



PROJECT MUSE®

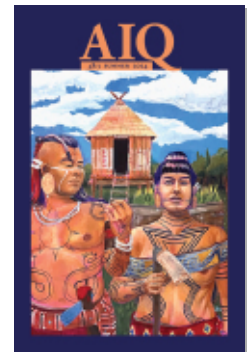
Indigenous Archaeology Through Consent, Consensus, and Collaboration

Danny Sosa Aguilar

The American Indian Quarterly, Volume 48, Number 3, Summer 2024,
pp. 203-233 (Article)

Published by University of Nebraska Press

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/aiq.2024.a967100>



➔ *For additional information about this article*

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/967100>



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

[134.114.101.75] Project MUSE (2026-07-21 00:08 GMT) Cline Library at Northern Arizona University

Indigenous Archaeology Through Consent, Consensus, and Collaboration

DANNY SOSA AGUILAR

Abstract: This article examines the important role Indigenous archaeology plays in developing collaborative partnerships that practice the principles of consent, consensus, and collaboration in archaeological projects such as the Abiquiú Mesa Project (AMP) in Abiquiú, New Mexico. In the Society for American Archaeology's Principles of Archaeological Ethics, the phrase "informed consent" is not defined, and the word "consensus" is not found. As more projects like AMP collaborate with Native American communities, defining the concepts of consent, consensus, and collaboration is crucial when conducting collaborative projects that incorporate Native American voices and perspectives. In AMP, consent is achieved through communication, voluntary participation, and capacity. Consensus in AMP considers the local context and the distinct levels of agreement by all community partners. Last, collaboration serves to build capacity, develop reciprocity, and incorporate Native American community knowledge. Rethinking archaeology with these principles acknowledges historical narratives and knowledge-producing methods that include the voices of the people whose history we study while stepping toward decolonizing the practice of archaeology.

Keywords: collaborative archaeology, Southwest, decolonization, community-accountable archaeology, Indigenous archaeology, consent, consensus

SITUATING INDIGENOUS ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ABIQUIÚ MESA PROJECT (AMP)

The epistemological turn of the 1980s in archaeology served to draw interpretations that dealt with themes on gender, agency, identity, and decolonizing perspectives.¹ The various epistemological approaches led archaeologists to reflect on their interpretations of the past and its effect

on descendant Native American communities. Indigenous archaeology (IA) is deeply connected with the long history of outcry by Indigenous people fighting to have a voice in interpreting the past. The history of Native American Civil Rights Movements is essential to understanding the importance of including Native American voices in research and serves as a framework for developing collaboration within an IA framework.² In addition, we must acknowledge the continued Native American activism that influences archaeological research and laws to ensure Native American rights. Laws, such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) and California's equivalent Assembly Bill No. 275 (CalNAGPRA) are examples that force archaeologists to consult and have meaningful interactions with Native American communities.

However, the discipline of archaeology has a horrible relationship history with Native American groups, which affects how we do archaeology today.³ Pitfalls, problems, and unintended consequences stem from the long history of archaeological research that appropriated the history of American Indian ancestors. Elders and traditional spiritual leaders have criticized archaeologists and historians for believing to be the sole stewards of the past while raising their voices concerning the Western perspective of Native American history. For example, American Indians Against Desecration (AIAD) members protested the "Indian Expert," the academic scholars who claimed to be the expert on Native American Culture. Their protests also claimed that research only benefited researchers and academics.⁴ In addition, Vine Deloria Jr. critiques anthropology as not having the right to excavate Native American graves and claims that the legitimate owners of Native American history are Native Americans.⁵ We must acknowledge this long history of American Indian resistance and survivance since European contact.⁶ New archaeology research practices that stem from postcolonial critique, decolonizing anthropology, and IA literature begins by crediting the major influences of American Indian voices.⁷ These voices continue to critique the discipline of anthropology to challenge the Western narratives of Native American histories.⁸

IA works as a collaborative framework. Collaboration is a "continuum" or "spectrum" where interaction between Indigenous communities and archaeologists can be different for each project.⁹ Some more recent examples of collaborative work demonstrate successful collaboration while addressing ongoing issues with the IA framework.¹⁰ For example,

La Donna Harris and Jacqueline Wasilewski discuss how the Comanche worldview encapsulates “the four R’s: Relationship, Responsibility, Reciprocity, Redistribution.”¹¹ These concepts build a capacity for collaboration and a capacity for the inclusion of tribal voices. In other words, the Comanche worldview informs archaeology’s exploration into their past. Even more, the relationships that develop during collaborative projects promote multiple historical perspectives that become relevant to communities that participate in archaeological research. Plenty of collaborative projects have demonstrated the wealth of historical knowledge emerging from partnering with Native American and descendant communities.¹² Archaeologists will have no choice but to collaborate with tribal entities. The collaborative relationships can develop into mutual partnerships and, ultimately, IA informs how we can conduct archaeology research in the United States that holds researchers accountable to the communities whose history we study.¹³

To establish accountability, archaeologists must define consent and consensus with their collaborative partners. As a result, consent and consensus play a major role in how we approach research design and interpretation. The role is to establish a collaborative approach that promotes project collaborators as partners. We know that Indigenous or descendant communities can either make or break an archaeological project. For that reason, archaeologists must seek the consent of Indigenous or descendant communities involved with the project. Additionally, different forms of consensus can benefit toward project success, community participation, establishing rapport, earning permissions, improving research design, and sharing knowledge.

An IA framework with a collaborative approach provides an opportunity to develop scientific and Indigenous modes of knowledge. The collaborative approach can keep research bias in check due to constant communication among multiple participants that can create instances of “braiding knowledge” together.¹⁴ Archaeological projects and institutions must adapt to best suit how to produce and understand knowledge about the past while acknowledging Indigenous knowledge that frames the past in a different perspective. This framework has demonstrated positive results in developing scientific knowledge while practicing archaeology that recognizes Native American perspectives and traditions.¹⁵

This article defines and proposes how to do archaeology with an IA framework that prioritizes consent, consensus, and collaboration as

demonstrated by the Abiquiu Mesa Project (AMP). The Merced del Pueblo de Abiquiú is referred to as *Pueblo de Abiquiú* for the community's "historical connections with Hopi Genízaro Pueblo Indians of Tewa descent."¹⁶ Settlements like Abiquiú served as buffer settlements to protect Spanish settlements from raids during the eighteenth century.¹⁷ These settlements are unique, as people living in them have a complex history of identity and belonging. The Pueblo de Abiquiú is a land grant and operates under a representative governing body known as the Merced Board. The elected officials host monthly community meetings to manage their lands, grant permits, and authorize the everyday comings and goings. On the other hand, the Pueblo de Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center (PALCC) has been at the crossroads of projects concerning Abiquiú's history while showcasing local artisans through events that draw local and neighboring pueblo communities. PALCC acts as a library with educational programs for the community while also acting as an archival repository for everything historically related to Abiquiú. This puts PALCC between researchers and the community. The Pueblo de Abiquiú has a vibrant and complex history that ties people's movement across different landscapes, including the Rio Chama Valley, the Jemez Mountains, and the Rio Grande region.¹⁸

As more archaeologists collaborate with Native American communities, defining the concepts of consent, consensus, and collaboration is crucial when conducting collaborative projects that incorporate Native American voices and perspectives. In AMP, consent is achieved through capacity, communication, and voluntariness demonstrated through a community informed project proposal and a co-written memorandum of agreement (MOA). The project's collaborative approach is flexible to recognize the mandates, goals, and deliverables established through the consensually written MOA.¹⁹ Consensus in AMP considers the local context and distinct levels of agreement all partners. The project is inclusive of community partners and reinforces the project's commitment to producing knowledge of the past while being accountable to the community. Last, collaboration serves to build capacity, develop reciprocity, and incorporate Native American community knowledge during the different aspects of the project. The past is no longer academia's intellectual property, but rather, the past belongs to a stewardship community emerging to safeguard history from perspectives of power, profit, or Western ideology.

DEFINING CONSENT

Consent has been a topic of discussion in academic research for many years as an essential ethical consideration when conducting research with human participants.²⁰ The concept of consent in research can be traced back to the Nuremberg Code of 1947, developed in response to the unethical medical experiments by Nazi doctors during World War II. The Nuremberg Code established ethical principles for research involving human subjects, including requiring participants to provide voluntary, informed consent. This requirement was later incorporated into the Declaration of Helsinki in 1964 and revised several times. In the United States, the federal government established regulations governing research with human subjects in 1974 with the National Research Act, which created the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research that issued the Belmont Report in 1979.²¹ The Belmont Report identified three ethical principles that must be followed in research involving human subjects: respect for persons, beneficence, and justice.²² One of the key elements of respect for persons is the requirement for informed consent.²³

Definitions matter. Consent is used in various contexts, from medical to research and experimentation, including legal and ethical frameworks.²⁴ There are several ethical considerations relevant to the definition and use of consent. Consent is an essential ethical consideration in academic research involving human participants that must be rooted in the principles of respect for persons and informed consent, which have been established through various international and national guidelines and regulations.²⁵ For instance, the American Anthropological Association's (AAA) "Statement on Ethics" defines "consent" as "part of project design . . . as an ongoing dialogue and negotiation with research participants."²⁶ Consent is generally the voluntary agreement to engage in a particular activity or behavior meaning participants are not coerced or pressured into participating.

Other academic disciplines and professional organizations use the phrase informed consent.²⁷ The Society for American Archaeology's (SAA) "Principles of Archaeological Ethics,"²⁸ uses the phrase "informed consent" but does not define it. Again, looking at the AAA Statement on Ethics, "informed consent includes sharing with potential participants the research goals, methods, funding sources or sponsors, expected out-

comes, anticipated impacts of the research, and the rights and responsibilities of research participant.”²⁹ In general, informed consent requires providing an individual with information about a medical procedure, treatment, or research study so that they can make an informed decision about whether to participate. It implies that the individual understands the risks, benefits, and alternatives to the procedure or study that is typically obtained through a written consent form with participant signatures, or it can also be obtained verbally. Researchers must also ensure that participants are not unduly influenced by compensation or other incentives. As such, researchers must take great care to ensure that participants are fully informed and that their consent is voluntary to uphold ethical standards in academic research. “Fully informed” necessitates that participants must understand the purpose of the research, the procedures that will be used, and any potential risks or benefits associated with participation. They must also be allowed to ask questions and have those questions answered satisfactorily before consenting. Furthermore, voluntary consent requires that researchers ensure that participants are fully informed about their right to refuse to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.³⁰

Consent in archaeological research and IA requires that participants are fully informed about the nature of the research and provide their consent voluntarily. In archaeology, fully informed and voluntarily consenting research partners becomes critical to interpersonal relationships. There needs to be more clarity and discussion about what consent means, what constitutes consent, and how it should be obtained in the archaeology.

CONSENT IN AMP

AMP serves as a case study for achieving consent as part of an IA framework. The project defines consent as requiring individuals to be fully informed while also allowed to decide if they want to voluntarily participate in any or all aspects of the research. AMP achieves consent through communication, voluntary participation, and capacity as established by a community informed project proposal, a co-written memorandum of agreement (MOA), and an incorporation of collaborative partner knowledge in all aspects of the research project.

Consent through communication is defined as an agreement or a decision made by an individual to engage in an action while having sufficient

knowledge and information about the activity to agree. Communication entails that the person giving consent must express their agreement in an unambiguous way that is understandable to the person receiving the information. So, transparency is key for individuals to understand the risks and benefits of archaeology. It addresses what is expected of them and the project. For instance, acquiring consent for AMP involves listening and discussing issues relevant to the Abiquiú community. Several discussions with the Merced Board, PALCC, Abiquiú youth, and Abiquiú community members contributed to aspects of the research design, including fieldwork, lab sessions, theory and method development, interpretations, acknowledging intangible heritage, mobilizing knowledge, and research questions.³¹ Communication is critical to community partners and the inclusion of their ideas matter. As such, incorporating community feedback into the project's proposed mandates, milestones, goals, and deliverables helped address the concerns and questions discussed by the community. With the help of Mr. Bernardo "Bernie" Archuleta, AMP's proposal was presented to the Merced Board. Consent from the Merced Board must be freely given without coercion or undue pressure of academic deadlines or publication schedules. As a result, AMP was approved under strict restrictions on publicizing research at academic events and public forums.

This restriction is just one of the many examples of consent through voluntary participation. Voluntary participation means that the person giving consent must not be forced, threatened, or manipulated into agreeing to the activity. A MOA document was drafted to ensure a mutual agreement about AMP's role in the community. It serves as a compromise to mutually allow the researcher and the community to agree under a written form of expressed consent similar to when an individual signs a consent form before undergoing a medical procedure. The MOA was co-written by me, Bernie, and then revised by the then Merced Board president, Mr. David Archuleta. Cowriting the MOA acknowledges Abiquiú community members as stewards of their history and as partners in researching their cultural resources. Later drafts instituted clauses that ensured Abiquiú autonomy over the archaeology through a list of community mandates. A collaborative effort between the Merced Board and PALCC led to the most crucial mandatory mandate to involve Abiquiú youth participation. Other mandates mention procedures regarding artifact collection and return, data collection and dissemination, human burial protocols, spe-

cifics on Abiquiú youth involvement, and appointing a board-assigned community member to oversee the project's progress. In addition, MOA laid out the same mandates, milestones, goals, and deliverables from the project proposal.³² After several drafts, the MOA was approved by the Merced Board. The voluntary participation of community partners in this process allowed the Pueblo de Abiquiú to consent in their terms, specifically the mandates give them control over what happens to them, their history, and their cultural resources.

In archaeology, limiting when, where, and how research is publicized decreases the risks to community partners. After all, community control of research asserts and reinforces their sovereignty while promoting an ethical foundation to the idea of individual autonomy and respect for human rights. Effectively, consent establishes a capacity for strong community autonomy. Capacity enables the person to understand the nature and consequences of the activity they agree to and can make a rational decision. AMP considers Abiquiú community members as stewards of the past and research partners. As such, seeking their consent at various stages of the research design acknowledges their capacity as principal contributors to the project.³³ Recognizing community members as stewards of the past is vital to creating opportunities for them to voice their perspectives on their history with their consent.

Since AMP incorporates Abiquiú knowledge, the decision to consent or not to consent is made by individuals with the capacity to make an informed decision. For example, the Merced Board's mandate to include Abiquiú youth participation offers the community another opportunity to make that multigenerational interaction through hands-on field and research experience.³⁴ AMP and the PALCC provide the space for Abiquiú youth to learn about Abiquiú's history through various interactions with teachers, Abiquiú elders, and outside researchers. The knowledge produced by archaeology becomes part of the shared knowledge on the Pueblo de Abiquiú. The shared knowledge is then incorporated into the historical discussion among elders and youth. Typically, elders have a lot of history to share, allowing the young generation to interact with their history. Abiquiú youth participation in AMP enables the young generation to contribute to the discussion, permitting elders and youth to participate together in mastering their history. As Sonya Atalay suggests, scientific and Indigenous knowledge become part of the community's history.³⁵ In this case, incorporating Abiquiú's elder history and the archaeological record elevate the

level of scholarship produced. Archaeology's real-world social, economic, political, and cultural implications on local and descendant communities, like the Pueblo de Abiquiú, begins with communication, voluntary participation, and capacity to achieve consent in archaeological research.

DEFINING CONSENSUS

Consensus is a term commonly used in academic research to refer to an agreement reached by a group of individuals on a particular issue. The scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, which emphasized empirical observation and rational analysis, led to the emergence of a shared understanding among scientists regarding the fundamental principles of scientific inquiry. This consensus was based on the belief that the natural world could be understood through systematic observation and experimentation. Consensus provided the foundation for the scientific revolution of their time. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, consensus became critical in developing knowledge in the social sciences.³⁶ The concept of consensus in sociology has its roots in the functionalist perspective, which emerged in the early twentieth century. Functionalists believed societies were composed of interdependent parts that worked together to maintain social order. They also believed that social institutions were necessary for the smooth functioning of society. According to functionalists, consensus results from shared values and norms that guide individual behavior and ensure social stability.³⁷ For example, Auguste Comte, the father of sociology, believed that the discipline could only progress by achieving consensus on its fundamental principles guided by the scientific method, which involves empirical observation, systematic data collection, and logical analysis. Comte believed that consensus among sociologists was necessary to establish sociology as a distinct scientific discipline.³⁸

However, the functionalist perspective was criticized for focusing on social stability at the expense of social change. Developing new research methods and technologies made it easier to achieve consensus among scholars believing that consensus is essential in ensuring the validity and reliability of research findings. In the 1960s and 1970s, the conflict perspective emerged as a response to functionalism. Conflict theorists believed that society was characterized by inequality and that social change was necessary to address this inequality. They argued that consensus was an

illusion created by those in power to maintain dominance. In the 1980s and 1990s, the consensus perspective regained popularity in sociology due to the rise of postmodernism, which challenged the idea of objective truth and emphasized the importance of subjective experience. Consensus theorists argued that despite differences in individual experiences, shared values and norms still guided social behavior.³⁹

Consensus signifies a general agreement or a shared understanding of a particular issue or decision and is essential in decision-making in many fields, including politics, economics, and science.⁴⁰ Despite its importance, defining consensus in academia is challenging as different disciplines provide unique contexts, and levels of analysis. For example, consensus is essential in academic research because it provides a basis for advancing knowledge and informing policy.⁴¹ One view considers consensus as knowledge building from a narrower scholarly agreement based on the views of a small group of experts, while others believe that a broader range of scholars should be consulted. Another approach defines consensus as a process by which it is achieved through rational debate and empirical evidence. However, another perspective argues that social and political factors may influence the consensus-building process. In another approach, scholars consider how consensus functions in academic research to establish a shared understanding of theoretical frameworks and research methods for the validity and reliability of research findings. Nevertheless, reaching consensus indicates a high degree of agreement and does shape theories and research methods.⁴²

In archaeology, consensus takes on two distinct context levels: academic and local. On the one hand, academic context involves the ongoing nuanced debates to reach a consensus on IA as a mechanism for producing valid historical scientific knowledge.⁴³ The discipline of archaeology must come to some consensus and recognize the importance of knowledge produced by IA projects. Several IA projects and case studies incorporate Indigenous knowledge as valid knowledge.⁴⁴ A scientific consensus typically requires agreement based on empirical evidence or theoretical arguments (or both). However, IA produces knowledge that challenges the normative standard for scientific inquiry. For instance, oral histories and narratives exist as knowledge that captures intangible historical moments. Indigenous narratives inform archaeologist's understanding of the past. By embracing different ways of knowing, Native American communities' control and represent their history on their terms.⁴⁵ Some scholars argue that

consensus should be based on a high degree of agreement among scientific scholars and non-scholars, while others believe that even moderate levels of agreement in IA knowledge producing frameworks can be considered consensus.⁴⁶ Multivocality, or multiple perspectives, decentralizes archaeology and institutions' power over human history by detracting from the traditional historical archaeology narrative.⁴⁷ Different media, oral stories, and ceremonies are just a few ways in which a community demonstrates its power over how to share its history with the world. A consensus on Indigenous ontologies as a learning mode and producing knowledge is the first step toward recognizing non-Western knowledge systems. To fully grasp history, scholars must continue exploring different methods to drive historical knowledge and produce new perspectives while challenging the colonial narratives that disenfranchise Indigenous history.⁴⁸

On the other hand, local context is the consensus achieved within an archaeological project, which involves a mutual agreement with the local community on conducting research, producing knowledge, and information dissemination. But how do we define consensus in mutual agreements with community partners with diverse backgrounds within archaeology? Local context necessitates knowing the level of agreement you have with the participants in the research. Some levels of agreement applicable to an IA framework is unanimous consensus, near unanimous consensus, and simple majority consensus. Unanimous consensus requires that all participants agree on a particular issue or decision, usually reserved for critical decisions or issues with severe consequences, whereas near-unanimous consensus requires that most participants agree on a particular issue or decision. In addition, simple majority consensus usually requires 51 percent among those participating to agree on a particular issue or decision.⁴⁹ As archaeology becomes more inclusive, understanding consensus through the local context of different levels of agreement can yield positive research results for science while still contributing back to the communities whose history archaeology studies.⁵⁰

CONSENSUS IN AMP

AMP achieves consensus by focusing on local context and explores the different levels of agreement. Consensus as different levels of agreement entails discussion, negotiation, and, in some cases, compromise to work together and reach a common goal or outcome. AMP achieves these

outcomes through different levels of agreements by illustrating examples of unanimous, near unanimous, and simple majority consensus. This means that consensus happens occurs throughout different aspects of the project. In particular, the MOA represents the point of discussion and negotiation to work together. This allows the opportunity to make collective decisions where all parties involved have decision-making power and have a say in the outcomes.

A co-written MOA with the Merced Board supports the Pueblo de Abiquiú's sovereignty over its history and information produced by AMP.⁵¹ Mutually based agreements can establish a consensus approach to research, where the Merced Board and AMP work together to build on existing knowledge and address concerns about the project. Archaeological projects pose many risks when presenting research on a community's history and culture. So, establishing community-mandated goals in the MOA helps minimize AMP's risks. The decision to implement a vetting process for all public talks about AMP came with the unanimous consensus from the Merced Board. To give you an idea, before a public talk about AMP, the Merced Historic Preservation Officer (MHPO) Bernardo Archuleta vets the slides and information presented. So long as the presentation was not recorded or live streamed on social media sites, public talks were typically approved.

Having the Merced Board approve AMP's proposal meant the project had the consent of the governed. However, in a representative government, community members can disapprove of the decisions made by their elected officials. It was important for AMP to reach out to as many Abiquiú community members to ensure AMP's approval among the community. Participating in local events hosted by PALCC presented an opportunity to inform community members about the project. Abiquiú community members voiced an invested interest in the project. Based on the discussions, Abiquiú community members gave near-unanimous praise for the project, especially the part where AMP incorporates Abiquiú youth as paid interns in learning about Abiquiú history. One of the most positive responses to the project was the inclusion of Abiquiú youth as paid interns.⁵² After all, Abiquiú community members had voiced their interest in having their children participate in AMP. So, this mandate was written into the proposal before submitting the proposal to the Merced Board to show AMP's commitment to the community. Prioritizing this community's request ensures the project includes community feedback.

The project's impact on the community is essential in measuring a project's overall success. To clarify, interns speak about their experiences with other youth and do research at the field lab. Interns introduce questions. These questions are investigated using research and family oral histories. Intern learning becomes a capacity for building historical knowledge by incorporating scientific knowledge along with oral histories from family members. Knowledge, for instance, about stone tools or pottery is shared with everyone in the community. Parents see their children interested in Abiquiú's history, creating a dialogue. Community members and Abiquiú interns share their stories of the past and experience. As a result, Abiquiú's history is co-created over time by people's knowledge of artifacts, and landscapes.

It is important to note that a percentage of the community disagreed, not about the project, but about the potential for cultural resources to be exposed for looting and the dissemination of information. The Abiquiú Mesa is within the Abiquiú Land Grant boundaries. As such, the mesa is private property, barring non-members from entering certain areas of the land grant. Issues with trespassing and difficulties managing cultural resources are not unique to Abiquiú. Trespassers into the Abiquiú Land Grant have been spotted atop the Abiquiú Mesa without permission. There is a fear that the trespassers are looters looking for artifacts at the ancestral place, a valid concern given that the focus of AMP will bring more attention to Abiquiú Mesa's cultural resources. Other archaeological projects have addressed some of the consequences of research, such as looting, unwanted tourism, and contested property rights.⁵³ Addressing the community's concern about looting required discussions with the Merced Board, MHPO, and PALCC. Another example of concern among the Abiquiú community members involved the dissemination of data and information developed by AMP. Although the Merced Board unanimously agreed to the vetting process for disseminating the information, the community felt that the information needed to be presented to them and others even suggested to keep the information within the community.⁵⁴ In this case, a simple majority or a supermajority may be sufficient to reach a consensus during a project. Again, a simple majority consensus usually requires 50 percent plus one vote, making most participants agree on a particular issue or decision. This type of consensus is commonly used in parliamentary systems, where a majority vote makes decisions.⁵⁵ AMP achieved a simple majority consensus by offering solutions to the

community's looting and data dissemination concerns. Potential solutions for trespassing were agreed upon, including putting up signs, a new fence, and addressing trespassing issues when discussing the any research about the Abiquiú Mesa.⁵⁶ As for data and information dissemination, AMP presented at PALCC at the end of each field season to give the community an opportunity to learn about how the information would be disseminated.

AMP as an IA framework involves a mutual agreement with the Pueblo de Abiquiú on conducting research that incorporates the concerns of the community. The project's examples of unanimous, near unanimous, and simple majority consensus illustrate the different levels of agreement within the local context of understanding consensus in archaeological projects. The role of IA in AMP is to advocate for the Pueblo de Abiquiú history using consensus as a decolonizing method for creating accountability. A consensus between researchers and community members emerges as an innovative way to involve more people to learn about the past. Accepting events from Native American oral histories often leads to contradictions with archaeological interpretations.⁵⁷ Contradictions demonstrate the way scholars and the community understand historical knowledge differently. AMP is an opportunity to recognize the Pueblo de Abiquiú's perspectives and knowledge about the past. Reaching a consensus signifies a general agreement or a shared understanding of their history. Ultimately, the project produces knowledge the community uses to identify areas of cultural significance while providing an example of building a partnership that holds archaeologists accountable to Indigenous and descendant communities like the Pueblo de Abiquiú.

COLLABORATION IN AMP

The last aspect of AMPs IA framework is collaboration rooted in covenantal, civic engagement, and service-learning practices. Current collaborative literature encompasses a broad methodological array of ideas that no single method captures the best way to approach a collaborative project.⁵⁸ Collaborative studies open new possibilities for archaeology that hold scholars accountable for their research by allowing various stakeholders to participate in archaeology.⁵⁹ A partnership with the Pueblo de Abiquiú forms a co-created research project that embodies the Abiquiú community members concern into different aspects of the research design. AMP carries out a collaboration rooted in the in-

clusivity of Abiquiú community members. The principal collaborative methodology for AMP strives to follow Sonya Atalay's community-based participatory research method. Atalay's approach of "partnership," "working together," and "reciprocity" touches on the importance of productive and ethical research results.⁶⁰ Such an approach provides the community sovereignty over its history through leadership-vetted procedures and agreements established with a MOA. The conscious effort to prioritize community mandates in decision-making processes in partnered research builds community agency, community control, and a level of community autonomy within the project. Two people have significantly contributed to AMP: Bernardo (Bernie) Archuleta and Isabel Trujillo. Their contribution expanded the project to include research questions that reflected the community's interest. Recognizing Abiquiú community members as partners encapsulates one of the main principles of community-based participatory research.⁶¹

The early stages of AMP closely resemble covenantal collaborative archaeology. Covenantal archaeology focuses on developing agreements, project goals, and methods between archaeologists and Native American tribes.⁶² This approach emphasizes community interests, and the decision-making process involves multiple stakeholders like archaeologists, Indigenous communities, and descendant communities. At the covenantal stage, AMP successfully incorporated Abiquiú community member's interests in addressing research questions, determining the project location, and listening to feedback. The collaborative project spanned roughly four years, starting in the summer of 2016. Most of the archaeological investigations occurred during the summer months of June and July. But developing a trusting partnership requires time and effort, so for the rest of the year, there were planned visits to the Pueblo de Abiquiú. For AMP, establishing trust with the community is essential making these visits as important as the project months. Visits serve as opportunities to discuss feedback on project goals, share the research progress, and discuss which events to present the research. Data and analysis from the project are shared with community partners and presented at general community meetings, which are held twice a year. Sharing the original digital data at these meetings mobilizes knowledge within the community and once again offers a broader set of people the opportunity for feedback about the project. Community member feedback throughout the project was welcomed and encouraged. Integrating community members' priorities in helping design

AMP's research questions is vital and seeking the Pueblo de Abiquiú's approval builds upon their consent to establish community autonomy within the project. In addition, establishing the Merced Board and other members as partners was one way to ensure a collaborative atmosphere that encouraged participation at multiple levels of the project. For example, the Pueblo de Abiquiú is a land grant and does not contain a position related to historic preservation or positions like a Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO). Instead, the Merced Board appointed Bernie with the responsibilities of a THPO, or in this case, Bernie's position could be dubbed as a Merced Historic Preservation Officer (MHPO).

One goal within AMP was to ensure Abiquiú community members participation in academic events. This action transformed the collaboration into civic engagement. Civic engagement archaeology, as McGuire states, is "doing archaeology in the service of politicized interests . . . archaeology must be more than a bourgeois practice for true knowledge to have a transformative impact on the world."⁶³ Archaeology is a knowledge-producing discipline, but it can also empower people. As such, archaeology participates in public life to promote change in both the political and nonpolitical process for archaeology to become part of civic life.⁶⁴ Civic Engagement Archaeology in AMP aims to benefit or impact the Pueblo de Abiquiú at a meaningful level. With the permission of both community partners and the Merced Board, Abiquiú historical knowledge developed by AMP can be shared outside the community. The intention is to promote a positive impact that informs the public of archaeological research while actively engaging with community members through education, preservation, and history. One example of civic engagement in AMP is when Bernie and I presented a paper for the Society for American Archaeology in 2018. Since 2016, a friendship with Bernie and our discussions of lithics and obsidian sources have contributed significantly toward understanding the Pueblo de Abiquiú's relationship with the Jemez Mountains. Bernie was asked if he would be interested in co-authoring a conference paper regarding the Pueblo de Abiquiú landscape and obsidian source data. Bernie agreed. We presented the paper "Understanding Landscape and Material Sources through Community Partnership in Abiquiú, New Mexico,"⁶⁵ showcasing Abiquiú's oral narratives while incorporating archaeological science. Educating the public about the Pueblo de Abiquiú's past promotes a more profound history of the northern Rio Grande. The point of the conference paper was to shift the focus from the archaeological interpretation to one

that centers around the Pueblo de Abiquiú disenfranchised history often overshadowed by the popular narrative of the land grant's history being Georgia O'Keefe's hometown.

Last, the most crucial collaborative aspect was service learning. Service-Learning Archaeology focuses on education by including community participation at all levels as learning opportunities to engage with real-world settings while empowering students and community members.⁶⁶ Service-learning archaeology promotes a process of critical consciousness-raising and encourages a pedagogy of dialogue and problem-posing through first-hand experience of archaeological practice.⁶⁷ Some collaborative projects, like the one described Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, T. J. Ferguson, and Chip Colwell, contain themes of cultural preservation, oral traditions, and outreach to Hopi youth.⁶⁸ The authors demonstrate clear project goals that stem from a fierce commitment to agreements made by everyone involved.⁶⁹ In addition, Ferguson's case study discusses the importance of working with and for Hopi and Zuni to create an atmosphere of reciprocity between the archaeologist and the community by focusing on interests that serve archaeologists and Indigenous communities.⁷⁰ The focus is to empower disenfranchised Indigenous peoples to tell their historical narrative in a way that interests their communities.

The implication of service-learning collaborative method is challenging. As part of the service-learning method in AMP, Abiquiú youth involvement as paid interns in the project are one of the mandates placed by the community. Interns were primarily from middle and high school grade levels. Their participation includes but is not limited to survey, excavation, lab analysis, research, attending talks, presentations, and educational field trips to local archaeology labs and other archaeological sites with ongoing projects. Each intern had a unique experience. For some, this was an opportunity to learn about career paths brought on by a college education. Additionally, project activities reinforced subjects like reading, writing, and math while teaching interns about their history.

AMP adopts a Freire-like pedagogy to create a dialogue that acknowledges the validity of Indigenous knowledge established within a collaborative partnership.⁷¹ Interns were an important component in acknowledging the validity of Indigenous knowledge by allowing them to produce knowledge relevant to the project and the community.⁷² To illustrate, in 2019, interns participated in an activity involving petroglyphs found on the Mesa. Interns wrote narratives about their favorite petroglyphs. Combined

with archaeological knowledge and their oral histories, intern narratives reflect how Western knowledge and Indigenous knowledge braid together to produce a more prosperous and deeper perspective on the history and meaning of the petroglyph.⁷³ Narratives use phrases such as “When my grandpa’s grandpa used to tell him” or “my Abuelita says” to help characterize the historical narratives associated with the Abiquiú community.⁷⁴ These narratives are incorporated with traditional community narratives to describe a richer Pueblo de Abiquiú history that incorporates people, places, and artifacts. Engaging the past through stories is about experiencing the kinds of knowledge embedded within the narratives.⁷⁵ After all, part of AMP is to investigate the history of the Abiquiú Mesa as it has been co-created over time. This includes learning from the newest generations experiencing the material culture in their lands.

In 2018, interns were tasked with making decisions on which artifacts to collect, analyze, and perform research. For example, interns participated in the extensive survey and mapping of the Abiquiú Mesa that spanned over four weeks.⁷⁶ Each intern was taught to use a compass, but not before introducing a little geometry and geography during training. Within the first week, interns learned to find their bearings and use the Trimble global positioning system (GPS) to orient themselves for the next transect. Each ceramic or lithic found presented an opportunity to do their scholarly research and dive into archaeological knowledge. Some interns shared their oral histories and knowledge about artifacts based on what their parents taught them. The interns would come to a consensus on certain artifacts that were interesting to them, creating a random-judgment sampling strategy for gathering data on the survey. A small sample of artifacts was collected and taken to the PALCC for cataloging and intern research. We used PALCC as a field lab where students could research some of their favorite finds and combine all their knowledge into writing their own stories that connect the artifacts to the mesa.⁷⁷ Armed with academic knowledge and Abiquiú intern curiosity, the knowledge produced creates decentralized expertise that detracts from the traditional historical archaeological narrative or scientific knowledge-producing mode.

Ultimately, tools for service-learning attempt to expand new forms of pedagogy that best suit the communities involved in the archaeological process. Service learning differs from previous collaborative approaches by focusing engagement primarily on opportunities for community learning. The approach stresses that archaeology is no longer for academia and

the community but is done “with others.”⁷⁸ The benefits of this method incorporate a level of reflection that mandates archaeologists to work with students and community members in building modes of knowledge.

AMP recognizes and challenges the mechanisms of archaeological practice that have excluded the Indigenous and descendant communities that satisfy the Western colonialist perspective for knowledge.⁷⁹ IA framework for collaboration increases the level of scholarship produced. In AMP, covenantal, civic engagement, and service-learning practices were critical in developing communication to encourage multiple perspectives, acknowledging intangible heritage (i.e., oral histories), and prioritizing community-based research questions that mobilize knowledge through various means, including community members’ participation in data interpretation. Collaboration ensures a partnership atmosphere where communities participate at all levels of the research design and develops into more ethical archaeological practice by prioritizing community outcomes and historical Indigenous knowledge that serves the people whose history the project studies.

FINAL REMARKS

AMP serves as an example of Indigenous archaeology through consent, consensus, and collaboration. By incorporating the Abiquiú community as partners, consent plays a crucial role in how archaeology must be done. A consensus is needed to move forward in addressing challenges brought on by archaeology. And last, collaboration serves to build capacity, develop reciprocity, and incorporate local knowledge about the past.⁸⁰ Each collaborative method (covenantal, civic engagement, and service-learning involves different people in different aspects of the research. As an archaeologist who is a temporary steward of the Pueblo de Abiquiú history, I feel that accountability is necessary for Abiquiú community members to reclaim their history. Both youths and adults are part of the reclaiming experience. AMP reciprocates that sentiment by acknowledging Abiquiú community members as contributors toward building the foundational knowledge of the history of the Pueblo de Abiquiú. The community’s knowledge about the Abiquiú Mesa is depicted through oral histories of navigating the landscape along with more contemporary interactions involving cattle. Communication with Abiquiú community members for the first couple of years was essential

to recognize the diverse voices present within the community, some of which acknowledge the presence of intangible heritage. By incorporating those voices into the draft proposal plans to carry out archaeological research, AMP supports the research interests of the Pueblo de Abiquiú. In this case, the community wanted to understand the material culture atop the Abiquiú Mesa. A collaborative methodology allows the Abiquiú community to tell its history as it has been co-created by landscape narratives and material culture. AMP prioritizes research that supports the Pueblo de Abiquiú's long-term goals, such as federal recognition, reasserting water rights, and reclaiming lost ancestral lands. AMP engages with these issues by providing archaeological evidence of historical ties to material culture and landscapes. Furthermore, the community's desire to utilize archaeological to deploy historical knowledge to identify material culture and areas of interest within the neighboring Santa Fe and Carson National Forests as part of Abiquiú Ancestral Pueblo history.

In that spirit, prioritizing consent, consensus, and collaboration establishes AMP as a model approach to studying the past that is ethical and accountable rooted in how archaeology can positively impact a contemporary community. Implementing a research partnership-style relationship creates a collaborative effort that involves communities to develop scientific and Indigenous modes of knowledge that inform our understanding of the disenfranchised history of the Pueblo de Abiquiú. The past can no longer be academia's sole intellectual property. Instead, Native American history, as Vine Deloria Jr. clearly expressed, belongs to Native Americans and their descendants.⁸¹ However, this does not mean researchers or archaeologists cannot study Native American history. Instead, archaeologists and Native Americans can develop a mutual stewardship to protect cultural resources.⁸²

DANNY SOSA AGUILAR is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at California State University, San Bernardino. His research is steeped in the practices collectively known as Indigenous archaeology, which entails an archaeological research agenda that is defined in partnership with, organized to support, and accountable to those who lay claim to the heritage being investigated. Danny has a history of incorporating undergraduate and graduate students into his research program while

mentoring and developing new pedagogical ways to teach archaeological methods and collaborative techniques.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to thank Bernardo “Bernie” Archuleta and Isabel Trujillo for their immense contribution to AMP. Thank you to Isaiah Baca, Andrea Fernandez, Marcos Padilla, Jasmine Perez, Kyle Montoya, Brenda Ortega, Eric Ortega, Zayda Real, and Isaiah Trujillo. Furthermore, I thank Felicia De Peóa, Mario Castillo, Jarre Hamilton, Chandler Fitzsimons, Lucy Gill, and Jun Sunseri for the insightful discussions on collaborative archaeology. Last, thank you to Randy McGuire, Sarah Cowie, and Reviewer #1 for their valuable comments and feedback.

NOTES

1. Sonya Atalay, “Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2006): 280–310; Joan M. Gero and Margaret Wright Conkey, eds., *Engendering Archaeology: Women And Prehistory*, (Basil Blackwell, 1991); Ian Hodder, “Interpretive Archaeology and Its Role,” *American Antiquity* 56, no. 1 (1991): 7–18; Ian Hodder, Alexandra Alexandri, Victor Buchli, Michael Shanks, John Carman, Jonathan Last, and Gavin Lucas, eds., *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning In The Past* (Psychology Press, 1997); Michael Shanks and Christopher Y. Tilley, *Re-constructing Archaeology: Theory And Practice* (Psychology Press, 1992); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research And Indigenous Peoples* (Zed Books Ltd., 1999).

2. Sonya Atalay, “Gikinawaabi: Knowledge Production and Social Science Research from an Indigenous Perspective,” Conference of the International Federation for Research in Women’s History, Queens University Belfast, Ireland, August 14, 2003; Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Z. Rizvi, *Archaeology and The Postcolonial Critique* (AltaMira Press, 2008); George P. Nicholas, “The Persistence Of Memory; The Politics Of Desire: Archaeological Impacts On Aboriginal Peoples And Their Response,” in *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonising Theory and Practice*, ed. Claire Smith and H. Martin Wobst (Routledge, 2005), 81–103; Robert W. Preucel, “The Postprocessual Condition,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 3, no. 2 (1995): 147–75; Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Claire Smith and Wobst, *Indigenous Archaeologies*.

3. Joe E. Watkins, “Communicating Archaeology: Words to the Wise,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 6, no. 1 (2006): 100–18.

4. Sonya Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities* (University of California Press, 2012); Jan Hammil and Robert Cruz, “Statement of American Indians Against Desecration Before the

World Archaeological Congress,” in *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, 2nd ed., ed. Robert Layton (Routledge, 1994), 195–200.

5. Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

6. Davina Two Bears, “Shimásání dóó shicheii bi’ólta’—My Grandmother’s and Grandfather’s School: The Old Leupp Boarding School, a Historic Archaeological Site on the Navajo Reservation” (PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington, 2019); Lee Panich, *Narratives of Persistence: Indigenous Negotiations of Colonialism in Alta and Baja California* (University of Arizona Press, 2020).

7. Sarah E. Cowie, Diane L. Teeman, and Christopher C. LeBlanc, eds., *Collaborative Archaeology at Stewart Indian School* (University of Nevada Press, 2019); Sara L. Gonzalez, “Indigenous Values and Methods in Archaeological Practice: Low-impact Archaeology through the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project,” *American Antiquity* 81, no. 3 (2016): 533–49; Sara L. Gonzalez, Darren Modzelewski, Lee M. Panich, and Tsim D. Schneider, “Archaeology for the Seventh Generation,” *American Indian Quarterly* 30, nos. 3–4 (2006): 388–415; Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, T. J. Ferguson, and Chip Colwell, eds., *Footprints of Hopi History: Hopihiniwtiput Kukveni’at* (University of Arizona Press, 2018); Danny Sosa Aguilar, “People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs: Collaboration and Indigenous Archaeology in Abiquiú, New Mexico” (PhD diss., UC Berkeley, 2021).

8. Roger Echo-Hawk and Larry J. Zimmerman, “Beyond Racism: Some Opinions about Racialism and American Archaeology,” *American Indian Quarterly* 30, nos. 3–4 (2006): 461–85; Thomas Biolsi, and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds., *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology* (University of Arizona Press, 1997); Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*; Vine Deloria Jr., *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion* (Fulcrum Publishing, 1973); Sarah Hunt, “Ontologies of Indigeneity: The Politics of Embodying a Concept,” *Cultural Geographies* 21, no. 1 (2013): 27–32, <http://cgi.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/08/16/1474474013500226>; Cutcha Risling Baldy, “Coyote Is Not a Metaphor: On Decolonizing, (Re)claiming and (Re)naming Coyote,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 4, no. 1 (2015): 1–20; Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Zoey Todd, “An Indigenous Feminist’s Take on the Ontological Turn: ‘Ontology’ Is Just Another Word for Colonialism,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 29, no. 1 (2016): 4–22; Vanessa Watts, “Indigenous Place-Thought and Agency Amongst Humans and Non-Humans,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2, no. 1 (2013): 20–34.

9. Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and T. J. Ferguson, eds., *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities* (AltaMira Press, 2008); Joe Watkins, *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice* (Alta Mira Press, 2000).

10. Nicholas C. Laluk, “The Indivisibility of Land and Mind: Indigenous Knowledge and Collaborative Archaeology within Apache contexts,” *Journal of Social Ar-*

chaeology 17, no. 1 (2017): 92–112; Nicholas C. Laluk, “Changing How Archaeology Is Done in Native American Contexts: An Ndee (Apache) Case Study,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 21, no. 1 (2021): 53–73; Nicholas C. Laluk and Benrita M. Burnette, “We Know Who We Are and What Is Needed: Achieving Healing, Harmony, and Balance in Ndee Institutions,” *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 9, no. 2 (2021): 110–18; Nicholas C. Laluk, Lindsay M. Montgomery, Rebecca Tsosie, Christine McCleave, Rose Miron, Stephanie Russo Carroll, and Joseph Aguilar, “Archaeology and Social Justice in Native America,” *American Antiquity* 87, no. 4 (2022): 659–82; Natasha Lyons and Kisha Supernant, “Introduction to an Archaeology of the Heart,” in *Archaeologies of the Heart*, ed. Kisha Supernant, Jane Eva Baxter, Natasha Lyons, and Sonya Atalay (Springer, 2020), 1–19; Ora V. Marek-Martinez, “Indigenous Archaeological Approaches and the Refusal of Colonialism in Archaeology,” in *Routledge Handbook of the Archaeology of Indigenous-Colonial Interaction in the Americas* (Routledge, 2021), 503–15; Ora Marek-Martinez, “Archaeology the Tribal Way: Reestablishing the Boundaries of Culture,” in *Kennewick Man: Perspectives on the Ancient One* (Routledge, 2016), 217–22; Lindsay M. Montgomery, “Indigenous Alterity as Archaeological Praxis,” in *Archaeological Theory in Dialogue* (Routledge, 2020), 50–66; Lindsay M. Montgomery, “The Archaeology of Settler Colonialism in North America,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 51 (2022): 475–91; Lindsay M. Montgomery and Tiffany C. Fryer, “The Future of Archaeology Is (Still) Community Collaboration,” *Antiquity* 97, no. 394 (2023): 795–809; Lindsay M. Montgomery and Kisha Supernant, “Archaeology in 2021: Repatriation, Reclamation, and Reckoning with Historical Trauma,” *American Anthropologist* 124, no. 4 (2022): 800–812; Wendi Field Murray, Nicholas C. Laluk, Barbara J. Mills, and T. J. Ferguson, “Archaeological Collaboration with American Indians: Case Studies from the Western United States,” *Collaborative Anthropologies* 2, no. 1 (2009): 65–86; Kerry F. Thompson and Ora V. Marek-Martinez, “Engaging Archaeology as Social Justice for Navajo Communities,” in *Trowels in the Trenches: Archaeology as Social Activism*, ed. Christopher Barton (University Press of Florida, 2021), 211–22; Tsim D. Schneider and Katherine Hayes, “Epistemic Colonialism: Is It Possible to Decolonize Archaeology?” *American Indian Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2020): 127–48; Emily C. Van Alst and K. Anne Pyburn, “Ethics versus Ethical Codes,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Indigenous Archaeologies*, ed. Claire Smith et al. (online ed., Oxford Academic, 2022).

11. La Donna Harris and Jacqueline Wasilewski, “Indigeneity, an Alternative Worldview: Four R’s (relationship, responsibility, reciprocity, redistribution) vs. Two P’s (power and profit). Sharing the Journey Towards Conscious Evolution,” *Systems Research and Behavioral Science: The Official Journal of the International Federation for Systems Research* 21, no. 5 (2004): 489–503.

12. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice*; Sarah E. Cowie, Diane L. Teeman, and Christopher C. LeBlanc, eds., *Collaborative Archaeology at Stewart Indian School* (University of Nevada Press, 2019); Kelley A. Hays-Gilpin, Sarah A. Herr, and Pat-

rick D. Lyons, eds., *Engaged Archaeology in the Southwestern United States and Northwestern Mexico* (University Press of Colorado, 2021); Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, eds., *Footprints of Hopi History*; Randall H. McGuire, *Archaeology as Political Action* (University of California Press, 2008); Stephen W. Silliman, ed., *Collaborating at The Trowel's Edge: Teaching and Learning In Indigenous Archaeology* (University of Arizona Press, 2008); Claire Smith and Wobst, *Indigenous Archaeologies*.

13. E. Charles Adams, "Archaeology and the Native American: A Case at Hopi," in *Ethics and Values in Archaeology*, ed. Ernestene Green (Free Press, 1984), 236–42; Katherine M. Dowdall and Otis O. Parrish, "A Meaningful Disturbance of the Earth," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (2003): 99–133; T. J. Ferguson, "Archaeological Ethics and Values in a Tribal Cultural Resource Management Program at the Pueblo Of Zuni," in *Ethics and Values in Archaeology*, ed. Ernestene Green (Free Press, 1984), 224–35; T. J. Ferguson, Joe Watkins, and Gordon L. Pullar, "Native Americans and Archaeologists, Commentary and Personal Perspectives," in *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones To Common Ground*, ed. Nina Swidler, Kurt Dongoske, Roger Anyon, and Alan Downer (AltaMira Press, 1997), 237–52; Kent G. Lightfoot, "Collaborative Research Programs Implications for the Practice of North American Archaeology," in *Collaborating at the Trowel's Edge*, ed. Silliman, 211–27; Kent Lightfoot, Otis Parrish, Roberta Jewett, E. Parkman, and D. Murley, "The Metini Village Project: Collaborative Research in the Fort Ross State Historic Park," *Society for California Newsletter* 35, no. 2 (2001): 23; George P. Nicholas and Thomas D. Andrews, *At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada* (Archaeology Press, 1997); Otis Parrish, Dan Murley, Roberta Jewett, and Kent Lightfoot, "The Science of Archaeology and the Response from Within Native California: The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Metini Village in the Fort Ross State Historic Park," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 13 (2000): 84–87; Michael P. Robinson, "Shampoo Archaeology: Towards A Participatory Action Research Approach In Civil Society," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 16, no. 1 (1996): 125–38.

14. Sonya Atalay, "Indigenous Science for a World in Crisis," *Public Archaeology* 19, nos. 1–4 (2004): 37–52.

15. Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, T. J. Ferguson, Dorothy Lippert, Randall H. McGuire, George P. Nicholas, Joe E. Watkins, and Larry J. Zimmerman, "The Premise and Promise of Indigenous Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 75, no. 2 (2010): 228–38; Stephen W. Silliman, "Writing New Archaeological Narratives: Indigenous North America," in *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology* (Routledge, 2016), 145–64; Stephen W. Silliman and T. J. Ferguson, "Consultation and Collaboration with Descendant Communities," in *Voices in American Archaeology*, ed. Wendy Ashmore, Dorothy T. Lippert, and Barbara J. Mills (Society for American Archaeology, 2010): 48–72; Michael Wilcox, "Saving Indigenous Peoples from Ourselves: Separate

But Equal Archaeology Is Not Scientific Archaeology,” *American Antiquity* 75, no. 2 (2010): 221–27.

16. Moises Gonzales, “The Genizaro Land Grant Settlements of New Mexico,” *Journal of the Southwest* 56, no. 4 (2014): 583.

17. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States* (Beacon Press, 2023).

18. Sosa Aguilar, “People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs.”

19. Sosa Aguilar, “People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs.”

20. Heather Merle Rens, “Ethical Issues Concerning the Implementation of an Opt Out Approach for Human Organ Donation in South Africa” (PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, 2008).

21. Bhumika Aggarwal and Mayank Gurnani, “Development Of Ethical Guidelines for Clinical Research: Serendipity Or Eulogy,” *Ethics & Medicine* 30, no. 2 (2014): 97.

22. Lydia A. Bazzano, Jaquail Durant, and Paula Rhode Brantley, “A Modern History of Informed Consent and the Role of Key Information,” *Ochsner Journal* 21, no. 1 (2021): 81–85.

23. Bazzano, Durant, and Brantley, “A Modern History of Informed Consent”; U.S. Department of Human Services, Office of Human Research Protections, National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, “The Belmont Report: Ethical Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research,” <https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/regulations-and-policy/belmont-report/index.html>; Paula Dutka and Kim Astroth, “Navigating the Institutional Review Board Process,” *Nephrology Nursing Journal* 49, no. 1 (2022): 67; Hiroyuki Nagai, Eisuke Nakazawa, and Akira Akabayashi, “The Creation of the Belmont Report and Its Effect on Ethical Principles: A Historical Study,” *Monash Bioethics Review* 40, no. 2 (2022): 157–70.

24. Jeffrey C. Bendremer and Kenneth A. Richman, “Human Subjects Review and Archaeology: A View From Indian Country,” in *The Ethics of Archaeology: Philosophical Perspectives on Archaeological Practice*, ed. C. Scarre and G. Scarre (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 97–114; Michael Gallagher, Sarah L. Haywood, Manon W. Jones, and Sue Milne, “Negotiating Informed Consent with Children in School-based Research: A Critical Review,” *Children & Society* 24, no. 6 (2010): 471–82; Nicole Mamotte and Douglas Wassenaar, “Measuring Voluntariness of Consent to Research: An Instrument Review,” *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics* 10, no. 2 (2015): 121–31; Dennis H. O’Rourke, M. Geoffrey Hayes, and Shawn W. Carlyle, “The Consent Process and aDNA Research: Contrasting Approaches in North America,” in *Biological Anthropology and Ethics: From Repatriation to Genetic Identity*, ed. T. Turner (State University of New York Press, 2005), 231–41; Kelly E. Ormond, Maia J. Borensztein, Miranda LG Hallquist, Adam H. Buchanan, William Andrew Faucett, Holly L. Peay, Maureen E. Smith, “Defining the Critical Components of Informed Consent for Genetic Testing,” *Journal of Per-*

sonalized Medicine 11, no. 12 (2021): 1304; Stephen J. Schulhofer, "Consent: What It Means and Why It's Time to Require It," *U. of Pac. L. Rev.* 47 (2015): 665; Samuel A. Tisherman, "Defining 'Community' and 'Consultation' for Emergency Research that Requires an Exception from Informed Consent," *AMA Journal of Ethics* 20, no. 5 (2018): 467–74; Cheryl White, "Defining Measures in Community-based Archaeology in Suriname," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 26, no. 1 (2022): 177–94; Alison Wylie, "A Plurality of Pluralisms: Collaborative Practice in Archaeology," in *Objectivity in Science: New Perspectives from Science and Technology Studies*, ed. F. Padovani, A. Richardson, and J. Y. Tsou (Springer, 2015), 189–210; Lawrence J. Zimmermann, "When Data Become People: Archaeological Ethics, Reburial, and the Past as Public Heritage," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 7, no. 1 (1998): 69–86.

25. Diana Baumrind, "Research Using Intentional Deception: Ethical Issues Revisited," *American Psychologist* 40, no. 2 (1985): 165–74; Jonathan Haidt, Silvia Helena Koller, and Maria Dias, "Affect, Culture, and Morality, or Is It Wrong to Eat Your Dog?," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 65, no. 4 (1993): 613–28; Traci Mann, "Informed Consent for Psychological Research: Do Subjects Comprehend Consent Forms and Understand Their Legal Rights?," *Psychological Science* 5, no. 3 (1994): 140–43; Joan E. Sieber, Rebecca Iannuzzo, and Beverly Rodriguez, "Deception Methods in Psychology: Have They Changed in 23 Years?," *Ethics & Behavior* 5, no. 1 (1995): 67–85; Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, "Tri-council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans," Ottawa Interagency Secretariat on Research Ethics, 2010, https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique_tcps2-eptc2_2022.html; Van Alst and Pyburn, "Ethics versus Ethical Codes."

26. The AAA is one of the largest professional organizations of anthropologists in the world. "AAA Statement on Ethics," <https://americananthro.org/about/policies/statement-on-ethics/>.

27. American Psychological Association, "Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct (2002, amended June 1, 2010, and January 1, 2017)," <https://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index>.

28. The SAA is the largest organization for archaeologist in the Americas. Their nine principles of archaeological ethics continue to be updated by the SAA Board, <https://saa.org/career-practice/ethics-in-archaeology>.

29. "AAA Statement on Ethics," <https://americananthro.org/about/policies/statement-on-ethics/>.

30. Christen Erlingsson and Petra Brysiewicz, "Swedish and South African Nursing Students' Descriptions of Family," *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 47, no. 3 (2015): 228.

31. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."

32. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."

33. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."
34. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."
35. Atalay, "Indigenous Science."
36. Serge Moscovici and Willem Doise, *Conflict and Consensus: A General Theory of Collective Decisions* (Sage Publications, 1994).
37. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press. 2012).
38. Kuhn, *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.
39. Earl R. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 14th ed. (Cengage Learning, 2016); Kuhn, *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.
40. Moscovici and Doise, *Conflict and Consensus*.
41. Babbie, *Practice of Social Research*.
42. Babbie, *Practice of Social Research*.
43. Sonya Atalay, "Braiding Strands of Wellness: How Repatriation Contributes to Healing through Embodied Practice and Storywork," *The Public Historian* 41, no. 1 (2019): 78–89; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al., "The Premise and Promise of Indigenous Archaeology," 228–38; Dale R. Croes, "Courage and Thoughtful Scholarship = Indigenous Archaeology Partnerships," *American Antiquity* 75, no. 2 (2010): 211–16; Adam Kuper, "The Return of the Native," *Current Anthropology* 44, no. 3 (2003): 389–402; Robert McGhee, "Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 73, no. 4 (2008): 579–97; Silliman and Ferguson, "Consultation and Collaboration with Descendant Communities"; Wilcox, "Saving Indigenous Peoples from Ourselves"; Deborah Williams, and Gerhard. P. Shipley, "Scientific Consequentialism: Potential Problems with an Outcome-Driven Form of Indigenous Archaeology," *Archaeological Discovery* 8, no. 1 (2020): 63–83.
44. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*; Atalay, "Indigenous Science"; Sara L. Gonzalez, Darren Modzelewski, Lee M. Panich, and Tsim D. Schneider, "Archaeology for the Seventh Generation," *American Indian Quarterly* 30, nos. 3–4 (2006): 388–415; Alfredo González-Ruibal, "Ethical Issues in Indigenous Archaeology: Problems with Difference and Collaboration," *Canadian Journal of Bioethics* 2, no. 3 (2019): 34–43; Sara L. Gonzalez and Briece Edwards, "The Intersection of Indigenous Thought and Archaeological Practice: The Field Methods in Indigenous Archaeology Field School," *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* 7, no. 4 (2020): 239–54; Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, *Footprints of Hopi History*.
45. Atalay, "Indigenous Science"; Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."
46. McGhee, "Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology"; Moscovici and Doise. *Conflict and Consensus*.
47. Atalay, "Braiding Strands of Wellness"; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al., "The Premise and Promise of Indigenous Archaeology," 228–38; Croes, "Courage and Thoughtful scholarship"; Kuper, "The Return of the Native"; McGhee, "Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology"; Silliman and Ferguson, "Con-

sultation and Collaboration with Descendant Communities”; Wilcox, “Saving Indigenous Peoples from Ourselves”; Deborah Williams and Gerhard P. Shipley, “Scientific Consequentialism: Potential Problems with an Outcome-Driven Form of Indigenous Archaeology,” *Archaeological Discovery* 8 (2020): 63–83.

48. Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, *Footprints of Hopi History*; Diane L. Teeman, Sarah E. Cowie, Christopher C. LeBlanc, and Ashley M. Long, “Theoretical Approaches to Collaborative Archaeology,” in *Collaborative Archaeology at Stewart Indian School*, ed. Sarah E. Cowie, Diane L. Teeman, and Christopher C. LeBlanc (University of Nevada Press, 2019), 23–44.

49. Moscovici and Doise, *Conflict and Consensus*.

50. E. Charles Adams, “Archaeology and the Native American: A Case at Hopi,” in *Ethics and Values in Archaeology*, ed. Ernestene Green (Free Press, 1984), 236–42; Katherine M. Dowdall and Otis O. Parrish, “A Meaningful Disturbance of the Earth,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (2003): 99–133; T. J. Ferguson, “Archaeological Ethics and Values in a Tribal Cultural Resource Management Program at the Pueblo Of Zuni,” in *Ethics and Values in Archaeology*, ed. Ernestene Green (Free Press, 1984), 224–35; T. J. Ferguson, Joe Watkins, and Gordon L. Pullar, “Native Americans and Archaeologists, Commentary and Personal Perspectives,” in *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones To Common Ground*, ed. Nina Swidler, Kurt Dongoske, Roger Anyon, and Alan Downer (AltaMira Press, 1997), 237–52; Kent G. Lightfoot, “Collaborative Research Programs Implications for the Practice of North American Archaeology,” in *Collaborating at the Trowel’s Edge: Teaching and Learning in Indigenous Archaeology*, ed. Stephen W. Silliman (University of Arizona Press, 2008), 211–27; Kent G. Lightfoot, Otis Parrish, Roberta Jewett, E. Breck Parkman, and Daniel Murley, “The Metini Village Project: Collaborative Research in the Fort Ross State Historic Park,” *Society for California Newsletter* 35, no. 2 (2001): 23; George P. Nicholas and Thomas D. Andrews, in *At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada* (Archaeology Press, 1997); Otis Parrish, Dan Murley, Roberta Jewett, and Kent Lightfoot, “The Science of Archaeology and the Response from Within Native California: The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Metini Village in the Fort Ross State Historic Park,” *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 13 (2000): 84–87; Michael P. Robinson, “Shampoo Archaeology: Towards A Participatory Action Research Approach in Civil Society,” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 16, no. 1 (1996): 125–38.

51. Sosa Aguilar, “People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs.”

52. Sosa Aguilar, “People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs.”

53. Veysel Apaydin, ed., *Shared Knowledge, Shared Power: Engaging Local and Indigenous Heritage* (Springer, 2017); Albino Jopela, and Per Ditlef Fredriksen “Public Archaeology, Knowledge Meetings and Heritage Ethics in Southern Africa: An Approach from Mozambique,” *World Archaeology* 47, no. 2 (2015): 261–84; Myles Mitchell, David R. Guilfoyle, Ron Doc Reynolds, and Catherine Morgan, “Towards Sustainable Community Heritage Management and the Role of Archaeology:

A Case Study from Western Australia,” *Heritage & Society* 6, no. 1 (2013): 24–45; Stephanie Moser, Darren Glazier, James E. Phillips, Lamya Nasser El Nemr, Mohammed Saleh Mousa, Rascha Nasr Aiesh, Susan Richardson, Andrew Conner, and Michael Seymour, “Transforming Archaeology Through Practice: Strategies for Collaborative Archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt,” *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 220–48; Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu, “Management versus Preservation: Archaeological Heritage Management in a Transforming South Africa,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 13, nos. 2–3 (2011): 123–33; Maggie Ronayne, “Commitment, Objectivity and Accountability to Communities: Priorities for 21st-century Archaeology,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 10, no. 4 (2008): 367–81.

54. Sosa Aguilar, “People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs.”

55. Moscovici and Doise, *Conflict and Consensus*.

56. Sosa Aguilar, “People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs.”

57. Randall H. McGuire, “Working Class Archaeology,” in *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects* (Left Coast Press, Inc., 2014), 115–31.

58. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*; Colwell and Ferguson, *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice*; Sarah E. Cowie, Diane L. Teeman, and Christopher C. LeBlanc, eds., *Collaborative Archaeology at Stewart Indian School* (University of Nevada Press, 2019); Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, *Footprints of Hopi History*; McGuire, *Archaeology as Political Action*; Silliman, *Collaborating At The Trowel’s Edge*; Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Claire Smith and Wobst, *Indigenous Archaeologies*; Laluk, “The Indivisibility of Land and Mind,” 92–112; Laluk, “Changing How Archaeology Is Done in Native American Contexts,” 53–73; Laluk and Burnette, “We Know Who We Are and What Is Needed,” 110–18; Laluk et al., “Archaeology and Social Justice in Native America,” 659–82; Natasha Lyons and Kisha Supernant, “Introduction to an Archaeology of the Heart”; Ora V. Marek-Martinez, “Indigenous Archaeological Approaches and the Refusal of Colonialism in Archaeology,” in *Routledge Handbook of the Archaeology of Indigenous-Colonial Interaction in the* (Routledge, 2021), 503–15; Ora V. Marek-Martinez, “Archaeology the Tribal Way: Reestablishing the Boundaries of Culture,” in *Kennewick Man* (Routledge, 2010), 217–22; Lindsay M. Montgomery, “Indigenous Alterity as Archaeological Praxis,” in *Archaeological Theory in Dialogue* (Routledge, 2020), 50–66; Lindsay M. Montgomery, “The Archaeology of Settler Colonialism in North America,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 51 (2022): 475–91; Lindsay M. Montgomery and Tiffany C. Fryer, “The Future of Archaeology Is (Still) Community Collaboration,” *Antiquity* 97, no. 394 (2023): 795–809; Lindsay M. Montgomery, and Kisha Supernant, “Archaeology in 2021: Repatriation, Reclamation, and Reckoning with Historical Trauma,” *American Anthropologist* 124, no. 4 (2022): 800–812; Murray, Laluk, Mills, and Ferguson, “Archaeological Collaboration with American Indians,” 65–86; Thompson and Marek-Martinez, “Engaging Archaeology as Social Justice,” 211–22; Tsim D. Schneider. and Katherine Hayes, “Epistemic Colonialism: Is It Possible to

Decolonize Archaeology? *American Indian Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2020): 127–48; Van Alst and Pyburn, “Ethics versus Ethical Codes.”

59. Ron W. Goode, Tribal Chairman, North Fork Mono Tribe, and Bill Gam-mage. “Tribal-traditional Ecological Knowledge,” *Nuck-A-Hee: Newsletter of the Si-erra Mono Museum* (2015). Kent G. Lightfoot, Rob Q. Cuthrell, Cristie M. Boone, Roger Byrne, Andreas S. Chavez, Laurel Collins, Alicia Cowart, Rand R. Evett, and Paul V. A. Fine, “Anthropogenic Burning on the Central California Coast in Late Holocene and Early Historical Times: Findings, Implications, and Future Direc-tions,” *California Archaeology* 5, no. 2 (2013): 371–90.

60. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*.

61. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*.

62. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*; Jeffrey C. Bendremer and Elaine L. Thomas, “The Tribe and the Trowel an Indigenous Archaeology and the Mohegan Archaeological Field School,” in *Collaborating at the Trowel’s Edge*, ed. Silliman, 50–66; T. J. Ferguson, “Anthropological Archaeology Conducted by Tribes: Traditional Cultural Properties and Cultural Affiliation,” *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 13, no. 1 (2003): 137–44; Shirley Powell, Christina Elnora Garza, and Aubrey Hendricks, “Ethics and Ownership of the Past: The Reburial and Repatriation Controversy,” *Archaeological Method and Theory* 5 (1993): 1–42; Robert W. Preucel and Craig N. Cipolla, “Indigenous and Postcolonial Archaeologies,” in *Archaeology And The Postcolonial Critique*, ed. Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Rizvi. (AltaMira Press, 2008), 129–40; Larry J. Zimmerman, “Remythologizing the Rela-tionship between Indians and Archaeologists,” in *Native Americans and Archaeolo-gists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*, ed. Nina Swidler, Kurt Dongoske, Roger Anyon, and Alan Downer (AltaMira Press, 1997), 44–56; Larry J. Zimmerman, “A New and Different Archaeology? With a Postscript on the Impact of the Kennewick Dispute,” in *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?*, ed. Devon Abbott Mihesuah (University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 294–306.

63. McGuire, *Archaeology as Political Action*, 96.

64. Thomas Ehrlich, ed., *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education* (Oryx Press, 2000); Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, eds., *Archaeology as a Tool Of Civic Engagement* (AltaMira Press, 2007); Caryn McTighe Musil, “Educating for Citizen-ship,” *Peer Review* 5, no. 3 2003): 4–8.

65. Danny Sosa Aguilar and Bernardo Archuleta, “Understanding the Landscape and Material Sources through Community Partnership in Abiquiú, New Mexico,” presented at the 82nd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Washington, DC, 2018.

66. Michael S. Nassaney, “Implementing Community Service Learning through Archaeological Practice,” *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 10, no. 3 (2004): 89–99.

67. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*; Nassaney, "Implementing Community Service Learning"; Michael S. Nassaney and Mary Ann Levine, *Archaeology and Community Service Learning* (University Press of Florida, 2009).
68. Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, *Footprints of Hopi History*.
69. Joëlle Clark and George Gumerman IV, "Hopi Footprints: What Really Matters in Cultural Preservation," in *Footprints of Hopi History*, ed. Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, 178–97; Chip Colwell and Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, "Traditional Cultural Properties and the Hopi Model of Cultural Preservation," in *Footprints of Hopi History*, ed. Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, 16–38; Saul L. Hedquist, Maren P. Hopkins, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, and T. J. Ferguson, "Tungwñiwpi nit Wukwłavayi (Named Places and Oral Traditions): Multivocal Approaches to Hopi Land," in *Footprints of Hopi History*, ed. Kuwanwisiwma, Ferguson, and Colwell, 52–72.
70. T. J. Ferguson, "Anthropological Archaeology Conducted by Tribes: Traditional Cultural Properties and Cultural Affiliation," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 13, no. 1 (2003): 137–44.
71. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 30th anniversary edition, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (Bloomsbury Publishing Inc., 1970 [2000]).
72. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."
73. Atalay, "Indigenous Science."
74. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."
75. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3 (2014): 1–25.
76. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."
77. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."
78. Paul A. Shackel, "Introduction: Working with Communities: Heritage Development and Applied Archaeology, in *Places in Mind: Public Archaeology as Applied Anthropology*, ed. Paul A. Shackel and Erve Chambers (Routledge, 2004), 1–18.
79. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "On Tricky Ground: Researching the Native in the age of Uncertainty," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd ed., ed. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (SAGE Publications, 2005), 85–108.
80. Atalay, *Community-based Archaeology*.
81. Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*.
82. Sosa Aguilar, "People, Piedras, Plants, and Pictographs."