of the communities that were encountered assisted the expeditions through provisions of food, water, and guides. Similar to other colonial encounters, differences in language and translation sparked conflicts. Although the translations of such documents and testimonies were based on the personal researcher's translation abilities, these texts were often taken at face value. Such translations and the actual content of some of these texts have come under scrutiny as being false or exaggerated, therefore creating doubts about the validity of these early accounts of the Navajo.

The critical historiographical analysis of these texts has revealed the epistemological bias intrinsic to the investigation of Indigenous histories by the dominant group, thus creating both "testimonial injustice" and "hermeneutical injustice" (Fricker 2007) in the narrative of Navajo prehistory. "Testimonial injustice" occurs when speakers of a particular group are not accorded reliability and thus are not known/seen as credible knowers, thereby harming their development and minimizing or dismissing what they have said or reported. Within Southwestern prehistory, Navajos whom hold esoteric knowledge, which is understood to contain information about ancient Navajo prehistory, are not viewed by archaeologists as 'credible knowers' of southwestern prehistory, thereby dismissing Navajo claims of ancient connections with the prehistoric Southwestern landscape. "Hermeneutical injustice" pushes claims made by non-credible knowers into gaps that can be easily overlooked, which then prevents them from interpretation of knowledge and any resulting appeals to add their experiences and knowledge to the body of knowledge. As applied to the Navajo situation, hermeneutical injustice has occurred by the dominant groups refusal to consider Navajo oral histories and ceremonial knowledge of their connections to Southwestern prehistory and pushing this knowledge into 'alternative' histories or into recent history. This analysis has afforded a critical reading of the denial of Navajo presence in Southwestern prehistory that will provide a framework from which collaborative archaeological investigations can begin.

Victorian historians and anthropologists<sup>53</sup> initially used these types of descriptions to justify Navajo 'entrance' dates into the Southwest. However, each of the testimonials resulting from Spanish documentation varied with each translation, as is evident in the recounting of the Spanish "discovery" of

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<sup>53</sup> Many of the earliest archaeological texts referred to Spanish explorations as a means to document and describe Navajo origins, see for instance Hubert Howe Bancroft (1889), Frederick W. Hodge (1895), J. Walter Fewkes (1896), Henry R Schoolcraft (1884),



the Southwest<sup>54</sup>. Additionally, these Victorian historians and anthropologists used the oral traditions of various Navajo clan headmen to calculate Navajo origin dates into the Southwest, which were based on the years of life of one headman. The date they arrived at corresponded with the mid-sixteenth century, as these lifetimes were counted back to a very specific year<sup>55</sup>. While this methodology creates a basis for Navajo entrance into the Southwest, this is one of the few areas that archaeologists relied on Navajo oral traditions to inform their research.

Interestingly enough, although ceremonial knowledge (which is traditionally captured in oral histories of the Navajo people) has been abundantly collected, the use of Navajo oral histories has been ignored in contemporary archaeologists' understanding and thus interpretations of the prehistory of the Southwestern United States. Similar to other colonial encounters, the extraction of information from Navajo communities and informants has been from mostly male, white, middle class anthropologists with the assistance of male Navajo interpreters. Additionally, the arena of female knowledge and dominion has been vastly ignored, which has given anthropologists only one half of the complementary whole that is Navajo culture and philosophy. Much of Navajo philosophy centers upon the balance achieved when all sides of the whole are considered and consulted, and in terms of current anthropological and archaeological research-, there is no balance when the female history and contributions are ignored.

The majority of the research completed by many anthropologists and archaeologists has related to the "creation" or "origination" of the Navajo, which necessitated the collection of oral histories from mostly Navajo males regarding creation 'myths'<sup>56</sup>. Numerous manuscripts regarding the creation myths of the Navajo emerged, each version varying, depending on the informant. This trend was keenly observed by later archaeologists, and has been perceived as an inherent acknowledgement that the Navajo people were and are *not* affiliated with archaeological sites scattered throughout the Southwest<sup>57</sup>. Additionally, the biased inferences of archaeologists and anthropologists against the Navajo prevented them from considering the oral

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<sup>54</sup> (Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*. 1874) (Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*. 1889), (Hodge 1895), and (Schoolcraft 1884).

<sup>55</sup> See Frederick W. Hodge (1895, 224) for the actual calculations and see J. Walter Fewkes (1896, 155) who supports such techniques and resulting interpretations made by Hodge.

<sup>56</sup> See for example Washington Matthews, *Navaho legends* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1897).

<sup>57</sup> See for instance the work completed by Cordell (1984, 1997), Hodge (1895), Hrdlicka (1900), Keur (1941), Malcolm 1939, Mera (1938)

histories of the Navajo, a tribe documented since Spanish exploration of the Southwest- to be true on any account.

Mostly male, White, middle-class archaeologists are responsible for the majority of the production of Navajo archaeological knowledge<sup>58</sup>, and interestingly it was usually with the assistance of Navajo labor necessary to carry out large-scale excavation of sites scattered throughout *Dine' Bi'keyah*. Nevertheless, the investigations and interpretations of these Southwestern archaeologists and anthropologists have callously replaced emic accounts of Navajo histories, effectively displacing Navajo people from the prehistory of the Southwest. Archaeological interpretations began the trend of displacement, with the insistence that the 'Puebloan' culture was well established before the entrance of the Navajo in the sixteenth century. The investigation of ceremonial knowledge further substantiated the claims made by archaeologists and the Navajo were further displaced. Finally, linguistic anthropological investigation of Navajo origins surmised that Navajos are in fact Athapaskan and originate from Canada<sup>59</sup>. With evidence from the four fields of anthropology supporting the displacement of the Navajo, the history of the Navajo was effectively mapped and sealed within the archaeological record created without the Navajo.

Navajo oral histories, although heavily collected by anthropologists and other researchers<sup>60</sup>, have been typified as "copies" or a hybrid form of Puebloan oral histories. Nevertheless, many Navajo tribal members are firm believers that the four original clans<sup>61</sup> originated in the *Dinetah*, the area surrounding Gobernador Knob and within the boundaries of the four sacred mountains: Mount Blanca, Mount Hesperus, the San Francisco Peaks, and Mount Taylor. The nuances contained within the origin stories create a philosophical difference between Navajo and Puebloan stories, which in turn creates the intricate ceremonial songs and practices recorded by anthropologists and other scholars. Within these stories are the locations of

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<sup>58</sup> See Kroeber (1926), David Brugge (1983), Dolores A. Gunnerson (1956), James Gunnerson (1979), John P Harrington (1940), James Hester (1962), James Hester and Joel Shiner (1963), Frederick W. Hodge (1895), Ales Hrdlicka (1900), Betty and Harold Huscher (1942), (1943), Dorothy Keur (1944), Alfred Kidder (1920), Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton (1962), Harry Mera (1938), Roy Malcolm (1939), Cosmos Mindeleff (1898), Curtis Schaafsma (2002), Ronald Towner (1996), David R. Wilcox (1981), and David Worcester (1951)

<sup>59</sup> Hodge, F.W. 1895, Sapir, Edward (1936)

<sup>60</sup> see especially the work of Dr. Washington Matthews 1887, 1897, 1902; Mary C. Wheelwright 1946a, 1946b, 1951, 1956, 1958; and Father Berard Haile 1938, 1943, 1978, 1979, 1981

<sup>61</sup> Towering House clan, One-Walks-Around clan, Bitter Water clan, and Mud clan

the origination of clans, deities, and the People; they are places upon the Navajo landscape that are sacred<sup>62</sup> and that the *Dine'* today still visit and leave offerings.

While it is one of many topics of historical interest to somehow "locate" the origins of groups in time and space, there are multiple problems with this line of research. These include how you define cultural identity in the archaeological record; if material evidence alone can support the identification of a specific cultural group; and if identity is as much about self and group understandings of themselves as it is about matching artifacts to people. This has long been a conundrum of archaeological and anthropological interpretations<sup>63</sup>. But the point here is that in the case of the Navajo, the insistence on a "recent arrival" into the Southwest has unfortunately set an indisputable, presumed baseline for understanding and representing Navajo prehistory, often closing off many other hypotheses to pursue and opportunities to be gained by looking at other aspects of archaeological investigation.

Rather than rely on attempts to 'locate' identity in the prehistoric past, a *Nihookáá' Bila Ashdla'ii* approach to archaeology attempts to recall connections amongst Navajo clan origins and other places within the larger traditional cultural landscape (TCL), through ceremonial and oral histories. Within this approach is a departure from exclusionary histories that promote a primacy and an implicit hierarchy of cultural affiliation. The *Nihookáá' Bila Ashdla'ii* approach attempts to see the connections that each tribe has with archaeological sites and geographic features on the landscape. These connections are understood through the framework of oral and ceremonial histories. The resulting interpretations provide guidance on culturally appropriate mitigation measures for consultation with federal and other consulting agencies. However, in order to reach this approach, Navajo archaeology or tribal archaeology took many forms. I argue that in this respect, *Nihookáá' Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology is transitioning from its childhood into adolescence. In this phase, everything that was previously learned will be tested and put into action.

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<sup>62</sup> Some of these places have been identified and are considered Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) and are managed and protected by the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department.

<sup>63</sup> See for instance the discussion of 'distributed' person by Marilyn Strathern (1988) and the larger 'individual and identity' discussion in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (2010). Also, see Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh's article (2009) concerning use of the term "Anasazi" as a loaded term having different levels of interpretation and the resulting implications.

Like many other Southwestern anthropologists and archaeologists before me, my dissertation concerns the study and interpretation of the traditions, language, histories, and material traces of Navajo life. However, unlike those anthropologists and archaeologists, my dissertation is an emic analysis of archaeological practice and interpretation and the implications these investigations have had on Navajo lands, communities, and histories. The construction of archaeological knowledge in the Southwest has created a prehistory wherein the Navajo are almost completely absent, although the archaeological and ethnographic records contradict such interpretations. Furthermore, through this research, it is hoped that archaeologists realize that the implications of archaeological interpretations can be damaging to communities and that the consequences of interpretations are multi-layered and multi-scalar. In terms of the contributions of the research, it is hoped that tribal communities can use this research to reclaim and Indigenize their own local histories and create opportunities to learn and share traditional knowledge with younger generations.

### ***Navajo Archaeology in its Present State***

Archaeological investigation sponsored by the tribe started in the 1960s with the Navajo Land Claims. In the latter part of the 1970s, the Navajo Nation conducted archaeological investigations for the Fruitland Navajo Indian Irrigation Project (NIIP) in northwestern New Mexico<sup>64</sup>. Up to this point, outside entities such as the Museum of Northern Arizona, several area universities, and federal agencies had conducted all archaeological projects on Navajo lands. Involvement in such projects by Navajos was restricted to acting as guides and providing labor<sup>65</sup>. However, the NIIP projects were the beginning of an archaeological training program for Navajo and other Native American students under Navajo Community College in 1979 that provided students with experience in the field as a complement to their college classes. Several Navajo women enrolled and thus began the tribal legacy of training Navajo and Native American students in archaeology

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<sup>64</sup> This history is adapted from what the author has learned as an employee for the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department and as retold by various sources during the field research.

<sup>65</sup> There are several documented photographs of Navajos excavating and assisting archaeologists in their projects, especially during the excavations at Chaco Culture National Historical Park where several Navajo tribal members assisted in the large-scale excavation and preservation efforts. See the website at:

<http://www.nps.gov/chcu/historyculture/preservation.htm>

on the Navajo reservation<sup>66</sup> (Kerley-Begay 2013 ). In 1993, the program moved to Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado. Later, this program evolved into the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Management Program, and several large-scale archaeological excavation and assessment projects were conducted with the assistance of tribal members enrolled in the training program. A series of anthropological papers were published under the program; the *Navajo Nation Papers in Archaeology* documented the large scale archaeological investigations conducted mostly for the construction of roads throughout the reservation. In the late 1980s, this tribal program became the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department (NNAD), and was authorized as the sole provider of cultural resource services on Navajo Nation lands under tribal code CMY-19-88, the Navajo Nation Cultural Resource Protection Act (CRPA)<sup>67</sup>. The Navajo Nation Tribal Historic Preservation Office (NNTHPO) is one of the oldest and largest Native American historic preservation departments. In 1996, the Navajo Nation was granted THPO status, under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 Section 101 (d) (2). Under the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act: HPD “shall be the Navajo Nation’s agency *responsible for the protection, preservation, and management planning* for the Navajo Nation’s cultural resources”.

Along with the Historic Preservation Department (HPD), NNAD was tasked with protecting and managing cultural resources throughout Navajo lands. The Navajo Nation Cultural Resource Protection Act established the power of both the NNAD and the HPD, established a permit system to visit, excavate, and collect ethnographic information on Navajo tribal lands, and established a civil penalty system for the destruction of resources on tribal lands. However, throughout this time non-Native Americans had managed HPD and NNAD. Interestingly, the archaeological paradigm the Navajo Nation utilized throughout these years can best be described as a form of Processual archaeology that focused on establishing a culture history for the Navajo Nation and on settlement and procurement patterns observed on a regional scale. The introduction of Navajo histories into the archaeological record was not standard procedure until the late 1990s, when interviews with local residents concerning sacred places or Traditional Cultural Properties were included in the archaeological report and the identified resources or TCPs were evaluated for significance under federal laws. Some

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<sup>66</sup> Both of these women are still employed with the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department and are management and/or senior archaeologists.

<sup>67</sup> See Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department’s Permit Package, which includes the Cultural Resources Protection Act at: [http://www.hpd.navajo-nns.gov/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=41](http://www.hpd.navajo-nns.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=41)

of this information has been obtained solely through the excavation of sites located during the Section 106 process for the construction of Bureau of Indian Affairs roads on the reservation.

For many years, the NNAD was the sole provider of cultural resources services on tribal lands and archaeological investigations were based on the archaeology *du jour*- from culture history to a Processually based research design. Within the NNAD, the personnel hierarchy of archaeological positions ensured that Navajo or Native American input was minimal or easily ignored, as all of the senior research positions were held by non-Native American archaeologists. The research designs and research domains being investigated for the construction of roads were, however, negotiated with staff from the HPD's Roads Planning Program. All aspects of the project were negotiated and at the discretion of the Contract Administrator assigned to the project, due solely to the funding source and Programmatic Agreements.

Until the late 1990s, the Contract Administrators responsible for negotiating research designs and domains were non-Native Americans. Since the establishment of the NNAD, the archaeological paradigm has undergone very little revision. The use of these approaches and concepts has created a history that quite literally ignores the Navajo presence on the land and instead privileges the interpretations of non-Navajo and non-Native American voices. The voices and histories of the Navajo people were ignored, from the initial research design, to the fieldwork and excavation, to report creation, and finally to the approval or denial of archaeological reports submitted to HPD. Entrenched within the archaeological process on Navajo lands were colonialist, paternalist, and sexist systems that were established and supported both consciously and subconsciously by those involved in archaeology. These systems have served to both disenfranchise and justify the displacement and devaluing of Navajo histories.

The interpretations of the research indicate that such systems were observed within the Navajo tribal bureaucracy and within the overall archaeological process throughout the field research from 2008 to 2009. Discussions with knowledgeable individuals, participant-observation in the field, and informal discussions with local residents and other Navajo tribal members also contributed to the previous interpretation that colonial, paternal, and sexist systems exist within the archaeological process on Navajo lands, and has served to both disenfranchise and justify such displacement of Navajo histories. Before the discussions and other resources are discussed, it is relevant to present my personal observations.

In 1999, I began work with the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department's Student Training Program at Northern Arizona University. I began as an archaeological aide, which entailed washing thousands of pottery sherds excavated from a data recovery project undertaken on a heavily used, but unpaved and hazardous road on the Navajo Nation. There were several senior archaeologists who were tasked with completing this enormous project, from the fieldwork to the report submission. However, none of these archaeologists were Navajo or Native American. The interpretations and story told through the resulting report displaced Navajo history from the archaeological record, and instead supported the dominant narrative that Navajos only entered the Southwest through various routes after the sixteenth century and borrowed all aspects of their current culture from the various Pueblo groups surrounding the *Dinetah* area<sup>68</sup>. Nevertheless, the archaeological significance of this report is highly valued and has shed light upon the northern Kayenta culture area and has led to several insights into a once little known archaeological culture<sup>69</sup>. However, the use of research domains to investigate Navajo histories was not a major objective of the project. Although Navajo occupation of this area is well documented in Navajo oral traditions, including the fact that Navajo Mountain is considered a sacred mountain in Navajo cosmology<sup>70</sup>. It was through this project that I began to understand the complicated history of Navajo tribal departments actively displacing Navajo prehistories.

From 1999 to 2003, I observed NNAD's interactions with HPD, with local communities, and with outside archaeological entities, in addition to the interactions between the different NNAD offices and between the employees. I conducted two ethnographic investigations on the inter-personal relationships and physical spatial layout of NNAD while employed and enrolled full time at Northern Arizona University. The first ethnography was for an undergraduate capstone class for anthropology majors, and the second was for a graduate level class in ethnographic methods. These

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<sup>68</sup> Although this is an oversimplification of the general archaeological and ethnological histories, this is a succinct statement of Navajo prehistory. See the statements made in the history of Navajo archaeology, particularly footnotes 12-14.

<sup>69</sup> Geib, Phil (2011).

<sup>70</sup> In Navajo it is known as *Naatsis'aan* or Head of the Earth as the confluence of both the San Juan and the Colorado rivers begins here, it is considered a sacred place and pilgrimages are made by medicine people. Additionally, during Kit Carson's Scorched Earth campaign against the Navajo in 1864, some Navajo families found shelter in the rugged wilderness of the area surrounding Navajo Mountain, while other Navajo families were forced to relocate to Bosque Redondo for four years until a treaty was signed between the Navajo and the US Government in 1868 and the Navajo were allowed to return home.

ethnographic investigations revealed interesting trends within the relationships among NNAD employees at the NAU office. Among the main findings revealed was the definite use of a hierarchy to organize and ultimately create a dominant and inferior class of archaeologists. Unfortunately, the hierarchy created a system that was based on education, thus privileging white archaeologists that became divided based on gender. The Navajo and other Native American employees held lower level positions, most of who were student archaeologists or administrative staff (secretaries, administrative assistants, accountants), and held little influence in creating and negotiating research domains. The second ethnographic investigation focused on the spatial layout of the NNAD-NAU office, particularly the structures in place that reinforced the differences in power amongst the employees. The analysis revealed that an employee's space (or lack thereof) was directly correlated to their position within the hierarchy. This investigation also revealed the use of practices that served to disenfranchise Navajo histories from the research. These investigations led to interpretations that will be used in the Navajo Nation research design.

During my time at NNAD, I received training from other Navajo students who had been trained by the senior archaeologists, which included ceramic and lithic analysis. I later received one-on-one training by a senior archaeologist in mineral and pigment analysis. I also received training in the practical side of contract archaeology- in tribal budgeting, preparing cost estimates, managing archaeological collections, and managing archaeological projects. I began to train other Navajo and Native American students after a few years in the field and was promoted several times before becoming a Principal Archaeologist within the hierarchy. However, in my time at NNAD, I was not given any real role in the creation or negotiation of research designs or domains. Those decisions were at the discretion of several men- both within NNAD and at HPD<sup>71</sup>. I was laid off from NNAD in 2004 due to the expiration of budgets associated with road contracts. However, I was accepted into the doctoral program at the University of California at Berkeley's Anthropology Department and began my coursework in 2004. I kept in touch with many of my former colleagues both at NNAD and at HPD throughout my time at Berkeley and was informed of interesting developments in policy and funding at the Navajo Nation. The *Navajo Times* newspaper also kept me informed of interesting developments and of the public's dissatisfaction in archaeology and historic preservation on tribal lands.

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<sup>71</sup> The Director of NNAD during 1999-2003 was a white male, as were the other supervisory archaeologist positions at the NNAD-NAU office. At HPD, the Compliance officer and the Director of HPD were non- Navajo or non-Native American males.



The growing vocal dissatisfaction with archaeology and historic preservation by tribal members was evident in the string of stories, editorials, and public letters to the editor in the *Navajo Times*<sup>72</sup> and within informal networks of Navajo archaeologists. The main concerns voiced through these mediums concerned three areas- traditional perspectives surrounding archaeology (specifically excavation), the personnel involved in the process, and finally the bureaucratic process itself (the length of time to complete and the associated costs). Equipped with this information, and coupled with my desire to help my People overcome challenges through my college education, I decided that I could assist in alleviating some of the issues relating to archaeology and historic preservation. Beginning in June 2008, I began research at the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, the hub of Navajo cultural resource management on Navajo lands. The research objectives were to identify potential areas of research that would reveal a Navajo presence within the archaeological record, to observe and describe the research trends being utilized on the Navajo Nation and for investigating Navajo prehistory, and finally to create a research design that would assist the Navajo Nation in "Indigenizing" archaeological research on Navajo lands, to form a tribal archaeology.

The Navajo Nation HPD is one of twelve departments within the Division of Natural Resources, along with the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department. The Department Manager of HPD acts as the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) for an agreement made with the National Park Service to manage and protect resources on Navajo tribal lands. There are other responsibilities that tribes can apply for as part of being a THPO<sup>73</sup>. The THPO has significant authority in regards to the management and protection of cultural resources and historic properties located on tribal lands, including archaeological sites and TCPs. Accorded such gatekeeper status, the THPO is the official spokesperson for the Navajo Nation in terms of historic preservation and archaeology, the protection of tribal cultural resources and TCPs, and for the safeguarding of important tribal cultural resources off of tribal lands. Although HPD is linked to NNAD under the NNCRPA to protect and manage cultural resources and to provide services to the Navajo public, the two have more of a contractor-subcontractor relationship. With this, the

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<sup>72</sup> *The Navajo Times* is the newspaper of the Navajo Nation. The tribal department is under the direction of the Division of Economic Security under the Executive Branch of the Navajo Nation Government. The online edition can be found at: <http://navajotimes.com>

<sup>73</sup> As authorized under Section 101(d) of the National Historic Preservation Act, which allows tribes to apply for status as the Historic Preservation Office for tribal lands. More information can be found at the National Tribal Historic Preservation Officer Association (NATHPO) at: <http://www.nathpo.org/aboutnathpo.htm>

NNAD is contracted by HPD to perform various archaeological services for the 93-638 Indian Self-Determination and Education Act contract for archaeological services that HPD has with the Bureau of Indian Affairs-Navajo Regional office.

The 93-638 contract was awarded to HPD in 1989 to give the Navajo Nation the responsibility for conducting Section 106 services for various undertakings on Navajo lands, thus improving the Navajo Nation's self-determination ability as this responsibility had been conducted without the Nation's direct interaction by BIA personnel or subcontractors. The funding for various projects was funneled through this 93-638 contract from other federal entities whose undertakings may have had an effect on resources located on Navajo lands. Effectively, this set up a power dynamic that proved to be detrimental to both HPD and NNAD. Until 2003, the NNAD was one of the only contractors conducting excavation work on tribal lands; in 2003, HPD contracted with five non-tribal subcontractors to conduct the projects that NNAD had been completing. These contracts were for the archaeological investigations<sup>74</sup> necessary as part of the Section 106 process to construct roads on behalf of the BIA-NR-DOT. From the inception of the 93-638 archaeological services contract, almost \$26,000,000 was expended on various archaeological projects for the construction and maintenance of roads on Navajo tribal lands, which were completed by both Navajo, Native American, and Anglo CRM firms.

The majority of NNAD staff was paid through one of the archaeological contracts in place, as some of these contracts totaled over \$1,000,000. When NNAD was taken out of the contracting process by HPD, several longtime NNAD employees were laid off. The funding from these contracts supplemented tribal appropriations for personnel and operating expenses. However, due to mismanagement at both the NNAD and tribal bureaucratic level (e.g. Office of Management and Budget), the funding from these contracts went to cover the Indirect Cost (IDC) fees charged by the Navajo Nation for administrative oversight. Over the years, the IDC varied, but was not officially established for several years, therefore allowing the BIA-NR to set the rate, which varied from 8% to 22%, of which was taken from the budget negotiated at different rates than that charged by BIA-NR and the

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<sup>74</sup> Services included assessment of the roadway corridor, ethnographic assessment of the roadway corridor, testing (extent, nature, and significance testing), and data recovery of archaeological sites. In some cases, a trading post was involved and a Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record assessment was completed for the trading post compound as was conducted for Wide Ruins road N9345 and the Wide Ruins trading post.

Navajo Nation Office of Management and Budget, therefore putting the NNADs financial situation in a complete spiral.

The single-handed move by the HPD to take NNAD and other Navajo qualified<sup>75</sup> firms out of the process for road contracts triggered anger and resentment on the part of the Navajo public and Navajo owned businesses. A series of meetings with Navajo Nation President Joe Shirley to remedy the situation resulted in a reordering of CRM firms on HPDs CRM Permittee List to denote those firms that meet the "Navajo Preference Certification." Nevertheless, off-reservation and non-Native American owned CRM firms began to accumulate more contracts with various Navajo Departments and entities, thus bypassing NNAD and other Navajo and Native American owned firms. The contracts were often void of research designs or research domains, which were left to the decision of the Navajo Nation Compliance Officer.

The only stipulation contained within the Navajo Nation Permit Package was that the report must not contain the words "Ancestral Puebloan." It was implied that the use of such terms negated the affiliation Navajos had with ancient and/or sacred places on the Navajo landscape. This excerpt is taken from the Navajo Nation's reporting guidelines (Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department 1991):

HPD will not accept any reports that use the term "ancestral Puebloan or Puebloan" when referring to the Anasazi. The Navajo Nation is culturally affiliated to the Anasazi people, and reports that make any reference to Navajos as newcomers to the southwest will be returned. It is the responsibility of the Navajo Nation to protect the information relevant to its life ways, history and origins of its People. Navajo ceremonial and oral histories establish that Navajos have been here since time immemorial. This relationship is confirmed in centuries of traditional history and more than 100 years of anthropological literature. This relationship is also confirmed by archaeological, genetic/biological, and linguistic evidence.

HPD staff worked for several years collecting, conducting, and compiling research supporting the above statement. In 2009, HPD created a work team to finalize work on the cultural affiliation statement and I was assigned to this team. There were 12 staff assigned to the task and we met

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<sup>75</sup> The Navajo Nation Business Regulatory Department established a certification process that gives firms that qualify as "Navajo Preference" preference in subcontracting for various services, archaeological and CRM services included.

intermittently throughout 2009 and 2010 to discuss resources and potential research, and to create a draft statement. There were other drafts that HPD had created, but languished; parts of these were incorporated into the actual statement.

The actual cultural affiliation statement consists of three parts- the actual statement, a narrative, and references cited. The cultural affiliation statement is a short statement that is further explained in the narrative<sup>76</sup>. The Navajo Nation Cultural Affiliation Statement is as follows:

1. The purpose of this statement is to protect Navajo heritage and places of traditional significance on the Navajo Reservation and also within the Aboriginal Lands of the Navajo people; and
2. The basis of Navajo relations/affiliation (*ke'*) today and in the past always has been clanship/kinship; and Navajo has about 70 clans, each with its own origin story. At least 10 are directly descended from the people archaeologists call Anasazi. The Navajo word that best characterizes these ancestral people is Nihinaazáí'; and
3. This relationship is confirmed in centuries of traditional history and more than 100 years of anthropological literature. Also, several programs of the Historic Preservation Department have added to this literature; and
4. This relationship is also confirmed by archaeological, genetic/biological, and linguistic evidence; and
5. Many Navajo ceremonies refer to our ancestral people and landscapes of ceremonial significance. Navajo Holy People witnessed, participated in, or originated certain events which occurred at those places and are recounted in our ceremonial histories; and
6. The cultural affiliation asserted here is not exclusive; and

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<sup>76</sup> The Cultural Affiliation Statement has not been officially approved by the Navajo Nation Council and appropriate committees, and cannot be published at this time. HPD will provide the document as a piece of legislation for approval since the CAS will be used by the Navajo Nation Office of the President/ Vice President, and the Navajo Nation Council and other Offices for use in official governmental activities.

7. The Navajo Nation as a sovereign entity is responsible for managing its cultural resources, maintaining Navajo traditional and ceremonial history, and ensuring their continuation for future generations.

The statement affirms the ancient relationship that Navajos have with the *Nihinaazáí'*, our ancestral peoples, and explains the nuances of this relationship. The information contained within this document is the foundation of the Navajo Research Design, and was used to situate and describe research domains and areas that are relevant and culturally appropriate to the Navajo People.

Most archaeological work conducted on the reservation is associated with infrastructure development, therefore, limiting the intensive research that can be undertaken in an academic setting. The result of such projects has left the Navajo Nation devoid of any real research that actually benefits the Navajo People. There has been an interest by academic archaeologists to conduct research on the Navajo Nation, however these proposals were rejected/denied by HPD. In most cases, they were rejected on the basis of using the term "Puebloan" in the Institutional Review Board application, which is strictly prohibited under HPD's permit package. Nevertheless, under such strict research conditions, academic research is lacking within the corpus of archaeological research on the Navajo Nation. Additionally, besides the Permit Package, there are no existing guidelines or research designs that describe the type of research that the Navajo Nation desires, which has created a "brain drain." This has created a paradoxical research situation, wherein Navajo Nation archaeologists are utilizing Processually based theories and methods for archaeology on Navajo lands, which further displaces Navajos from Southwestern prehistory.

In terms of a chronology of the creation of a Navajo archaeology, there are generally three phases of archaeological research centered on the Navajo past. The first phase began in the 1880s with the exploratory investigations of several well-known and significant archaeological sites now believed to predate Navajos throughout the Southwest, but have been associated with Navajo lifeways through ceremonial knowledge. During this time, "arm-chair" investigations of A.W. Bell (Bell 1869), Ernest Ingersoll (Ingersoll 1875), and many archaeologists believed that Navajos were indeed responsible for particular features encountered at these sites<sup>77</sup>. The

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<sup>77</sup> See for instance the work of J. Walter Fewkes (1926) at Mesa Verde, who believed that the oldest features at Mesa Verde were the traces of ancient Navajos. Specifically, he believed that a pithouse he encountered resembled the construction of a Navajo hogan and

dominant research paradigm affirms that Navajos enter the Southwest late in the 1600s, which is based on the interpretation of "identified" Navajo sites and the lack of physical evidence from early Navajo sites.

The second phase begins in the 1960s and undergoes changes in the 1990s, wherein archaeologists are using Processual approaches on large scale archaeological salvage projects, which helps to formalize the hypothesis of a late Navajo entry into the Southwest. Some of the approaches used within the second phase that have been detrimental to Navajo archaeology include the reliance on a normative scientific method to understand and 'locate' elements of Navajo culture and tradition. Research on early Navajo sites attempted to implement the scientific method to isolate Navajo cultural elements, which automatically precluded oral histories as a line of evidence, thereby omitting important information that could be used to understand relationships with the past. Another approach that was detrimental to Navajo archaeology was creating research that consciously lacked a humanistic perspective within archaeological interpretations. For instance in James Hester's analysis of early Navajo migrations and acculturation (1962), he relies on the presence/absence of material items at various sites in an attempt to isolate Navajo cultural elements to make a determination of cultural affinity without any consideration of oral histories. Many archaeologists at this time felt these approaches would allow them to isolate and describe elements of Navajo culture without ever having to speak with Navajo people, contrary to their research, which claimed all lines of evidence were being used.

Projects such as the Navajo Land Claims project and Navajo Reservoir Project, Black Mesa Project, Coal Gasification Project, Navajo Indian Irrigation Project and Chaco Center's site recording project, formalize interpretations about Navajo prehistory that were produced through the approaches described above. Much of this work was formed in the 1960s through the mid 1990s and established Navajo chronology, mostly through the work of Brugge, Hester, and Towner<sup>78</sup>, which forms the body of current archaeological research for Navajo prehistory. Their work however, is an extension from the earliest archaeological and anthropological research conducted on Navajo and Puebloan prehistory, including generating similar interpretations.

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predated surrounding pueblo structures, which raised doubts about Pueblo-Navajo prehistoric relations.

<sup>78</sup> See Brugge (1968, 1969, 1983, 1986, 1996, 1999); Dittert and Hester (1961), Hester (1962), Hester and Shiner (1963); Towner (ed. 1996, 2003)

Most archaeologists agree with the historical narrative posited by Hester and Shiner that there are three cultural phases for the Navajo, these are the: Dinetah Phase- 1550-1696, the Gobernador Phase- 1696-1775, and the Indeterminate Navajo Category, which are classed as Navajo sites without diagnostic phase determinants. These phases have over time become more fluid with additional research and discoveries with advanced dating techniques. Such developments can be utilized and incorporated into the overall *Nihokáá' Dine'é Bila' Ashdla'ii* archaeological research design. Such approaches to archaeological research created a research environment that was open to integrating tribal oral histories, especially near the end of this phase, when the integration of ethnographic interviews in Navajo research begins to enrich archaeological data with communal information that has heretofore largely been ignored. These data present a different understanding of the ancient Navajo past that is multi-faceted and provides an integrative archaeological record.

The third and final stage of research begins around the mid-1990s and brings us to the present, wherein there is some change in archaeological research approaches and theories, mostly through the introduction of Post-Processual methods. An application of Indigenous archaeology has encouraged the analysis of archaeological materials and interpretations using Navajo traditional histories and ceremonial knowledge in order to create chronological sequences for a temporal framework for *Nihokáá' Dine'é Bila' Ashdla'ii* archaeology. Additionally, the use of ethnographic interviews to collect traditional histories has been the hallmark of the newest phase of Navajo research, employed in numerous CRM reports and narratives. However, many of these efforts have followed the same epistemological development as past approaches, in that they are still not including Navajo participation. This phase has illuminated the need for innovative approaches for the analysis of archaeological research with concepts and knowledge from Navajo people.

Taking such information into consideration, the research objectives chosen for the research developed here included: creating Navajo oriented approaches to heritage management through the investigation of Navajo ceremonies, "Navajo archaeological sites", and Navajo relationships with other groups; to develop a conceptual framework for a *Nihokáá' Dine'é Bila' Ashdla'ii* archaeological research design; and through the development of a community based participatory research program for the HPD. The research objectives were created in part to provide an approach for heritage management investigations guided by a research design to investigate Navajo phenomena; to promote and assist in expedited economic development activities through the support of Navajo Nation employed

archaeologists working with local communities; and to protect, preserve, and manage both tangible and intangible aspects of Navajo heritage. Throughout the research, various Navajo communities, programs, department, and Chapters spoke of the importance of including the identified research objectives.

In the development of these objectives, it was critical to include the Navajo public in the archaeological process so that they could exert some local control and management of cultural and historic resources. It was also critical to create an archaeological research design that supports Navajo sovereignty and history through the development of a Cultural Affiliation Statement for Section 106 Consultation and Repatriation Consultation, and by enforcing Navajo tribal policy for archaeological practice. The inclusion of Indigenous Archaeology concepts have informed the creation of an archaeological process that provides for local management and protection of cultural and historic properties, TCPs, Sacred sites, and other places within the local community.

In order to create a research design that may assist in such an application of Indigenous concepts to heritage management on the Navajo Nation, I completed the research while working under the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department- Roads Planning Program. I worked as a Supervisory Archaeologist contracting for archaeological services for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The NNTHPO manages 17 million acres of tribal land, and in doing so, the NNTHPO has taken a three-pronged approach when managing tribal resources by utilizing archaeological, anthropological, and ethnographical methods to locate, manage, and protect tribal cultural resources.

My work was undertaken to essentially challenge traditional Southwestern archaeological theory and method by using Navajo knowledge as outlined in histories/stories to reveal the Navajo presence in the ancient past. Resulting from the creation of a space for a Navajo or *Nihokáá' Dine'é Bila' Ashdla'ii* archaeology, will be an archaeology that reflects the history, beliefs systems, and traditions of the Navajo people when managing cultural and natural resources.

As I have stressed above, the archaeological process that has been carried out on Navajo lands has led to the displacement of the Navajo People from Southwestern prehistory, which is a result of archaeological and anthropological research and interpretations. The foundation of such claims was from early 19<sup>th</sup> century ethnographic interviews & linguistic studies that subsequently justified Navajo absence from the Southwest until the 18<sup>th</sup>



century. It was common practice for early anthropologists to ignore Navajo informants who related clan and ceremonial histories affiliated with the archaeological sites being excavated. This displacement of Navajo has several implications. The first are epistemological implications, specifically the results of the construction of the Southwestern archaeological record from an etic perspective, without Navajo involvement. Real life implications are related to loss of land and other rights, due to the archaeological record in the Southwest being created that ignores Navajo contributions to the prehistoric past, and the disruption of cultural and ceremonial knowledge from one generation to the next as a result of the Navajo Nation not having “cultural affiliation”<sup>79</sup> with archaeological sites that are recognized and important sacred sites to Navajo cosmology. Lastly, there are cultural implications to the Navajo people, wherein archaeology is “taboo” to the Navajo public, which is a phenomenon initiated by the disturbance, analysis, and collection of human remains and other items of cultural patrimony in early archaeological and anthropological research.

Analysis of the research revealed that there is a lack of Navajo perspectives, culture, and history in archaeological and CRM research on Navajo lands. Review of the literature showed that there were many Navajo authors of archaeological and ethnographic reports on record at the Historic Preservation Department’s archives. However, there were less Navajo authors who published in mainstream archaeological journals and whom presented at archaeological conferences. Research and personal memoirs from Navajo authors make strong statements on increasing the numbers of Native American archaeologists and anthropologists<sup>80</sup> in efforts to help their people safeguard their traditional cultural properties. The lack of a reservation-wide historic preservation management plan and the lack of a research design to guide research on the reservation, and the past and current archaeological process appear to be contributing to the overall problem.

Compounding the issue is the “gate-keeping” of all research conducted on Navajo lands; all research must be for the benefit of the Navajo people.

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<sup>79</sup> “‘Cultural Affiliation’ means that there is a relationship of shared group identity that can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between members of a present-day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group. Cultural affiliation is established when the preponderance of the evidence—based on geographical, kinship, biological, archeological, anthropological, linguistic, folklore, oral tradition, historical evidence, or other information or expert opinion—reasonably leads to such a conclusion.” (43 CFR 10)

<sup>80</sup> Two Bears (2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010); Taft Blackhorse (2001, 2006, 2007, 2009); Polly Schaafsma and Will Tsosie (200XX)

What is considered “beneficial” and who determines what is “beneficial,” is becoming a contentious issue as past research on the Navajo Nation has pushed the Navajo out of Southwestern prehistory. Research conducted at the NNTHPO found that although the three-pronged approach has been effective in the past, the Navajo public is dissatisfied with the approach and are demanding changes to the process and participation in the archaeological process. Numerous Navajo archaeologists and anthropologists have voiced their concern and are pushing for a “*Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* or Navajo archaeology” that pushes the boundaries of ‘traditional’ Southwestern prehistory and includes a Navajo presence. “Classic” Southwestern archaeology regarding the Navajo is based on Processual archaeological research and interpretations.

With this temporal scheme in place for Navajo archaeology, there is little recognition of the diversely unique history of the Navajo people. Although some research has focused on Navajo history, the majority of this work has been conducted without Navajo perspectives and informants. The push for Navajo traditionally centered archaeology for Navajo has come from tribal members who are archaeologists, or others who have worked in the CRM industry. Additionally, the Navajo Nation Council has seen the effects that the current approach to archaeology on the Navajo Nation has had on land, water, and mineral claims and are pushing the THPO for a Navajo centered preservation management plan and research design. Although there is major interest, little has been offered for laying the foundation of *Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* archaeology.

### ***Summary: The Future of Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii archaeology***

In order to address the continued displacement of a Navajo presence in the Southwest, HPD created a work team to develop the official Navajo Nation cultural affiliation statement, as mentioned above. Although the statement was originally intended for use in Repatriation efforts, I used this statement as the temporal foundation for the conceptual framework for a “*Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* archaeology.” The information in the cultural affiliation statement also provided the basis for research domains that were approved by the HAC (Hataalii Advisory Council) and the NNTHPO, which is a rare situation as the HAC and subsequently the NNTHPO restricted certain research domains due to their controversial nature. By “opening” the breadth of appropriate archaeological research domains, the Navajo Nation was able to generate new avenues of collaborative and useful archaeological research that breaks away from normative theory and approaches.

The temporal scheme was created to coincide with Navajo beliefs and oral histories that describe in detail, the cycles of life the Navajo people have completed. Navajo refer to these ancestors as "*Nihinaazáí*." This relationship is based on oral histories and on anthropological literature. Several archaeological sites are described in Navajo ceremonies and are an integral part of the ceremonial cycle. From a Navajo perspective, this information is the most appropriate framework to approach the protection, preservation, and management of Navajo cultural resources and heritage.

The Navajo Nation Cultural Affiliation Statement provides a framework for ancient Navajo history, or for a *Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* archaeology. According to Navajo philosophy and history, the Navajo People have made it through five stages of the cycle of life, each of these stages with their own stories and diagnostic material remains. Although time as conceived of in the western sense is an inherent concept in archaeological theory and method, time within a *Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* framework is not conceived of in the same manner thus providing a new temporal framework for archaeological research.

The HPD has utilized the following classification system for research on Navajo: the first period is the *kaa' bééshe dine'é* (flint tool people)-coinciding with the Paleoindian period, that included stories of times when mega-fauna were hunted. The second period is the *ts'aa dine'é* (basket people)-dating to the Archaic period, where the people farmed corn, beans, squash, and tobacco farming began. The third period is *hash t'ish asaa dine'é* (clay pottery people)- coinciding with the Basketmaker and Pueblo I-III periods, where the people hunted mountain sheep, deer, and antelope. The fourth period is the *idínenali* (the adaptors) that coincides with the Proto-historic period, when domesticated sheep, horses, and goats were introduced. The current period is the *Nihookáá' dine'é Bila' Ashdla'ii* (five-fingered earth surface people), coinciding with the Historic Period to Present Day.

The use of this scheme, in conjunction with oral histories and other lines of archaeological evidence produced under the Navajo research design will enable the Navajo Nation to create a space for their ancient history and break away from traditional archaeological interpretations that Navajos did not enter the Southwest until the late seventeenth century. Currently, the Navajo Nation is contributing to their own displacement by approving the use of Processual based approaches to investigate and interpret archaeological sites on Navajo lands. Research permits are approved

according to a process established twenty years ago<sup>81</sup>; permits are issued if all of the required documents are in place. Very few times the researcher was required to clarify their fieldwork in order to obtain their permit. After reviewing research proposals for archaeological investigation during my work as a Contract Administrator, all of the proposals were based in Processual approaches such as, reliance on the hypothetico-deductive model the assumption that all cultures can be systematically isolated and processed to predetermine patterns and cultural changes. Recurring research themes regarding cultural evolutionism were frequently employed in conjunction with the above approaches.

However, with the creation and use of a Navajo centered research paradigm to guide research on Navajo people, culture, and history, will produce an emic history of the Navajo People. The research design and the temporal scheme will allow archaeologists to further investigate Navajo sites and establish a chronology and type assemblages for a *Nihookáá' dine'é Bila' Ashdla'ii* archaeology. Such a change in the research paradigm has been the topic of conversation amongst Navajo and non-Navajo archaeologists for some time. Navajo communities have also voiced their opinions for a change in the archaeological process for projects and research within their own communities and are attempting to reclaim their local histories, which make up the larger *Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* narrative.

Archaeology is by its very nature a colonialist endeavor that has served its duty, to displace and dislocate Indigenous peoples in the quest for land and riches. By introducing on Navajo lands, a revised or "indigenized" archaeological process that is Navajo centered, the Navajo Nation is able to investigate Navajo phenomena and research domains that are of interest to Navajo communities, and in so doing, they are able to reclaim their ancient past. This form of tribal archaeology is specific to Navajo cultural traditions and philosophies, and as I posit, will be applicable to a wide range of tribal and Indigenous groups to specify to their own cultural traditions and philosophies.

The introduction of new research domains will undoubtedly provide opportunities for archaeologists and Navajo communities to partner in archaeological research that is significant and meaningful to both parties. Research opportunities lie in such areas as the development of geophysical

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<sup>81</sup> See the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Compliance Section's Cultural Resources Investigations Permit Package Permit Applications for the required documents- resumes and a writing sample. There are no requirements for researchers or subcontractors to meet Department of Interior Standards for Archaeology and Historic Preservation, which are considered the minimum standards for work on federal projects.

prospection investigations on a diverse range of tribal lands, the re-analysis of archaeological collections and reports for Navajo characteristics established in the research design, and the opportunity to assist communities in expediting the archaeological process for the development of critical services. Most importantly, by pushing beyond established archaeological boundaries, tribal communities are becoming empowered to research their histories in appropriate and meaningful ways. Other areas of future collaboration include training Indigenous/ Navajo students and interested community members in archaeological analyses and methods, using Navajo oral histories as a basis for archaeological research, and creating partnerships between tribal youth and elders for archaeological projects.

Tribal knowledge and ways of knowing are fluid and transcend “traditional” archaeological boundaries and schemes, which provides opportunities for archaeologists and Native Americans to create collaborative projects that benefit both parties. Archaeological knowledge is reshaped and recreated when collaboration occurs in the archaeological process. Therefore, I urge archaeologists to take an innovative and creative step towards collaborating and truly listening to tribal communities to push the boundaries of “traditional” academic knowledge.

There are archaeologists that have been adamant that oral traditions and historical narratives of Native Americans and Indigenous groups are incompatible with the empirical nature of archaeology, mainly the assertion that oral traditions cannot be used as “data” since they cannot be tested independently and they are not known on a global level<sup>82</sup>. Other archaeologists assert that there is a possibility of utilizing new approaches to observe and identify archaeological phenomena that reveal a different archaeological landscape<sup>83</sup> and have described various innovative and collaborative approaches taken. It is in these other approaches that promise lies for utilizing Indigenous or Native American ‘data’ such as oral traditions and historical narratives, in archaeological analyses.

Archaeologists must realize the implications of their research on Native Americans, and understand that it is an extremely difficult decision to share esoteric information, and sometimes it may be at the detriment of the people. However, I recommend that when working with tribes remember that heart and sincerity matter. Remember- for tribal people, knowledge concerning ‘the past’ is esoteric and archaeologists may be privy to that

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<sup>82</sup> See for instance Schaafsma 2004.

<sup>83</sup> Harris 2005, Million 2005, Sullivan III et al., 2007, Wobst 2005

knowledge. Esoteric information received must be safeguarded, but it should also guide your research and interpretations. We must also be open to utilizing “untraditional” approaches and lines of evidence when researching and interpreting archaeological sites on tribal lands (M. M. Bruchac 2005), (Wobst 2005). Finally, we must remain open-minded during the consultation process and throughout collaborative research with tribes, it may provide once in a lifetime opportunities and lifelong partnerships.

The methods and resulting approaches developed throughout the adolescence phase have been applied in some Navajo communities and in the work of the HPD staff; these experiences and a research design for the HPD are the result of the work conducted in this phase. These approaches will continue into the adulthood phase of hypothesizing, observing, testing, interpreting, and retesting data gathered throughout the history of Indigenous archaeological projects in the adolescence phase (the South), which are used for the development and benefit of all of our relations- both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. As we enter the North in the darkest of the night, we enter old age, where we focus on intangible aspects of importance, such as sacred songs, prayers, ceremonies, and protection. At this point, the cycle begins again. Within the framework of a *Nihokáá dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* archaeology, the results of the approaches developed in the adolescence phase have provided valuable insights into the intangible aspects of Navajo heritage and reinforces the need for an indigenized approach to archaeological research that benefits the local community.

## Chapter 4

### **Giving Tribal History back to the People: decolonizing methodologies**

The previous chapter provided an overview of Navajo archaeology and the epistemological creation of Navajo prehistory. In a Navajo framework, we are progressing to the third stage- *Iina*- towards the west, the night, wherein we are reminded of the importance of kinships and social responsibilities; in this analogy, the methods that we hypothesize, observe, test, interpret, and retest in adolescence (the South) are used for the development and benefit of all of our relations- both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The research conducted and implemented on Navajo lands is fully emerged in this stage, which will be explored throughout this chapter.

Navajo philosophy teaches us that this time is reserved for recognizing and reaffirming *life* or the importance of kinship, social developments, and life cycles or those things that create, reaffirm, and represent life.

In this framework, this chapter aims to provide an overview of the current issues on the Navajo Nation, case studies of successful implementation of such work, and finally a research design incorporating some approaches from Tuhiwai- Smith (1999) and other Indigenous approaches for the Navajo Nation. An overview of the perceived problem is presented, along with archaeological and anthropological approaches that may be of use to the research design and research goals. A discussion of the themes and data collected throughout the research on the Navajo Nation is presented and summarized. Finally, the actual research design for the Navajo Nation is presented, along with discussion of the domains and approaches.

Although this case study is specifically Navajo, the approaches, and the objectives used should be replicable and will enable other local communities to utilize such approaches for their own archaeological or heritage management projects. If this proves not to be the case, at least the information collected at Navajo will provide a beginning point to determine which path is best to take when undertaking community based projects. The research was intended to provide an applied approach to archaeology on tribal lands, which resulted in the creation of a research design and domains that communities can use when undertaking archaeological or heritage management work. The data collected will provide a glimpse into the current perspectives of community and tribal members in regards to archaeology and heritage management, much of which has been unknown for over

twenty years. Through the combined use of archival research, field research, and public discussions, the research discussed throughout this chapter reveal a sense of responsibility, reverence, and respect for Navajo sites, both in deep time and recent times, from both tribal members and non-tribal members.

### ***The "Problem"***

The displacement of Indigenous, specifically Native American groups from the deep archaeological record has had far reaching implications, farther than many archaeologists and anthropologists anticipated when conducting research on tribal pasts and lands. The results of their research and interpretations have created a situation wherein Indigenous/Native American groups no longer have the "authenticity" to describe their pasts. Further, the anthropologists and archaeologists who conducted such research are ascribed an "expert" status that is not questioned. Within the arena of Indigenous archaeology, the archaeology of identity, specifically the analysis of Indigenous identities through archaeological research has widened the appeal of archaeology for many Indigenous groups, who are realizing the importance of using archaeology to reinterpret or recreate the identities that have been imposed upon them by anthropologists and archaeologists.

Many archaeological and anthropological interpretations of Indigenous identities created discriminatory, ignorant portrayals of Indigenous peoples that have had deeply negative effects on their psyches and lives. The theoretical underpinnings of these interpretations are based on Western concepts that have created misinterpretations of Indigenous pasts. In the arena of archaeology of identity, some of the major identity theories are at odds with Indigenous concepts of individuality, but more specifically, the application of 'cultural affiliation' to archaeological places. The interpretations resulting from these theories create identities (or the lack of identity) of Indigenous peoples that instigate and perpetuate conflicts among anthropologists and/or archaeologists and Indigenous groups<sup>84</sup>.

Social identity theories and identity theories have provided a foundation for investigating identity in archaeological contexts. Social identity theory is based in microsociological theory that sets out to explain the individual's role-related behavior in creating identity, while identity

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<sup>84</sup> See for instance Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh article entitled "Myth of the Anasazi: Archaeological Language, Collaborative Communities, and the Contested Past." (2009) who discusses the use of the term Anasazi and all of the resulting implications.



theory is based in social psychology theory that attempts to explain the role of group processes and inter-group relations in creating identity (Hitlin 2003; Hogg et al. 1995). These two theories have serious implications for the creation of Indigenous identities in the archaeological record. Both theories are the product of Western scholars, which is reflected in the emphasis on individuals and individuality. The emphasis on individuality is at odds with many Indigenous beliefs that do not emphasize or even value 'individuality' as described in both theories. Nevertheless, many archaeological interpretations have been formed about Indigenous and other marginal identities based on social identity and identity theories (Clark 2005; Dietler 1994; Emberling 1997; Emerson and Hargrave 2000; Hill 1978; Hutson 2006; Kirch and O'Day 2003; Larick 1986; Ogundiran 2002; Pauketat 1997; Pettitt 2000; Shackley 2001; Sillar 1994; Thomas 2000; VanDerwarker 1999; Van Dyke 2003; Wood 2004).

There has been some discussion however, about the use and implications of these theories in archaeological interpretations about identity in the past. For example, Meskell (2002) who contends that as archeologists, we need to realize the implications of our research and be aware of the current political situation involved in constructing identities for marginal groups. Other discussions of the formation of identities concern the variety of ways identities are created by archaeologists and the resulting implications of this type of interpretation. For instance, can identity be "found" in the archaeological record (Brodwin 2002), or are the identities that scholars create similar to the identities formed by Indigenous groups (Shackley 2001)? Must archaeological evidence lead the way in archaeological interpretations of identity (Blakey 1995)? Should identity be investigated as a social process (Wilkie 2001)? Scholars have employed multiple ways to investigate and create past identities, and have cautioned about the reliance on social identity theory and identity theory when making archaeological interpretations.

The issue of being able to actually "locate" identity in the archaeological record is a concern in Indigenous archaeology. Archaeologists have argued that using multiple scales of investigation could lead to the identification of identity in the archaeological record. For instance, James Hill (1977, 1978) demonstrates his technique of utilizing the micro-scale to identify individuals in an ethnoarchaeological approach that provides an approach that reveals an archaeology of individuals. Examining the archaeological record at the individual scale can also contribute to an 'archaeology of individuals', so that the need to look at the macro and micro scales is critical (Hodder 2000). This multiscale approach is similar to Indigenous philosophical concepts that recognize the relationships of Indigenous people as being a microcosm for

the macrocosm (Cajete 2004; Cordova 2004; Jojola 2004). Other approaches for analyzing identity in the archaeological record lie in the analysis of connections that are made through and during the life course of an item, such as an awl or clay marbles. Marilyn Strathern discusses the concept of a "distributed person" (1988) where individuals have identities in multiple parts of their lives, which is distributed across these parts making a person a "dividual", not an isolated "individual". Parts of the individual become part of an item or in this case an artifact, and are bestowed with many different levels of meaning. The identity of its owner can be extrapolated and interpreted in different ways, but most importantly, this type of analysis demonstrates that an artifact has meaning in many different places and at different scales.

There are some alternatives, however, to "locating" identities that hold promise, these include the use of life course approaches, personhood approaches, and embodiment approaches. The resulting interpretations from using these types of approaches are in some ways congruent with Indigenous ways of talking about the past. Life-course approaches, personhood approaches, and embodiment approaches might aid in recreating a more productive and positive Indigenized form of identity.

In life-course approaches, archaeologists are attempting to bypass the focus on the individual and are focusing on collectivities of people (e.g., Hutson 2006; Meskell 1999; Rotman 2005), which is exactly how many Indigenous groups describe about their own histories- by their bands, clans, or houses, in essence, collectivities. "Life course approaches"<sup>85</sup> consider the 'longitudinal' approach focusing on shifting positions and identities of people over the course of their life, not just biologically but culturally, structurally, and socially. Such life-courses approaches lend themselves to Indigenous archaeology as they center interpretations on the connection of an individuals' life within the context of historical and social arenas, and is a more embodied and experiential approach to identity in the archaeological record. This reflexive aspect of life-course approaches makes for a more thoughtful and holistic interpretation of identities in the past.

Indigenous groups can better describe and explain aspects of their culture and history that were not understood under other theoretical paradigms by using personhood and embodiment approaches to the past. 'Personhood' is a concept that involves the combination of achieved and ascribed rights and statuses that society has placed on you; this approach then encompasses such factors as ethnicity, race, class, gender, and

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<sup>85</sup> Life course approaches as described in the works of the following authors Buikstra and Scott (2009) and Gilchrist (2004) represent a longitudinal approach to identity.

sexuality in making interpretations (Isaacson 1996; Schwarz 1997; Slaney 1997). 'Embodiment' is a concept that begins with the physical, biological individual body and examines how it is culturally inscribed upon (Joyce 2003; Mellstrom 2002; Weiss 1997). Archaeologically, these multiscale approaches enable analyses that observe patterns and use many different lines of evidence to examine personhood (Clark and Wilkie 2006; Fowler 2002; Jamieson 2000). This combination will allow archaeologists to investigate past peoples in a manner that will reveal different aspects of their lives, experiences, and societies. Minimally, such approaches work against the likelihood of 'essentializing' identities and the material traces that represent relationships.

### ***Data Collection Methods & Results***

Throughout the course of two years (2008-2009), I conducted fieldwork on the Navajo Nation. I was hired with the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department as a Supervisory Archaeologist. My job duties involved conducting my dissertation research and assisting the Navajo Nation Roads Planning Program in contracting for archaeological roadwork. I began discussions with the THPO- Dr. Alan Downer to conduct research on Navajo archaeology while with HPD. He agreed that the research was critical and would assist not only HPD, but also the entire Navajo Nation in planning for and conducting archaeological research. I provided copies of my research prospectus and shared my plans for outreach and interviews, and the anticipated outcomes and products I planned to disseminate to Navajo Nation. His support was the first step in conducting research and assisted me with opening communication avenues and situating myself within the tribal bureaucracy.

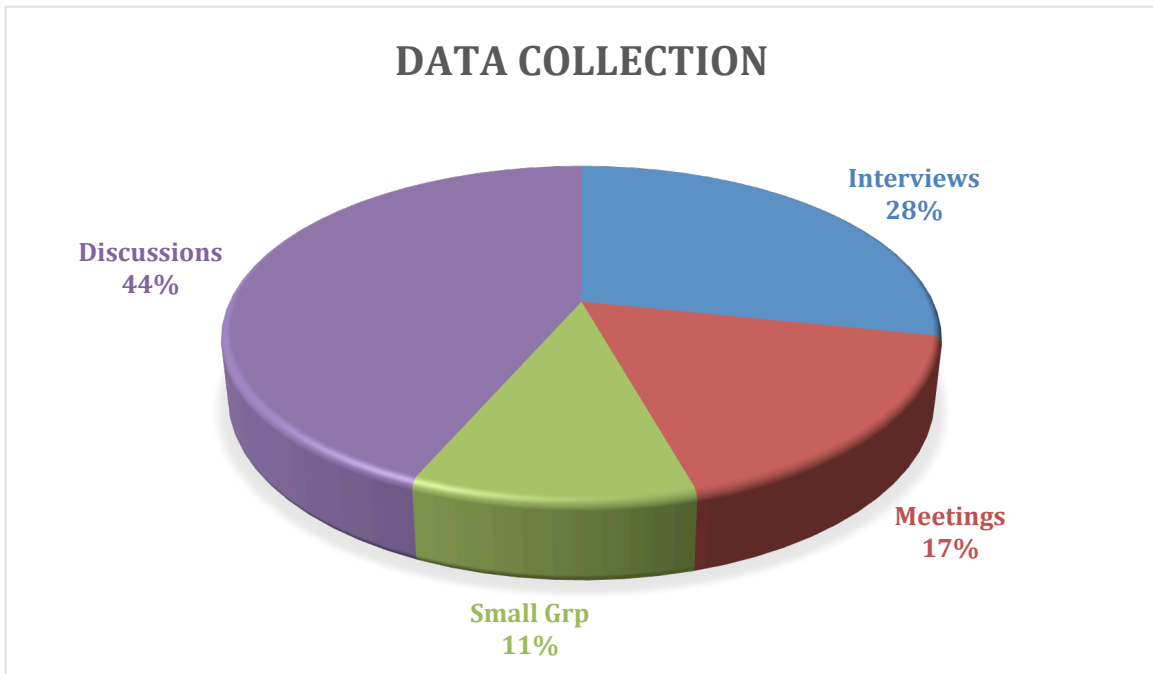
In order to effectively communicate, I needed to understand the government bureaucracy and the various levels of decision-making and authority. This involved examining governance at the local level. This begins with the 110 Chapters that are the local government for their community. Each Chapter House elects a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, Community Development Coordinator, and Grazing Committee members. These local governments have their own issues and needs that are unique to each community; therefore, each community has a different perspective on the past and on archaeology. For instance, there were many Chapters that expressed great interest in creating a research design and being a part of the archaeological process. There were other Chapters that were traditional and viewed archaeology as taboo and they had no or little interest in being a

part of the archaeological process, but felt they should control/protect ceremonial sites and other areas important to the community. Lastly there were other communities that were self-proclaimed as more “Christian” than other Chapters and felt they had no real connection to the archaeology in the area, and to just proceed with the process so their Chapter can have some sort of service.

The diverse nature of the Navajo population and belief systems present throughout the reservation has presented a challenge in applying Indigenous archaeological approaches on a general level, which may work for other smaller Indigenous groups. Taking these complexities into consideration, the creation of the research design had to incorporate a deeper internal analysis of the epistemic injustices that appeared to have taken root in Navajo society and communities, which would then contribute to creating a cultural resource management plan that considers the various pasts’ of the Navajo people. To investigate these injustices, an examination of Navajo philosophy was able to provide multiple approaches that can be used to analyze the situation. For instance, in the case of Navajo society, Medicine People use investigative approaches to understand possible sources of imbalance in a person’s life to appropriately diagnose and treat or mitigate the adverse effects of the imbalance to restore order and balance or *Hozho* to a person’s life. The principles behind these investigative approaches can be applied to investigating Indigenous pasts that benefit Indigenous communities and will ensure transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next.

In total, I attended eight local meetings, including Chapter meetings; I spoke with six tribal employees and eight tribal members; and I was a part of five small group discussions, see Figure 2 for the percentages of data collection used in the dissertation research. Over the course of the two years, I conducted participant-observation activities for several (twenty) meetings, trainings, and discussions, both internal and external to the Navajo Nation. I created an interview guide composed of ten questions (see Appendix A for the questionnaire), however due to the organic nature of these interactions, the questions were expanded or changed depending upon the context of the place and number of participants. I gathered newspaper clippings, online news stories, and online discussions regarding archaeology on the Navajo Nation that also assisted with determining trends.

Due to the lack of participation by the anticipated research sample population, I needed to rethink my process. After reviewing my field notes, I learned that there was a fear on internal retaliation by some coworkers, which prevented employees and other archaeologists from wanting to



**Figure 2. Data Collection Methods (by %) used in Dissertation Research**

participate in my interviews. I respected their wishes and decided to omit the individual interviews due to a lack of time available for the field research.

The eight local meetings were organized specifically to address cultural resources or archaeology within the local community. My role was flexible at these meetings, as I assisted in the organization of the meeting or I was a speaker at the meetings. The discussions were by invitation only, and were conducted on the job or after work, depending upon the comfort of the people. I created a formal interview questionnaire that was replaced by a more organic process after my requests for individual interviews were continually being denied. This provided a great deal more information. The five small group discussions were organized around the discussion of a cultural affiliation statement for the Navajo Nation. These included HPD staff only. The discussions were established by an agenda, and were meant to create a cultural affiliation statement for the Nation. The twenty meetings, trainings, and discussions were informal and allowed for the opportunity to gather information in a participant-observer approach.

The formality of the location of the discussions and the local meetings proved to create a tense situation, as no one wanted to have their information published<sup>86</sup>. The transcribed discussions and field notes have been coded and any information that could potentially identify any person has been deleted. What I discuss here are themes pulled from the analysis of the transcribed interviews, meeting minutes, and personal notes. Rather than focus on individuals, I focus on the themes noted throughout the discussions.

The information collected at the local meetings was transcribed and analyzed for themes. As the discussions were on a communal level, the names and places have been protected at the request of the individuals presiding at the meetings. Although there were handouts and other information shared with me, I have decided that such information will identify certain individuals and such data has been omitted from the data analysis. Again, the focus was on the data as a whole, not on an individual basis. Several communities stressed the importance of confidentiality to protect their constituents, and I have agreed to take several measures to protect my informants and participants.

At the larger public meetings, there was more of an anonymous aspect to the discussions and the handouts. These meetings included larger public venues and broad topics. Archaeology was a side conversation that was usually included in discussions of funding community projects and of the compliance with historic preservation regulations necessary to construct on the Navajo Nation. I did not collect any identification information or signatures for the participants, as they wanted to remain anonymous and preferred to have side discussions about these issues and not formal interviews. They were informed of the research and the risks and benefits of the research as included in my IRB application. I also informed the participants that I could identify and acknowledge them if they were willing, in the dissertation. Unfortunately, there were no volunteers.

### ***Results: Themes***

Analysis of the data collected has revealed four main themes, these are 1) lack of information/research from a Navajo perspective; 2) no

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<sup>86</sup> The informants stated that the risks associated with their jobs, namely losing their job was the main deterrent to using their actual names. However, they stated that they wanted their information to be shared in a broader sense, as a means to addressing the problems that the Navajo Nation has with archaeology and CRM.

communication with local communities; 3) old ways of thinking or management need to be replaced; 4) archaeology is a waste of time and it does not help Navajos. These themes came up numerous times throughout conversations, discussions, and the interviews, in different forms. Following is a summary of each theme and a larger discussion each of the themes.

1) The lack of information or research from a Navajo perspective was a prevalent theme especially in the small group discussions. I suspect that this may be partly due to the fact that these were tribal employees working in either a professional or technical capacity and understood the need to “publish or perish” to maintain a place within the larger field of archaeology, as their positions do not require them to publish. However, many are encouraged to present their work and ideas at professional conferences as a means to stay updated within their respective fields. Additionally, many in this group were working with outside researchers to publish information regarding Navajo cultural resources. The individuals in this group voiced concern that Anglo archaeologists and anthropologists create much of the canon of Navajo archaeological work, with very little interaction with Navajo communities or historians. A trend that continues to this day.

2) The lack of communication with local communities was a recurrent theme throughout all data collections phases. Both the tribal employees and the general public voiced this concern. The tribal employees acknowledged this fact and stated that the lack of funding to perform public outreach, in addition to the vastness of the Navajo reservation contributed to the lack of community collaboration and communication. Individuals stated that it was easier for the tribal government to ignore community concerns rather than to try to gather information and create solutions that benefit the local community. They believed that the tribal government preferred the “ostrich with its head in the sand” approach, which made their jobs easier.

3) The need to replace old ways of thinking or old management styles was a sentiment expressed by local communities and the general public. The views are varied on what exactly this entails. From further analysis, it stems from a need to replace lifelong employees with younger, educated Navajo youth, so as to increase productivity and to “catch up with the rest of the world” as one informant stated. At the public meetings, an individual stated that “Navajo has been doing the same thing for the past 30 years, we need to reinvent the wheel at this point!” The idea that there are new approaches that can be utilized to study the prehistoric Navajo past has made headway with the general public and they are actively demanding that these new approaches be used, as they are in other areas such as healthcare.

4) Across all groups and data collection activities, it was expressed that “archaeology is a waste of time and money- it doesn’t help us Navajos.” However, around this time, there were a series of negative newspaper articles that came out regarding the Historic Preservation Department<sup>87</sup> that may have influenced public opinion about the nature of archaeology on the Navajo Nation and the amount of funding associated with such activities. The trend of archaeologists telling Navajo communities that they were not really from their lands, or that they were essentially ‘squatters’ has created an unfavorable opinion on archaeology in general.

### ***Lack of Information/Research from a Navajo Perspective***

One of the main issues preventing a culturally appropriate approach to managing resources in a Navajo way is the lack of communication between the Navajo Nation government, mainly the Historic Preservation Department (HPD) and Navajo communities. Conversations with local communities about cultural resources and traditional cultural places that should be preserved and maintained have never been held. The decisions made to deem an area or site sacred, or even important to the Navajo Nation comes from the tribal bureaucracy, often times without input from tribal communities. This creates a conflicted and sometimes contentious space that leads to a binary opposition to the other side. Such a contested space is characterized by tribal members as the result of “doing archaeology”, and lends itself well to the argument that archaeological methods are a “waste of time” and sky rocket project costs, and more recently with the sentiment that “archaeology is taboo”.

The lack of communication seems to be due to the lack of effort and resources by tribal departments and staff to reach out to the locally organized governments that are the basis of Navajo communities<sup>88</sup>. In the history of cultural resource management on the Navajo Nation, there has been one comprehensive project that sought to identify and document places of significance to local communities. The research was conducted by the Historic Preservation Department, under the lead of Dr. Alan Downer in

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<sup>87</sup> For example see the Navajo Times February 26, 2010 piece entitled “Archaeologist: Departmental infighting hinders paving”  
[http://navajotimes.com/news/2010/0210/022610archaeologists.php#.VF0wZvnF\\_zg](http://navajotimes.com/news/2010/0210/022610archaeologists.php#.VF0wZvnF_zg).

<sup>88</sup> Although the Traditional Cultural Program representative states that the staff consult with the Medicine Man’s Association on all decisions regarding cultural resources management. The Medicine Man’s Association is composed of a recognized body of Navajo traditional ceremonial practitioners.



1989<sup>89</sup>. Several significant places were identified within a sample of the 110 Chapters across the Navajo Nation. This was the last time that a tribal department actively completed fieldwork and interviews to identify resources. Consequently, this lack of communication has created unequal power distributions, the need for open and honest communication, and a call to action of Navajo communities to protect sacred places.

There seems to be two levels of dissatisfaction within CRM on the Navajo Nation that were expressed in interviews, conversations, and meetings. The first being the lack of communication between the central bureaucracy and the local (affected) communities and the resulting frustration of Navajo communities. The second being the lack of Navajo professionals who are making decisions in regards to the protection and management of Navajo cultural resources and landscapes. It seems these two issues feed into the other to create a larger problem that has created the current state of dissatisfaction and unrest.

For the past twenty-five years, the Historic Preservation Department, including most of its programs, and the Archaeology Department have been managed by non-Native American males who have their own perceptions of the ancient Navajo past. The regulations and policies that were created under this management mirror federal regulations and incorporate little to no Navajo perspectives of the past. Although the Navajo Nation has collected interviews regarding sacred sites, plant/herb gathering places, burials, ceremonial places, and other significant places from local Navajos, the information is not being utilized for long-term management of cultural resources or for archaeological and anthropological research on Navajo lands. The resentment that has been building by Navajo communities who are not seeing Navajo perspectives of the past included in research, of HPD, NNAD, and other archaeologists is contributing to the idea that archaeological and anthropological research is taboo. In Navajo culture, stories about the past are considered esoteric knowledge that is gained only after initiation into particular ceremonial groups. Such knowledge is protected and only shared with others who have the ability to process such complex knowledge, and who are actually 'ready' to receive such knowledge. Use of this knowledge is extremely limited, and is rarely included in bureaucratic processes to manage and protect cultural resources and the cultural landscape.

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<sup>89</sup> The work was the cumulative result of an integrated anthropological approach, which included ethnographers, Navajo translators, archaeologists, and anthropologists.

Although there are Navajo tribal members who have advanced degrees in anthropology/archaeology, environmental science, and history, there are virtually no Navajo resource managers who have the capacity and oversight to create policies and codes that incorporate Navajo perspectives of the past into resource management activities. Non-Native males have occupied these positions. The negotiation of contracts and work plans for archaeological work and research on the Navajo Nation are also overseen by non-Native Americans. The use of normative archaeological theories and methods has further displaced Navajos from the prehistoric Southwest. The resulting data and interpretations have created a situation wherein the integration and incorporation of Navajo perspectives is mostly an afterthought, which results in Navajo perspectives being placed in a confidential appendix of a report with no further interaction or research.

When speaking with the resource managers about such actions, it was stated that such information is confidential and is to be filed in the confidential files of the Traditional Culture Program (TCP). Although all CRM work on the Navajo Nation must now include a check of the TCP files, individual or local narratives of TCPs are not included in the database, as the TCP is concerned with the those TCPs on a more general level e.g. four sacred mountains, major land forms, etc. This action effectively ignores the concerns of the various local Navajo communities.

The permitting of research on Navajo Nation lands is an issue that has created a research void on the reservation. The permitting process is non-transparent and lacks community input. The decision to permit is made by a non-Native male, without policy, direction, or guidelines from any department or authority. The result has been a clear lack of scholarly research on the prehistoric Navajo past. Although the Navajo Nation has a THPO, very little research has been conducted, outside of CRM projects. As such, the THPO office is full of "grey literature" with reports and data from the 1980s to the 1990s being lost or destroyed due to bad records management.

Open research on the prehistoric Navajo past has been stagnant for the past 30 years. The lack of Navajo perspectives incorporated in research and interpretations has created an archaeological record that is incomplete and lacks critical analysis and discussion of data collected from Navajo<sup>90</sup>. HPD staff has banned the use of the term "Ancestral Puebloan" from all reports in an effort to change the trend that was created by the acceptance of such research. They have not discussed or analyzed why the term is being

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<sup>90</sup> See Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion on these points.

used or what it represents in the archaeological record, nor have they provided any solutions to address this problem.

Without guidance from Navajo communities, HPD and other departments are left with little choice but to manage and protect Navajo cultural resources from a non-Navajo perspective, which further displaces Navajos from the prehistoric Southwestern narrative. Ignoring and blacklisting Navajo scholars, archaeologists, anthropologists, and researchers has led to the creation of a Navajo archaeological record that does not relate to Navajo culture, beliefs, or traditions. What good is this to Navajo communities? Why should Navajo communities support archaeological or heritage management efforts when they are absent from the entire process?

### ***Lack of Communication with Communities***

Throughout my public outreach efforts and interviews, a common theme emerged- there is no communication with local communities from Navajo Nation Departments such as HPD or NNAD. Several participants expressed in several interviews and meetings the feeling that the tribal government is dictating their lives, which extends to the management and protection of cultural resources. The history of bureaucratic oppression is fresh in the minds of the people, especially those who witnessed the Peter McDonald riots<sup>91</sup> in 1989 and the extended Bennett Freeze restrictions<sup>92</sup>.

The work plans and the approach taken by tribal departments is dictated by the President, the Tribal Council, and their own departmental priorities. With each Presidential election, comes a new set of priorities that dictate tribal departmental activities. The priorities most often take a

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<sup>91</sup> Peter McDonald was the former President of the Navajo Nation, the only President to serve four terms from 1970 to 1989, who was forcibly removed from office by the Navajo Tribal Council in 1989 thus inciting riots between his supporters and the Navajo Tribal Police. Mr. McDonald was subsequently charged by the Federal government on a host of charges ranging from bribery, extortion, and inciting riots that ended with 2 McDonald supporters dying and 2 Navajo Police officers being wounded. His Presidency marked the divisiveness of the Navajo People and the modern tribal government.

<sup>92</sup> In 1974, former Interior Secretary Bennett placed a 'freeze' on all construction, development, and repair of the contested land base decisions made in 1934, most of which lies on the current Navajo Nation. The lives of the families living in this area were essentially put on hold. In 2009, Democratic Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick introduced legislation to end the Bennett Freeze era, which President Obama signed on May 8, 2009. However, the Navajo Nation has not assisted the Chapters included in the Bennett Freeze area, nor have they developed any real infrastructure in this area.

paternalistic stance when it comes to the Navajo public, wherein, the needs of the public are based on the assumptions of politicians with the actual communities and constituents not being consulted. The dominant attitude of the tribal bureaucracy being that it is the government's job to provide for the People, which many people argue has led to the destruction of Navajo culture and lifeways.

The Navajo Nation is the second largest federally recognized tribe in the US, however, the Navajo Nation is the largest reservation in the US, encompassing more than 27 million acres. Administratively, the Navajo Nation is organized into five (5) agencies<sup>93</sup>, each agency is composed of Chapters, of which there are 110. Each Chapter votes for a President, Vice President, Secretary, Grazing Official, and Community Services Coordinator that all serve to assist each community (Chapter). These Chapter officials are responsible for the day-to-day activities and administration of Chapter activities and report to the Council Delegate any items that need the attention of the Tribal Council. There are 24 Council Delegates that are elected by Navajo tribal members living within or associated with a particular Chapter. Since the reduction of the Tribal Council, groups of Chapters are represented by one of the 24 Council Delegates. Such a process of reporting and reduction in representation slowly diminishes the voice of the local community.

Frustrations with this process, the lack of communication on a departmental level with local communities, and the lack of dissemination of information to the local communities was expressed by many individuals throughout the dissertation research. This sentiment was expressed at several local Chapter meetings that were attended, as well as in individual interviews with tribal members. Many of the professional/technical staff that were interviewed also expressed frustration that there was little interaction with the Public in their course of work, although the work they were completing would affect the quality of life for community members, as well as the protection and management of cultural resources.

A common theme throughout the interviews and other meetings was the lack of personal responsibility by tribal employees for culturally appropriate management and protection of cultural resources. Many of the community members believed that since the employees were working for the Navajo Nation, they should know and understand the complex nature and the consequences of working with cultural resources, specifically around

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<sup>93</sup> Western (Tuba City), Central (Chinle), Northern (Shiprock), Eastern (Crownpoint), and Southern (Ft. Defiance).

archaeological sites and materials, as there are restrictions surrounding these materials and places. They expressed the need for cultural sensitivity training for tribal employees and other researchers conducting work near or with archaeological sites and materials.

### ***Replace "old ways of thinking and doing"***

Throughout several interviews, small group discussions, private and public meetings it was stated that the Navajo Nation must move away from "old ways of thinking and doing" that have become ineffective in the management and protection of heritage management. An Administrator from a major funding source for the Navajo Nation commented at a meeting that the Navajo Nation should "reinvent the wheel" for archaeological, historic preservation, and heritage management activities. The Administrator noted that since he has been with the funding source (over 20 years) that nothing has changed with the Navajo Nation. The work plans, budgets, and resulting products were almost exactly the same, whereas outside Navajo subcontractors have evolved in their approaches and methods.

Council Delegates who have worked their entire careers with the Navajo Nation also noted that the tribe does not evolve, people do not retire, and everything that we learn from CRM undertakings are exactly the same. One delegate noted the old party line that "Pueblos were here before us." He asked "where are the Dine' in all of this research, where are our histories, why are we not listening to our People?". I was asked directly about why archaeology is important- or more to the point- why is the Navajo Nation spending millions of dollars on archaeology when local histories were not being told. I calmly replied that we are in the backseat when it comes to archaeological research, the research being conducted does not once, throughout the entire process, involve the local Navajo community, except at the end of the project as "dissemination of research" which entails a public presentation or a brochure. I went on to explain that there are approaches and methods available to us now that will enable us to investigate and apply Navajo perspectives and approaches to science, especially to archaeological investigations.

Individuals in both the interviews and in the small group discussions noted that there are very few educated Navajo or Native American managers or administrators working for the Navajo Nation, which may be the cause of the lack of archaeological research from a Navajo perspective. It was also surmised that this situation has led to the ability of non-Navajo or non-Native archaeologists to ignore Navajo oral histories and perspectives when

conducting research on the prehistory of the Southwest. Since the inception of CRM on the Navajo Nation in the 1950s, there has been very little participation from the Navajo public. The extent of Navajo involvement thus far has been collecting ethnographic information in regards to Traditional Cultural Places, which is then incorporated into a report and filed at HPD.

Many of the tribal employees, former tribal employees, and other subcontractors noted that the lack of a formal cultural resources management plan, a research design, and regulations have created a lack of research from Navajo perspectives and contexts. Since the establishment of the THPO at the Navajo Nation, there has not been a management plan or a research design in place to guide research on the Navajo Nation, although it was a task that was to be completed by the THPO. They stated that the lack of these documents created a research environment that ignored the Navajo people, their culture, and their traditions. However, they also stated that they did not know exactly how to proceed with such research as they have always “done archaeology the same way” for the past 30 years. The research conducted for this dissertation has assisted in the creation of a research design and regulations to help guide research from a Navajo context.

At many of the meetings, the same theme emerged- that the Navajo Nation must include Navajo perspectives of the past and that research must include Navajo sites and places of ceremonial importance. Although this theme emerged from discussions with a variety of publics, each one understood the implications of “staying the same”, which is antithetical to Navajo beliefs<sup>94</sup>. Each group stressed the importance of changing, or basically of “reinventing the wheel” when researching Navajo prehistory. The amount of funding and research committed to reinforcing the old paradigm approached its end. There was a sharp downturn in archaeological investigations for transportation and other utility infrastructure, such as water and sewer services. The Navajo people should have benefitted from such research became displaced from their histories and have demanded to be a part of the process.

### ***“Archaeology is a waste of time”***

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<sup>94</sup> John R. Farella, in his book “The Main Stalk: A Synthesis of Navajo Philosophy”, discusses the Navajo belief that everything in life must change in order for life to survive and for Navajo people to thrive in the future. Essentially, it is believed that all things in life change, but this is the one constant in life- change, also known as *Hózhóójí* and *noot’iil* (p120).

Throughout all phases of data collection there was one enduring theme- that archaeology is a waste of time, it doesn't benefit Navajos. Unfortunately, in terms of the data produced and collected, this is a fairly true statement. Very little of Navajo prehistory has been captured in the archaeological record, and what exists is completely void of Navajo participation or perspectives. When asked about archaeological research, many of the people stated that archaeologists always prefer to work with the Pueblos, or that the research is concerned with Pueblos, and never includes the Navajo. Many people remembered times that, archaeologists told them that they are new comers to the Southwest and they are actually Athapaskan.

Such interactions with archaeologists have led to a strong dislike and distrust of archaeology in general, which has lent itself to the strong disregard of archaeology that many of those interviewed hold. However, since the Navajo Nation is considered federal trust land, there are several federal laws and regulations<sup>95</sup> that must be complied with before any ground disturbing events take place. Such regulations require tribal consultation before the undertaking occurs, however, as the Navajo Nation has official THPO status, the Navajo THPO has oversight and signatory authority over all undertakings and review processes associated with such laws and regulations. This resulted in the cultural resources inventory process<sup>96</sup> being established and required for all ground disturbing events on the Navajo Nation, including building a home or business, installing utility lines, and constructing or maintaining roads. The costs associated with this process have steadily increased each year and the average cost for archaeological clearance to build a home on the Navajo Nation is approximately \$3,500 to \$5,000<sup>97</sup>.

The average cost of constructing one mile of road on the Navajo Nation is approximately \$1,000,000, including all environmental and historic preservation preliminary studies, mitigation expenses, realignments, and construction costs. The average cost of installing utility lines begins at approximately \$10,000 for the preliminary environmental and historic preservation expenses. Additionally, the average timeline for the completion

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<sup>95</sup> Such as the National Historic Preservation Act, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and the National Environmental Policy Act to name a few.

<sup>96</sup> The cultural resources inventory process is an archaeological survey of the project area, including a buffer zone to locate or identify any cultural resources, TCPs, or

<sup>97</sup> This includes the cost for the homesite lease, the Fish and Wildlife check, the Navajo Nation Environmental Policy Department, the archaeological survey, and the cadastral land survey.

of the cultural resources inventory process, including a signed compliance document ranges from two months to two years<sup>98</sup>. Many Navajo people cannot comprehend the associated costs and very seldom see the final product or hear what was completed with the funds. Consequently, to many Navajos in local communities, the costs are not justifiable, and the benefits are nonexistent. Within this context, archaeology becomes the problem, it requires seemingly enormous amounts of funding and is a time consuming process. Furthermore, to a public that faces high rates of unemployment, poverty, and addiction, the money spent on archaeology should be going to assistance programs for the public.

Through the course of my research, it was noted that many meetings regarding processes and regulations began with a discussion regarding the costs associated with archaeology. Many of the involved parties had heard of large-scale projects that required Phase III excavations, which totaled upwards of a million dollars over two to three years. Or they had seen the costs of projects increase due to rerouting roads or utility lines to avoid archaeological sites or TCPs. However, these discussions never included why these sites are excavated or why they were deemed significant so as to excavate. However, they all knew that the excavation of sites or avoiding sites was mandated by federal laws. Several participants articulated that the Navajo Nation should not pay for such work, as the research never benefitted the Navajo people. Archaeologists had to explain that the work is not paid by the Navajo Nation, rather the lead federal agency of the undertaking paid for the work. However, Navajo Nation archaeologists benefitted from this work, as they were hired to conduct such work. Nevertheless, Navajo Nation archaeologists utilized existing funding to complete the work.

Very rarely are archaeological projects conducted with community input or begin with the community's needs. Most projects and research designs are created before the community is notified of the project. Archaeologists begin work with the THPO, who never consults with the Navajo public. Research is denied or approved based on the personal opinion of the THPO of whether or not the "research benefits the Navajo people". However, not once has the Navajo public been asked by the THPO for their opinions on who determines what is beneficial, or what research they are interested in for their communities. Navajo communities have been disenfranchised from making these decisions and from their own heritage management.

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<sup>98</sup> This data was collected over the course of several years, and reflects the cost of the cultural resources inventory process for FY2014.



A major concern from former and current tribal employees and from other archaeologists, which emerged from the interviews, the small group discussions, and the meetings, involved the institutional removal of all historic preservation and archaeological regulations requiring cultural resources inventories before undertakings. The idea for removing these regulations came from the Navajo Tribal Council (NTC) as a means to expedite the construction process on the Navajo Nation. At several meetings, the environmental review and historic preservation processes were pinpointed by several bureaucrats- both internal and external to the Navajo Nation- as cost and time consuming. They provided the NTC delegates with figures of archaeological road projects that totaled in the millions as evidence of the nature of these processes. However, the projects they chose to use as examples were from areas with National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) listed properties, e.g. Kin Teel (Wide Ruins), which cost more money due to the sensitive nature of the work necessary due to the undertaking.

Rather than omitting this process completely, I suggested the implementation of a research design, regulations to accompany the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act, and a management plan. These recommendations would assist the Nation with capacity building as they would be able to plan for the future and create priorities for work and research. I explained that these items would provide data that the Navajo Nation could use in a variety of other planning processes to expedite the compliance process. Once priorities were identified, the Navajo Nation would be able to expedite specific parts of the environmental and historic preservation processes. These recommendations seemed to placate many of the Delegates and the bureaucrats.

## ***Analysis***

The threefold recommendations that I gave to the NTC- a) implementation of a research design, b) regulations to accompany the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act, and c) a management plan- came after careful analysis of the data collected, see Figure 3 below for a diagrammatic depiction of the recommendations made to create and support a Navajo or tribal archaeology. Although there are multiple ways to address this situation, the recommendations are the result of an analysis involving several variables, including persons involved, available funding, NTC delegates, Navajo Nation priorities, and community representation. The combination of the variables and data collected, led to several possible

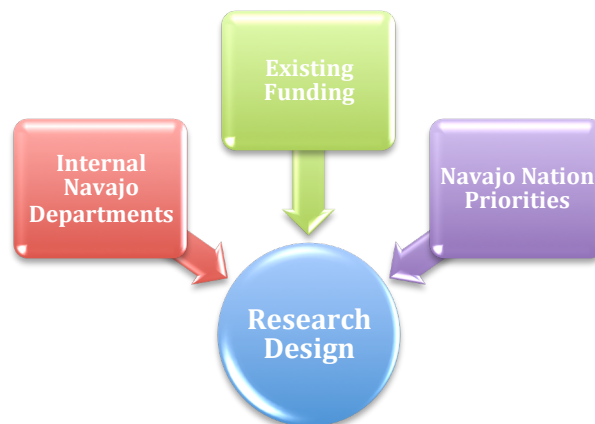
scenarios. Each of these scenarios was weighed and considered, which led to the final recommendations provided to the NTC.



**Figure 3. Variables Considered for Each Recommendation**

### ***Research Design***

The data collected under a research design that incorporates Navajo culture, oral histories, and traditions would enable the Navajo people to reclaim their histories and to present them as they deemed appropriate. The idea of presenting a Navajo history, created by Navajo communities was seen as empowering and has assisted in reframing archaeological inquiry from being a “waste of time and money” to a valuable approach to pursue for the benefit of local Navajo communities. The variables included persons/entities involved, funding, and Navajo Nation priorities (see Figure 4). At least 75% of the interviewees agreed that something to guide research on Navajo lands, or a research design would be beneficial for the Navajo Nation.



**Figure 4. Variables Considered for Creating a Navajo Research Design**

The persons and entities involved in creating a research design were a major variable, due to the fact that without key individuals internal to the Navajo Nation, creating a research design may not be advisable. However, with the Navajo Nation's current staff- a cadre of long time resource managers, archaeologists, and cultural practitioners- a research design that incorporates known Navajo prehistory and oral histories, Navajo culture and traditions, and archaeological knowledge is possible. There were many discussions regarding the implementation of "something to guide research on Navajo lands"<sup>99</sup> throughout the interviews, the small discussions, and during the small and large meetings. Several Navajo Nation departments also noted that if they had an idea of the type of research they should be completing or have their subcontractors complete, they would be glad to enforce and ensure compliance.

Many of the Navajo Nation's departments and programs are funded through Navajo General Funds, with supplemental appropriations from outside funding sources (e.g. BIA, FHWA, I.H.S., etc.) to conduct work. Some of these departments and programs are subcontracted to complete work from the same outside funding sources. Many of the internal Navajo departments and programs have Navajo employees that have worked within this capacity for a number of years and are aware of the complex and nuanced nature of this work. They have witnessed this process for many years<sup>100</sup> and have seen where work should be completed to improve the process. This variable- existing funding- will assist in the completion of the research design as there is funding available<sup>101</sup> that will enable employees to complete such a task.

With each new fiscal year, all Navajo Nation departments must conduct strategic planning to create priorities for the fiscal year, which the department will complete. This is a mandate that if not complied with, will result in the loss or withholding of funding to the department. The creation of priorities at the top executive level- from the Office of the President and Vice President- will provide guidance to each Division and department on

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<sup>99</sup> Taken from a direct quote from the personal interviews. As the participant did not want to be identified, this interview will be known as Interview #1.

<sup>100</sup> In some cases, the interviewees have worked for over 25 years with this process, and several others have worked with this process for at least 10 years.

<sup>101</sup> General Funds that provide funding for personnel and operating expenses are appropriated for each fiscal year and enable Navajo departments to allocate funding to predetermined areas, e.g. the creation of a research design or the creation of the Navajo Nation Cultural Affiliation Statements, as they stated in their approved Master Plan.

what their Master Plans and priorities will be for the coming year. The OPVP creates at least four priorities each year that its administration will work to achieve. In most cases, the priorities involve increasing economic development, education, developing infrastructure, healthy communities, and government reform<sup>102</sup>. Each Division within the Navajo Nation in turn creates priorities and program performance criteria based on these issues, wherein each Department will create Master Plans and program performance criteria in which to address the issues identified by the OPVP. The departments working with cultural resources will create such priorities as assisting communities and individuals with the historic preservation process, educating communities (e.g. Chapters) on the historic preservation process, and/or completing a certain number of cultural resources inventories each year to assist with infrastructure and economic development.

There are several departments that have benefitted from partnering to contribute staff and resources to assist in the creation of the research design. The use of existing funding for indirect activities has been directed towards the creation of the research design, in addition to conducting public outreach to communicate with the Navajo public. The priorities of the Navajo Nation have aligned to create the right environment for the creation of a research design. Each of the three identified variables has created a space from which a Navajo centered research design can be created by, with, and for the Navajo Nation.

The research design is in its final stages of completion, due to the nature of it being Community-Based, the final document will need to be work shopped with local communities. This will be undertaken by HPD staff. However, a decolonized version of the research design can be seen in the *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology section on page 117. It will become adopted as part of the regulations to the Cultural Resources Protection Act, which will have to be approved by the Resources and Development Committee and then moved forward to adoption by the entire Navajo Tribal Council.

### ***Regulations to Accompany the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act***

The Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act (hereafter CRPA) provides guidance to contractors who are undertaking archaeological

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<sup>102</sup> The website for the Navajo Nation Office of the President and Vice President lists these as "issues," which can be found at: <http://www.navajopresident.org/2014/01/08/issues/>.

research on Navajo lands. It was created in 1988 to protect cultural resources, to create a permitting system for research, and to create a civil penalty system to enforce the Act and to prohibit certain activities without the consent of the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. The CRPA was created without accompanying regulations, which has caused many issues internal and external to the Navajo Nation. Variables involved in this recommendation center around funding, departments, and authority, which have a considerable effect upon the creation of regulations to this important piece of legislation, see Figure 5 below.



**Figure 5. Variables Considered for Creating Regulations to the CRPA**

At several of the meetings, it was stated that the Navajo Nation needs to address the permitting process and the review of reports by HPD, as it was suggested that this process is more a personal decision based on personal relationships, rather than an objective process that is guided by regulations<sup>103</sup>. A suggested remedy was the creation of regulations to guide the process, especially for future use. It was acknowledged that this idea had been suggested when the Act was crafted, and several employees were tasked with creating the regulations, however, for various reasons, regulations were not created. The use of existing funding from General funds would enable a group of employees to work together to create draft regulations, as this activity would be considered an indirect expense.

The CRPA mirrors the NHPA, and contains similar provisions. Specifically that all ground disturbing work must be approved by the

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<sup>103</sup> The participants did not want to reveal their identities especially in relation to this topic, as many were afraid of retaliation. However, this topic was heavily discussed by those internal and external to the Navajo Nation.

Preservation Officer before work commences. This affects the work of several tribal departments who undertake ground disturbing work on a daily basis and the work subcontracted to outside contractors by several departments. These departments have lobbied for changes to the CRPA and to the historic preservation process overall to several NTC Delegates who have taken their cause up and who are actively attempting to dispose of all compliance processes associated with environmental and cultural resource reviews. They see this process as detrimental, costly, and expendable. These NTC Delegates have created conditions of appropriation against the NNEPA, the NNLD, and the HPD to withhold funding for travel until an "expedited compliance process" can be created.

In an attempt to educate the NTC, the HPD and NNAD each presented to the Council what the historic preservation process entails and why it is mandated, not only by tribal laws, but also by federal laws. It was explained to several NTC Delegates that it was never mandated that the Navajo Nation must excavate every single archaeological site identified, but that it was at the discretion of the Navajo Nation, since THPO status was obtained in 1993. I explained that the tribe has the ability to guide research on domains they want investigated and that were beneficial to the Navajo people through the implementation of a Navajo centered research design, CRPA regulations, and a management plan.

The NTC agreed that it was in the Nation's best interest to create regulations to accompany the CRPA to clarify and solidify the process. This endeavor was possible by using existing funding and by cost-sharing employees' time and other resources. But more importantly, it was supported by the NTC and specifically by members of one of the NTC committees that regularly works with the historic preservation process- the Resources and Development Committee. The last draft of these regulations are comprehensive and incorporate changes that need to be made to Navajo law that will support HPDs cultural resources protection and management efforts, both on and off the reservation. Until the regulations are approved and published, they are considered confidential, however, an outline of the regulations can be found in Appendix B.

### ***Management Plan***

A cultural resources management plan (CRMP) is a document that assists an organization with planning for the use, protection, and education of the public in regards to cultural resources within a jurisdictional land boundary. As part of the THPO application, the Navajo Nation was to create

a CRMP for all Navajo lands. However, this was never completed. The decision to approve or deny archaeological research or projects was in the hands of non-Navajo and non-Native American tribal.

The variables considered for this recommendation included the use of existing funding to complete such a task, the use of various internal Navajo Nation employees, and finally community representation. In order to create an inclusive Cultural Resources Management Plan, the Navajo Nation will need to utilize existing personnel and resources, in addition to reaching out to the local Navajo communities to identify shared concerns and questions about the management process. A CRMP should be a community-based process, as it is the Navajo people who should be the ones to identify, protect, and manage cultural resources in a culturally sensitive and appropriate manner. See Figure 6 below.



**Figure 6. Variables Considered for Creating a Navajo centered Management Plan**

There are at least four Navajo Nation departments that are directly involved in conducting archaeological inventories on tribal lands, these departments must work together to lay out shared concerns when creating a CRMP. Each of these departments has at least thirty years of cumulative experience in archaeology on the Navajo Nation. They have the knowledge and experience to assist in the creation of a CRMP. In the interviews and small group discussions this issue was discussed in relation to the lack of teamwork within the Navajo Nation, it was stated that all of the departments that work with archaeology do not meet or work together on large issues affecting the Navajo Nation. It was also stated that if they were to meet, they would produce beneficial results for the Navajo people.

Those tribal departments that are involved in the archaeological process, such as HPD, NNAD, NDOT- Project Management, and Community Improvement, must work directly with local affected communities and invite them to be a part of the process. These departments have archaeologists on staff that complete the archaeological process on a day to day basis, but whom may not collaborate with the local community. Such an approach has created a hierarchical power relationship, where the tribal government is making decisions for these communities, which further displaces them from the archaeological process. Collaboration with local communities will be a learning process for all involved, but most importantly, it will be involve sharing power with the local communities. It must not remain a colonialist, hierarchical, and patriarchal process that excludes local community input and perspectives.

The cultural resources management plan will be contracted out to a subcontractor, as the time and resources needed by HPD staff outweigh their regular job duties and responsibilities and funding for their regular duties is already limited to providing direct services. The management plan will be implemented as one of the last activities, as the need for the research design and the regulations are tantamount to the CRMP. Elements from both of these documents will be integrated into the CRMP to guide work with the Navajo Nation.

### ***Interpretation***

After analysis of the variables, several issues were identified, which led to the formal recommendations made to the NTC. However, these recommendations have revealed deeper issues within the archaeological process of the Navajo Nation. The archaeological process of the Navajo Nation is fraught with colonial and patriarchal power imbalances and epistemic injustices. The practical application of Indigenous and Applied archaeological methods will be key in countering colonial and patriarchal power imbalances and in addressing epistemic injustices. The creation of the research design, regulations, and a management plan will enable the Navajo Nation- both the tribal bureaucracy and local communities- the ability to produce narratives that are culturally appropriate and empower local communities to participate in the study of the Navajo archaeological record.

There are essentially two gatekeepers that approve or deny archaeological and anthropological research on all Navajo lands, including research on material collections housed at some museums and institutions. These two individuals have worked with the Navajo Nation for at least 25-30



years in this capacity. Interestingly, they are non-Native American and manage departments and a program with a 99% Navajo work force. There were many concerns by the employees and others that I interviewed and engaged in the research regarding this situation. Particularly that Navajo perspectives of the past are not included in research or that these individuals decide what research is "beneficial" on behalf of the Navajo people, but have not consulted with communities. The establishment of a research design created with, by, and for Navajo communities will ensure that the Navajo people maintain a voice and presence in the archaeological process and assist in shifting complete power from the central tribal bureaucracy to distribute it to local communities.

Addressing epistemic injustices such as the creation of Navajo history without Navajo input, the perpetuation of outdated archaeological interpretations, and the exclusion of Navajo voices in dialogues concerning the prehistoric Southwest, will enable the Navajo Nation to join such conversations, and to manage and protect cultural resources in ways that are culturally appropriate and in compliance with regulations. The creation of a Navajo specific research design, a cultural resources management plan, and regulations to accompany the CRPA will allow the Navajo people to address the epistemic injustices and reclaim some of the power to identify, interpret, and create a Navajo prehistory.

Decades of excluding Navajo perspectives, voices, and narratives in the archaeological record have created a void in the rich tapestry of stories that have comprise the current narrative of the prehistoric Southwest. For many years, Navajo Nation cultural resource managers were explicitly told by Chanters and other Medicine People that our oral histories and stories related to ceremonies, are esoteric knowledge that one must be initiated into before they can be told the stories associated with certain archaeological sites. Therefore, sharing or publishing such information was restricted. Starting in 2010, cultural resource managers were informed that in order to protect and appropriately manage cultural resources, it was necessary to share and publish the knowledge that was previously restricted. As such, HPD began work on creating and finalizing a Cultural Affiliation Statement, which allowed the use of some of this critical knowledge.

It is the intent of the Navajo Nation to begin investigating domains of Navajo history that will encourage cooperation and collaboration with other tribes and archaeologists. This reversal in direction and attitudes can be contributed to the realization of the Chanters and Medicine People of the epistemic injustices that surround Navajo prehistory. Once the issues were framed in this context, it was understood that several of the problems that

the Navajo Nation is dealing with, such as land loss, loss of language and cultural traditions, and natural resource extraction are a direct result of these injustices.

Under the Post-processual paradigm, multi-vocal approaches to the past are used to diversify narratives of the past<sup>104</sup>. They are inclusionary and provide for nuanced and holistic narratives. However, consideration of each of these multi-vocal narratives has seemingly created a situation where one narrative is accorded more value than others, as is the case with NAGPRAs reliance on assigning 'cultural affiliation' to ancient human remains, burial items, sacred items, and items of cultural patrimony. Scientific or archaeological approaches are considered to be "valid," whereas Native American narratives of the past are considered "folk knowledge" or are accorded less value. Therefore, attempting to use such approaches in the context of tribal--specifically Navajo-- archaeology may undermine the value of creating a Navajo specific past. In this case, Post-processual approaches that are used with decolonizing methods to reclaim Indigenous pasts are a tool that Navajo archaeology can implement to create a *Nihookáá Dine'é' Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology that assists Indigenous groups with revitalizing the study of the past.

### ***Decolonizing Methods in Archaeology***

The use of decolonizing methods<sup>105</sup> in archaeological research has been documented in the works of Stephen Silliman's Eastern Pequot Archaeological field school (2008), Sonya Atalay's community based archaeology experiences (2008, 2012), and finally John Welch's Canadian experience (2011), which provide foundational support for archaeological projects undertaken with Indigenous communities in reclaiming histories. The importance of such projects goes beyond the inclusion of Indigenous 'voices' in the interpretation of archaeological sites; rather these types of projects help to rebuild communities, families, and individuals. Typically,

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<sup>104</sup> See Chapter 2 and 3 for a more detailed discussion on Post-processual approaches in archaeology.

<sup>105</sup> Within this context, "decolonizing methods" include those methods listed in Linda Smith-Tuhiwai's landmark work entitled "Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples" (1999), but also includes methods that Indigenous groups are currently undertaking or have successfully undertaken to reclaim knowledge and to decolonize knowledge systems and tribal governance (see the edited volume by Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird entitled "For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook", 2005).

such projects begin with a discussion of the needs and concerns of the local community or descendant community and of the researcher. The resulting objectives are then developed to benefit not only the researcher but also the community- a reciprocal and ethical approach to research. Both parties have equal standing when it comes to decision-making and other responsibilities in regards to the project, so that they are vested in the process and outcome. These three case studies aim to provide an overview of the possibilities of such research and to demonstrate that this approach is well taken by Native American and Indigenous communities.

In the recent past, many archaeologists have engaged with tribal and Indigenous communities on much more meaningful levels, thus creating paths to collaborative archaeology beyond those established by legal mandates (Bendremer and Thomas 2008, Ferguson 2003, Ferguson & Colwell- Chanthaphonh 2006, 2008, Dongoske et al 2000, Lightfoot 2008, Mills et al. 2008, McGuire 2008, Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008, Smith and Wobst 2005, Swidler et al 1997, Watkins and Ferguson 2005). Stephen Silliman's "At the Trowel's Edge" (2008) raised important questions regarding the efficacy of conducting archaeology on tribal lands without critically engaging with tribal communities. The experiences, knowledge, and advice given by the authors in the book have provided concepts that began to "frame when, where, how, and why collaborative Indigenous archaeologies work" (p. 12), by illuminating the need for a change in the methodologies, practices, and pedagogies utilized in archaeology. The ingenuity and commitment by the archaeologists in these essays signaled a change in the ways that collaborative and community-engaged archaeologies were conducted, an important and necessary step for the field of archaeology.

In the vein of creating other paths to collaborative and community-based archaeology, Sonya Atalay demonstrated in her book "Community Based Archaeology" (2012) that using a community based participatory approach to archaeology has enabled tribal, Indigenous, and local communities to build their community capacity, assert their sovereignty, and reclaim their pasts. The examples she utilizes- her work at Çatalhöyük and with the staff at the Ziibiwing Center- have provided archaeologists with case studies to learn about the various ways that community based participatory approaches can be molded to local community needs and contexts. Within the context of moving beyond legal mandates for consultation, Ms. Atalay's experiences and guidance have provided a necessary foundation for the practical application of community base participatory approaches for new generations of archaeologists.

In the article "Assessing Collaboration with the Sliammon First Nation in a Community-Based Heritage Research and Stewardship Program," John Welch, Dana Lepofsky, and Michelle Washington (2011) discuss the importance of "unpacking collaboration" (p172) and the content, process, and assessment of collaborative efforts. They stress the need for archaeologists to study the details involved in collaborative and community based projects in order to gauge with whom, when, where, why, and how the benefits of collaborative projects are being distributed. This sort of assessment not only benefits those engaged in a particular project, but it also assists archaeologists and descendant communities navigate the process of collaborative and community based projects. Assessments or evaluations for these types of projects are lacking within the literature, but are critical to improving the process of collaborative and community based projects. The use of the "collaborative continuum" borrowed from Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008) is an extremely useful tool for gauging the collaborative nature of a project using a set of criteria.

Utilizing the information and experiences from both Silliman and Atalay, I have approached working with the Navajo public in a completely new direction. I have worked for the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department first from 1999 to 2004, and participated in and witnessed a great deal of archaeological research being conducted for the sake of archaeology- not necessarily to benefit the Navajo Nation. I worked with the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department from 2008 to 2012 creating and negotiating small and large-scale archaeological contracts, again for the sake of archaeology. It was with this job that I began to see the implications of doing archaeology for archaeology's sake on the Navajo Public and on Navajo Nation's efforts to reclaim water and land rights. In 2013, as an attempt to influence and set the pace for archaeological research on the Navajo Nation, I began working, again, for the Archaeology Department. However, this time around I was a Program Manager, acting as the Department Director and have been able to change the way archaeology is conducted by the Navajo Nation.

Some of the collaborative successes we've accomplished at NNAD include power sharing, which has included working from a multidimensional level. We began with the grassroots level or taking a "Bottom Up" approach with local Navajo governments, also known as Chapters. Only once in the history of archaeology and CRM work on the Navajo Nation (1991-92) have these local governments been consulted regarding their CRM concerns and needs, most importantly an initial "inventory" was taken of those Traditional Cultural Properties mentioned in interviews. Since this time, the Navajo Nation government has made decisions about identifying and mitigating

effects on cultural resources, historic properties, and TCPs on behalf of the people. At NNAD, we have consistently worked with local communities in identifying, documenting, and protecting TCPs and in learning about their concerns and needs, whether or not they are related to heritage management. Using this approach has strengthened our relationships with local communities and we have successfully assisted with the development of much needed infrastructure for local communities<sup>106</sup>.

NNAD has also approached the problem from different angles besides the “bottom - up” approach. For instance, NNAD has taken an “inside – out” approach when working with the tribal government. Such an example is NNAD working within the bureaucracy to reach out to Navajo communities and hosting outreach events at local fairs, events, and meetings to introduce our staff and the work we complete as required by tribal and federal mandates, which increases the public’s understanding of infrastructure development on tribal lands. We have also learned the importance of working between the lines- or working within existing policies, tribal codes, and resolutions to educate and empower our clients. A great example of working between the lines is NNAD’s work with HPD to have the Navajo Nation Council adopt the Cultural Affiliation statement in order to be codified as Navajo Nation law. Both entities are currently engaged in creating regulations to accompany the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act, as a means to work together and to enable Navajo communities to take an active role in archaeology and heritage management on the Navajo Nation.

Although we have successfully accomplished many different collaborative projects, there are always those projects or approaches that have failed us, and which we have learned from as a result. The approaches that have failed us include working from a “Top – down” approach, creating policies and projects without community help/input, taking a “Navajo only” approach and not working with other tribes or weighing the utility of partnering. In an attempt to learn from past mistakes, I would like to elaborate on these approaches below.

The ‘top-down’ approach refers to the HPD making all cultural resources decisions on behalf of all Navajo communities as authorized by the Navajo Nation government. For example, HPD is the lead agency for all cultural resources’ related issues and all federal agencies and other governmental agencies must consult with HPD on any undertakings that may

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<sup>106</sup> Examples of local infrastructure development includes installing power lines, water lines or cisterns, roads, homesites, business sites, and fence lines.

adversely effect Navajo cultural resources; these decisions are rarely discussed with the local communities that will be effected by the undertaking. There was a constant outcry against these decisions being made without the consent of the local governments, and the HPD revised the way it consulted internally with local communities.

The HPD and other departments within the Division of Natural Resources consistently create policies and projects in a reactionary space, so that local communities often have no input in these processes and eventually protest the implementation of such policies and projects. The General Leasing Regulations as proposed by the Navajo Land Department are an example of the result of not consulting with communities to create policies and projects. Many local communities and individual Navajos protested these regulations and the NLD were forced to restart their public outreach and notification of their regulations within all five of the Navajo agencies. As a result, departments within the Executive Branch must go through a public notification and outreach phase for each large-scale project or policy.

The HPD took an isolationist stance for many years in cultural resources issues throughout the Southwest and created a reputation that did not benefit working relationships with outside entities or agencies. This 'Navajo only' stance put the HPD into an adversarial role against other tribes in the Southwest and created a competitive environment around repatriation and reburial work that is considered sacred and humbling. Instead of infighting amongst other tribes, the HPD has taken a new course that seeks to partner with other tribes in attempts to repatriate and quickly rebury ancestors. This work has also taken shape in other large scale projects throughout the Southwest, where HPD and other tribes are working together to protect the larger Traditional Cultural Landscape that embeds all of the inter-tribal stories and histories.

These actions have resulted in a failure on the part of the Navajo Nation government in our efforts at collaborative and community based participatory archaeology that has had dire implications on relations with local communities and with other tribes. Currently, the opinions of Navajo communities of archaeology and historic preservation are negative and the actions triggered by legislation are seen as unnecessary and prohibitive to their rights. The lack of collaboration and communication with other tribes has pushed the Navajo Nation into a defensive position, which has not been conducive to a collaborative research environment.

There have been new developments in the collaborative and community based participatory efforts of the Navajo Nation that are moving

us into a new research paradigm. These developments are a reflection of the results of other successful collaborative and community based projects on the Nation. These initial projects, mostly in the health and natural resources fields, have acted as catalysts to motivate tribal officials and administrators to fund such projects. Additionally, the services provided by the Archaeology Department and the Historic Preservation Department are the initial steps in a long bureaucratic process that is mandated by federal and tribal legislation, which make their services an integral part of the overall infrastructure development process.

The work of the Navajo Human Rights Commission has also worked as a catalyst prompting the tribal government to fund projects that empower and motivate local Chapters to reclaim authority and responsibility for their own communities. They have adopted a Navajo approach to empowering local Chapters by utilizing the following concepts: *Sa'a Naaghai Bik'e Hozhoo, Hashkéejí, Hózhóójí and K'é*, or to being resilient, content, disciplined and maintaining peaceful relationships with all creation<sup>107</sup>. In addition to these concepts, I would add the following concepts to the toolkit for successful projects on the Navajo Nation: *Nitsaha kees*- the development of concentration and the senses; *Nahata'*- organization, communication, comprehension, and the planting of seeds; *Iina*- the clan system, kinship, social development, and life cycles; and finally *Siihasin*- the natural order, sacred songs, prayers, ceremonies, and protection<sup>108</sup>. These concepts are used as guidelines when creating projects and remind us of the importance of the work that we do. Utilizing these concepts in project planning and development has created a uniquely Navajo approach to important work with, by, and for Navajo communities.

Armed with these concepts, the work that we are undertaking will not only empower Navajo communities in a variety of ways, but will also reinforce Navajo traditions and philosophies. The utilization of Navajo approaches and worldviews has been an important tool in language and cultural retention projects. HPD is planning for the future and is looking to strengthen relationships with local communities, other Navajo Nation departments and entities, and with neighboring tribes in heritage management efforts. HPD is planning work for the summer to meeting with Navajo Chapters throughout the reservation to listen and answer questions about heritage management for the Navajo Nation. We are also hoping to

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<sup>107</sup> As taken from the Navajo Human Rights Commission's website at:  
[http://www.nnhrc.navajo-nsn.gov/mission\\_vision.html](http://www.nnhrc.navajo-nsn.gov/mission_vision.html)

<sup>108</sup> As taken from the San Juan School District website at:  
[http://dine.sanjuan.k12.ut.us/string\\_games/significance/org\\_cosmos2.html](http://dine.sanjuan.k12.ut.us/string_games/significance/org_cosmos2.html)

work to create regional commissions to listen to the concerns of other tribes, to discuss the protection of sacred sites, and possibly joint repatriation efforts. By simply listening and working collaboratively with our partners, we are hoping to make significant changes in the way heritage management is implemented on the Navajo Nation.

### ***Decolonizing Diné Archaeology***

Several decades of ignoring Navajo perspectives of the past has created a biased archaeological record that does not take into account alternative views of Southwestern prehistory. Decolonizing strategies are discussed in this section as a means to widen the scope of research and to initiate collaborative projects that will reveal a more diverse prehistory than is currently accepted. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith discusses several approaches that are aimed at decolonizing the lives and institutions that regulate Indigenous lives and communities that the Navajo Nation can implement in their efforts to decolonize Navajo archaeology. The implementation of these approaches will assist in "Indigenizing" Southwestern prehistory in order to reclaim Navajo prehistory, which will center Navajo perspectives to managing, protecting, and conserving cultural landscapes and traditions. Some recommended solutions to overcoming the colonization of Navajo prehistory include projects that are designed to reclaim Navajo prehistory and history that will utilize the following approaches borrowed from Linda Tuhiwai Smith's 1999 book: indigenizing, returning, representing, testimonies, creating, reading, writing, and sharing.

Indigenizing is described as a two-part process that involves both Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists and intellectuals to privilege and center Indigenous voices, perspectives, and approaches in research and in political activities (p146). Through the act of returning, Indigenous peoples are reclaiming their homelands, landscapes, traditions, histories, human remains, community members, and other cultural materials that were stolen (p155-156). Representation is a multi-level approach that can be used to empower Indigenous communities to speak, portray, and take action by themselves without intervention from a colonial power or a researcher to counter the biased representations of Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous people (p150-151). "Testimonies" provide a structured space to speak the truth or experience of an individual or a community, and creates a secure environment from which to speak of difficult experiences (p144). Creating provides a familiar platform that Indigenous communities have been utilizing to survive and thrive, as it empowers communities to create solutions for



problems they are facing (p 158-159). The act of critically reading Western histories and the lack of Indigenous peoples in mainstream narratives has provided opportunities for Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers alike to incorporate different versions of the past in order to counter Western conceptions of Indigenous history (p 149). Writing has produced numerous benefits for Indigenous communities, when they are active participants in the process, as it has been a tool that has captured and solidified Indigenous representations of their own communities (p150). Finally, Sharing is an important aspect of successful Indigenous approaches and involves the dissemination of data and sharing experiences of a process (160-161).

The above approaches when combined in conjunction with a community-based archaeological program will create a space for a decolonized Navajo archaeology that is inclusive of Navajo relationships, traditions, and oral histories to the deep past and that provides Navajo communities with the tools to aid in healing from colonial encounters that have had a profound impact on tribal cultures and communities. The implications of such an approach will be the beginning of a balancing of power from the central government to local communities<sup>109</sup> to enable them to negotiate and implement their own heritage preservation programs. Part of this approach entails utilizing Navajo culture, language, and lifeways in appropriate ways to frame knowledge created under this approach, and to ensure that it is used to maintain the *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* lifeway.

Under Navajo fundamental laws<sup>110</sup>, Navajo oral histories should be variable; the notion of one singular history predicts the end of the Dine' lifeway. By intertwining the various versions of oral histories from different communities throughout *Dine' Bi'keyah*, the *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* narrative is created. Information from the Cultural Affiliation Statement, which is based in Navajo epistemology, provides researchers and local Navajo communities with the tools that are necessary to implement decolonization projects that will assist with healing and cultural revitalization efforts. These efforts are connected to the goals of the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department to protect, care for, and manage the tangible and intangible aspects of Navajo cultural heritage.

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<sup>109</sup> See Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion on the status of Navajo local communities also known as Navajo Chapters.

<sup>110</sup> *Dine'* Fundamental Laws were given to the Navajo people as guidelines for living the Navajo way of life. They embody Traditional Law, Customary Law, Natural Law, and Common Law- all laws that govern the Navajo lifeway. See the following website for a copy of these laws as adopted by the Tribal Council:

<http://www.navajocourts.org/Resolutions/CN-69-02Dine.pdf>

This multi-scalar approach to cultural heritage management is two-fold. First, it ensures the participation of local Navajo communities and the central government to alleviate some of the problems identified as trends previously: (1) lack of information/research from a Navajo perspective; 2) no communication with local communities; 3) old ways of thinking or management need to be replaced; 4) archaeology is a waste of time and does not help Navajos. Secondly, the new *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeological approach incorporates ways to address all four of the trends identified in ways that will enable local communities to "democratize" the cultural heritage management process, "negotiate" the terms of how, why, when, and where to implement cultural heritage management in their own communities, to "reframe" the singular Pueblo prehistorical narrative to one that incorporates Navajo lifeways, and finally to "share" their cultural heritage with their children and other communities, and also to the outside world. These efforts as described by Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) will assist with decolonizing archaeological research and interpretations to begin the healing process for Navajo communities and to create research and interpretations that are inline with *Dine'* Fundamental laws.

### ***Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii Archaeology***

Thus far, the *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology has transitioned from a Processually based approach to a post-Processual approach based in Navajo lifeways as a means to heal and decolonize archaeology on the Navajo Nation. Analysis of the research revealed that there are three conditions that need to be met in order for *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology to be implemented within Navajo society that recaptures the prehistoric Navajo past. As discussed previously, these three efforts are to implement a research design that is based in Navajo lifeways, to implement regulations to the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act, and to implement a cultural heritage management plan that will guide all research on Navajo lands and on Navajo pasts.

The implementation of a Navajo Nation Research Design for cultural heritage management will reinforce traditional aspects of Navajo culture that must be included in these efforts. Many of these aspects are implemented implicitly in current local Navajo governance; however, these aspects should be discussed explicitly with local communities as recognition of Navajo lifeways. One approach that incorporates such knowledge is the possibility of a group/board/committee to oversee these efforts on the local level, and to liaise with the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department.

Implementing the following decolonizing projects- "Democratizing", "Negotiating", "Reframing", and "Sharing"- create the environment necessary for *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology to be implemented. Regulations that incorporate ceremonial history as guidelines for researching ancient Navajo history are also a critical component of the decolonized approach. The following information was created with, by, and for the Navajo people and can serve as the basis of *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology:

- Affiliation with prehistoric "Anasazi" or as they are known the Navajo people- "*Nihinaazáí*" is based on *K'é*- clanship and kinship relations;
- Navajo has 70 clans, but there are 10 specific clans that are affiliated with *Nihinaazáí*;
- This relationship is based on oral histories, anthropological literature and research, and genetic studies;
- These histories, landscapes and archaeological sites are described in Navajo ceremonies and are an integral part of the ceremonial cycle;
- We have thus far been in five of the twelve stages of the cycle of life. The first was *kaa' bééshe dine'é* (flint tool people), known to archaeologists as the Paleoindian period, when we hunted mega fauna. The second was *ts'aa dine'é* (basket people), or the Archaic period, when farming of corn, beans, squash, and tobacco began. The third was *hash t'ish asaa dine'é* (clay pottery people), or the Basketmaker and Pueblo I-III periods, when mountain sheep, deer, and antelope were hunted. The fourth was *idíneali* (the adaptors), when domesticated sheep, horses, and goats were introduced. We are now *Nihookáá' dine'é bila'ashdla'ii* (five-fingered earth surface people). During all these eras, Navajo people have lived here.

Finally, the *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeological approach will support the creation and enforcement of a Navajo cultural heritage management plan that supports a research paradigm that will guide all research on Navajo people, culture, and history. Focusing on *Dine'* oral histories will provide emic perspectives, such as from Chanters who are the keepers of ancient and esoteric Navajo history. This also includes focusing on *Dine'* ceremonial histories that contain important information that will guide such research. This history also focuses on investigating *Dine'* relationships with other groups and tribes within the Southwest, which is described within Navajo oral histories of the ancient past. This process must include local Chapter communities in the archaeological process in order to provide the narratives that are held locally, but that contribute to Navajo knowledge. These efforts will assist in creating and enforcing *Dine'* centered policy and guidelines for archaeological and anthropological research on

Navajo lands and on the Navajo people, in ways that are beneficial to learning and healing.

The implementation of the *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeological approach will create opportunities for local Navajo communities to address issues that they feel are essential to their overall health and wellbeing, that will assist with building local infrastructure, and that will formally recognize their local versions of Navajo history. Projects implemented within this approach support the healing and revitalization of Navajo culture, language, and lifeways. The Navajo people have called for these changes for many years, and are actively working to reclaim their histories and to make change for their children, grandchildren, and future generations.

Archaeology is a tool that can be utilized by Indigenous communities to reclaim their histories from the narratives that have been created without their input and knowledge by archaeologists. The adaptation of archaeological approaches to Navajo lifeways supports traditional Navajo knowledge that instructs Navajos to adapt to their local environments for survival. Implementing decolonizing efforts within this paradigm is also supportive of traditional Navajo knowledge to be self-sufficient and to use *Dine'* Fundamental Laws to live as a *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii*.

Reliance on the central tribal government to create, support, and maintain cultural and esoteric knowledge is antithetical to Navajo lifeways. However, retaining these kinds of activities within the local community and within each individual Navajo is the epitome of Navajo lifeways. Framing knowledge gathered through archaeological research within the tenants above, provides the space for decolonizing and Indigenizing western based constructs that currently inhibit the Navajo people, and other Indigenous groups, from actively conducting research and providing a means to heal for their local communities.

The questions and research domains that will guide archaeological investigations on *Dine' Bi'keyah*, will be created through the lens of *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* lifeways and Fundamental Laws. These will be based in ethical considerations of current archaeological practice, as illuminated by Indigenous archaeological research<sup>111</sup>. Yet, they will be steeped in decolonizing methodologies as described by Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999), in order to reconcile the effects that mainstream archaeological data

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<sup>111</sup> See Chapter 2 for further discussion of Indigenous archaeology as described by Sonya Atalay (2006), Claire Smith and Martin Wobst (2005), and Joe Watkins (2000).

and interpretations have had on Navajo prehistory and consequently, on Navajo psyches.

### ***Concluding Remarks***

Within the preceding chapters, I focused on the development of Indigenous archaeology from its beginnings as a form of healing for many Indigenous archaeologists as seen in the personal reflections of being an Indigenous person and an archaeologist, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. I have discussed how Indigenous archaeology has transitioned to a phase of establishing approaches and methods, and testing these ways to actually create a Navajo specific or *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology.

The development of Indigenous archaeology has almost completed an entire cycle, and it will be for the next generation of Indigenous scholars to develop these and push the field farther than those of us who have contributed to its foundation. In Navajo lifeways, the stage of Old Age facing to the North, represents the major development of Indigenous archaeological concepts to be employed as critical approaches for work with Indigenous communities that cannot be untangled or unwoven from archaeological processes. As we enter the North in the Darkest of Night, we focus on such areas of importance as the protection of the natural order for the sacred songs, prayers, and ceremonies. At this point, the cycle begins again.

Archaeological research has had a profound effect upon many Indigenous cultures that is difficult for non-Indigenous people to understand. The epistemological construction of archaeological knowledge has placed Indigenous people and archaeologists in a destructive cycle that has been difficult to break. This has created hostilities, research bias, and prohibits collaborative relationships amongst both groups. Learning about the prehistoric past is an activity that all people, including Indigenous people, should be able to contribute their unique perspectives of the past to the archaeological record.

Teaching and learning from one another and leveraging power amongst research partners has proven to be an effective approach to working with local Navajo communities. Longstanding issues have softened between these parties and they are working with one another in an attempt to pool resources and protect important places on the traditional landscape. These partnerships have solidified the Navajo Nation's stance on the protection and culturally appropriate management of the tangible and

intangible aspects of heritage management, and places on the traditional cultural landscape. The recognition by the Navajo Nation President and Vice-President of the need to protect the landscape on and off Navajo lands, via supporting the protection of the Grand Canyon from mining, protecting and creating the Bear Ears National Monument, and protection of the Confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers in the Grand Canyon is promising to the HPDs efforts and projects. Dine' Fundamental Laws describe the importance of the land, culture, language, and traditions, to maintain a *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* lifeway. Much of this work is embedded within the work of the HPD. Like many other tribal and Indigenous communities, the safeguarding and management of cultural heritage is critical to revitalization efforts.

The implementation of the research design, the CRPA regulations, and the cultural resources management plan are all templates and can be changed to meet the needs of the HPD and the Navajo Nation, or to other tribal communities in their cultural heritage management efforts. These documents were created with the participation of Navajo tribal employees and tribal archaeologists, by Navajo tribal archaeologists and community members, for local Navajo communities. Although it may seem to be a small effort, judgmental samples were made to select those involved in the archaeological process on Navajo lands to create the documents. The overall population size of the Navajo public is over three hundred and fifty thousand members, in comparison to the Hopi Tribe who number in the ten thousands. This variable contributed to major changes in the research, but provided a better understanding of the macro scale to analyze tribal archaeology.

As a case study, the Navajo Nation case demonstrates the need for an indigenized approach to archaeology that can be adapted to meet the needs of local Indigenous communities that will assist them in documenting and safeguarding local cultural resources. This authority has rested with the central Navajo government- the HPD- and is currently being shared with a few communities. Each community has different and unique needs and concerns that can be addressed with these recommendations and with the overall approach. By researching both sides of Indigenous archaeology- the cultural knowledge (usually captured in oral histories) and the theory and method of mainstream archaeological knowledge- and working with the local tribal community, recommendations can be made about what approaches can assist the community in their specific needs and concerns.

Navajo Nation HPD created a bottleneck of research that unfortunately contributed to the displacement of a Navajo presence in the

prehistoric Southwest (as discussed in Chapter 3). The direction of archaeological research on Navajo Lands created a public uproar and a cry for change in this process. The dissatisfaction with the process, results, and interpretations was made clear to HPD, NNAD, and other Navajo Nation Division of Natural Resources departments through public outreach events and other public meetings. The critical nature of safeguarding the traditional cultural landscape was also made clear at these meetings, which manifested long held concerns and emotions from the Public. Tuhiwai-Smith's Decolonizing methodologies describe the pains that communities often hold and pass from generation to generation as a form of blood memory, and how these methods can help communities begin the healing process, which will lead to an engaged and aware community that can create and implement their own cultural heritage research projects. The use of Dine Fundamental Laws and Navajo oral histories in these research projects will create research interpretations that are culturally appropriate and that assist in cultural revitalization efforts for Navajo communities.

Reclaiming Navajo histories at the micro scale- the Chapter level- is a way for Navajo communities to be active participants in the archaeological process and to contribute to the overall Navajo archaeological narrative. On a cultural level, this activity is supported under the Dine' Fundamental Laws, that there is one way and there are many stories about the one way. The rich nuances that comprise Navajo oral histories contribute details about prehistory that help to enrich our understanding of past lifeways. Other Indigenous scholars describe archaeology as a tool to reclaiming Indigenous pasts. In this regard, *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology can be an approach used by local communities to reclaim their local pasts as a way to safeguard the important aspects of Navajo cultural heritage.

Through the course of this research, I have come to understand the invaluable nature of community-based approaches to help local tribal communities pursue their goals for the best interests of their community. Community elders have continued to remind younger generations to continue their lifeways and the traditional teachings of their people. Many tribes have turned to cultural and language revitalization efforts and have used archaeological approaches in their efforts. I have attempted to demonstrate that the use of Indigenous archaeology as an approach for decolonizing projects will assist local Navajo communities with their revitalization efforts and to ensure the transmission of cultural knowledge to younger generations.

Although not all of my approaches were successful, as described in Chapter 3, I continued to work with, by, and for the local communities who

desperately needed projects for their communities' youth<sup>112</sup>. These projects have been seen as one way to assist their communities and their youth. The failed attempts provided me with insights into what areas needed to be adjusted specifically for the Navajo people. Learning from these failed attempts is what created the unique recommendations for creating a *Nihookáá Dine'é Bila Ashdla'ii* archaeology. I expect that anyone who uses this approach will encounter different variables and have different outcomes, but the point is to engage and be creative in your work with, by, and for Indigenous and tribal communities.

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<sup>112</sup> There was an increase in the number of suicides and homicides of and by Navajo youth throughout and bordering the Navajo Nation from 2014 to 2016. The holistic nature of Navajo cosmology and medicine points to balancing all aspects of ones' life when tragedies or other chaotic events occur on or near the Navajo Nation.



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**Appendix A- Interview Questionnaire**

## Navajo Archaeology Questionnaire

This questionnaire is aimed to gather data regarding opinions of Navajo archaeology in the past, in its current state, and the future of Navajo archaeology, as you would like to see it develop. This data will be used to fulfill the partial requirements for a PhD in anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley and will be used in my dissertation.

The information collected will be analyzed and coded to create recommendations that come from collected data. The use of your personal information will be used in publications if you approve and sign on the next page.

### Anticipated Benefits:

Some of the anticipated benefits of participating in the research will include a revision of policies and processes at the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department; a voice in these changes- whether it is negative or positive.

### Anticipated Consequences:

Some of the anticipated consequences of participating in the research include retaliation by supervisors for negative answers if they are able to access your questionnaire; there is the potential for isolation by co-workers if they see you participating in the survey.

### Confidentiality:

I will take all necessary precautions to safeguard your identity as a participant in the study. You do not have to sign your name or be identified in the research if you do not want to be identified. Please notify Ora Marek-Martinez and precautions will be taken to maintain your anonymity. Your name or identifying characteristics will not be included or marked on your questionnaire. You will remain an anonymous participant in the questionnaire, survey, and/or focus group.

### Researcher Contact Information:

Ora Marek-Martinez  
University of California, Berkeley  
Archaeological Research Facility  
2251 College Way  
Berkeley, CA 94720

*Interview Questions:*

- 1) Do you identify as a:
  - a) Navajo archaeologist
  - b) Native American archaeologist
  - c) Non-Native American archaeologist
- 2) Have you worked for the Navajo Nation?
- 3) How long have you worked for the Navajo Nation
  - a) 0-4 years
  - b) 5-9 years
  - c) 10-14 years
  - d) 15-19 years
  - e) 20+ years\_\_\_\_\_
- 4) What do you think about the type of archaeology that has occurred on the Navajo Nation since the 1980s to the 1990s?
- 5) What do you think about the type of archaeology that has occurred on the Navajo Nation since the 1990s?
- 6) Do you think there should be more Navajo archaeologists? Should the Navajo Nation train students to be archaeologists?
- 7) Do you think Navajo archaeologists and anthropologists need to publish more about their experiences and their research?
- 8) Do you think archaeologists and anthropologists should use Dine' Fundamental Laws to guide their research?
- 9) What changes need to be addressed/made in archaeological research on the Navajo Nation that you see as critical?
- 10) Is it important to include Navajo oral histories in archaeological and anthropological research?



11)

**Appendix B- Draft of Navajo Nation CRPA Regulations (TOC only)**

# Cultural Resources Protection Act (CMY- 19-88) Regulations

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## Navajo Nation Heritage and Historic Preservation Department

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**Ora Marek-Martinez**

**2/10/2014**

The regulations contained herein accompany the Navajo Nation Cultural Resources Protection Act (CMY-19-88). They are in part created to regulate and streamline the Cultural Resources Management process within the exterior boundaries of the Navajo Nation. These regulations represent the collaboration of several entities, and are intended to provide guidance and protocols for all Cultural Resources Management research, projects, and/or investigations. Additionally, these regulations are intended to protect and strengthen the sovereignty of the Navajo People to practice and express their cultural and religious traditions and heritage, to protect the Intellectual Property Rights of the Navajo People, and to ensure that the Nation's cultural and natural resources, sacred sites, Traditional Cultural Places, and cultural landscapes are protected and managed in the Navajo way.



## **PART I: CENTRAL PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES ON THE RESPECTFUL TREATMENT OF NAVAJO HERITAGE**

### **§ 101 FORWARD**

### **§ 102 PREAMBLE**

### **§ 103 VISION**

## **§ 104 CENTRAL PRINCIPLES ON THE RESPECTFUL TREATMENT OF NAVAJO HERITAGE**

- I. Determining Ownership and Responsibility
  - a. *Policy Statement*
- II. Respect the Sacred- Dadilzinii jidisin
  - a. *Policy Statement*
- III. Our Stories- Histories
  - a. *Policy Statement*
- IV. Leave it Alone- Natural Cycles
  - a. *Policy Statement*

## **PART II: GENERAL PROVISIONS**

### § 201 TITLE

### § 202 AUTHORITY

### § 203 PURPOSE

### § 204 DEFINITIONS

### § 205 VARIENCES AND EXEMPTIONS

### § 206 APPLICABILITY

### § 207 SEVERABILITY

### § 208 PROHIBITED ACTIVITIES

### § 209 PERMITS

### § 210 NO WAIVER OF SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY

## **PART III: NAVAJO CULTURAL RESOURCES**

### § 301 PURPOSE

### § 302 NAVAJO PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS

### § 303 NAVAJO TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

### § 304 NAVAJO PREHISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

### § 305 NAVAJO ETHNOGRAPHY

### § 306 NAVAJO LANDSCAPES

### § 307 RESERVED

## **PART IV: NAVAJO NATION CULTURAL RESOURCES PERMITTING**

- § 401 PURPOSE
- § 402 PERMIT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES
- § 403 PERMIT REQUIREMENTS
- § 404 PERMIT FEE SCHEDULE
- § 405 CLASSES OF PERMITS
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