# ONE • A Sustainable Archaeology

Archaeology is at an exciting juncture. As those in the field explore new directions, facets of archaeological research simultaneously evoke tensions, raise ethical dilemmas, and open possibilities. One such area is how archaeologists have engaged with Indigenous, descendant, and local communities. The past two decades have brought important changes to the ways archaeologists see these communities and are shifting their relations with them.

Another area of change is how archaeologists engage the public at large. Public involvement, heritage management, and collaboration with communities are now major concerns, and archaeologists are responding to the public with serious scholarly attention. The public shows a growing interest in archaeology. Beyond reading about archaeology, people are visiting archaeological sites and participating in cultural heritage tourism in higher numbers (Gazin-Schwartz 2004; Holtorf 2007). One recent study (Mandala 2009) found that 78 percent of all U.S. leisure travelers (118.3 million adults each year) now participate in cultural and/or heritage activities.

As archaeology matures as a discipline, archaeologists (and those outside the field) have begun to reflect critically on its current and future directions. The movement toward community engagement and heritage management combined with archaeology's involvement with heritage tourism demand that archaeologists develop new skills, methodologies, and practices. The next generation of archaeologists will be quite different from those of past decades, and as a result, archaeology students must master new types of skills and training.

Pondering the goals and potentials of social science research in the decades to come, Paulo Freire (Couto 1995, 25) argued for the need to "problematize the future." He stated that, "The future depends on what we change or what we preserve." Freire, a Brazilian sociologist, is widely known for developing collaborative research partnerships with community members in his home country. His work focused on solving community-identified problems, most notably, adult illiteracy. His concept is profound: strengthen human agency over the possible futures that people and communities can create (Couto 1995). To meet the needs of the next generation, archaeologists need to actively, intentionally "problematize the future." What does that mean? Among other things, it means thinking hard about involving communities. And it means engaging with archaeological places and landscapes in ways that have long-term sustainability.

If we problematize archaeology's future, three important considerations come to the forefront: the issue of *relevance*, the question of *audience*, and concerns about *benefits*. Archaeological research is not a necessity to most nonarchaeologists; it is a luxury. Moreover, this luxury has real-world economic, social, and political impacts on people's daily lives.

These consequences continue long after excavations end. In decades past, archaeologists often did not think about these impacts, nor did they hold themselves as accountable for them. For some time now, however, archaeologists have been grappling with how to define their relationship with the contemporary world. They simply cannot function as they once did.

Notably, archaeologists now struggle with how archaeological research relates to society. They are concerned with questions such as: Who has access to archaeological research? Who benefits? In what ways? Although concerns of relevance are now central, these are not new issues for archaeologists. Fritz and Plog (1970, 412) raised these issues four decades ago, and their words apply today: "We suspect that unless archaeologists find ways to make their research increasingly relevant to the modern world, the modern world will find itself increasingly capable of getting along without archaeologists." Archaeological projects compete for funding dollars and public attention against life-and-death problems: wars, public health issues, human rights concerns, and environmental collapse (Pyburn 2003; Sabloff 2008). Archaeological research may not seem as urgent or important in the minds of taxpayers and citizens. However, the ethical implications of conducting archaeological research are immense. Excavations and cultural tourism have had many negative effects on community members, who have been routinely excluded from heritage management and decision making.

In many communities where archaeologists work, local residents have limited access to the knowledge and other benefits from the research that is taking place in their own backyards. Clearly, archaeologists must become more involved with and must make their work relevant to wider, nonacademic audiences. Some archaeologists now engage communities in the archaeological process to increase archaeology's relevance. "Community archaeology" is growing. Over the past two decades, archaeologists globally are increasingly intersecting in complex and nuanced ways with a range of descendant and nondescendant communities and public audiences (Marshall 2002; Simpson 2010). These developments offer positive directions for archaeology. Elsewhere, I've argued that they constitute a paradigm shift toward collaborative research within the field—a shift that is occurring across the social sciences (Atalay 2008b).

To develop effective methods for collaborating with descendant and local communities, we have to look critically at current archaeological practices with an eye to improving them. Developing collaborative methods and practices for archaeology while creating the theoretical and ethical guidelines that must accompany such practices holds the promise of building a possible future for archaeology. It is an archaeology that is engaged, relevant, ethical, and, as a result, sustainable.

## COMMUNITY-BASED PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Relevance and audience are not new issues for archaeology. However, the discipline now seems serious about addressing them. Archaeology's future direction appears closely linked with successes in these areas. Already, many archaeologists seem interested in exploring how to involve local communities in research in substantive ways. Most archaeologists today take seriously the need to share knowledge *results* with multiple, diverse publics through

archaeological education programs. However, democratizing knowledge *production* now forms a cutting edge of change for archaeologists and how they do their work. The theoretical basis for collaborative practice is firmly established in archaeology. What remains to be established are effective methods for putting collaborative theories and concepts into practice. Problematizing the future of archaeology requires identifying new methodologies. This is what we need to create the future we envision as possible for our discipline.

There are many ways to work collaboratively in archaeology. Community-based participatory research (or CBPR) is one approach. It has remarkable potential for archaeologists who seek to engage with Indigenous groups and a wide range of public audiences and local communities. For example, CBPR brings reciprocal benefits to each partner, and it allows communities to build capacity in many ways. Another central CBPR tenet is to value information and ways of knowing contributed from diverse knowledge systems. This is crucial for archaeology and communities, because Indigenous people and other descendant and local communities have experienced disenfranchisement from their own past and their own ways of understanding, engaging with, and preserving it.

Stoecker (2004) provides an excellent example of the value CBPR places on community knowledge in his discussion of the hantavirus outbreak in the southwestern United States in 1993. Those studying the outbreak were initially unsuccessful at pinpointing the virus killing people on the Navajo reservation. Community members were not comfortable talking about death with outsiders, leaving the U.S. Centers for Disease Control (CDC) with no useful data to solve the health crisis. Relying on Navajo traditional knowledge, a Navajo public health researcher used CBPR principles and practices to identify the virus and its cause. Navajo teachings told of the connection between excess rainfall and increased mouse populations, which would result in bad luck and poor health. This knowledge, combined with what Stoecker terms "scientifically derived knowledge," helped those involved to identify and control the hantavirus outbreak.

This traditional Navajo knowledge is now listed on the CDC website. The experience led the CDC to develop community advisory committees that support further community-based research practices. CBPR played a critical role in solving this health crisis by taking seriously Navajo teachings, which have too often been dismissed as "myth" or "storytelling." Stoecker concludes, "Lives were lost by ignoring community knowledge, and others were saved by treating that knowledge as legitimate."

A CBPR approach combines knowledge that has been arrived at through different traditions and experiences: This is one of its great strengths. CBPR also requires that scholars and community members develop equitable partnerships. Their projects must be community-driven and must address concerns that matter to members of descendant and local groups.

These principles of CBPR set the research compass for this book. My goal has been to explore how the principles and practices of CBPR can apply to archaeology. How would working together within a CBPR framework to create knowledge that is beneficial to both archaeologists and communities look "on the ground"? How might CBPR change day-to-day practice and fieldwork? What challenges might be involved, and are they insurmountable?

How might these practices impact, even change, the way the archaeological research of the next century is developed, funded, and carried out?

## ARCHAEOLOGY THAT MATTERS

Lives are rarely saved or lost in archaeological research. Archaeologists don't cure epidemics, solve poverty, stop the abuse of battered women, or save our diminishing forests. But the archaeological record is not only a *finite* resource but also a very important one. We can all benefit and learn from it. In his recent book, *Archaeology Matters*, Sabloff (2008) provides examples of how archaeology projects make a difference in the real world. Others demonstrate how archaeology figures prominently in nationalism (Arnold 1992; Kohl and Fawcett 1996; Kohl, Kozelsky, and Ben-Yehuda 2007; Meskell 1998); politics (Kane 2003; Layton 1989; McGuire 2008; Shanks 2004); and in documenting genocide (Komar 2008; Martin 1995; Zimmerer 2008).

Furthermore, many communities care deeply about the sacred areas, cultural places, and archaeological sites that are near them or to which they have a cultural connection. CBPR can help communities solve their problems—real problems in the real world. Multiple knowledge systems and forms of data can contribute immensely to understanding the past and to managing and protecting archaeological sites and materials. The reciprocal nature of CBPR means that, while partnering with communities in ways that benefit communities, archaeologists also research subjects of interest to them. CBPR provides a method for a community and an archaeologist to work together to pursue a research design that benefits them both as equal partners. Both build skills and increase knowledge that can be applied to other areas of research, particularly for how sites can be protected and managed respectfully.

The methodology of community-based research is a crucial step forward for archaeology. It moves concerns about sustainable, reciprocal research with communities from theory to practice. At least, this is what CBPR aims to do. But the inevitable questions follow: How does this goal translate into practice? How does CBPR hold up on the ground in real-life archaeological fieldwork situations with diverse communities across the globe?

### THE GLOBAL APPLICABILITY OF CBPR FOR ARCHAEOLOGY

Today, archaeological research and cultural tourism are having major impacts on a diverse range of descendant and local communities globally. Many people, in communities and academia, are concerned about managing and protecting cultural places and materials. As state and national budgets tighten, local communities may continue to find themselves pulled further into heritage management. They may also be the ones expected to care for and protect traditional cultural properties. Although much of the CBPR research has been done with Indigenous communities or with those who are economically disadvantaged, the approach is not limited to them. A growing literature now documents how CBPR is being used outside of poor, "minority," or marginalized communities. All of this makes CBPR equally relevant and timely for archaeological collaborations with a wide range of descendant and local communities. I first experienced the power of the CBPR approach on the ground in an

archaeological research partnership with a community in Turkey.

I came to understand the global applicability of CBPR for archaeology through analyzing clay and studying foodways at Çatalhöyük, a 9,000-year-old village site in rural Turkey. After only a short time of doing archaeological research at Çatalhöyük, I realized that I had to draw on different knowledge systems, work in partnership with the community, and create research that was relevant locally. These core values of CBPR are, I learned, as important in rural Turkey as they are among Native Americans or any other descendant community.

In North America and other Indigenous communities, cultural and spiritual beliefs and kinship connection to the places and items of the past are powerful and must factor into the research equation. Not so in rural Turkey. There, other factors held sway. Gender differences, class standing, and other issues of power played central roles in disenfranchising people from their heritage. What I found most surprising is how deeply entwined these issues are with archaeology in Turkey. Even—or perhaps especially—among local residents in the villages surrounding Çatalhöyük, where people espoused no cultural connection to the site where a 100-person team of foreign excavators had come to investigate.

My early convictions about involving local communities in the research process were confirmed once I learned the Turkish language. I spent time living locally and talking in more substantive ways with community members in the region. Local residents regularly spoke to me and others about their involvement with the site as laborers, and they were pleased to have the income that working at the site provided (Bartu 2005). Although locals clearly demonstrated interest in the research being carried out, a level of disenfranchisement had obviously taken place. They were disconnected from the cultural heritage of their country.

The Çatalhöyük project is exceptional for its concern with the social context of archaeology. This is not surprising. The project's director, Ian Hodder, has written extensively about multivocality and has developed a "reflexive methodology" (Hodder 1999). Several social anthropologists have studied the inner workings of the archaeology taking place at Çatalhöyük—and with the full support of Dr. Hodder and the Çatalhöyük project.

Social anthropologist Ayfer Bartu has done some excellent work on the role of communities at the Çatalhöyük site, and her findings are central to the discussion. Bartu's research (1999, 2000, 2005, 2007) focuses on the impact that archaeological excavations at Çatalhöyük have had on local residents. She has documented the economic and social benefits as well as other consequences of the excavations locally. Bartu's work also demonstrates that involving nonarchaeologists in doing archaeology is as relevant and of value among the rural communities in Turkey as it is in Native North America or elsewhere. The local circumstances are different, but the relevance is clear. A methodology that involves communities in the research process (making it participatory) gives communities the power to create and share knowledge that is relevant and of use to them (community-based). Archaeology can only benefit by embracing these values and methods.

## ARCHAEOLOGY'S COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS WITH INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

Within many Indigenous communities, the move to make research accessible and relevant

involves Indigenous peoples not only as important *audiences* for research but also as partners in planning the research and carrying it out. This shift away from research "on and for" communities toward research "by and with" them is well under way in Native American and Indigenous studies (McNaughton and Rock 2003; Jackson 1993). It is also seen in public health, natural resource management, and sociology.

At this juncture of the discipline, archaeology's sustainability is linked to collaboration. Research endeavors must be relevant to, accessible by, and done for the benefit of local communities. When we consider the future of archaeology, especially in view of what young scholars entering the profession want to do, the direction is unmistakably toward collaboration with communities. For the next generation of archaeology students, these concepts seem to form a fundamental and natural part of their knowledge base. In response, their education and training require effective and rigorous models of collaborative practice.

Yet, negotiating collaborative relationships remains complex, especially between archaeologists and Indigenous peoples. In the United States, consultations between archaeologists, museum professionals, and Native Americans have increased as a result of legal mandates: most notably, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and its amendments; the National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAI Act) of 1989; and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. Some of the consultations initiated under NAGPRA or the NMAI Act developed into collaborations between communities and archaeologists. Positive working relationships grew beyond those required by law. Collaborations also developed between archaeologists and Indigenous communities independent of laws, both in the United States and in other settler countries, including Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.

Archaeologists and communities—Indigenous peoples as well as descendant and nondescendant, local resident groups—are, in fact, improving existing relationships and forming positive new ones. Recent literature gives evidence of this trend. When the will to work together exists, Indigenous people and archaeologists can find ways to partner effectively in conducting archaeological projects that produce rigorous results of interest and use for both partners (for example, Allen et al. 2002; Ardren 2002; Clarke et al. 2002; Crosby 2002; Dongoske 2000; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Fredericksen 2002; Friesen 2002; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Kerber 2006; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Rossen 2006, 2008; Swidler 1997; Silliman 2008a; Smith and Jackson 2007; Smith and Wobst 2005; Wilcox 2009). According to this literature, working together in various capacities on archaeological projects can be highly productive and successful.

However, tensions remain. Native Americans and other Indigenous communities do not always see eye to eye with archaeologists. While the number and variety of collaborative projects have increased, archaeologists engage with Indigenous and other descendant communities mostly for public education or in a consultative format. Unfortunately, these relationships still do not involve equal partnerships or substantive power sharing. Yet that is precisely what is required to move toward a decolonized archaeology that can have not just long-term sustainability but also moral integrity as a discipline. Archaeologists, Native

American studies scholars, as well as community members and American Indian policy makers have all called for improved relationships, which involves more substantive partnerships with American Indian nations. Amy Lonetree (in press, 2012) has examined museums and their changing relationships with and representations of Native Americans through time. She points out (2008) that archaeologists and museum professionals often subscribe to a "narrative of progress" for archaeology and museology, yet critical imbalances between these professions and Indigenous communities remain unresolved. Similarly, Boast (2011) points to the "fundamental asymmetries, appropriations, and biases" that museums of the twenty-first century must still address.

A major issue in the United States is the struggle of many Native peoples to repatriate nearly 125,000 Native American individuals who have been termed "culturally unidentifiable" and who are held by museums and federal agencies throughout the country. The Native American Rights Fund, the National Congress of American Indians, along with many Native American nations have stated their positions on this issue of culturally unidentifiable human remains, and their positions are markedly different from most professional museum and scientific organizations (Atalay 2008a; Marek-Martinez 2008). Within the area of Indigenous archaeology, a number of scholars (Atalay 2006, 2007, 2008b, 2010; Jackson and Smith 2005; Nicholas 2006; Smith and Jackson 2006; Smith and Wobst 2005) are working to resolve the tensions between Indigenous communities and archaeologists by moving the discipline toward a decolonized practice. Efforts to decolonize archaeology reflect broader critiques of research methods as well as cross-disciplinary calls for decolonizing the way research is planned and conducted on a global scale.

## PALPABLE TENSIONS, EXCITING POSSIBILITIES

The research I present in this book moves within a complex position: palpable tensions exist alongside exciting possibilities. CBPR methodologies emerged from critiques of conventional researcher-driven approaches and from scholarship and activism that names and problemitizes the power imbalances in current practices. CBPR strives to conduct research based in communities and founded upon core community values. With these broader critiques in mind, I wanted to consider how archaeology might be practiced if the concepts of decolonization and postcolonial theory were applied to the discipline. How might archaeological research change to create a reciprocal practice that truly benefits communities, at least as much as it benefits the scholarly interests of archaeologists?

### DECOLONIZING RESEARCH PRACTICES

Scholars, activists, and community members have raised critiques of current research practices in general (Smith 1999; Wilson 2004; Mihesuah 1998, 2000, 2005; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Nahanni 1977) and particularly of anthropological research (Deloria Jr. 1969; Smith 1999; McNaughton and Rock 2003; Sahota 2009). They claim that much of the research process exploits Native Americans and other Indigenous peoples, because these peoples are viewed only as research subjects. Also, the knowledge that such research produces is neither

accessible nor of benefit to the community being studied. Joe Garcia, president of the National Congress of American Indians, notes, "Historically, researchers, and anthropologists have visited our communities to extract information from us, frequently misinterpreting and misusing it, and have minimized the validity of our Indigenous knowledge" (Garcia 2009, 1). The recent dispute between Arizona State University (ASU) and the Havasupai tribe over blood samples obtained for diabetes research demonstrates the concerns that Indigenous communities have with research. In the Havasupai case, an anthropologist and a genetic researcher initiated a study of diabetes that involved blood samples. The samples were later used for research not related to understanding and solving the community's diabetes concerns. The community never gave their consent for their blood to be used in additional studies. After nearly a decade of disagreement and investigation, ASU paid the Havasupai tribe a settlement of $700,000 (Harmon 2010). In comments about the case, tribal members made it clear that they were not against research, but simply that it must be done appropriately. They spoke about the ways that the research benefited the scholars who conducted it but did nothing to help the Havasupai community. In fact, as several tribal members noted, it harmed the community. It produced information that was in contradiction to their traditional origin stories. The research may even hurt the tribe's land claims.

To address outcomes such as this, scholars and communities call for research that is community-driven and that produces results relevant for the communities involved. Many scholars go further to argue for a decolonizing approach to research that aims to resolve some of the long-standing tensions between researchers and communities (Bishop 1998; Smith 1999, 2000, 2005, 2006; Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith 2008; Soto 2004; Mutua and Swadener 2004). In her book, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith both analyzes the problems with exploitative research practices and outlines the need for developing a set of "decolonizing methodologies." As Smith defines it, decolonizing research does not involve "a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (1999, 39).

Approaches to decolonizing archaeology and postcolonial critiques have gained momentum in recent years (for example, Atalay 2006; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Schmidt 2009; Rizvi and Lydon 2010; Smith and Wobst 2005). Applied to archaeology, decolonizing centers research on Indigenous concerns and concepts about the past (for example, see Atalay 2007, 2008b). It also identifies effective research models for working in partnership with, by, and for Indigenous communities (Atalay 2006). CBPR is a central part of a decolonizing approach to archaeological research, because it provides a methodology that is both rigorous and ethically minded, while also being community-driven and involving community members in a respectful, participatory way that values them as research partners.

The result is that archaeological knowledge is produced in full partnership with communities and aimed at addressing their research concerns and questions. Applying a CBPR model to archaeology resolves some of the tensions between archaeologists and members of Indigenous communities. My comparative analyses of a number of archaeological CBPR

projects shows how CBPR is "able to resolve the permanent tension between the process of knowledge generation and the use of that knowledge, between the 'academic' and the real worlds, between intellectuals and workers, between science and life" (Vio Grossi 1980, 70).

Interest in CBPR has come not only from the academic world. Native American communities, many of whom had negative reactions to research of any kind, are involved in creating knowledge that benefits their communities using a CBPR approach. The National Congress of American Indians Policy Research Center provides an excellent example. The Policy Research Center is a tribally driven think tank that supports American Indian self-determination by compiling data, building tribal research capacity, providing research support, and convening forums on critical policy questions. Its website presents a series of modules about the research process written for Native American community use and developed through direct community involvement and feedback. The modules recommend a community-based participatory research model as a way for American Indian people to claim research as a tool for themselves. The modules explain how to conduct research in harmony with core tribal values while building community capacity (National Congress of American Indians Policy Research Center 2009).

## FIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CBPR PROJECTS

The comparative analysis of archaeological CBPR presented in this book is grounded in theory, but it also stems from something more than abstract concepts or decolonizing theories. It is grounded in practical necessity. I needed to identify a working process for conducting collaborative research in the places where I am from and where I work. Initially, I hoped to develop and create research that could be done with, by, and for the local residents in Turkey. They are the ones most impacted by the excavations and cultural tourism taking place in their communities near the archaeological site of Çatalhöyük.

This research started as a two-year postdoctoral study funded by the National Science Foundation. I aimed to document the collaborative process from the earliest planning stages in very different locations. My hope was to gain a better understanding of the problems and challenges archaeologists and community partners face in conducting community-based research and how these might be minimized or even resolved. I also hoped to understand how CBPR methodologies might allow for more culturally effective means of sharing archaeological knowledge once it was produced.

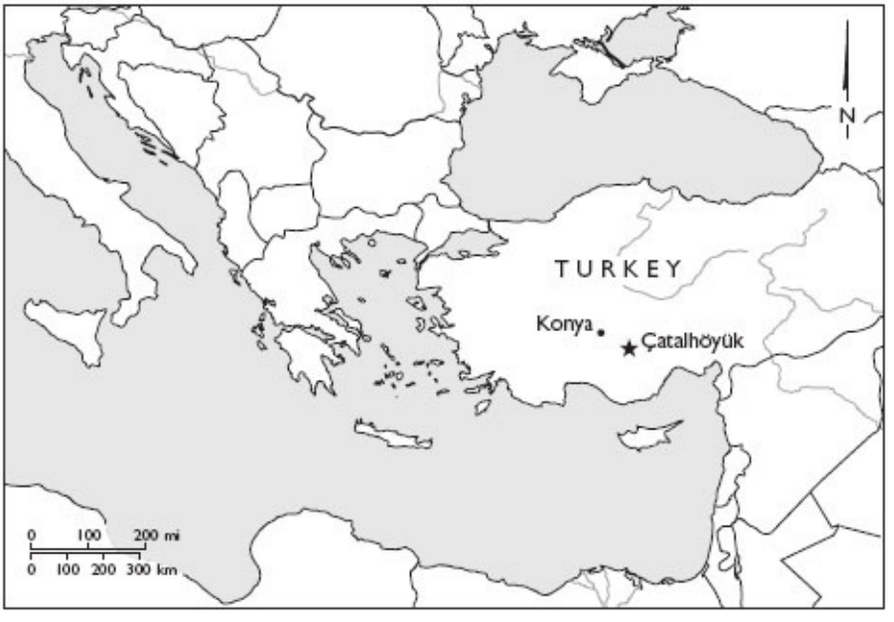
To move from theory to practice and to address how CBPR can be applied to archaeology on the ground—through fieldwork—I conducted comparative research using CBPR methods in different settings. These comparative projects helped me understand how to use a CBPR methodology within an archaeological context. All five projects have been developed and are being conducted in partnership with communities from the United States and Turkey. Each followed a different path to its development, and each set out to achieve different goals. But all share the common thread of having been developed and conducted in full partnership with a community, using the principles and methodology of community-based participatory research. The projects also share a commitment to reciprocity. That is, each addresses community goals,

while at the same time providing information that serves my primary research goal, which is to better understand the potential of CBPR in archaeology.

## ÇATALHÖYÜK CBPR PROJECT

The first CBPR project was organized with rural village residents near the archaeological site of Çatalhöyük, Turkey (see Map 1). I had worked at Çatalhöyük as an archaeologist studying clay materials and cooking processes for nearly ten years, and I had developed close connections with local residents who lived nearby and worked on-site. This made Çatalhöyük an ideal choice to begin a research partnership. The project involved working with local educators, community leaders, and village residents to develop research partnerships that make aspects of the research at Çatalhöyük accessible and useful to local communities.

Using long-established contacts from previous ethno-archaeology work in the region, I worked with residents from six nearby towns and villages (Küçükköy, Çumra, Karkın, Abdıtolu, Dedemoğlu, and Hayıroğlu) (see Map 2) to develop a community based participatory research design. These communities were chosen as potential partners because of their close geographic connection to the Çatalhöyük site.

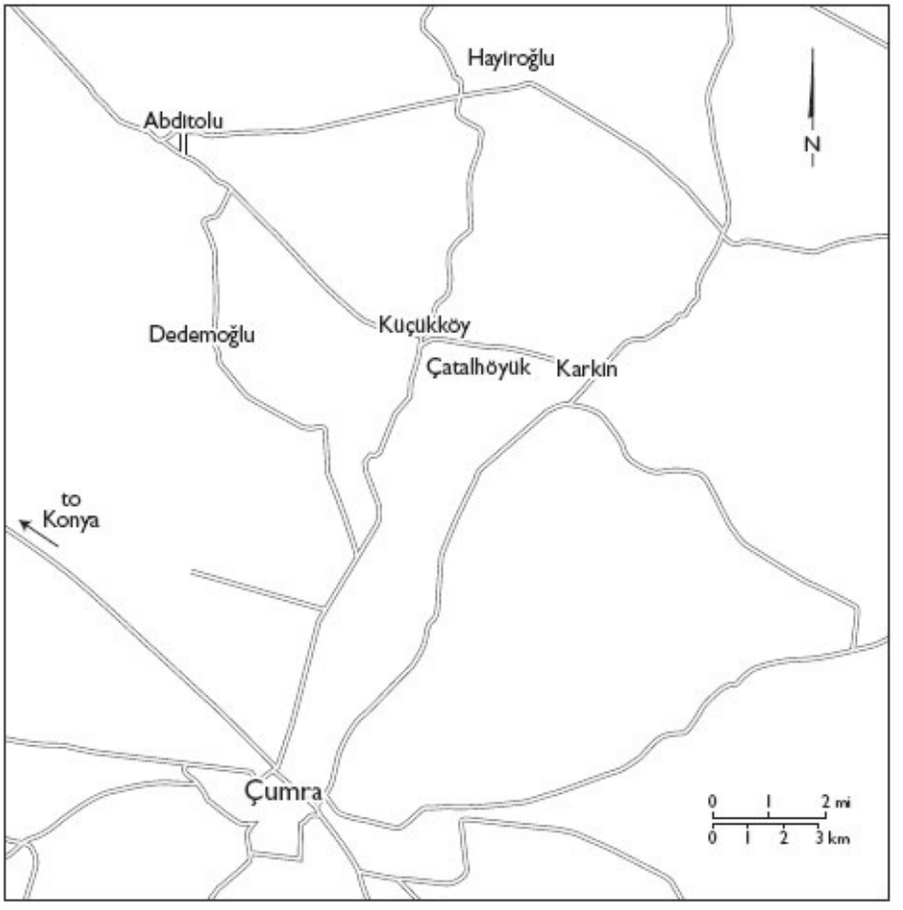



MAP 1.
Eastern Mediterranean region. The Çatalhöyük site, in south-central Turkey, is marked with a star.

Building on Bartu's work (1999, 2000, 2006) with the local communities around Çatalhöyük, I originally aimed to put together a team of archaeologists and local community members. Together, we would develop a series of regular community meetings that would create a two-way sharing of information about the research at Çatalhöyük. Local communities would participate in designing some of the research questions that they, in partnership with archaeologists, would investigate. The aim was to expand the concept of "the site"—a method that Bartu advocates (Bartu 2000, Bartu Candan 2006). The idea was to involve local

communities in the Çatalhöyük research by working with local residents to develop and answer research questions that meet community needs.

In 2006, I initiated the project by conducting a series of interviews with residents from the six local communities I just named. I had hoped these interviews could identify the level of interest that community members had in archaeology and the roles they might like to have in archaeological research at the site. However, community members told me that they felt they knew far too little to contribute to a community partnership. Following community needs and suggestions, I continued to talk with local residents about their interest in the research at Çatalhöyük and archaeology generally and about which next-steps might be appropriate for them to partner with archaeologists.




MAP 2.
Çatalhöyük and the surrounding town and villages.

The CBPR project developed from the suggestions and ideas raised during those interviews. The next step focused on creating and distributing archaeological educational materials to local residents: a regular newsletter, informational kiosks, site and lab tours and visits, a comic series for children, and an onsite annual community festival. They served to educate local children and adults in natural and fun ways about the archaeological research taking place and what was involved in managing and protecting the site.

Through regular feedback and input from the local community, the partnership expanded to include a much wider range of projects. Each built community capacity for research and fund-raising, while also increasing local involvement in the management, protection, and heritage tourism at the Çatalhöyük site. And, we have a number of projects currently in development. A traveling archaeological theater troupe is now being trained; a women's craft cooperative is using the dig house buildings (both during and outside of summer field seasons) to create handicrafts with archaeological designs to sell in nearby art and tourist markets; an internship research training program has been created; and a village-based community cultural heritage board is in place to participate in regional site planning and management decision making (Atalay 2010). Although this collaboration did not follow the path I expected and was slow to get started, it has made incredible strides and continues to grow. Community interest and trust in the research process are expanding.

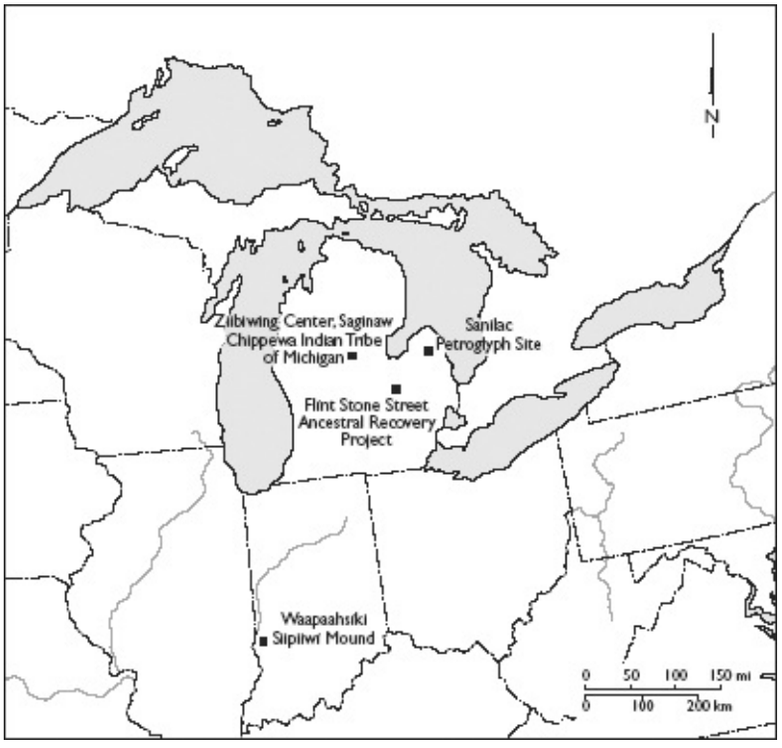
### ZIIBIWING REPATRIATION RESEARCH PROJECT

The second CBPR project that informs this analysis of CBPR methodologies involves my working partnership with the Ziibiwing Cultural Center. This is a community-based organization (CBO) that developed and now directs both a tribal museum and the cultural society of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan (see Map 3). Like the Çatalhöyük collaboration, this partnership was also an obvious choice, but for different reasons. I am Ojibwe myself and, as an Indigenous archaeologist, I feel it is important to highlight the perspectives of a Native American community that is partnering productively in archaeological research. I also wanted to understand the ways that being a Native American working in a Native American context might affect the CBPR partnership, possibly in both positive and negative ways.

In stark contrast to the Çatalhöyük community partnership, my research with Ziibiwing got off to a very quick start. Bonnie Ekdahl, Ziibiwing's director at the time the project started, had a very clear idea about the types of research on which the center wanted to partner with me. At the top of the list was repatriation research for the return of Anishinabe ancestors held by the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology. Ziibiwing's goal was to gather archaeological data about ancestral remains that the university had labeled "culturally unidentifiable" and to work with tribal historians and spiritual advisors to document the tribal perspective on the affiliation of the remains.

Ekdahl and her Ziibiwing team wrote a National Park Service grant that funded the initial research for this project, currently in its seventh year. The research started with meetings between myself, Ekdahl, Shannon Martin (Ziibiwing's cultural education specialist, who is now Ziibiwing's director), and William Johnson (Ziibiwing's curator) to determine the plan for approaching the research. Spiritual leaders and tribal historians were involved from the outset of the project and provided oral history teachings about Anishinabe knowledge of kinship, the need for repatriating ancestors, and tribal migrations and occupation of the region where the remains were found. From the start, we also worked collaboratively with the Michigan Anishinabek Cultural Preservation and Repatriation Alliance (MACPRA). Formed

to address issues of repatriation, this coalition of Native peoples includes representatives from state and federally recognized tribes in Michigan.




MAP 3.
Midwestern United States with numbered locations indicating key places discussed in this book: (1) Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways in Mt. Pleasant, MI; (2) Flint Stone Street Ancestral Recovery Project in Flint, MI; (3) Sanilac Petroglyph site; and (4) Waapaahsiki Siipiiwi Mound in Fairbanks, IN.

In conducting research for this project, the group made site visits to three locations from which ancestral remains had been exhumed through archaeological excavations between the 1920s and 1960s. The site visits gave the spiritual leaders and tribal historians the opportunity to assess the site locations for further cultural connections. The project also included a visit to the University of Michigan to view the ancestral remains and the associated funerary objects that the tribe was claiming. In addition, our team collaboratively authored and presented community reports about the research findings and progress. We authored reports and updates for the granting agency. And we made decisions about how the research should proceed. Such decisions were particularly critical for this project because of the high degree of resistance the tribe encountered in their efforts to repatriate these ancestors from the University of Michigan. The tribe is now preparing to repatriate a portion of these remains, but our collaborative work is ongoing.

## ZIIBIWING SANILAC PETROGLYPH INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY PROJECT

This book draws from three additional collaborative projects. Two of these grew out of the research partnership with the Ziibiwing Center, and the third involves collaboration with the Sullivan County American Indian Council, a CBO in southern Indiana. These further research

collaborations with the Ziibiwing Center are truly a testament to the potential of CBPR methodologies.

The Ziibiwing repatriation research project was well underway when the opportunity arose for a second collaboration around intellectual property issues in cultural heritage. Dr. George Nicholas of Simon Fraser University in British Columbia invited me to participate in a comparative project on intellectual property in archaeology. The $2.5 million grant from the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities and Research Council (SSHRC) funds the Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) project. IPinCH is global in scope and aims to study intellectual property issues related to archaeology (Hollowell and Nicholas 2009; IPinCH 2012).

Ziibiwing provides cultural education for both Native American and nonnative communities. The center hosts an annual summer solstice ceremony and language teaching at the nearby petroglyph site in Sanilac, Michigan (see Map 3). In the Anishinabe language, this site is called *ezhibiigaadek asin*—teachings on stone. In initial discussions with Ziibiwing's former director, Bonnie Ekdahl, about intellectual property issues and Ziibiwing's potential interest in being part of the IPinCH project, the tribe's role in both protecting and sharing the teachings found on the petroglyphs became a central focus of our discussion. Ekdahl had a clear view of the ways we could partner to study how to protect the petroglyph teachings and the intellectual property issues involved. Before the *ezhibiigaadek asin* research got off the ground, Bonnie Ekdahl stepped down from her role as Ziibiwing's director, but the partnership continued under the guidance of Shannon Martin, Ziibiwing's new director. Martin and I worked together, along with Ziibiwing's curator, William Johnson, to develop a case study for the IPinCH project, focusing on protecting the traditional knowledge and imagery of the Sanilac petroglyphs.

Visitors to this and other rock art sites globally have been known to draw, photograph, or even use the images they see at these sacred places for economic pursuits. They have reproduced the images on T-shirts, coffee mugs, jewelry, and other merchandise. One clear example that we cited in our joint application for grant funds to support the Sanilac case study involved a visitor who attempted to use one particular petroglyph from the *ezhibiigaadek asin* site—the archer—for commercial purposes. If this petroglyph site is further developed, it will draw a greater number of visitors. Protecting the images and the knowledge and cultural teachings associated with them will become all the more critical. Through the collaborative *ezhibiigaadek asin* intellectual property project, we are investigating how cultural knowledge about this place can be shared, as our Anishinabe ancestors instructed, while at the same time ensuring that such information is appropriately protected. A critical component to this research is a tribal management and education plan, which is being developed in consultation with tribal members and spiritual leaders.

The Sanilac petroglyph research is still in the early stages. Together, we have developed a research design, coauthored a successful grant to fund the project, and produced all the documents for tribal council review and approval, and for the university's "human subjects" review process. We have developed a survey to gain input from several Anishinabe

communities. We are also planning several workshops with spiritual leaders that will help us consider the most appropriate approach to protecting the teachings and other intellectual property related to the site. Although this project is not complete, the collaboration has already provided both interesting and useful insights about archaeological CBPR: for example, how community partnerships grow; how projects build on one another; how to manage community/university timelines; collaborative grant writing; and the institutional review board (IRB) review.

## FLINT STONE STREET ANCESTRAL RECOVERY AND SITE MANAGEMENT PROJECT

This book draws on yet another project that grew from the partnership between Ziibiwing and myself. The Flint Stone Street Ancestral Recovery and Site Management Project started in January 2008. During the construction of a new housing development in Flint, Michigan (see Map 3), construction workers inadvertently discover ed multiple ancestral remains. The area is part of the traditional territory of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan (SCIT), and Ziibiwing staff members were called in to consult on behalf of the tribe to develop a plan for handling the remains. The situation was dire. The remains of multiple individuals, a mother and baby among them, were unearthed as a backhoe dug multiple seven-foot-deep foundation trenches for houses that were to be built on the property. Houses previously located on the property were originally built in the early 1900s, but they had been abandoned and condemned. To rebuild the financially troubled area, the Genesee County Land Bank reclaimed the land, tore down the dilapidated turn-of-the-century houses, and funded the new construction as part of a plan to build new homes on the same location.

Federal funds were initially part of the housing development project, but once the state archaeologist inspected the site and declared it a major burial ground, construction came to an immediate halt. Federal funding was pulled, and Ziibiwing's staff was left wondering how they could possibly care for their ancestors in the respectful and dignified way they deserved. Martin and Johnson needed to make a decision. They saw the ancestral remains scattered among 75,000 cubic feet of back dirt, mixed in with modern garbage, including diapers, used condoms, and a host of other dirty refuse. They consulted with spiritual leaders, as well as several archaeologists including myself; Dr. Beverly Smith, an archaeologist from the local University of Michigan-Flint Anthropology Department; and two graduate students, Frank Raslich (a Saginaw Chippewa tribal member) and Nicole Raslich. Ziibiwing proposed a plan to the tribal council to conduct a salvage reburial project relying on the work of local volunteers and tribal members. Dr. Smith and I would serve as coprincipal investigators, and Frank and Nicole Raslich would work as field supervisors. Tribal council agreed and funded an initial five-week field season.

Starting in August 2009, the archaeology team trained and led volunteers and a small paid crew of tribal members to recover the remains left exposed in the four massive back dirt piles. My involvement on the ground, in the fieldwork aspect of this project, was comparatively minimal. I was on-site for only one week in early September 2009. I served as the principal investigator, instructing volunteers on the cultural protocols for handling human remains and

overseeing their work as we sieved through the soil to recover ancestral remains. Although my on-site work for this project was limited, I continue to be involved as a research partner during discussions, planning, and decision making about the project. Starting in September 2010, students in a CBPR research methods graduate course that I developed and teach at Indiana University also became involved in the Flint Stone Street project. Course participants gained hands-on experience in CBPR methods by working in partnership with Ziibiwing to develop a site management plan for the Flint Stone Street site. This project is ongoing as the tribe works to develop a management and protection plan for the site in partnership with tribal members and Flint residents and government entities.

### WAAPAAHSIIKI SIIPIIWI MOUND PROJECT

The fifth and final CBPR project that informs my research for this book is a partnership with the Sullivan County American Indian Council (the Council), a nonprofit Native American group whose mission includes preserving the Native American past and educating Native Americans and local residents about it. The Council has roughly seventy members, all residents of Sullivan County, Indiana, and surrounding regions (see Map 3). In 2007, the Indiana Michigan Power Company turned over stewardship of five acres of land in Fairbanks, Indiana, to the Council, with the understanding that the Council would develop a plan to care for and protect the mound located on the land. The Council named the site in the Indigenous language of the Miami people, *Waapaahsiiki Siipiiwi*, after the nearby Wabash River. The Miami people had a long-term presence throughout Indiana.

The mound is documented with the state archaeologist's office but has not been scientifically investigated. Although I live nearby, I knew nothing of its existence, and only learned of it after meeting the Council's president, Reg Petoskey. As a new faculty member at Indiana University (IU), I knew it was important to develop connections with the local Native American community and wanted to do so. I arranged to meet with the Council (and other Native American groups in the state) to discuss developing research partnerships of mutual interest and benefit. Council president, Reg Petoskey, informed me of the *Waapaahsiiki Siipiiwi* mound. He expressed interest in conducting research there with the vision of preserving and protecting it. He also shared his idea of eventually developing a public interpretive trail to provide visitors with a place to learn about Indiana's First Peoples. The Council's long-term plans included developing a community museum and youth center on the site to serve both Indiana's greater Native American community and the local residents of the region.

The Council and I have since worked closely to develop a preliminary research design for recording and studying the *Waapaahsiiki Siipiiwi* site. Our initial scope of work includes archaeological fieldwork at the site, an oral history project, a management and protection plan, and several educational components. All are being carried out in direct partnership with the Council. Some of the research is complete, while other aspects are ongoing. We have collaboratively developed an excellent preliminary research design and put together a grant proposal to help fund the research. However, we have not yet obtained funding for developing

the interpretive trail and educational components of the project.

As with the Flint Stone Street project, I incorporated the *Waapaahsiiki Siipiiwi* Mound project partnership into my graduate methods course. So, a significant portion of the project has been completed without funding, much of it by student volunteers from a CRM course taught by Dr. Susan Alt, a fellow archaeologist at IU, and graduate students in my CBPR graduate classes. As service-learning courses, the CBPR classes are designed to provide students with hands-on training in CBPR, while also providing needed research benefits to the Council. One team of graduate students focused on the Ziibiwing Flint Stone Street project. A second team worked in partnership with the Council to develop a detailed research design and grant proposal. They also carried out the archaeological fieldwork and worked on components of the oral history and educational portions of the project.

We conducted comparative background research on archaeological site management and protection at heritage sites globally. We are using this comparative knowledge to produce a site management and protection plan specific to *Waapaahsiiki Siipiiwi*. We surveyed and mapped the site and the surrounding area, which enabled us to assess the degree of looting from visible looting pits on the mound. We also developed a photographic, audio, and video archive of the participatory fieldwork process. These data are being shared with the Indiana State Archaeology office as part of the site registration process. Our IU research team also worked with the Council to collect oral histories about Native American life in Indiana and the history of the mound that existed in local memory. We also worked in partnership with local teachers to begin incorporating project results into the fourth grade curriculum.

Although not complete, this project has yielded very useful information about CBPR's application to archaeology, particularly in how to incorporate CBPR into training and the archaeology curriculum.

## COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO STUDYING ARCHAEOLOGICAL CBPR

With these five projects, I have taken a comparative approach to studying how to apply CBPR to archaeology. In one project (Çatalhöyük), I was clearly an outsider; in the others, I have closer cultural connections. Three of the projects (Ziibiwing partnerships) are with a community-based organization that is officially part of a federally recognized Native American tribe, while the Sullivan County partnership involves a small intertribal community. In stark contrast, the Çatalhöyük project took place in an international setting and required a large level of community organizing with rural, nondescendant local residents living near a site. Each is challenging and complex in different ways. All are very interesting for understanding the challenges with CBPR and how it can be applied to archaeology.

I derived the qualitative data I present from multiple sources: my observations and experiences initiating and conducting the five projects; information from interviews I conducted with community members during the planning stages of the Çatalhöyük CBPR project; and one interview with Ziibiwing's director, Shannon Martin. I've also integrated examples of archaeological projects that are collaborative to greater or lesser degrees as well as numerous CBPR examples from outside archaeology. These include CBPR case studies

from the fields of conservation, forestry and natural resource management, sociology, education, theater and the arts, and public health.

More input for this research came directly from the classroom. I decided to write a book to fill a need I found while teaching and training archaeology students. Published examples of CBPR from an archaeology context are extremely limited. While teaching my CBPR graduate methods course, I found that the ambitious and bright graduate students I was teaching were repeatedly asking for specific examples of CBPR practices in archaeological fieldwork and research. They wanted to know, for example: How do you start an archaeological CBPR project? How do you work in partnership with a community to develop a research topic of mutual interest? How does a CBPR grant differ from a standard National Science Foundation grant?

Since archaeologists study material culture and remains from the past, they do not typically see themselves as working with "human subjects." Thus, they rarely go through the human subjects protection protocols that are in place in universities. Few receive training or have experience working with the institutional review board (IRB) process, which puts their research proposals through a careful review to make sure that those being studied are duly protected. Archaeology students in the CBPR methods course wanted to know how to navigate this process, particularly because community members were going to be directly involved in the research—not as "subjects" but as *partners*.

As evidence for how to apply CBPR to archaeology, I offered practical examples all through the course, from the fieldwork in the five CBPR projects with which I am involved. I wished countless times for a resource that would show how the principles and benefits of CBPR apply to archaeology. I finally decided that the best way to provide students with such a resource was to create it myself.

## ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Throughout this book, I present some successes of conducting archaeological CBPR, yet I also talk about the complexities, messiness, and questions it leaves unanswered. I undoubtedly support the theoretical tenets on which it is based. I also link the approach to a wider paradigm shift in archaeology (and the social sciences more broadly) to democratize knowledge production and decolonize the discipline. However, as Wilmsen (2008) points out, there is no guarantee that these aims will be met. A number of important critiques of CBPR leave lingering questions about its ability to reach its lofty goals. These critiques warrant careful consideration, and I address them throughout the book. Most of the critiques can be overcome. None seem fatal, but they may still be unresolvable. For these reasons, like Wilmsen, I suggest to those who adopt CBPR, do so with great care.

The chapters that follow present a range of complex issues for archaeologists to consider. These are not restricted to the area of "Indigenous archaeology," nor are they significant only for those working in Native American or Indigenous communities. The questions community-based research has prompted have broad, global applicability and are relevant for anyone involved in the practice of archaeology in the twenty-first century. This book doesn't aim to

provide all the answers, but it does highlight some of the important questions that we need to ask. It warns of possible challenges and provides ideas for integrating CBPR research into any archaeology project. I do not offer this work as a preset recipe for success but rather as an outline of CBPR's methodology and rationale. I hope it can provide a set of lessons learned from multiple experiences with CBPR. Archaeologists and community members who engage in research partnerships will develop protocols, strategies, and practices that best fit their local context. The chapters that follow are meant as tools to guide that process.

The archaeological literature gives many case studies that are useful for framing any discussion of collaboration and working with communities. I find these examples both inspiring and helpful. Chapter 2 provides a historical overview of the development of collaboration within the field of archaeology. The arc of development moves from legally mandated consultation to archaeological projects that involve communities to varying degrees along a "collaborative continuum." No single "prime mover" is responsible for the development of CBPR in archaeology. Rather, multiple factors played a role—some from within the discipline, some from other disciplines, and many from outside the academic world. From Native American activism and Vine Deloria's critique of anthropology to postmodern movements within the social sciences more broadly, I outline the major factors and influences of this development. I talk about global activism by Indigenous communities; archaeologists' interests in heritage management and cultural tourism; theoretical concerns with postcolonial and decolonizing methods; and collaborative practices in other disciplines. All these are linked to the move toward collaboration that we see in contemporary archaeology.

Chapter 3 details the principles and benefits of a CBPR approach. I examine five primary concepts: (1) what it means to pursue a fully collaborative process, (2) community participation in research, (3) how to build community capacity, (4) how to achieve reciprocity in beneficial outcomes, and (5) how to use multiple knowledge systems.

CBPR has a diverse history that can be traced to the 1940s. I present the roots and development of CBPR, including Paolo Freire's work in adult literacy education in Brazil and Myles Horton's involvement in the labor and civil rights movements in the United States. Some question the ability of practitioners of CBPR and other forms of what has been termed "activist scholarship" (Hale 2008) to maintain objectivity and produce rigorous results. This chapter discusses the action aspects of CBPR and the value it places on social change and democratizing knowledge. These values are, it turns out, fully supportive of research rigor and objectivity. The chapter closes by raising some of the primary critiques of CBPR: How do we define and represent "the community"? How much time will it take to carry out the research this way? How much *authentic* power can communities take on in research partnerships?

For archaeologists and communities who want to develop a community-based project, one of the most important concerns is practical: How are CBPR projects started? How do archaeologists initiate collaborative relationships with communities? And how can communities find suitable academic partners? Chapter 4 provides tangible approaches for establishing and sustaining community research partnerships. I detail some key elements for creating positive connections within a community. The chapter also discusses how to broaden

participation to include a wide spectrum of community members.

CBPR projects are not started or built in the same way or with the same goals in mind. The CBPR projects I conducted in Turkey and North America followed quite different paths. In North America, both communities had a clear vision of the questions and topics they wanted to investigate. In Turkey, members of local villages seriously undervalued their own knowledge and felt they had nothing to contribute to a community research project. These different experiences provide useful guidance on how to establish a partnership—from the ground up; with community-based organizations; in large, diverse communities; and with multiple stakeholders. Very often, archaeologists may wish to integrate a CBPR component into a current field project, yet this can entail a complex process of shifting priorities and adjusting established relationship dynamics.

The concrete examples of the chapter are juxtaposed with a theoretical discussion about how to define communities: who forms them, how they are defined, who defines them, and who has the right to speak on behalf of the group. Politics, factions, and community divisions are inevitable and can have detrimental effects on a CBPR project. These topics are addressed in this chapter as well. To deal with these challenges, I emphasize building cultural competency and understanding the social and political context in which potential community research partners operate.

The early, foundational steps of creating a working relationship with a community partner strongly affect the trajectory and long-term success of the project. Patterns of interaction and daily working practices form during this opening phase of the research, and they can be hard to change later on. Chapter 5 identifies multiple factors important for building a strong foundation for successful archaeological CBPR. Some of these factors include establishing trust and a sense of like-mindedness, clarifying timelines, and understanding each other's goals and expectations. Qualitative methods, including ethnographic skills, play an important role in CBPR. They are particularly useful in assessing a community's interest and level of commitment to a research partnership as well as for identifying topics to investigate. These methods are also valuable for identifying areas of potential conflict—charged topics that require extra awareness and sensitivity. I address each of these subjects and use examples from the Çatalhöyük project.

In short, the bulk of Chapter 5 focuses on the complexities of transitioning from a conventional, researcher-driven approach to more participatory processes—making decisions in partnership with communities. I also carefully consider human-subject protocols and research permission processes, particularly tribal IRBs, governing councils, community consent, and university IRB requirements.

With CBPR, developing an archaeological research design has many steps: determining research questions in participatory ways, finding methods for answering those questions that are participatory as well, formulating an approach to interpreting data, and devising a plan for disseminating results—again, all done in inclusive, participatory, power-balanced ways. These are familiar steps for archaeologists; however, the daily practice of carrying out these steps changes substantially when communities become research partners. Chapter 6 focuses on

the themes that emerge in the day-to-day process of identifying research questions and developing community-based research designs.

As shared decision making becomes part of daily practice, archaeologists find that open dialogue and frequent communication figure prominently in their research skill set. Chapter 6 gives examples that demonstrate this point. It also highlights how important it is to build flexibility into community-based research designs, while also remaining flexible throughout the research planning process. In many cases, particularly in working with Indigenous communities, CBPR research designs will include a set of cultural protocols and practices that must be followed during data collection, analysis, or at other points in the research process. Because this is so important, I cover the process of formulating such protocols.

The chapter concludes with an in-depth discussion of what I have termed community-based archaeological education. I detail how to develop educational materials about archaeology using a CBPR approach.

In Chapter 7, the focus turns toward gathering and interpreting data and presenting results to scholarly and public audiences. Archaeologists have been quite successful at involving members of the public in archaeological fieldwork. This chapter provides examples of some of those "best practices." It also shows how to make field and lab processes participatory, so that community members are fully engaged in both data collection and analysis. Community research teams and local internship programs are two approaches that I highlight. Chapter 7 also shows how researchers—archaeologists and community members—can use participatory field and lab experiences to build research capacity within communities.

Some of the most complex issues that archaeologists face in conducting CBPR relate to data interpretation: Do we give primacy to one interpretation over another? How are conflicts between community interpretations and those of the scholar best approached? And how might conflicts of interpretation productively be addressed? These are challenging issues, and the CBPR literature does not provide any easy solutions.

To address this challenge, I present the idea of "braided knowledge." Community knowledge intertwines with archaeological data to create new and richly textured interpretations of the past. The braided knowledge concept poses an alternative to multivocal approaches, adding to the complexities of interpreting and presenting data. Archaeologists and community members often have different goals and desired outcomes for research. These goals and outcomes may even conflict. Even within a community, diverse goals and views surround the types of data that people see as appropriate for publication. Furthermore, participants on all sides may assume different measures of success. Chapter 8 discusses these issues, as well as evaluation methods and measures of success.

The field of archaeology has made great strides in the past century. I am on board in supporting the momentum of change for my field. Frankly, I cannot imagine the archaeology of the next century without envisioning a collaborative aspect to the daily ins and outs of practice. Chapter 8 considers the long-term impact and positive potential of CBPR. Communities, who previously may have had quite negative reactions to research of any kind, have utilized CBPR to create knowledge that benefits their communities. This constitutes a major shift for the

discipline.

For Indigenous peoples, I argue that CBPR can provide a mechanism through which communities can claim research as a tool that they can conduct in harmony with core tribal values. This powerful point links CBPR to a broader project of decolonization within Indigenous communities. In Chapter 8, I highlight some of the outcomes and benefits of the five CBPR projects as well as some of the benefits to the discipline of archaeology.

Community benefits vary. They include (re)engaging the community with site management and protection, developing new cultural tourism and heritage management programs, and gaining the right to rebury ancestors. Some added benefits were not as expected, such as creating an archaeological community theater troupe, providing a school for young girls who wouldn't otherwise have access to education, and using archaeology to build a community health clinic. Again, major shifts in archaeological practices.

Chapter 8 also addresses research ethics and student training. I argue that CBPR decenters some of the current archaeological ethics principles and refocuses the ethics discussion through a new lens. Fluehr-Lobban (2003) calls for anthropology to move beyond an ethic of "do no harm" toward one of "doing some good." The chapter highlights the ways that CBPR contributes to a "do some good" ethic. It also considers how archaeology ethical codes and guidelines might be reenvisioned as a result of collaborative practice and CBPR approaches.

In the end, though, the effects and benefits of CBPR can impact archaeology only if students learn the principles and techniques and are trained how to move abstract, theoretical concepts of collaboration and reciprocal community partnership into the work of daily, on-the-ground, dirt archaeology. Chapter 8 aims to open that dialogue. I explore how to integrate CBPR into the archaeology curriculum of the twenty-first century.