

Decolonizing anthropology

Eric Thrift¹, Delaney Huybers², Rachael², Kevin Munson¹,
breannawaterman², ncastill², and Codykc²

¹University of Winnipeg

²Affiliation not available

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Lyon, Louise C, and John W Friesen. *Culture Change and Education: A Study of Indian and Non-Indian Views in Southern Alberta*. New York: Associated Educational Services, 1969.

Lyon and Friesen's book explores the broad framework of the cultural changes that took place in Southern Alberta in relation to Aboriginal culture, evaluating how these changes were perceived and understood. They look more closely at how this impacted education and conversely how education impacted the understanding of the changes taking place. I will also use this book as a comparison for the changes that are currently taking place within the education system regarding decolonization and how anthropology has played a role in this.

Fisher, A. D. 1998. "Anthropology and Education in Canada, the Early Years (1850-1970)." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 29 (1): 89–102.
Fisher, A. D. 1998. "Anthropology and Education in Canada, the Early Years (1850-1970)." 29 (1): 89–102.

In this article, Fisher contrasts Canadian and American anthropology and education in the early years of their development. Fisher looks at the specific stages each has gone through and how they have each influenced education. As well, Fisher discusses residential schools and the role anthropology played in the introduction and the abolishment of the schools. To decolonize Canadian anthropology, we must be able to accept and understand the negative aspects of the discipline in its early years. This article will help to demonstrate how anthropology and education have evolved together.

Macias, Jose. 1996. "Racial and Ethnic Exclusion: A Problem for Anthropology and Education." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 27 (2): 141–50.

Macias discusses the reaction of educational anthropologists to the 1994 referendum in California regarding the education of the children of illegal immigrants. He examines how the rise in xenophobia, racism, ethnic cleansings, and antisemitism are affecting children's right to education. Macias argues that anthropologists should be studying the patterns of ethnic exclusion and publicly advocating against it. Again, this demonstrates anthropologists' role in education.

Munroe, Elizabeth Ann, Lisa Lunney-Borden, Anne Murray-Orr, Denise Toney, and Jane Meader. 2013. "Decolonizing Aboriginal Education in the 21st Century." *Mcgill Journal of Education* 48 (2): 317–37.

In this article, the authors discuss Indigenous ways of knowing and the learning movement of the 21st century. They combine the two systems of knowledge to put forth recommendations for the decolonizing of Aboriginal education. The authors are of Indigenous heritage and use this background as well as their education to provide an anthropological analysis.

This article is an excellent example of how decolonizing Canadian anthropology can influence and be influenced by education its decolonization.

Aikenhead, Glen S, and Dean Elliott. 2010. “An Emerging Decolonizing Science Education in Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Science, Mathematics and Technology Education* 10 (4): 321–38. doi:10.1080/14926156.2010.524967.

The focus of this article is how Indigenous knowledge has been incorporated into the science curriculum in Saskatchewan, promoting the decolonization of Canadian education. The research for the construction was undertaken in collaboration with Indigenous communities and textbook publishers. While this article does not directly involve anthropologists, the ideas behind the article and the incorporation of traditional teachings into science can also be used in other subject areas, and provide examples of Indigenous communities being involved in the collection and dissemination of knowledge.

Mills, David, Missy Morton, and British Educational Research Association. 2013. *Ethnography in Education*. Research Methods in Education. Los Angeles: SAGE.

This book by Mills and Morton discusses the different methods used to create ethnographies and how to incorporate ethnographic research into education. Mills and Morton thoroughly explore how to write engaging ethnographies for audiences other than academics. They also discuss the relationship between political agendas, such as decolonization, and scholarly research. The advice given in this book is an excellent example of how fieldwork can be conducted within Canada and how that information can be used in public education.

WANE, NJOKI NATHANI. 2009. “Indigenous Education and Cultural Resistance: A Decolonizing Project.” *Curriculum Inquiry* 39 (1): 159–78. doi:10.1111/j.1467-873X.2008.01443.x.

In this article Wane discusses different schools on curriculum construction and how many different voices need to be heard in the process. As well, Wane explores several different educational reforms that have taken place over the last several decades and have played a role in the decolonization of education. Wane also looks at what decolonization is and how it can take place. This portion of the article provides examples of the decolonization process that can be implemented into anthropological study. study.

Delaney:

Asad, Talal. “Introduction”. From *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter in Readings For a History of Anthropological Theory*. 2014. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. 391-403.

Talal Asad’s introduction from *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* looks at the rela-

tionship between anthropology and colonialism. He discusses the “handmaiden of colonialism”, referring to anthropology being the handmaiden to colonialism. Asad believed that anthropology was born out of colonialism and these ethnocentric ideologies shaped the beginnings of the discipline. He writes that the discipline was created out of an unequal divide between first world countries and third world countries. Asad acknowledges the disparity between those who primarily dominate the study of anthropology and those who are the subjects leads to a greater power divide. This power struggle has shaped the discipline and must be always aware to anthropologists when conducting research. He writes “we then need to ask ourselves how this relationships has affected the practical pre-conditions of social anthropology; the uses to which its knowledge was put; the theoretical treatment of particular topics; the mode of perceiving and objectifying alien societies; and the anthropologists claim of political neutrality.” (Asad, 1973: 388). Asad’s article on colonialism and anthropology provides a blunt look at the deep ties between the two that can be hidden. His work is relevant to the research paper as it examines the impact of colonialism on anthropology worldwide.

Dyck, Noel. “Cultures, Communities and Claims: Anthropology and Native Studies in Canada”. From *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 1990. Vol. 22, Issue 3: 40-55.

Noel Dyck’s article looks at the emergence of Indigenous studies by anthropologists over the past 40 years. Research and ethical management surrounding how anthropologist conduct their work in Canada has increasingly changed and adapted over the last few decades. More protocols and consent has to be established before any ethnographic fieldwork begins. Dyck discusses how “the nature of anthropologists’ involvement with aboriginal communities and issues has been shifting as field researchers have been asked to intervene on behalf of native peoples when dealing with governments.” (Dyck 1990: 43). No more does the armchair anthropologist exist in Canada according to Dyck. Canadian anthropologists have taken on the role of advocates and speakers on behalf of their subjects. Anthropologists have begun to take an active role as agents in Indigenous communities and issues affecting them instead of remaining solely as outsiders looking in. Participatory research methodology has allowed anthropologists to become involved in publishing oral histories and conducting extensive interviews. This allows for a more insider’s perspective to be achieved during fieldwork. Anthropology in Canada has adapted to acknowledge Indigenous communities are not static and unchanging. Noel Dyck’s article provided a detailed and in depth examination of the relationship between Indigenous people and anthropologists. His work will be a helpful source in looking at the colonial ties to Canadian anthropology.

Dyck, Noel, and James B WalDRAM. *Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada*. 2014. McGill-Queen’s University Press: Montréal.

Noel Dyck and James B. WalDRAM examine the ties between Canadian anthropology and its Indigenous peoples. Dyck and WalDRAM divide their book on Indigenous issues into three subsections; focusing on historical perspectives on policy issues, followed by anthropological

research and finally the anthropological involvement in Indigenous issues. Part three on anthropology's hand in Indigenous policy looks at six individual case studies including anthropologist Julia Harrison. Anthropologists have faced tensions with Indigenous groups due to previous misrepresentations of groups in research. Although, the book discusses anthropologists working for Indigenous organizations can actually benefit these organizations for several reasons. These reasons include "political cohesion, operational knowledge of government, and policy research capacity." (Dyck and WalDRAM 2014: 277). As Canadian anthropology is deeply tied to colonialism, anthropologists can use this history to better examine how to move away from a Eurocentric view by allowing marginalized groups to have a voice. This source is particularly helpful for writing the paper as it looks at the influences Indigenous studies have on anthropologists in Canada. The authors provide a comprehensive and in-depth look at the way anthropologists can influence Indigenous policy in Canada by providing examples.

Ervin, Alexander M, and Lorne Holyoak. "Applied Anthropology in Canada: Historical Foundations, Contemporary Practice and Policy Potentials." 2006. *Napa Bulletin*, Vol. 25, No. 1: 134–155.

Alexander Ervin and Lorne Holyoak's article examines how Canadian history has shaped and influenced anthropology, specifically applied anthropology. The authors look at the history of applied anthropology in Canada and its relationship to Indigenous groups. Anthropologists Diamond Jenness and Harry Hawthorn worked closely with Indigenous groups and preservation of traditional ceremonies such as the sun dance. Canadian anthropology grew out of its connection to colonialism and as a result Indigenous groups were intertwined. Much anthropological work has been done on Indigenous peoples in Canada, allowing for a variety of perspectives. The article discusses well known examples of anthropologists working alongside Indigenous groups in Canada. Anthropologists in Canada have become increasingly involved in participatory research alongside Indigenous groups and advocating for improving quality of life for their subjects. The James Bay Hydroelectric project in the 1970's is mentioned as a prime case of anthropologists able to study a group being relocated and the ramifications associated with this shift. They discuss how anthropologists in Canada have begun to understand Indigenous policy making and the issues surrounding it. Ervin and Holyoak provide an in depth examination of the emergence of Canadian anthropology becoming advocates for Indigenous rights and removing the colonial influence on the discipline.

Hancock, Robert L.A. "Towards a Historiography of Canadian Anthropology". *Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory*. 2014. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. pp. 30-43.

Robert L.A. Hancock's article examines the historiography of Canadian anthropology. He first looks at the history of Canadian anthropology by breaking it down into four periods of development. These four periods were the missionary era, the amateur era, the national museum era, and the university era. Hancock discusses how these four periods shaped Canadian anthropology through work by anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Edward Sapir. He writes that Canadian anthropology has struggled to find its own identity but has been great-

tly shaped by colonialism. Canadian anthropology found its beginning in the missionary era with the work of Jesuit missionaries in what was known as New France. These missionaries wrote about the Indigenous groups in Canada from their perspective and began ethnographic field research. Hancock discusses some of the issues facing Canadian anthropology in biases and ethnocentrism that were rooted in colonization. His article is beneficial for the research paper in that it discusses the history of Canadian anthropology and its deep ties to colonialism and settler history in Canada.

Park, Augustine S.J. “Settler Colonialism and the Politics of Grief: Theorising a Decolonising Transitional Justice for Indian Residential Schools”. From *Human Rights Review*. 2014. Volume 16, Issue 3: 273-293.

This article by Augustine S.J. Park provides a basis at one of the effects of colonization on Canadian history. Park’s article looks at the creation of residential schools in Canada and the history of settler colonialism. As the author is a historian and not an anthropologist, they provide a more historical look at residential schools rather than an anthropological perspective. The article is useful for collecting background information on some of the key events in Canadian history that shaped the country and how anthropological work is conducted in Canada. As Indigenous groups in Canada are still are increasingly marginalized group and were historically forgotten or misrepresented in anthropology. As the discipline began it grew out of a largely European colonial perspective that underrepresented minority groups such as Indigenous groups in Canada and female perspectives in favour of the armchair anthropologist. This anthropologist tended to be a European male who allowed his own biases to influence the anthropological research being conducted. This source looks at settler colonialism from a historical perspective and provides a look at Canadian colonial history. This history heavily influenced anthropology in Canada through residential schools which the effects of are still being studied today.

Slaney, Frances. “Working For a Canadian Sense of Place(s): The Role of Landscape Painters in Marius Barbeau’s Ethnology”. From *Excluded Ancestors, Inevitable Traditions: Essays Toward a More Inclusive History of Anthropology*. 2000. University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin. pp. 81-122.

In Richard Handler’s work on a history of anthropology, Frances M. Slaney writes about Marius Barbeau and his work with Indigenous groups and the idea of space and place. Slaney argues that Barbeau believed in an ethnically diverse and cross-cultural approach to research. “Rather than assume that all citizens would be equal and the same within a uniform state, Barbeau wanted to promote an appreciation of diversified local “colour” that would connect each citizen to numerous regional histories and culturally charged places.” (Slaney 2014: 84). She argues that Marius Barbeau was a pioneer in working to reduce any ethnocentric or prejudiced views of anthropologists during his time conducting research. Slaney’s article examines famous anthropologists who conducted work in Canada and left a lasting impression on how the discipline operates to this day. Both Franz Boas and Marius Barbeau practiced salvage anthropology and stressed the idea of diffusion and culture expanding.

Slaney provides a look at anthropologists who helped to shape what is known as Canadian anthropology today and its identity.

Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. 2014. Duke University Press: Durham.

In Audra Simpson's book, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* specifically chapter four, she examines the history of colonialism and anthropology with an Indigenous focus. Simpson discusses the dominant euro-centric presence in anthropology that romanticized the "noble savage". She discusses prominent anthropologists such as Lewis Henry Morgan who conducted work on the Iroquois and some of his biases and misunderstandings he had about his subjects. Simpson looks at the extensive anthropological studies conducted on Iroquois people and issues of sovereignty in Canada. Chapter four of Simpson's book examines the tight rope anthropologists must walk in conducting research on Indigenous groups. She discusses the difficulties she herself had when doing research as an Indigenous woman and an anthropologist. Audra Simpson's work will be useful for the research paper as it looks at the impact colonialism has had on anthropologists in Canada. Her book provides an insider's look at Canadian anthropology and its relations to Canada's Indigenous people. The discipline has a tense history with its treatment of Indigenous people and Simpson is familiar with both sides and her viewpoint is an integral perspective when discussing this subject matter.

Bibliography – The Decolonization of Archaeological Practices

Decolonizing archaeological theory and practice

Smith and Wobst discuss the field of archaeology as a colonialist endeavor, stating that one rarely considers non-Western approaches in caring for cultural heritage. They note that Indigenous critiques set new directions for the practice of archaeology that allows for political awareness and sensitivity to the goals of the Indigenous peoples. They urge for a shift in mindset to aid in creating opportunities for Indigenous peoples to voice their opinions on a global forum.

Indigenous worldviews and ways of knowing as theoretical and methodological foundations for archaeological research

Harris begins her discussion on the conflict that can arise between Indigenous people and archaeologists resulting from divergent worldviews and methods for gathering knowledge. She explains how Western thought organizes itself around dichotomies like animate and inanimate, subject and object, observer and observed, whereas Indigenous thought is more holistic. She argues that in order to move forward towards change, there needs to be a better understanding of aboriginal concerns.

Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada, 1911-51

Nurse covered the methodologies that were used in Canadian salvage ethnography, in parti-

cular those used by Marius Barbeau in his field work of western indigenous cultures. Barbeau believed that most indigenous cultures in Canada were on the brink of extinction, so he took it upon himself to salvage as much of the cultures as he saw fit. Nurse discussed the problems with Barbeau's salvage methods where he explained that authenticity determined by anthropologists used little reference to the views of the people actually under study.

Iroquoian Archaeology, the Public, and the Native communities in the Victorian Ontario

Hamilton goes into detail on how the public influenced the development of Iroquoian Archaeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These amateurs helped to determine the standards for documentation and excavation, as well as the interpretation of remains. There were also repercussions in using amateurs, where bones were often found broken by shovels and the most unusual or attractive artifacts were collected. Hamilton also discussed how Iroquoian archaeology affected many First Nations communities where indigenous spirituality was overlooked in terms of excavations involving human remains.

The Positioning of Archaeology within Anthropology: A Canadian Historical Perspective

This article by Kelley and Williamson provided a comparative analysis on the origins and evolution of archaeology within Canada and the United States. Canadian professional archaeology can be traced back to 1851 during the establishment of the Canadian Institute where its goals were for the general advancement of the physical sciences and the arts. The United States however began their systematic archaeological research during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when the American Philosophical Society and the American Antiquarian Society became interested in aboriginal cultural remains. Kelley and Williamson also discuss the future of four-field anthropology where they argue that archaeology and anthropology are no longer sharing as much in terms of subject and methodology as they once did. However, archaeologists are increasingly working in collaboration with first Nations groups and in ethnographic studies of material culture in which will help in the reintegration process back into the field.

Letters from the field: reflections of the nineteenth-century archaeology of Harlan I. Smith in the Southern Interior of British Columbia, Canada

This paper by Carlson provides an understanding of the early methodologies and working relations with the indigenous peoples of Smith's three seasons of fieldwork in the southern Interior of British Columbia. These letters by Harlan Smith explain his field time and funding that was devoted to excavating human remains, taking portrait photographs of the indigenous peoples, and plaster casts of indigenous people's heads. Carlson notes in this article that Smith's letters embodied many issues that are still faced today in archaeology such as cultural conflict, ethics of practice, degree of community involvement, and colonial attitudes.

The rediscovery of HMS Investigator: Archaeology, sovereignty and the colonial

legacy in Canada's Arctic

This article by Hodgetts goes into the history of the HMS *Investigator* and its impact towards the Inuit communities of the North. Archaeologists over the years such as Clifford Hickey have proposed that Inuinnait culture underwent significant transformation due to the tins and barrels that were discovered onshore. Hodgetts argues that while archaeologists used to think that cultural interactions resulted in a one-way flow of ideas and change from colonizers to colonized, there is now a recognition of agency of Indigenous peoples. She explains that rather than focusing on how the HMS *Investigator* goods transformed Inuit culture, archaeologists prefer to examine on how the goods were incorporated into or resisted by existing cultural practices.

Annotated Bibliography for Collaborative Anthropology

Bani, Mary, and Anita Herle's article, *Collaborative Projects on Torres Strait Collections*, provides an interesting example of collaborative methodology restoring cultural authority to the studied communities even after the original ethnographic project had long been completed. With a 1998 exhibition opening on the 1898 Cambridge expedition to the Torres Strait, the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology worked with cultural representatives from the Torres Strait in order to create a more complete and nuanced exhibition.

Blaikie and Calum's article, *Coproducing Efficacious Medicines*, details a collaborative ethnographic research event focusing on medicinal practitioners from India, Tibet, and Nepal. The event was set up as a workshop allowing these practitioners to explain and demonstrate their craft alongside anthropologists who had been working in these communities for decades. This article is a prime example of modern collaborative anthropology and illustrates one format in which this methodology may be implemented.

Kennedy reflects on her work in collaborative anthropology, drawing details from three projects; an ethnographic project in South America, and two collectively written books on feminist anthropology. She highlights both the difficulties posed by this methodology as well as what she felt was gained in the outcome of the research. Her third project in particular, the book *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, drew from work with the academic and lesbian communities and nicely illustrates the collaborative approach.

In *Collaborative Anthropology as Twenty-first-Century Ethical Anthropology*, Fluehr-Lobban argues that collaborative anthropology is ethically preferable to other forms of research. She also argues for superior outcomes as this methodology draws on multiple perspectives, allowing for a more nuanced conclusion. Fluehr-Lobban contrasts collaborative anthropology with perviously used Boasian models, European social anthropology, and colonial influences.

Lassiter explores the history and development of collaborative ethnographies in *Collaborative Ethnography and Public Anthropology*, creating a context for contemporary collaborative research. Historical themes influencing this development include feminist anthropology and postmodernist approaches. Lassiter argues for the use of collaborative research in modern

work as a way to more immediately serve the subject communities.

In *Moving Past Anthropology and doing Collaborative Research*, Lassiter introduces the current debates surrounding collaborative anthropology, and suggests methods for future collaborative work. While Lassiter focuses heavily on the criticisms of this methodology, he does encourage the use and development of collaborative research in the anthropological sphere.

Malinowski proposes a scientific protocol ensuring that the native point of view is articulated; he is one of the first in anthropological history to set methodology specifically ensuring this outcome. The passage *Introduction: the subject, method and scope of this inquiry* notes the beginnings of a shift in the perspective of anthropological research, and reestablishes the communities as the source of cultural authority. This is illustrated in Malinowski's study of the Trobriand Islanders in New Guinea.

Margaret Rodman's project *Working Together in Vanuatu: Research Histories, Collaborations, Projects and Reflections*, culminating in a published book, drew on research gathered in a workshop in Vanuatu, in the Pacific Islands. The book was a collection of reports written during this workshop and included not only the work of three anthropologists but the reports of eleven field-workers and ten house-girls. This research highlighted the girl's experiences with their employers and explored the themes of gender and race in Vanuatu.

Tylor details the scientific approach to ethnographical research. He provides insight into early anthropological methods and reasoning prior to the rise of collaborative work, illustrating the methodological basis that collaborative methodology was eventually introduced to. Tylor also expands on cultural evolution and cultural laws, though these are not as pertinent to the essay.

Ruby Zarriga's article, *Restorative Justice in Papua New Guinea: a Collaborative Effort*, provides another illustration of a modern and practical application of collaborative anthropology. Zarriga, et al. detail the process of community development and restoration in Papua New Guinea from the perspective of the Department of National Planning. Collaborative methods are emphasized, with multiple perspectives lending to decision making, and the communities themselves are pulled into this process in order to create change that genuinely improves their lives.

INTRODUCTION

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The section "Autoethnography: Introspection as Decolonization" examines the methods and ideologies of autoethnography. This methodology does not solely focus on decolonizing Canadian anthropology, but through the works selected we see how autoethnography has been deployed in a Canadian setting. Autoethnography, in essence, is a tool that shifts power away from colonizers, and facilitates the indigenization of anthropology and epistemology. In "

Archaeology and Museums: Deconstruction and examining the colonial effects on modern Canadian archaeology ” section, it discusses the legal and reforms that have happened in archaeology and museums. In an age where colonial powers are no more reforms are needed to move anthropology and even archaeology out of the colonial framework. We are now in a post-colonial world where acts of repatriation are being done and ownership of indigenous artefacts are being challenged by both sides, indigenous and government. “The Decolonization of Archaeological Practices” adds to “Archaeology and Museums: Deconstruction and examining the colonial effects on modern Canadian Archaeology” by discussing the ethics of archaeological practice and the present methods used in decolonizing archaeology. Various case studies will be discussed to show how colonial attitudes have impacted communities throughout the recent years. “Collaborative Anthropology: A Methodological Response to Modern Theory” explores the rise of collaboration in anthropological research projects. Introduced only recently to the field, this section highlights the origins and benefits of this methodology. Collaborative structures aim to decolonize anthropological research through the reformatting of unbalanced power structures that have long secured the anthropologist as the ‘expert’ on culture, ignoring the opinions and contributions of community participants. In “The Colonial Past of Canadian Anthropology and Its Future” examines the history of Canadian anthropology with its influences from colonialism and its relationship to Indigenous groups who were often ignored and misrepresented in the discipline as a result. As well, the current responses to breaking away from these colonial ties with reference to newer methodologies such as interpretive and participatory style actioned research and how anthropologists are increasingly using their position to advocate on behalf of their subjects. The Section “Decolonizing Educational Anthropology in Canada” examines the role anthropologists have played in the colonial history of education and the development of the sub-field itself. Particular attention will be paid to how the cooperation of anthropologists and educators can develop decolonized curricula.

Decolonizing Methodologies

T. Smith’s book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* ([Smith 2013](#)) is a well-known text that is not limited to anthropology, but that identifies different ways that research can be conducted by and with Indigenous peoples in ways that respect Indigenous needs and rights.

In a Canadian context, UBC anthropologist Charles Menzies has suggested a list of strategies for ethnographic research conducted “with, for, and among Indigenous peoples” ([Menzies 2001](#)).

Central to both of these works is the premise that research must be truly collaborative from its inception, with research questions and priorities set in association with local communities, instead of operating in an extractive or merely consultative mode. Identifying Indigenous communities as partners and collaborators (e.g., ([Ridington, Ridington, and Elders of the](#)

[Dane-Zaa First Nations 2013](#)) implies a substantially different relationship between anthropologists and collaborators than is suggested for conventional participant observation, in which the ethnographer is a privileged subject whose role is to understand, and report on, “the natives” ([Malinowski 1922](#)).

Autoethnography: Introspection as Decolonization (Kevin)

Anthropology’s origins are deeply rooted in colonialism, a fact that has shaped discourse within the discipline through generations. While anthropology has greatly shifted away from its initial colonial ideals, it can be argued that anthropology is inadvertently still colonial. Unfortunately, Canadian anthropology is no exception to this pattern. Challenging these colonial values can be a difficult task. Throughout this essay, autoethnography, which is an individual’s study or account of their own culture, will be examined as a potential remedy to colonialism in anthropology. This will be done by looking at how autoethnography challenges conventional anthropology’s physical presence, how it can give a voice to informants, and how autoethnography intersects with **public anthropology** to deflect colonial values. To supplement this discussion, the autoethnographic works of Robert F. Murphy, Julie Cruikshank, and Joel Martineau will be examined. Following this, several common criticisms of autoethnography will be disputed. Over the course of this essay it will be argued that autoethnography is an ideal means of decolonization, physically and epistemologically. While this methodology does not specifically target Canadian anthropology, some Canadian autoethnographic works have been selected to show how it has decolonized Canadian anthropology. To understand how to challenge the presence of colonialism in anthropology we must first understand how anthropology has been colonial in the past.

Central to the discipline of anthropology is fieldwork. Tullio Maranhão goes as far as to say that fieldwork is the defining feature of the “anthropologist’s métier” ([Maranhão 1986](#)). While fieldwork has laid the foundation of modern anthropological theory and practice, colonial undercurrents can often be found, rendering some methods of fieldwork problematic. Aleksandar Bošković and Thomas Hylland Eriksen highlight how western anthropology is often colonial in nature because it focuses on foreign cultures who are not in a position to resist an unwanted presence ([Bošković and Erikson 2013](#)). Essentially, anthropology has been colonial as it has synthesized inimical fieldwork with an interest in foreign cultures, and through this has reinforced colonial power balances. Epitomizing the colonial themes encapsulated in fieldwork are Marius Barbeau and Bronislaw Malinowski. A brief examination of the work of these anthropologists will draw attention to how autoethnography can be used to decolonize anthropological fieldwork and methodology. It is important to note that these anthropologists were chosen not for their anachronistic nature, but because their fieldwork, while prolific and greatly influential, was harmful to the cultures they studied.

Marius Barbeau, a Canadian salvage ethnographer, reinforces a colonial power balance through his fieldwork. In the early 20th century Barbeau collected and archived Indigenous cultures that he believed were on the brink of extinction. Through his preservation efforts Barbeau assumed the role of a cultural curator, where he arbitrated the (in)authentic. This method of fieldwork is colonial as it polarizes power between the Indigenous people and the anthropologist. Barbeau often disregarded the information locals provided to him, deeming that their cultural insight was inferior to his. Through this Barbeau creates a dichotomous power relationship, where he is the authoritative figure on a culture despite his brief immersion into it, and that because of this he controlled what was genuine. In short, Barbeau distorted and dismissed contemporary culture by deciphering its authenticity through his “intuition” (Nurse 2011). Despite his problematic fieldwork, Barbeau made great contributions to archiving culture and championed early anthropology’s strive to salvage culture perceived to be at risk. As mentioned, Barbeau was a Canadian anthropologist, helping provide an example of how Canadian anthropology has been colonial.

Bronislaw Malinowski’s *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski 1922) is another example of the colonial nature of anthropological fieldwork. While not Canadian in any sense, Malinowski’s work further shows how anthropological methodology can be interpreted as colonial. Diverging from Barbeau’s power dichotomy, Malinowski’s fieldwork has a colonial undercurrent through the physical presence encouraged by **participant observation**. Malinowski advocated that anthropologists need to immerse themselves in the cultures they study. While this approach was progressive in contrast to its contemporaries, it reinforced a colonial presence in the cultures being studied. In “The Hermeneutics of Participant Observation”, Maranhão states that Indigenous populations fear anthropologists as they “do not know the powers [t]he[y] can unleash, but who have learned about the impact the colonial authority, the missionary, or the tourist can have over their community” (Maranhão 1986). In other words, the presence of an anthropologist can bring discomfort and even fear to a community. This is alluded to by Malinowski himself when he states: “they finished by regarding me as part and parcel of their life, a necessary evil or nuisance, mitigated by donations of tobacco” (Malinowski 1922). Despite eventually becoming a part of everyday life, it is clear that Malinowski was an invasive presence. Pertinent to the colonial roots of fieldwork is a quote from David MacDougall, an ethnographic film maker, who writes that “if not in his personal demeanor, then in the significance of his working method, he inevitably reaffirms the colonial origins of anthropology” (McDougall 2003). While the works of these anthropologists have contributed greatly to current in anthropology, they reinforced problematic fieldwork methods.

Autoethnography offers a unique and polymorphous remedy to some of these issues, allowing a possible path for decolonizing anthropology. Central to the discussion of how to decolonize anthropology is the work of Mary Louise Pratt, who establishes a useful definition for the term “autoethnography”. Pratt states that autoethnography is when “colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizers own terms” (Pratt 1991). This definition provides context for the preceding works and how they can be seen as

autoethnographic.

One central way that autoethnography decolonizes anthropology is through its subversive methodologies. One such work that challenges the concept of the anthropologist as an authoritative third party is the work of Robert F. Murphy. Murphy's work is deeply emotional, tragic, and insightful, but for pertinence his work must be briefly summarized for its methodology. *The Body Silent* is an autoethnographic work, published in 1987, that charts Murphy's transition into paralysis, and the social effects it has had on his life as an anthropologist and professor. In *The Body Silent* there is a merging of personal experience with research and theory, which creates a powerful anthropological work. This work is subversive, as rather than following patterns of western anthropology, focusing on foreign cultures with an etic approach, Murphy takes an introspective approach of his own culture, fusing **emic** and **etic** perspectives by using "inner space to explore the structure of selfhood and sentiment" (Murphy 2001). Indirectly this approach also removes what might be seen as an intrusive presence from an indigenous community. Murphy shows how the transition of denizen to subject can be fluid and unobtrusive, allowing for the study of physical impairment, or other aspects of one's own culture without the need for a colonial presence. Murphy decolonizes anthropology by showing that it is not solely a tool for learning about the "other".

Autoethnography is a multifaceted approach to anthropology, allowing for it to combat colonialism in many ways. It has become part of a larger response to some of the colonial methods used in anthropology and included alongside an acceptance of differing sources such as oral traditions. **(Delaney - added this sentence to highlight autoethnography and other so-called 'non-traditional' sources as an attempt to move away from colonial techniques)** An alternative to Murphy's autoethnographic approach, where an anthropologist studies their own culture, is the work of Julie Cruikshank. Cruikshank translates and contextualizes the narratives of indigenous women. In *Life Lived Like a Story* Cruikshank collaborates with three Athapaskan and Tlingit women from the Yukon, focusing on how these women utilize narrative to explain their life histories as well as their culture (Cruikshank 1990). While at first the stories of these women might come across as autobiographical, an examination makes it evident that these narratives are laden with anthropological insight, addressing social contexts, kinship, and the value of stories (Cruikshank 1990). Collaborative autoethnography diverges from conventional participant observation by giving the observed their own voices. This approach remedies Barbeau's questionable **salvage ethnography** and its perpetuation of colonial power. By allowing Indigenous people to be an authority on their own culture not only do we renegotiate power balances, but we gain an unfiltered anthropological account of a culture from someone who has been immersed in it for the majority of their life. This example further serves to highlight Canadian anthropology. Here we see that autoethnography gives a studied group in Canada their own voices, helping restore a power balance in Canadian anthropology. Methodology is a key factor in decolonizing anthropology, but to decolonize entirely there must be more effort than just a diversion in conventional fieldwork. While perhaps not the *coup de grâce* to colonial anthropology,

progressive values are instrumental for decolonization.

Using autoethnography as a means to decolonize anthropology extends beyond a progressive approach to fieldwork. Autoethnography is not only a polymorphous remedy to colonial anthropology, but is also an intersection for other anthropological methods. For instance, autoethnography is an ideal vessel for public anthropology, making it doubly effective for decolonization. Louise Lamphere states that public anthropology is based in “increased collaboration and partnership with communities we study, expanded outreach to the public so that research results are broadly disseminated, and concrete efforts to influence policy” (Lamphere 2009). Because autoethnography often focuses on these issues its efforts to decolonize are intertwined with public anthropology. An instance of this anthropological intersectionality can be seen in Joel Martineau’s work “Autoethnography and Material Culture: The Case of Bill Reid”. This is a further example of how autoethnography has been used in the decolonization of Canadian anthropology. In this work Martineau examines how the sculptures of Bill Reid, the prolific Canadian artist, elaborate on the methodology of autoethnography. Contrary to Pratt’s definition of autoethnography, stating that Indigenous groups must create a dialogue using the mediums of the colonizer, Martineau argues that Reid’s art can be read as “autoethnographic texts” (Martineau 2001). When Indigenous material culture is interpreted as autoethnographic work colonialism is challenged by a shift away from Eurocentric mediums. Relevant to this, it has been argued that academic writing has an English bias (Lillis and Curry 2010). This poses a challenge to Indigenous people who look to represent their own culture to an academic audience without assuming the role of subject. Not only are indigenous people required to use English if they look to portray their own culture, but they also need an understanding of “concepts and categories historically and epistemologically defined by that language” (Ryang 1997). Consequently, a contradiction arises which questions the viability of autoethnography when limited to English academic writing; to present one’s own culture a degree of assimilation or adaptation is necessary for it to be presentable. conventionally, to represent ones own culture they would have to remove themselves from it to a degree. Autoethnography through material culture, exemplified by Reid, transcends conventional academic mediums and allows for the incorporation of Indigenous ones, facilitating cultural introspection without conforming to colonial powers. While not to say all writing is colonial, if Indigenous people are allowed to convey their own histories and cultural understandings through their own mediums we remove an underlying colonial aspect of anthropology.

Aside from showing how autoethnography decolonizes anthropology by subverting conventional mediums, The Case of Bill Reid also draws attention to how autoethnography intersects with public anthropology’s goal of communal outreach. Martineau’s article looks to justify Reid’s work as autoethnographic by using Mary Louise Pratt’s framework from her “Imperial Eyes” article (Martineau 2001). Martineau draws attention to how Reid was such a well-known figure in the Canadian art world that “only the wilfully oblivious can ignore his project”. Not only does this reaffirm Reid’s work as autoethnographic in Pratt’s structure, as it is presented to a broad public, but it further consolidates autoethnography with public

anthropology, decolonizing Canadian anthropology not only with progressive methodology but also with progressive ideology. According to Martineau, Reid's work "thrusts awareness of aboriginal culture and sensibilities into dominant culture", an endeavour that directly confronts colonialism through the reinforcement of an Indigenous presence (Martineau 2001). In 2004, Reid's autoethnographic *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii* was reiterated nation-wide when it was chosen to be portrayed on the Canadian \$20 bill (Search on Bank of Canada website, accessed 01/11/2017). The wide dissemination of Reid's work implies the increased accessibility of autoethnography, and how it can relay ethnographic information without the need for encumbering academic texts. Again, power balances are renegotiated through autoethnography, this time by questioning who ethnographic knowledge is for. Autoethnography democratizes ethnographic knowledge, challenging the colonial position of anthropology in academia.

Finally, through Martineau's work we see how Reid's autoethnographic art followed public anthropology's goal of influencing policy, effectively showing how autoethnography has decolonized Canadian anthropology by acting as a vehicle for a progressive ideology. As previously mentioned, a requirement for public anthropology is effort to change policy. According to Martineau, Reid's wide-spread art made him a spokesperson for the indigenous community, a role which placed him in a position convenient for influencing policy. Martineau explains that in 1986, shortly after commissioned by the government of Canada to create a piece of art, the Council for the Haida Nation clashed with the government of British Columbia over logging rights. Essentially the Haida wanted to restrict the government of British Columbia's access to logging, a restriction that the government opposed. To contest the colonial agenda that the government of British Columbia was asserting Reid placed his recently commissioned work on hiatus. While perhaps convoluted, here we see how Reid conveys autoethnography's progressive values through his threatening to abandon an autoethnographic work commissioned by the government. He offers a colonial power an ultimatum, directly challenging policy with his work. Because of this the government of British Columbia reassessed their logging policy, converting the disputed territory into a wildlife preserve (Martineau 2001). Overall, Martineau highlights how Reid's work is autoethnographic, and through this work we gain an understanding of how autoethnographic decolonization extends beyond the removal of physical imposition. Autoethnographic decolonization is dependent on a set of progressive ideals, often overlapping with public anthropology, making autoethnography an exceptionally powerful tool for restoring power to Indigenous groups.

Looking at the works of Murphy, Cruikshank, and Martineau it becomes evident that a central principle of autoethnography is decolonization. While autoethnography is an effective mode of decolonization, it is not exempt from criticism. In her brief article, "Fighting Back or Moving On: An Autoethnographic Response to Critics", Carolyn Ellis draws attention to some criticism that autoethnography faces. Ellis states that poststructuralists see autoethnography as "too realist and linear", and that aestheticists see autoethnography as being "too concerned with being a science" (Ellis 2009). More pertinent to the discussion of autoethnography as a means of decolonizing anthropology is the social sciences criticism that

“autoethnography isn’t sufficiently realist or scientific; it’s too aesthetic and literary” (Ellis 2009). This criticism raises the question: to what extent does anthropology have to be scientific; and further, is an autoethnographic approach to anthropology any less subjective than other methods? When confronting this question it is important to keep in mind that anthropology is a multivocal discipline, and that different anthropologists have different ideals for methodology. For instance, Marvin Harris, a “polemic” figure in anthropology, would likely challenge the value of autoethnography. **Cultural materialists** such as Harris look beyond indigenous insight with hopes to create more broad understandings of culture, focusing on the role environment has taken in shaping cultures (Harris 2016). In essence, this translates culture into empirical evidence. Contrary to this methodology is that of Richard Geertz, an **interpretive** anthropologist. Central to Geertz methodology is the idea that culture should be studied not for laws but for meaning (Geertz 2016). These methodologies highlight how anthropologists place differing values on science in the discipline, a pattern that suggests that anthropologists who seek empirical evidence and laws might oppose autoethnography, as its introspective focus often lacks an assertion of **universal theory**. However, interpretive anthropologists might find autoethnography to be an effective form of fieldwork, offering something similar to a **thick description** that can be analyzed for understanding. The criticism that autoethnography is not scientific enough only applies to those who believe that anthropology is primarily a scientific endeavour, where many other methodologies can effectively utilize autoethnography. Unfortunately, anthropology’s science bias has had effect on the reception of autoethnographic publishing, particularly the amount of works that are accepted into “first-tier, blind peer-reviewed journals”; statistics suggest a low publishing rate of 17% for autoethnographic pieces (Hughes, Pennington, and Makris 2012). The science-centric criticism of autoethnography has reduced its dispersal as a methodology, but this criticism is in itself problematic. Faye Harrison refers to this methodology as “the mining and the extraction of data”, a quote that draws attention to the objectifying of subjects (“Decolonizing Anthropology: A Conversation with Faye V. Harrison” 2016). In short, an apparent lack of theory and empiricism in autoethnography does not mean it is not anthropological or irrelevant; rather it is a methodology for anthropologists who do not solely value science. Ellis’ article also draws attention to the criticism “auto has no place in social science” (Ellis 2009). There are two arguments that can be made to show that “auto” does in fact have a place in anthropology. The first argument that contradicts this criticism is, as Spiro states, that “objectivity is an illusion” and that it contributes to the maintenance of unequal power balances (Spiro 1996). The idea that “auto” does not belong in anthropology implies that anthropology is an objective science that is unaffected by the anthropologists beliefs. In reality, all anthropology is shaped by the ideas of the anthropologist; therefore autoethnography’s reliance on introspection is not inappropriate, rather it is reflexive. The second argument is that this reflexivity can be a beneficial element to ethnography. It is important to keep in mind that ethnographies are written by people. Perhaps the most prominent work regarding this is Renato Rosaldo’s “Grief and a Headhunters Rage”, in which Rosaldo states that ethnographies which “eliminate intense emotions not only distort their descriptions but also remove potentially key variables from their explanations” (Rosaldo 1993). Autoethno-

graphy's introspective nature embraces emotions, and does not deceive itself by suggesting any objective nature. To counter the criticism that autoethnography is not scientific, it can be said that anthropology should not be a solely scientific discipline. Autoethnography contributes to anthropology not by postulating grand concepts and universal structures, but provides insight into the intricacies of the relationship between an individual and the culture they are a part of, and while doing so negates the colonial aspects of empirically-focused anthropologies.

When individuals are able to perform ethnographies of their own cultures, the role of the anthropologist appears to be threatened. The anthropologist still plays an important role in these autoethnographies, as anthropological insight is what separates autobiography from autoethnography. The anthropologist is a cross-cultural facilitator, providing context into these stories and allowing for them to be understood in other cultures. The work of Murphy is autoethnographic rather than autobiographical because he approaches his situation from the perspective of an anthropologist. Cruikshank shifts the work of Ned, Sidney, and Smith from autobiographical to autoethnographic by explaining the role that these stories played to these women. To explain how these stories are relevant, Cruikshank turns to anthropology. Martineau makes the argument that Reid's sculptures are autoethnographic by examining them through anthropologies framework. While this work can be interpreted as autoethnographic before Martineau's argument, he draws attention to how its cultural insight was overlooked. Through anthropological mediation and contextualization, autobiography and even art can be seen as ethnographic.

In conclusion, autoethnography is a useful tool for decolonizing both Canadian anthropology, and anthropology practised elsewhere. Autoethnography helps decolonize by mitigating a physical colonial presence, as seen in the contrast between the works of Murphy and Malinowski. Autoethnography also acts as a vehicle for progressive anthropological ideals. This can be seen in the contrast between the works of Cruikshank and Barbeau, and how Cruikshank allows for Indigenous people to have their own voice. Martineau shows how the work of Bill Reid can be interpreted as autoethnography, and how conforms to Pratt's definition of autoethnography as well as the guidelines for public anthropology. While it is clear that autoethnography is useful in decolonizing anthropology, it is often criticized for its divergence from science, which itself can be seen as problematic and colonial. Autoethnography, while not the only means of decolonization, is a progressive approach to anthropology that should be utilized by more anthropologists in the future. As seen throughout this essay, autoethnography is present in Canadian anthropology, and has had tangible results in decolonization, largely by giving Indigenous people the opportunity to relay information about their own culture without having to submit to the role of an informer, subject, or participant. Autoethnography takes anthropology from the hands of a colonizer and gives it to groups that have long been suppressed and ignored, and through this a power balance is somewhat restored. Autoethnography is a powerful means of decolonization, but it might not always be suitable for some situations, making it important for other areas of anthropology to also acknowledge and mend their colonial undercurrents.

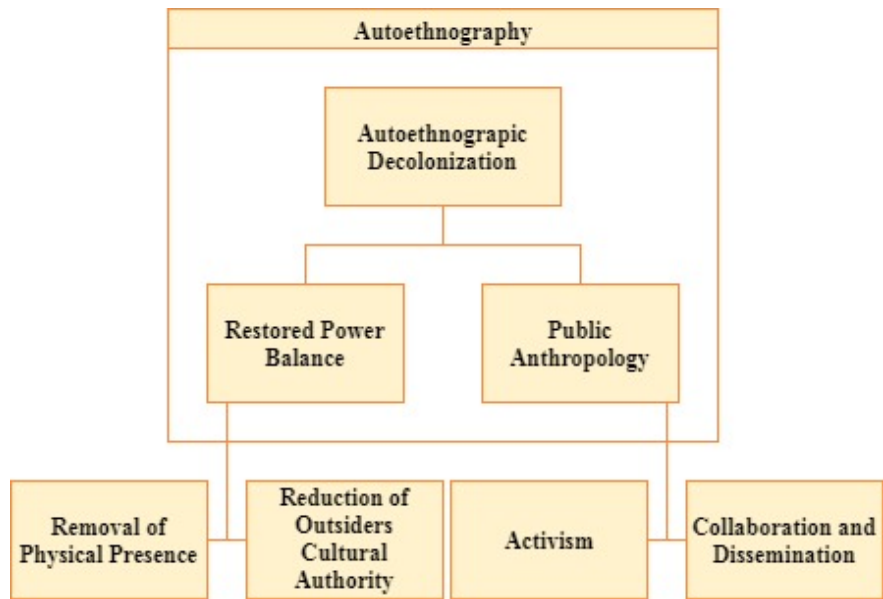


Figure 1: A visual deconstruction of autoethnography, showing its multiple levels of decolonization.

Collaborative Anthropology: A Methodological Response to Modern Theory - Rachael

In 1914, Marius Barbeau began recording the folklore of rural french-Canadian communities in northern Quebec. This work led to a collection of ‘**salvaged**’ cultural information, interpreted and rewritten by Barbeau in order to return the material to its original and pure form, uninfluenced by neighbouring cultures (Nurse 2011). Barbeau’s firm belief that these rural french canadian cultures were facing imminent extinction was part of the push to preserve this cultural heritage, largely by establishing himself as the source of knowledge regarding genuine, “pure” culture (Nurse 2011).

That same year, Bronislaw Malinowski travelled to Papua New Guinea, beginning his own ethnographic work under a very different—and perhaps more modern—methodology. Malinowski proposed a scientific protocol ensuring that the native point of view was articulated; he was one of the first in anthropological history to design his research format specifically to ensure this outcome (Malinowski 1922). His passage *Introduction: the subject, method and scope of this inquiry* notes the beginnings of a shift in the perspective of anthropological research—the reestablishment of the subject community as the source of cultural authority. This was illustrated in Malinowski’s study of the Trobriand Islanders in New Guinea, which heavily impacted later anthropological work by furthering and encouraging the **participant observation** methodology (Malinowski 1922). It was not a direct progression from Malinowski’s methodology to our current, more collaborative modern approach. As late as the nineteen-seventies, anthropological approaches devoid of any **emic** contribution—or even consideration—were still very popular, illustrated best with Marvin Harris’s work as a **cultural materialist**. However, these contrasting illustrations of early ethnographic research set the foundation for understanding the direction of the discipline, and its modern synthesis. Indeed, modern collaborative methods can trace their roots back to the introduction of participant observation and intensive **fieldwork**.

In this essay, collaborative methodology in modern anthropology is explored as a methodological alternative to other research formats. Drawing inspiration from second-wave **feminist anthropology** and Canadian anthropology’s past **advocacy** work, this collaborative method developed only recently and still lacks a concrete methodological format. Indeed, any research structure focusing on collaboration can be defined as such. Shared goals include a more nuanced and complete research outcome, the redefinition of ‘subjects’ as ‘participants’, and the erasure of damaging hierarchical research structures which act as

legacies to our colonial history. Multiple case studies are reviewed throughout this essay as illustrations of both these research goals, and of the wide variety of research structures defining themselves as collaborative. This methodology is then examined in regards to its applied and practical potential, and the impacts and benefits that this format offers to subject communities that prior research formats could not. This essay aims to offer a synopsis of collaborative methodology, and to prove its applicability and potential benefits to future anthropological research.

In modern North American anthropology, efforts to decolonize the field approach the issue of unequal power structures and seek to create methodological structures that shift power dynamics in favour of the subjects. Canada in particular boasts a long, and indeed, defining history of anthropologists establishing themselves as advocates to minority communities. Often regarding indigenous populations, anthropology played a large role in collecting information regarding colonial education systems and reservation resource access. Communication of the needs and concerns of these communities to the provincial and federal governments used anthropologists as mediators and translators. Those in the discipline spoke on behalf of these communities.

While this particular aspect of the discipline's history may be seen by many as encouraging, collaborative anthropology argues against the perpetuation of unequal power dynamics between the anthropologists and the communities they work with. Fluehr-Lobban argues that this collaborative methodology exists in opposition to many colonial influences on earlier anthropological works (Fluehr-Lobban 2008). Establishing the anthropologist as the authoritative source of information regarding these cultures not only encourages biased or incomplete research, but perpetuates the removal of autonomy from minority or oppressed populations. Collaborative anthropology allows these communities to speak on their own behalf, to have their voices heard in academia, and to establish research formats and project outcomes that benefit their communities instead of solely impacting the academic sphere (Fluehr-Lobban 2008). Aiding this goal is the ease in which collaborative methodology fits with an **a-theoretical** research approach. Strongly linked to its developments in **Boasian anthropology**, collaborative methods encourage the collection of research void of an overarching theme through which the anthropologist interprets the information (Boas 1920). Crucially, **grand theories** are almost purely **etic**, and often do not align with the communities own understanding of their culture. Collaborative methodology, while collecting information vastly different than Boas' topics of focus, nevertheless presents information 'as it is', often interpreted or explained only through the voices of the participants themselves. This ensures that the anthropologist does not speak for the communities, or position themselves as the expert; rather, they are **bearing witness** to the experiences and beliefs of the participating communities.

While the discipline of anthropology has long encouraged collaborative methodologies—generally to ensure more 'genuine' research—modern iterations of this method take a more deliberate approach to collaboration, applying it to every aspect of anthropological research. As this particular methodology is very much a recent idea, the exact framework varies

from project to project, with vastly different manifestations of collaborative anthropology stemming from varying research goals, community needs, and inspirations. All collaborative anthropologies, however, can be said to incorporate this methodology in order to ensure a more complete and nuanced research outcome (Bani and Herle 1998) (Fluehr-Lobban 2008). This essay focuses mainly on collaborative methods involving both the anthropologist and the individuals and communities involved in the research.

The origins of collaborative methodologies stem from a late 20th century shift in the anthropological field that saw the rise of feminist anthropology, **anticolonial scholarship**, and **interpretive anthropology** (Kennedy 1995). Feminist anthropology in particular aimed to open direct communication between researchers and subjects at every stage in anthropological projects (Kennedy 1995). Stemming from second-wave feminism, it worked to “elicit voices, narratives, and perspectives of the historically suppressed” (Fluehr-Lobban 2008)—a parallel goal to collaborative anthropology, though perhaps focusing on a more narrow range of subjects. Alongside this focus on highlighting the voices of the subjects was a desire to redefine “subjects” as “participants”, softening the hierarchical structures defining past anthropological work (Fluehr-Lobban 2008). The final push towards collaborative work was the academic desire to more immediately serve the needs of the ‘subject’ communities (Lassiter 2005). In his article *Collaborative Ethnography and Public Anthropology*, Lassiter argues that this particular point is what will revitalize and renew North American anthropology by allowing it to have a more direct and positive impact in society.

In modern anthropology, our colonial history and its impacts on academic methodologies are being confronted more than ever. Our discipline has become more multicultural, with younger anthropologists influenced by feminist theory and interpretive anthropology. We must adapt our research methodologies in order to acknowledge this important transition. In many ways, collaborative anthropology is a methodological response to a paradigm shift, as Marcus and Fischer explain in *Anthropology as a Cultural Critique* (Marcus and Fishcer 1999) (**Kevin. I expanded this and made it more pertinent to what was discussed in class**). A collaborative approach to ethnography is shift. In her reflections on past collaborative work, Elizabeth Kennedy states that “we are at a point in history where making connections across boundaries [...] are extremely important in scholarship” (1995, p.31). This statement remains equally as valid twenty years later, and indeed, collaborative strategies have only become more popular. In *Collaborative Anthropology as Twenty-first-Century Ethical Anthropology*, Fluehr-Lobban argues that collaborative anthropology is ethically preferable to other forms of research (2008). She also argues for superior outcomes as this methodology draws on multiple perspectives, allowing for a more nuanced conclusion; the final research is not produced entirely by a single anthropologist, and so the opportunity for one’s personal biases to influence the research is lessened significantly (Fluehr-Lobban 2008). Furthermore, the knowlege base of the subject is more fully incorporated into the research, instead of the anthropologist alone deciding what information is relevant.

Collaborative anthropology does not question the relevance of professional anthropologists; rather, it allows for more open communication and collaboration between the

anthropologist and the subjects. The role that the anthropologist plays in research creation shifts slightly, though their professional and academic skill set is still highly valuable to the research. For instance, Blaikie and Calum's article, *Coproducing Efficacious Medicines*, details a collaborative ethnographic research event focusing on medicinal practitioners from India, Tibet, and Nepal (2015). The event was set up as a workshop allowing these practitioners to explain and demonstrate their craft to anthropologists who had been working in these communities for decades (Blaikie 2015). Another example illustrating this balance is Margaret Rodman's book *Working Together in Vanuatu: Research Histories, Collaborations, Projects and Reflections*, which drew on research gathered in a workshop in Vanuatu, in the Pacific Islands (2011). The book was a collection of reports written during this workshop and included not only the work of three anthropologists but the reports of eleven field-workers and ten house-girls. The research highlighted the girl's experiences with their employers in a way that captured more nuance and detail than would have been possible without the collaborative format, and the very different information offered by the anthropologists and the workers and house girls provided a more complete understanding of gender and race in Vanuatu (Rodman, Kalotiti, and Mahana 2011).

In Bani, Mary, and Anita Herle's article, *Collaborative Projects on Torres Strait Collections*, the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology worked with cultural representatives from the Torres Strait in order to create a more complete and nuanced exhibition (1998). Collaborative methodology, in this project, also worked to restore cultural authority to the studied communities even after the original ethnographic project had long been completed; the final exhibition was a centennial event based on the 1898 Cambridge expedition to the Torres Strait (Bani and Herle 1998). The adoption of a collaborative methodology in the second exhibition of this research project demonstrates the improved ethnographic outcome. As Fluehr-Lobban states in her article, "not only is collaborative research ethical, and thus morally preferable to historical models of research, but it is better research because its methodology emphasizes multiple, polyphonic perspectives, which will leave a richer heritage of ethnography" (p. 175, 2008).

Collaborative methodology also aims to provide applied, practical, and positive outcomes for the subject communities, as opposed to resulting in a collection of research benefitting only the academic sphere. When taken to its extreme, this is one aspect of collaborative work that overlaps significantly with **action research**, first described by Kurt Lewin in 1946 as "a comparative research on the conditions and effects of various forms of social action and research leading to social action" (Lewin 1946). It should be noted that while comparative methodology is very much applicable to action research, the two are not mutually exclusive. In Herle's article, for instance, no social action had taken place within the Torres Strait communities because of the project. Instead, the community benefitted by creating a nuanced examination of the history that they felt more accurately portrayed their culture, avoiding an incomplete or offensive representation (Bani and Herle 1998). Defining what positive outcomes the community will benefit from depends on the individual project, on the subject and nature of the research, and of course on the desires and suggestions of

the participant communities.

Collaboration depends on mutual respect and constant communication between participants. Two main themes emerge from this goal. First, the subjects are involved with designing the format and desired outcome of the research, establishing early in the process what they seek to gain from the project—for instance, an accessible copy of all research. The second theme is more directly beneficial: collaborative anthropology is a popular methodology in development or restoration projects, as it allows for professional input without allowing the anthropologist to speak over the communities themselves. An ideal example of collaboration within action research can be seen in Ruby Zarriga's article, *Restorative Justice in Papua New Guinea: a Collaborative Effort* (2010). Zarriga details the process of community development and restoration in Papua New Guinea from the perspective of the Department of National Planning. Collaborative methods are emphasized, with multiple perspectives lending to decision making, and the communities themselves are pulled into this process in order to create change that genuinely improves their lives (Zarriga 2010). Zarriga lists the five base elements of her collaborative methodology as self-determination, fitting the community pace, participation, starting where people are, and training local leadership (2010, p.118; see Fig.2). This project, and the neatly outlined elements that Zarriga provides, suggests one possible template for future collaborative work in the field.

In conclusion, collaborative methodology offers a format catering to the decolonization of the anthropological discipline. Acknowledging the flaws in historical modes of research, collaborative methodology seeks to address these issues by formatting its research structure in order to highlight the voices of those in the participant communities. An a-theoretical approach encourages the voices of the participants to be heard, unfiltered, in the final research. Hierarchical structures are softened, the communities benefit from the research project, and the final result is a more nuanced and complete understanding of whatever topic the anthropologist chooses to study. This methodology shows great potential in its applicability to future anthropological work. Already, the base of successful research projects incorporating this methodology is very encouraging, and offers illustrations of possible collaborative formats that could easily be adopted in future projects.

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Figure 2: Suggested Formatting for Collaborative Research. All information synthesized from Zarriga, Ruby, et al. "Restorative Justice in Papua New Guinea: a Collaborative Effort". Page 118.

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The Colonial Past of Canadian Anthropology and Its Future- Delaney

Canadian anthropology has arguably been shaped by its deep ties in its past to colonialism. The discipline began with missionaries and a largely male-dominated discipline which later would enter the professionalization era that would shape how fieldwork is conducted. This era included anthropologists such as **Lewis Henry Morgan, Franz Boas and Marius Barbeau**. The discipline employed methodologies colonial in nature that would go on to shape how anthropology was completed in Canada as these biases influenced the work. As anthropology has changed and adapted to growing concerns, minority voices now have a place in the discipline as active participants and an equal relationship with the anthropologist. Anthropologists have become advocates for their research and use their position as whistle-blowers in order to improve the lives of others. An Indigenous focus in Canadian anthropology has become a huge part of the discipline and there has been a shift away from colonial methodologies in favour of newer techniques such as **interpretive, postmodernism and feminist and gendered anthropology**.

Canada's history as a colonizer has impact the way that anthropological work is conducted in Canada. Robert L.A. Hancock in his article, *Towards a Historiography of Canadian Anthropology*, discusses the periods that the discipline of Canadian anthropology has gone through since its emergence. Canadian anthropology began with the **Missionary era** that spurred the beginnings of anthropological work in this country. "Even though there were no professional Canadian anthropologists until the twentieth century (Cole 1973, 35), work now recognized as anthropological in nature has taken place in Canada for centuries."([Hancock 2014](#)) (Hancock 2014: 32) Jesuit Missionaries from Europe were one of the first group of individuals to study and collect **ethnographic** material on Indigenous groups in Canada. (**Nelly - I've reorganized the sentence to help with its flow**). These missionaries were heavily influenced by colonial techniques as they viewed their interactions with Indigenous groups as part of a larger 'civilizing mission'. The missionaries were not interesting in preserving Indigenous culture and maintaining an accurate representation of their subject matter, but rather the end goal was to convert the Indigenous people to Christianity. The history of missionary work in Canada is rooted in a deeply colonial nature as Indigenous groups were targeted and assimilated. As these missionaries lived within close proximity to Indigenous groups, they created the precursor to fieldwork in anthropology. Missionary writers would go on to influence early anthropologists in Canada, but these writings were

heavily biased by colonial ideologies.

One of the focal points of colonial anthropology and its history is the armchair anthropologist. The armchair anthropologist refers to European anthropologists who conducted studies on societies without actually setting foot near the subject. North American anthropologist Sergei Kan in his book, *Strangers to Relatives: The Adoption and Naming of Anthropologists in Native North America* critiques figures such as **John Lubbock** and **Edward Tylor**. “Their studies were syntheses of published data, in some sense, data shipped from the colonies back to England for processing.” (Kan 2001: 50). Research was conducted in a deeply colonial relationship in that there was a clear divide with ‘the other’. One of the hallmarks of colonial anthropology in North America was the armchair anthropological work in its early origins during the **scientific revolution**. As these colonizers focused on North American research on its inhabitants, these groups were taken advantage of. “By the late nineteenth century, these groups were relatively powerless in the face of colonial agents, including, in certain cases, anthropologists.” (Kan 2001) Kan 2001: 65). Indigenous groups in Canada were targeted with forced assimilation by the government and anthropologists were sometimes a passive participant in these techniques. As discussed later in this paper, anthropologists such as Julian Steward worked alongside these colonial agents in stripping Indigenous groups of their rights.

Historically, colonial anthropology has exploited the material culture of minority groups for personal benefit. Anthropologists such as **Franz Boas** and **Marius Barbeau** devoted much of their anthropological career to studying Indigenous groups in Canada. Marius Barbeau focused on **salvage ethnography** and the Indigenous groups in Canada with a goal of collecting ethnology on these Indigenous groups. **Lewis Henry Morgan** was an anthropologist who arguably pioneered Indigenous studies in Canada with his work. He spent extensive time studying the Iroquois Indigenous group in Canada, recording his work on the fieldwork. Morgan’s work is not without its controversies as he had a very colonialist attitude towards the Iroquois he studied. “Morgan advocated for Iroquois advancement because he believed them to be “ready” for and “worthy” of such a change in their legal and political status, but also because their “absorption” into the white race was inevitable and most virtuous.” (Simpson 2007) (Simpson 2007: 71). Morgan’s anthropological work was rooted in a colonial nature as he saw the Iroquois as a primitive culture and destined for assimilation into dominant white settler society. Morgan can be credited with providing some of the first research on Indigenous groups in North America and he would devote extensive time to studying the Iroquois through his fieldwork. He was one of the first in Canada to employ **participant observation** techniques and sought to professionalize the discipline. His work was however, deeply influenced by his colonial attitude that saw Indigenous people as lesser than white men such as himself. Morgan’s techniques would lay the groundwork for Indigenous anthropological studies but not without its ties to colonialism.

As Hancock argues in his article, Canadian anthropology then moved on to the **National Museum Era** and the **University Era** during this move to a professionalization academic era. During this time period, anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Marius Barbeau

began their studies on Indigenous groups in Canada. Hancock himself has looked at colonial anthropologists operating during this time such as Diamond Jenness and his work on the Indigenous people of the Arctic in Canada. He writes “I tried in my recent work to show that Jenness’ Arctic research, often thought to be atheoretical, “pure” ethnography, actually contained evolutionary and racist assumptions that coloured his perspective on the Inuit.” (Hancock 2014: 34). Diamond Jenness was an anthropologist who was operating around the same time as a Franz Boas and also looked at Indigenous groups in Canada. Jenness, a native of New Zealand completed much of his anthropological work in Canada and his writings reflected an influence of colonial ideologies. Much of anthropology conducted during this time period, took a rigid academic approach that furthered the distance between the anthropologist and their subject. His colonial attitude during this time heavily influenced his writings and work on the Inuit in the Arctic.

Marius Barbeau dedicated his research to techniques of **salvage ethnography** and spent considerable time studying Indigenous groups. “The ethnologist,” he said, “is a fool who so far deceives himself as to believe that his field notes and specimens gathered in the raw from half-breeds or [the] decrepit survivors of a past age, still represent the unadulterated knowledge of the prehistoric races of America” (Barbeau 1917, 52-53).”(Harrison and Darnell 2014) (Harrison and Darnell 2014: 52). Barbeau maintained this ideology that ‘traditional’ Indigenous culture needed to be preserved through ethnographic analysis. Marius Barbeau’s work in salvage ethnography heavily influenced how anthropology operated as a discipline in Canada. He was known for editing his field notes extensively to fit his own narrative and kept himself separated from the Indigenous groups he was studying. Both Boas and Barbeau viewed Indigenous groups in Canada as a dying race and believed it was their duty to ‘preserve’ their cultural heritage through their ethnographies. This so-called preservation was completed through the collection of material culture and the creation of ethnologies (**Rachael - edited two sentences for clarity, and to be more specific**). It can be acknowledged at this time period that Indigenous groups were dealing with forced assimilation by the Canadian government and their traditional culture was fading away. These anthropologists sought to ‘preserve’ Indigenous culture through a process of what the anthropologists deemed ‘worthy’ of preservation. This **professionalization era** of Canadian anthropology introduced the beginnings of anthropological theory in the discipline but still was influenced by colonialism. Indigenous groups became much of the subject matter of these anthropologists operated in the early 20th century but there was an unequal power balance between the two parties.

Canadian anthropologists were not the only ones influenced by colonial techniques, as similar methodologies were employed in the United States. American anthropologist Julian Steward maintained a close relationship with the American Federal government and the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) with respect to its treatment of American Indigenous peoples. Steward is viewed as one of the proponents of the creation of **American anthropology** and founded the school of ‘**cultural ecology**’, but his contribution to colonial practices in the discipline are often overlooked. The Department of Justice created the ICC in order to



Figure 3: “Colonial anthropologists? E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1902-73) poses with some Zande boys in Sudan in the late 1920’s”(Erickson and Murphy 2016) (Erickson and Murphy 2016 :155)

address Indigenous claims and contracted anthropologists such as Julian Steward to provide testimonies on these Indigenous groups and their land claims. “In its defence for the Paiute cases, the U.S. Department of Justice relied entirely on Steward’s reports on the Shoshone to assert that “the government was not liable for any claims because the petitioners did not hold original Indian title” (Stewart 1959: 51; Ronaasen et al. 1999).” (Pinkoski 2008)(Pinkoski 2008: 191) Steward used his anthropological work to reinforce colonial ideologies and assist the American government in dealing with the ‘Indian problem’. His testimonies allowed the Department of Justice to deny the Paiute a legal land claim as Steward argued that they had no ancestral claim to the land. This allowed the American government to continue denying Indigenous rights and used anthropologists and their work in order to justify their actions of colonization.

The romanticism of the anthropologist setting out to study the ‘primitive’ Indigenous group in the late 19th century can be seen as an influence of colonialism in Canadian anthropology. Figure 2 above of E.E. Evans-Pritchard from (Erickson and Murphy 2016) encapsulates this image of the colonial anthropologist. Pritchard is dressed in Western clothing and surrounded by his research subjects, the ‘noble savage’. The image summarizes this division between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in a distance created between the researcher and those studied in colonial anthropology (**Breanna- I reorganized this sentence to improve the flow.**). This idea of the **Noble Savage** is a theme that dominates the anthropological writings of the time as discussed in class. The ‘**primitive other**’ dominated the thought process of colonial anthropologists who viewed themselves as civilized and those outside of the West as less than. Franz Boas in his work on the Inuit on Baffin Island from 1883-1884 presents this viewpoint in his compiled letters. Boas writes, “I am now truly just like a typical Eskimo.”(et al. 1998) (Boas 1998: 15) Boas studied the Inuit and used **participant observation** techniques but

there was a distance kept between himself as the researcher and the Inuit, as the subject matter. He still maintained this divide between himself and the Inuit when he conducted his research and did not view them as equal to him. When Boas states that he is “like a typical Eskimo” he implies that he has a full understanding of their culture, which is contradicted by his method which distanced him from the Inuit people. This example highlights how early anthropologists perspectives were often generalizing and colonial (**Kevin. I added these sentences to elaborate on the example**).

Work on Indigenous groups in Canada differed from its American counterparts in material culture was a more immediate concern to American anthropologists. Cory Willmott argues in his article, “*The Historical Praxis of Museum Anthropology: A Canada-U.S. Comparison*” (Willmott 2014) Canadian anthropology employed a **colonial model** to its methodologies, whereas American anthropology leaned towards a more **nationalist** model. Colonialism dominated the beginnings of Canadian anthropology and a focus on solely material culture of Indigenous groups through appropriation of artifacts. A lack of funding in anthropology at the time led Canadian anthropologists to acquire artifacts through unethical practices. “Canadian anthropologists argued that because of limited funds that were available for research, it was more important to record the vanishing customs of living Indian peoples than to excavate their prehistoric remains.” (Trigger 1984) (Trigger, 1984: 361). As Canada is still very much a British colonial colony, these deep ties are still present in the society and how anthropology is conducted. Archaeology, a sub-field of anthropology has faced its own concerns with colonialism and its history. As Julia Harrison and Regna Darnell discuss in *Historicizing Canadian Anthropology* (Harrison and Darnell 2014), Canada has struggled with its identity as a country and in the discipline of anthropology. Many of the founders of Canadian anthropology were British or from outside of Canada and were influenced by colonial ideologies that shaped the discipline. **British and American schools** formed the methodologies of Canadian anthropology and much of the academic placements in Canada were populated by outsiders such as Diamond Jenness and Franz Boas. The emergence of anthropology itself was rooted in the beginnings of European men setting out to explore and document the ‘primitive’ minorities of the world.

Canadian anthropology has gone through a number of changes over the past two centuries in its practices, methods and ethical standards for conducting fieldwork. With emerging responses to colonialism in general, the standards in anthropology have adapted with growing cultural changes. Modern anthropologists in Canada are increasingly held to higher standards when studying minority groups, specifically Indigenous groups. The colonial history and nature of the discipline has greatly affected the relationship between the anthropologist and subject in Indigenous studies. **Applied anthropology** has emerged as a growing discipline in Canadian anthropology and focuses on Indigenous peoples. “These earlier, often overtly (if not always overly) political readings of the roles of anthropologists during the colonial era have also helped to perpetuate the long-standing practice within the discipline of relegating the study of development to a much maligned subfield of applied anthropology.” (Païement 2007) (Païement 2007: 199). This subfield grew out of a response to the

colonial past of anthropology and allowed anthropologists to take a more active role in how their work affected their subjects. Changing attitudes towards methods in the discipline and a shift away from colonial definitions have led to an acceptance of Indigenous traditions in research. A large majority of Indigenous groups use **oral traditions** that previous Canadian anthropology scholarship ignored in favour of material culture. “Increasingly aboriginal people have their own ideas about the kind of relationship they want to establish with an anthropologist.”(Dyck and Waldram 2014) (Dyck and Waldram. 2014: 136). Previously, Indigenous groups were in an unequal power relationship with anthropologist in they were merely the subjects and had no active role in the outcome of the ethnography. Anthropologists have increasingly been working in **collaborative** efforts with their subjects to create a balanced relationship in a more collaborative effort.

Post-colonial methodologies in anthropology have allowed for more collaborative efforts such as **interpretive** and **feminist anthropology**. Previously, as males dominated the discipline, a male centric view was presented in ethnography and women were seen as passive participants. As **postcolonial anthropology** emerged, women and minority groups have had a place in who is the subject of research. With the introduction of post-colonial methodologies, anthropological theory has gone through a number of changes. **Post-modernism, feminist and gendered theory**, and interpretive anthropology have all become theories created as a reaction to this previous colonial influence. Previously, colonial anthropology disregarded the roles of women and other ‘unseen’ minorities in anthropological studies. “In turn, they focus on the necessity for generating a method of disciplinary self-reflection; and, consistently, they offer this need for a new method as a means to acknowledge and level power imbalances between ethnographers and subjects so as to improve the basic anthropological project.” (Pinkoski 2008)(Pinkoski 2008: 174). Anthropologists are currently reviewing the colonial past of anthropology and finding new methodologies to end these colonial ties. “To overcome the unequal social relations embedded in the methods of anthropology, these authors advocated for greater self-reflexive techniques within the discipline’s methodology.” (Pinkoski 2008)(Pinkoski 2008: 174)

Canadian anthropology has struggled with finding its identity and rectifying its colonial influences in the way the discipline operates. Since colonialism is such a large part of Canadian history, it would be impossible for anthropologists to ignore the past. As a result, methods in response to a shift away from colonialism have been approached by anthropologists. Audra Simpson argues that “the work of understanding these issues of membership, political recognition, sovereignty and autonomy within communities requires an historical sensibility (and reckoning) that is deeply horizontal as well as vertical.”(Simpson 2007) (Simpson 2007: 76). Anthropology across the world has had to acknowledge its colonial beginnings throughout the past centuries. Canadian anthropology especially has a tense nature with its colonial influences as the country has struggled with its treatment of Indigenous people across disciplines. “The limited impact of accumulated anthropological knowledge on the often grim lives of Canadian Native people, and on policy development, has been a recurrent source of reflection for anthropologists, suggesting at the very least, disquiet at the inability

of the discipline to play a clear and constructive role in these arenas.” (Harrison and Darnell 2014)(Harrison and Darnell 2014: 9). Canadian anthropologists previously ignored some of the growing issues affecting Indigenous society, but in the last few decades it has become an emerging topic at the forefront of the discipline. In the height of colonial-influenced Canadian anthropology, there was no involvement of anthropologists in communities long-term. Post-modern techniques and a collaborative effort between researcher and subject have allowed a cohesive relationship through **sharing of knowledge, negotiating** and **reframing**.

Frequently in anthropology, minorities and Indigenous groups are left out in having an **active role** in fieldwork. With changing societal norms and the emergence of Indigenous studies in anthropology, these previously unheard groups now have a voice. Research and ethical management surrounding how anthropologists have conducted their work in Canada has increasingly changed and adapted over the last few decades. Noel Dyck in his article, *“Cultures, Communities and Claims: Anthropology and Native Studies in Canada”* discusses how “the nature of anthropologists’ involvement with aboriginal communities and issues has been shifting as field researchers have been asked to intervene on behalf of native peoples when dealing governments.”(Dyck 1990) (Dyck 1990: 43). Indigenous people have become involved in the discipline and are able to straddle the line between subject and researcher. “A number of First Nations and Aboriginal students have completed undergraduate and graduate programs in anthropology in recent years, and many of them have opted to study and write about issues pertaining to Indigenous peoples.” (Dyck and Waldram 2014)(Dyck 2014: 89) Audra Simpson is an individual who presents an interesting viewpoint of Canadian anthropology throughout her writing. She is an anthropologist and an Canadian Indigenous woman who is able to be part of both ‘worlds’. Simpson has written extensively on her work as an anthropologist and how her Indigenous background has influenced how she conducts and perceives the discipline. Indigenous groups in Canada are also becoming **active participants** in the ways anthropology is conducted in their communities. “They emphasize the participatory component of fieldwork, suggesting that ethnographers who want to work in their communities should be prepared to do so in ways and during times specified by the community.” (Dyck and Waldram 2014)(Dyck et al. 2014: 136). Proper ethical consent and representation have become a focal point of anthropological work in Canada regarding Indigenous groups. Ethnography with Indigenous groups has become more of a collaborative effort between the two parties rather than previous methods which had a lack of openness on the part of the anthropologist. Previously, the anthropologist would enter the community, complete their observations and leave to write their report on the fieldwork collected which would only be shared within the anthropology community. Now, those participants have taken a more equal standpoint in how ethnology and fieldwork is representing their community. Anthropologists in Canada have now begun to take a more active role in their relationship with Indigenous groups and understand their influence in shaping policy-making. As discussed in chapter eight of Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s book, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Smith 2013), Indigenous groups and anthropologists must use these methods in order to shift away from the colonial past of how anthropologists and Indigenous communities interacted. She covers methodologies such as

revitalizing of culture, language, art and the sharing of knowledge. They are able to express a unique viewpoint in that they are able to collaborate with both minority groups and policy makers. Anthropologists in Canada are able to present these previously unheard groups to a larger audience. This active role of the anthropologist is as an agent in helping to shape policy reform. Newer fields in anthropology have emerged as responses to the colonial history of the origins of the discipline. “Although not unique to Canada, Canadian anthropologists are making noticeable contributions to the anthropology of advocacy and participatory or action-styled research.”(Ervin and Holyoak 2006) (Ervin and Holyoak 2006: 142). Canadian anthropologists have become **advocates** for Indigenous groups on societal issues such as land claims, health initiatives and quality of life. Anthropologists as whistleblowers has become a way to shift away from its colonial past and rectify this unequal power balance. Canadian anthropologist Dara Speck in the late 1980’s used her position to lobby for improved conditions of minority groups. “In this passionate ethnography, she expands on the tragic and unnecessary death of a young Kwakiutl girl to appendicitis and medical malpractice.”(Ervin and Holyoak 2006) (Ervin and Holyoak 2006: 142) Rather than using their position to help governments abuse minority groups as previously seen, Canadian anthropologists have taken an active role in providing a platform for these groups to be visible and heard on their own terms.

In conclusion, colonialism and its influence on anthropology remains a tense issue across the world, especially in Canada with its ever present effects. Prior to the professionalization era of anthropology, missionaries conducted the majority of anthropological work in Canada who were heavily influenced by colonialist attitudes and methods. Early models of Canadian anthropology were mainly conducted by missionaries and armchair anthropologists distanced from their subjects. With the work of individuals such as Franz Boas, Lewis Henry Morgan and Marius Barbeau, detailed and extensive fieldwork methodologies and participant observation became the standard for anthropological work in Canada. Still influenced by their own Eurocentric biases, the unequal relationship between the anthropologist and Indigenous groups continued with these figures. As responses and re-evaluations in the discipline have emerged in the last few decades through societal and culture changes inside and outside the discipline, anthropologists have sought to rectify these colonial influences. Sub-fields such as applied anthropology have allowed the anthropologist to become advocates for minority groups previously overlooked by the colonial nature of the discipline. Indigenous groups, the subject of fieldwork have become active agents in these studies and taken a more equal role alongside the anthropologist to create a collaborative work. Canadian anthropology must continue to acknowledge its colonial past and use this history to continue reviving methodologies to erase all colonial influences in the discipline.

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Archaeology and Museums: Deconstruction and examining the colonial effects on modern Canadian archaeology (Cody)

With this paper being about decolonization of Canadian anthropology it is relevant to discuss museums. Museums and anthropology have worked together to provide a glimpse into the cultures of the world. The way they have done this is by artifacts. Artifacts normally are remnants of past cultures that have died out over the centuries. Thanks to these artifacts we are given a better understanding of how life may have been for them, since most artifacts are within scientific certainty of the archaeologists' perspective. Though the artifacts in question here would be that of a past civilization but what about a living culture? Does it not mean that living cultures 'artifacts' are actually important ritual items or maybe something more? Why does anthropology support these tendencies to remove these artifacts from a community that view such things as sacred?

From the beginning of anthropology and even during the time of antiquity collection of past cultures artifacts was a sign of heritage. This heritage that an individual would display would play to their advantage to help push forward their claim to something that is greater. For newly formed nations such as America, Canada and the other parts of the America's this clinging onto need to have a strong national identity like that of their colonial parent. The difference between the colony and the parent nation is that of living people being there and already having an identity. What is needing to be noted is how the new colonies viewed the living people there already. What is evident is the need for more legal representation of Indigenous groups in the Americas and around the world.

This article will discuss the legal actions against Western museums and the legal and ethical actions towards the anthropological community. It will continue with a discussion on the federal aspects of archaeology and its shift towards **decolonization**. There have been great strides in reform for both Canada and the United States in its fieldwork and in its treatment towards the Indigenous population, but there is always room for improvement. I believe that this paper will reaffirm the importance of supporting both living and past cultures within archaeology. (Nelly - I've edited and condensed this paragraph)

Cultural actions towards museums and artifacts

In a society that is governed by law that all must be held to it. What about the cultural appropriation? When the time came that the colonies of the empires around the world became independent they needed to find a way to build an identity in the colony. Canada and America were doing exactly that. Though America was doing more to form an identity than Canada. This identity was formed by appropriating the Indigenous peoples' ideas and saying

that they are all one, European settlers and the Indigenous. There are many legal issues that have arisen from this and very little has been done to rectify these legal issues within the system of both Canada and America. The legal and ethical struggles that have been a constant battle between the governments and Indigenous groups is important to discuss, especially when it has to do with colonialization. Here in Canada in the early 20th century we were about the collection of Indigenous material goods and artifacts simply because assimilation was believed to happen to the Indigenous communities. While in America it was more for commodification of textiles and other types of Knick-knacks and adopting their culture to make it their own. Both methods in Canada and America are equal part colonial and national.

When exploring the legal system on **repatriation**, Canada itself has lagged behind in comparison to America. It was missing the idea of how the Indigenous people have been viewed and the way they view the act of ‘owning’ something. In an article written in 1979 by Bowen, he argued this idea of ownership. The idea that Indigenous people view ownership as a collective rather than as individual ownership. This ownership is nothing new here in the 20th and 21st century since these battles are still going today. Techniques of collecting material culture by anthropologists were rooted in a colonial nature of viewing Indigenous groups as a ‘dying race’. **(Delaney - I added this point to highlight some of the colonial influenced ideas of early archaeology in North America)** An example of ownership problems comes from commodification of Indigenous items [\(Manuel 2013\)](#). This commodification of goods helped to Westernize the Indigenous items which may have been only used for ceremonies or other events and have minor profit for the Indigenous community. Another is the appropriation of sacred items or remains from communities that should stay with those Indigenous communities; like that of the Zuni and their twin war gods or even the remains of the “**Kennewick man**” [\(Blair 1979; Searles 2017\)](#). It is important for us to evaluate these issues to understand not just the view of the archaeologist and museums but also the view of the Indigenous people. Since archaeology aims to examine and preserve the past, it is understandable that anthropologists in the 20th century were collecting “artifacts” from Indigenous peoples that they assumed were destined to disappear **(Rachael- expanded on this thought)**. The legal battles that have and are happening in America and Canada are challenging cases, considering they view these artifacts as both art and important religious items [\(Blair 1979\)](#). Though work has been done to correct this by museums where they either willing gave up those items to the indigenous people or even made requirements for them to get these items [\(Blair 1979\)](#).

The legal system in the Americas’ was one sided. Settlers would be allowed to claim land that they land on and that the Indigenous people had no claim to it since they were not a recognized sovereign nation [\(Ferris 2003\)](#). This was changed though after the British won the Seven-year war with France and claimed New France where a new deal was struck that allowed the Indigenous people to have their own lands and deny the access to private groups [\(Ferris 2003\)](#). Despite this new deal, Indigenous people have still struggled to assert their land rights. Private companies and government policies to this day continue to act as

an antagonist to Indigenous groups (**Kevin. I added this to avoid draw attention to the fact that land rights are still violated**). In Canada, during the early 20th century museums were more to show off the exploits of individuals and the greatness of the parent nation where only the rich would be able to see the museums (Buchanan 2014). This meaning that our system was colonial and viewing the Indigenous people as a culture that will die out due to the technology of the West (Buchanan 2014), thankfully this was not true. What happened was the growth – much like that of America – in using museums as nation builders. The differences of America and Canada was the path they used to get to nation building as highlighted by Willmott. America used a democratic styled where everything within their sovereign borders was American; while in Canada it was a more assimilation or colonial style, displaying the items of primitive cultures to compare the advances by technology and the majesty of the Western ideology (Willmott 2014; Manuel 2013). This method helped to affirm the legal rights of the government in Canada to collect the items of a dying culture as in Buchanan’s article explained about the three individuals and their views on how Canada should treat the Indigenous communities.

These legal actions have had important impacts on the archaeology field within anthropology. These legal actions helped to pave the way for current archaeology where building of stronger relations and reforms were important to ensure all parties are under fair legal certainty. Unfortunately, not all these legal cases ended well for the Indigenous community. Many legal actions in both Canada and America were in favour of the museums or government due to issues of proper housing for the items. In America, many times the museums would only allow the release of the demanded artifacts if they were housed in proper museums on the Indigenous communities’ land, this was virtually impossible for that to happen (Blair 1979). While in Canada, the paying of individuals to buy Indigenous artifacts to be displayed in museums was a common thing and even the purchasing of totem poles to be displayed in the museums (Willmott 2014). What this caused though is the steps towards a better start for archaeology for the public rallied to help Indigenous people to reclaim their artifacts and seen the reforms to the field.

Relations with Indigenous Communities.

When exploring the relations that museums and archaeologists have had with Indigenous communities they have not always been the best. Indigenous groups saw the museums and archaeologists as looters, the vary people they were trying to prevent from stealing artifacts (Ferris 2003). While legal actions were taken to prevent looters, it seemed to not stop archaeologists from coming in to claim the artifacts which by law saw them as the owners of the artifacts (Blair 1979). This gave rise to public advocacy groups that sought the repatriation of artifacts, such as a petition started in Saskatchewan that called for the return of Louis Riel’s walking stick that is held at the Manitoba Museum, but many attempts are unsuccessful and are met with resistance (**Breanna- reworded and expanded to clarify, and added an example.**). Advocacy is an amazing tool that archaeologists use to support their claims and reasoning behind removing artifacts of past cultures, but this

does have harm on the living descendants of still living cultures. Relations with these living Indigenous cultures is documented more in Canada rather than America. America does have cases but there is more extensive knowledge from the Canadian anthropologist and archaeologist.

As we know of archaeology today, we view ourselves as protectors and advocates to material goods left behind by past cultures. This has not changed. Archaeologists saw themselves as doing the same thing back in the 20th century as well. It is important to remember that many human remains are the cultural property of living groups. When remains make up a significant percentage of the exhibits within a museum, this can become problematic, especially if they had been collected many years ago and without permission (**Rachael: split one sentence into two and added details**). The museums of America and Canada have had their fair share of such issues. In Canada, the conflict was with the finding of the “**Kennewick man**” which was a 9,400 year-old skeleton found in Kennewick, Washington and sparked problems with the archaeologists involved with it and here in Canada ([Searles 2017](#)). In America the **NAGPRA** was created to help control these conflicts with museums and archaeologists (Sullivan, Abraham, & Griffin, 2000). This act helped museums to build a better relationship with Indigenous people and in turn helped the museums get a more authentic exhibit from their knowledge that they knew about artifacts within the museum.



Figure 4: Examination on the “Kennewick Man” done by American archaeologists at the Smithsonian institution’s National museum of natural history ([Boyle 2015](#))

With relations being important for archaeologists and museums to understand repatriation is a clear point to have when dealing with legalities of ownership. This after all, improves your exhibits and which improves the records that are being kept. This means updating or change of the archaeological ethics code in countries that have Indigenous peoples within their national borders. Relations with Indigenous groups may be different from group to group like in the Arctic. Searles says that he did not encounter the same problems that others were having due to the “**Kennewick man**” in the 1996. In the Canadian Arctic, Searles when he graduated in 1989 he was hired by the National museum of Natural History to catalog the Arctic artifacts that were in their collection. Then afterwards he was hired on to join the expedition up north as well where a member from the Inuit community joined them to help them with navigation and logistical purposes in the waters of Labrador and southern Baffin island (Searles 2017). This hiring of the Inuit, called Pauloosie, was an important member of their team to help make sure they survived the waters. These relationships that Searles explains from his own personal experiences shows that the community and inclusiveness of archaeology can be a beneficial tool to avoid conflicts with communities like that of what was happening with the Kennewick man when he was first discovered.

Relations with the Inuit were important to keep in good standing because their knowledge of the land was invaluable to the survival of those studying in the region(**Breanna-reworded this sentence and expanded for clarity.**). This knowledge of the land has been exploited by the governments and colonial powers but now in recently things have been on the change. Again Searles, draws the attention to the need for inclusion to the indigenous community to help spark the desire for the indigenous communities to preserve the remains found. In these respects of preservation it is up to the community to preserve them artifacts the way they believe is the best way for them. The desire for the wanting archaeologists in the community - whether they are non-indigenous or are indigenous - the needing for the spark of archaeology is needed to help with these remains and artifacts that may be found. Searles advocates the need for more indigenous people in the field of archaeology to ensure the proper preservation of the found remains and artifacts and the inclusion is required for this. This inclusion will be needed to avoid problems here in Canada and America with the indigenous communities.

Archaeological reforms of Canada and America.

When discussing the reforms in archaeology, one must consider the change of ethics. This change helped Indigenous groups in having a voice, especially during the involvement of archaeological sites. Organizations such as the CAA (Canadian Archaeological Association), the SAA (Society for American Archaeology), and other groups have helped in defining guidelines for archaeologists in working with Indigenous communities (Rosenswig 1997). **(Nelly - I have edited this paragraph for better flow)**

It is a crucial step that was taken by archaeologist in the 1990's to include the Indigenous people since they are still a living culture. The first conference of archaeologists was a

global one and was the first code of ethics to be created that included Indigenous people. While **SOPA** or Society of Professional Archaeologists created a code of ethics that help to support the archaeologist within a legal measure (Rosenswig 1997). These conferences and societies were important to help push archaeology into the modern era.

Archaeology has been based within a colonial framework. Removal of artifacts and items to be displayed within museums for the public to see and to promote nationality and depending on where you are in the world, modernity (Kreps 1998). When speaking of modernity, it is an idea that a government wants to be like that of the West or where ever they see as modern. In Indonesia, museums were built as a display of modernism and nationalism but depending on where you were the museums felt distant from the public (Kreps 1998). Museums themselves -viewed personally – are constructs of the past colonial structure and which confines the archaeological evidence within it. What is needed is the following of what some museums in Indonesia have done and hiring local people of the tribe that the museum focuses on which helps to strengthen the relationship of the institute and allow for more authentic exhibits to be performed (Kreps 1998).

These go along with the idea of inclusion of Indigenous people in-line with the creation of the codes of ethics by the archaeological society and groups. The study that was conducted though by Rosenswig (1997) shows that the reforms showed clear cut how each society focused on the Indigenous and non-Indigenous. This means that in the ethical actions of archaeologists who may work for museums and universities have protection to make sure that all parties are equally represented. With SOPA's code of ethics the archaeologist must follow guidelines or will be discredited and also for the WAC code of ethics it highly encouraged the employment of indigenous people in the field. These code of ethics from former colonies as well helped to protect themselves and the archaeologist within legal framework because the Indigenous people were given a voice and an equal share (Rosenswig 1997). The codes also differed from country to country and Canada was the only nation to use "spirit" within the CAA code of ethics while in America the SAA was for the mercantile and preservation of Indigenous artifacts (Rosenswig 1997).

Even with some of these changes happening in the 1990's it is still relevant to acknowledge the changes that took place. These changes helped to give more of a voice to the Indigenous people on what artifacts would be displayed by museums and collected by archaeologists. Another is the change in the way the world was viewing the Indigenous people. The view that everyone had has now become a more protective society of it and that the importance of their culture must be there to preserve the Indigenous autonomy when it comes to living cultures artifacts. This legal framework also helped to build a better relationship with the nations own Indigenous people and gave also the nation their own guidelines to control how artifacts should be treated within national borders.

Reflection to changes in museums and archaeology.

To conclude this section, it is evident to myself that there is still much work needing to be done. Canada and America both need to be willing to relinquish the items – not artifacts since artifacts mean material remains of a past and not living culture – for the ownership of such items belongs to that of the Indigenous community. It is understandable that both parties do want to keep the items and have good claims but truly the items deserve to be with their proper owners. These items have more important symbolism than we can understand and deserve to be with people that understand them. Though this paper is not here to state that “this is the way we need to correct these problems,” it is here to shed more light on the subject. As advocates this is what needs to be done to ensure the continued trust and support of Indigenous communities which is highlighted in Searles’s article. We as the advocates for the Indigenous community it is relevant to bring to light the changes that need to be done in not just archaeology but in anthropology, as well.

Archaeology has significant role to help people from all ethnics to be proud of their past cultures and same too does anthropology have to that of present cultures. It is important to note that museums play a big part in constructing a national identity. This national identity helps to de-construct the colonialism of the nation but also replaces it with a commodifying effect on the country. What is important is the education of people, both Indigenous and non-indigenous, for that is a start de-construct this cycle of colonialism. In the start of Donald’s article, he gives a story about how he went to a fort in Edmonton, Alberta and at this fort he realized the myth construct of the fort and the wilderness; the civilized and the primitive. The educational system needs to be this reforming and informational part to help separate the colonialism that has gripped our country and that of others (Donald 2009). It is evident that even sharing our message from here in Canada to that of other places of the world is important since not all nations have this ethics code to share. It needs to be there to help improve the lives of all Indigenous people, but it will show problems too like in South Africa with the Boers (Plaice 2014).

I believe that de-colonialization of Canadian anthropology is best to be confronted by advocacy and education is going to be the best practical options. Here in Canada, we need to be the advocates of this change and be at the frontlines to protect Indigenous items from the environment and ourselves. This model of taking or looting as they would see it needs to be changed to end this colonial cycle and in-turn means the need of a new model. When Plaice went to South Africa and explained their thesis to South African anthropologists it sent a ripple that surprised them since they were dealing with a unique type of Indigeneity (Plaice 2014). This form of Indigeneity was about the Boers and how they claimed to be Indigenous to South Africa, yet they were descendants of Dutch colonialists (Plaice 2014). This posed a problem where the Indigenous majority where surprised to see a small group having such power over a government (Plaice 2014).

The Decolonization of Archaeological Practices

Archaeology has always been a colonialist endeavour where archaeologists have considered themselves experts on the Indigenous past. Although there is a growing recognition among western scholars of the value of Indigenous knowledge, scientific research still remains a prominent source of validation (Harris 2005).

Colonialism within the discipline of archaeology can be traced back to the **Missionary Era**, where explorers and missionaries encountered indigenous peoples during their travels (Hancock 2006). The HMS *Investigator* was an example of this, sailing in search of the Franklin expedition that went missing in 1845 looking for the North-West Passage. During their voyage, they became trapped in the ice of Mercy Bay and abandoned ship in 1853. The crew cached most of their remaining supplies onshore where tins and barrels were discovered and utilized by Inuinnait (Copper Inuit) groups from neighbouring islands. **Ethnocentric** attitudes towards indigenous peoples were prevalent during this time and there was no exception within the crew members of the *Investigator*. The journals of Captain Robert McClure, surgeon Alexander Armstrong, Inuktitut translator Johann Miertsching, and seaman James Nelson described the Inuit to be primitive, immoral, filthy, and simple children of nature (Hodgetts 2012).

These attitudes displaying Indigenous inferiority greatly influenced early archaeological interpretation. Clifford Hickey, an archaeologist who studied the Inuinnait groups in the 1980s proposed that their culture underwent a significant transformation due to the influx of goods from the *Investigator*. He argued that groups closest to Mercy Bay had exclusive access to these objects in which created an unfair advantage in trading and led to significant differences between the Inuinnait and other Inuit groups. Archaeological interpretations such as these showed a unidirectional approach; a one-way flow of ideas and change from colonizers to colonized. In the case of the HMS *Investigator*, we see a focus on how the goods found from the *Investigator* were portrayed to have ‘transformed’ Inuit culture instead of examining the ways in which those goods were incorporated into or resisted by existing cultural practices. Today, archaeologists strive to recognize the complexities of the individual and group identities (Hodgetts 2012).

The **Amateur Era** was quite influential towards **Iroquoian archaeology** in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While these amateurs were largely unprofessional, they were essential towards the archaeological process in documenting sites, excavation, and the interpretation of human remains. Unfortunately due to their lack in experience, costly mistakes were made in retrieving archaeological material from the sites. Excavators would often fill ossuaries with stones and logs, or break bones from digging with shovels. There were also issues with the public’s interpretation of the archaeological record, often portraying First Nations as noble savages or evil barbarians. The media would add to this stigma by publishing articles that would place past Indigenous populations in constant warfare, thus interpreting ossuaries as a result of large battles. Artifacts were also described through a colonial lens where the material was viewed as “rough”, “rude”, or “unfinished” (Hamilton

2006).

The **National Museum Era** brought about important figures such as Edward Sapir and Marius Barbeau. Edward Sapir was greatly influenced by Franz Boas, an American cultural anthropologist who brought about theoretical approaches such as **historical particularism** and **cultural relativism**. During this time, Boas was extremely concerned about the extinction of Native North American cultures and introduced **salvage ethnography** (Erickson and Murphy 2008). This method of ethnographic analysis inspired Marius Barbeau, who worked to preserve “authentic” traditional cultures. His work mainly focused on oral traditions, songs, and genealogies from various Indigenous cultures, as well as legends, old furniture, wood carvings, and other materials from rural French Canada. Barbeau believed that early-twentieth-century Canadian anthropologists saw themselves as “pioneers” in correcting popular misconceptions about Indigenous cultures and preserving cultural records and artifacts that would be forever lost (Nurse 2006).

Barbeau took this colonial methodology one step further and proposed a series of research tactics in recovering **authentic** elements of supposedly dying cultures. The requirements for Barbeau’s fieldwork needed an approach to efficiently collect cultural traits for archives and museums, in other words, for collection not observation or understanding. He approached this task by producing steps in acquiring material such as finding an effective research site with trustworthy informants. These individuals had to be uneducated because he believed that educated informants failed to understand their heritage and were not authentic. They also needed to be elders, from lower social classes, and those with little to no contact with surrounding cultures. Barbeau made it very clear that he was not interested in the informants’ opinions or social views, just their memories (Nurse 2006). He was influenced by these colonial methods where he kept a distance between himself and his informants as he believed they devalued his research - **Delaney, added this short point to highlight early anthropologists’ colonial influences**

Salvage ethnography also played a specific role in Canadian Archaeology, where the archaeologist by the name of Harlan I. Smith undertook the first systematic archaeological fieldwork in southern British Columbia. Smith led three archaeological field expeditions as a part of the *Jesup North Pacific Expedition* directed by Franz Boas. Throughout his fieldwork, Smith kept in close contact with Boas through letters and sending postcards. The letters contained detailed accounts on his field practices embodying many issues that archaeologists still face today such as themes of cultural conflict, ethics of practice, degree of community involvement, and colonial attitudes. An example of this is shown in the following figure where Smith explains to Boas how the Indigenous community is upset about the removal of bones. Smith writes with hope that they will be willing to give him the bones so that they can be shipped to New York for further study (Carlson 2005).

Anthropological research as a whole has helped extensively in producing massive collections for museums to help answer questions of our past. The implications on how they were acquired and their interpretations, however, have raised concern over the recent years.

Dear Mr Boas, 1897-27 June 18-97.
 Indians here object to my taking
 bones away - They are friendly & will allow
 me to dig graves & take all but the bones.
 I have seen agent and Indians are on the
 fence. We hope they will change their
 minds & allow bones to go to N.Y. for
 study not for joke as they fear.
 Rain today & yesterday began. Your sincere
 Harlan Smith
 Good surface finds today after rain.

Figure 5:
Boas, Kamloops, 18 June 1897

Postcard from Harlan Smith to Franz

Contemporary research standards and ethical codes require researchers to seek the consent of those they study and inform them of the benefits and risks due to their research. Many agencies and universities that fund research have set parameters such as institutional review boards to assure that this procedure happens. Unfortunately, even with all these ethical parameters in place, informed consent can be real problematic in descendant communities. There may be those within traditional communities who cannot read the documentation, or may not completely understand the implications of archaeological research (Zimmerman 2005).

Misinterpretations of archaeological contexts are also extremely problematic and can cause lasting harm to their descendants. An example of this is the Crow Creek site that contained the remains of nearly 500 victims from the fourteenth century. The remains belonged to a culture known to be ancestral to the Arikara nation. They were located on federal property within the Crow Creek Reservation, inhabited by the Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota Sioux, who were the traditional enemies of the Arikara. When news of the discovery was made public, the Sioux immediately claimed responsibility towards the massacre. As osteological evidence began to show signs of mutilation, including scalping, the Dakota Sioux backed away from their claim in perpetuating the attack. As scientists, archaeologists tend to view context from an **etic** perspective and forget the implications behind their assessments. In the case of the Crow Creek massacre, the discovery of the mutilations and scalping resurfaced social stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as savages. Another example can be found in the state of Iowa, where an osteologist reported to a statewide newspaper that he found evidence of syphilis on the remains of a prehistoric burial mound. Since syphilis is a difficult disease to assess visually, it can be easily misdiagnosed from other diseases. Unfortunately, his announcement caused quite a stir and left a damaging impression on the female Indigenous population (Zimmerman 2005).

Repatriation has been a contentious issue amongst archaeologists and Indigenous peoples over the years. We can see this development within the popular case of the **Kennewick Man**. The Kennewick Man was discovered on July 28th 1996 by two young men who accidentally stepped on a skull while trying to sneak into a boat race event in Kennewick, Washington. The skull was taken by a coroner and analyzed by an archaeological consultant by the name of James Chatters. After retrieving the rest of the remains from the site, Chatters decided to submit a hand bone for radiocarbon dating without the consultation of the federal or tribal authorities. When the date came back as 8,700 BP, the federal agency took possession of the remains and invoked the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (**NAGPRA**). The agency determined that the remains pertained to five tribes and approved its repatriation. This did not bode well with the scientists. They immediately mounted a large professional and public relations campaign to halt the repatriation process. When these efforts failed, eight of the most prominent professionals sued the agency in federal court for the right to study the remains before they were repatriated. These actions are a great example of the divide between the scientific community and the Indigenous community. The scientists believed that NAGPRA had failed since the remains were never confirmed ‘scientifically’ as Indigenous. They also felt that they were stripped of important findings that would help piece together details of the New World. The Indigenous peoples’ views differed; NAGPRA helped them to have access in reclaiming the remains and to prevent the further study and desecration of the bones (Stapp and Longenecker 2005) .

Currently, great strides are being made to improve relations between archaeologists and Indigenous communities. Since the late 1980s, the involvement of Indigenous communities within archaeology has increased steadily and significantly. We now see archaeologists actively working with Indigenous populations in the pursuit of land claims or to challenge land developments. There has also been an increase in the pursuit of post-secondary education, enabling Indigenous students to contribute towards archaeological research (Nicholas 2006). This inclusion of an Indigenous perspective not only helps to **decolonize** archaeology but promotes a truly **holistic** approach within the field.

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Decolonizing Educational Anthropology in Canada

Educational anthropology is an anthropological approach that dates back to the late 19th century but was not formalized as a sub-field until 1970 (Eddy 1987). As a branch of applied anthropology, educational anthropologists produce ethnographies in which they study the culture of schools, often in order to help with the formulation of curricula and aiding educators in solving classroom problems. Anthropological tools, such as ethnography, have also been adopted by researchers outside of the field of anthropology in order to understand the impact of and develop curricula. Current trends in curricula development focus on the decolonization of the classroom through the incorporation of Indigenous ways of knowing, such as the Medicine Wheel teachings and a focus on the relationship between people and their place, and an emphasis on eco-civic responsibilities. Rolling River School Division, and in particular Erickson Collegiate Institute, are prime examples of how various Indigenous

perspectives have been incorporated into the classroom with the aid of anthropological tools and methods. An examination of the history of educational anthropology and its colonial roots, current developments and trends in curricula development, and an in-depth case study of Rolling River School Division and Erickson Collegiate will demonstrate the ways in which anthropologists play a key role in decolonizing not only anthropology but also education. The cooperation between anthropologists and educators in studying the impacts of and developing decolonizing curricula through the incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge and anthropological tools will provide a holistic understanding of the Canadian education system and the ways in which can be improved in order to provide all students with an education that will prepare them for all aspects of life in Canada.

Educational Anthropology

The potential of educational anthropology could be seen in the early 1800's with anthropologists being involved in early curriculum development but it did not take hold as a field of specialization until the late 19th century. The majority of the development, it has been argued (Eddy 1987), took place during the 1920's, coinciding with the rise in professionalism in the field of anthropology. Elizabeth Eddy, a prominent educational anthropologist in the United States, divides the history of educational anthropology into two sections: the Formative Years, 1925-1954, and the Institutionalization and Specialization Years, 1955-present. During the Formative Years, several themes were emphasized; generalizations of human development made by Freud, Piaget, and Watson, were challenged, and the eugenics movement was refuted. Anthropologists were involved in a number of commissions established by the Progressive Education Association throughout the 1930's. Funded by the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation, these studies included the development of proposals and material for revising the social studies curriculum in secondary schools and the initiation of intensive study of adolescents. Furthermore, during the 1930's, several American anthropologists were involved in addressing the educational problems of Native Americans as employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These anthropologists wrote historical and ethnographic texts and developed orthographies for use in schools. Many prominent anthropologists have been involved in the development of educational anthropology, such as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and Mead. Malinowski worked in Africa training anthropologists, missionaries, and educators in ethnographic field methods, and applying them to educational problems. In 1934, Malinowski addressed the New Education Fellowship in South Africa who were "deeply committed to the need of Western educators to take indigenous native systems of education into account when formulating educational policies" (Eddy 1987, p.12). During the same year, Radcliffe-Brown lectured at the "Education and Culture Contacts" conference at Yale which consisted of attendees from the West Indies, India, Philippines, Great Britain, China, and the United States. The major theme of the conference was "the need to adapt education to individual and community needs rather than to transfer Western educational practices wholesale" (Eddy 1987)p.12.

Mead was also involved in the organization of a conference that brought together education and anthropology in 1949. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation, "The Educational Prob-

lems of Special Cultural Groups” conference held at the Teachers College in New York was attended by colonial educators from British African territories and American educators from the south to discuss the education of African Americans. This conference was a turning point in that the methods and problems of education in the south were no longer being applied to those in Africa. Instead, each should be addressed and studied individually (Eddy 1987). Mead’s most influential work, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, was also influenced by educational anthropology. Psychologists and educators were attempting to understand the struggles of youth and why they were not adjusting to the changes taking place, and to create resources to help. Mead, however, believed that psychology was inadequate to provide a complete understanding and focused her work on what she considered a simpler society that she believed would make analysis more easily possible. In **Samoa**, Mead studied the development and lives of **adolescent girls**, finding that **adolescence** in **Samoa** was not analogous to that in the United States (Mead 2017). Mead’s work in **Samoa** exemplifies the trends in educational anthropology leading up to the Stanford Conference, focusing on childhood and youth, and where the anthropological work was not a part of an institutionalized process, but was dependent on the individuals (Eddy 1987).

1954 marks the end of what Eddy terms “the formative years” of educational anthropology, with the Stanford Conference that looked to address the future cooperation of education and anthropology. Educational anthropology still did not formally exist at this time, nor was it the purpose of the conference to create the sub-field. Four themes were the focus of the conference: “the search for a philosophical as well as a theoretical articulation of education, the necessity for sociocultural contextualization of the educative process, the relation of education to ‘culturally phrased’ phases of the life cycle, and the nature of intercultural understanding and learning” (Eddy 1987, p. 13-14). The Stanford Conference was the beginning of the formalization of the subfield of educational anthropology, a notion that was furthered by the postwar growth in the discipline during the 1960’s. While applied anthropology declined during the 1960’s, it was during this time that anthropology received its first federal support for curriculum development and discipline oriented teacher training. A number of other projects that linked education and anthropology were undertaken throughout the decade: Anthropology Curriculum Study Project (1962), Man: A Course of Study, and the Teacher’s Resources in Urban Education Project. In 1965 the Culture of Schools program was initiated under Stanley Diamond as a collaboration between anthropologists and behavioral scientists to develop foundations for research in American mass education. This resulted in the Program in Anthropology and Education directed by Fred Gearing. These programs were important in the national visibility of what was becoming educational anthropology. The formal institutionalization of educational anthropology as a field of specialization concluded in 1970 with the organization of the Council on Anthropology and Education, followed by the journal *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* in 1977 (Eddy 1987). Much of the history of educational anthropology has been an attempt to move away from colonial practices but has still been colonial in nature. The involvement of colonial educators and anthropologists in conferences, the themes of which often focused on localizing the education for the needs of individual communities instead of generalizations,

demonstrates the desire to create educational systems that are founded on local knowledge and practices but are nonetheless still undertaken through Western methods. In Canadian anthropology, the colonial influence in educational anthropology can be seen through the study of residential schools.

PhD candidate Peter Sindell conducted an anthropological study of the effects of a residential school on the cultural identities of Cree students at a school in Quebec from July 1966 to September 1967. Sindell studied 13 Cree children who had all been raised in “traditional” Cree homes before attending La Tuque Residential School, operated by Anglican Church of Canada for the Indian Affairs Board. La Tuque Residential School opened in 1963 and was located 180 Miles northeast of Montreal. Through interviews with the children, parents, and teachers before, during, and after attending school, a series of behavioral rating forms administered by counsellors and teachers, and observational protocols, Sindell determined that most students experience a conflict in identity in later years from alternating between the residential school and the trading post where they were raised (Sindell 1987). While in this study Sindell does not make any recommendations for solving the problem of the disassociation of identity nor does he partake in curriculum formation, it is an excellent example of the colonial background of educational anthropology in Canada. Furthermore, the lack of suggestions, or **cultural emendations**, demonstrates the shift in perspective that was taking place at the time from addressing the “**Indian Problem**” and trying to provide solutions, to studying the cultures without making **emendations** (Buchanan 2013). Despite the colonial background of both education and anthropology in Canada, strides are being made to work toward decolonization. Current trends in curriculum development and educational anthropology in Canada have the decolonization of education as a central theme.

Current Trends

Innovations in educational ethnography have showcased the ways in which ethnography can shed light on the educational process. Currently, educational researchers are applying ethnographic tools to their work and forming strong relationships with ethnographers. The benefits from these partnerships have included cultural dialogue being built into curricula, and the cultural training of educators, who, with the use of ethnographic tools, are able to “analyze their own reactions reflexively” (Hammond and Spindler 2006)p. xviii).

Across Canada, curricula development has come to focus on the incorporation social justice and ecological and indigenous perspectives over recent years (Stanley and Young 2011). These three themes work together toward decolonizing Canadian education and anthropologists have played a key role in this. William Pinar summarizes the current trends in curriculum development as “the concept of decolonization- not only of Indigenous Peoples, but of Canadians of European decent as well- seems to summarize the pressing curricular concern” (Pinar 2011) p. 7). This has become a pressing concern because of the systematic racism that is the legacy of the colonization of Canada and the Residential Schools that followed. Families have been torn apart and damaged, and students traumatized resulting in cycles of internalized colonization evidenced by high rates of suicide and incarceration and

low rates of graduation and achievement in school. One way that this can be addressed is through the reconciliation of Treaty rights to education and the incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge into curricula (Battiste 2011). The development of curricula has not been free from politics because of the government and corporate funding for education, conferences, and projects, such as those that early educational anthropologists were involved in. Indigenous Knowledge focuses on **holistic** development: intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical, and is necessary for the survival of Indigenous people in Canada (Bell 2011). What were life-long learning practices based on the ecological needs of the community included language and oral traditions, community socialization, ceremonies and relationships, are now being incorporated into curricula to confront hidden standards of racism and colonialism in what has attempted to be a culturally sensitive and authentic manner (Battiste 2011).

Indigenous thought is founded “on a deep understanding that we all live in relation to the land” (Ng-A-Fook 2011) p.315). Therefore, environmental education must become a key component of curricula. Kulnieks, Longboat, and Young (2011) argue that all **education** needs to become environmental **education** in order to rectify the separation between humans and the natural world. To do this, Indigenous ways of knowing, not Indigenous culture must be applied to the classrooms. This can be accomplished through inquiry into personal and cultural histories, and interaction with the natural landscape such as with the practice of growing food, learning medicinal, edible and lethal plants. Thus, a shift from learning about nature to learning from nature will take place (Kulnieks and Longboat 2011). Ng-A-Fook accomplished this through engaging his students in creating social action based curriculum, addressing the gap between what was learned in the classroom and the knowledge used for everyday living through knowledge from lived experiences. His students worked with Algonquian Elders to create a curriculum for the Kitigan Zibi community to incorporate the Algonquian language and knowledge into the everyday lives of the students. They worked to create a curricular space of discourse and action (Ng-A-Fook 2011). Land-based activities, exposure to traditional practices, and incorporation of Indigenous knowledge are all ways that educators can work toward providing experiences that will benefit all students. Using the Medicine Wheel as an educational framework with teachings and pedagogical application can provide the **holistic education** necessary to the survival of Indigenous peoples in Canada. Positive cultural identity among Indigenous youth is linked to happiness in school and more academic success (Bell 2011). Erickson Collegiate Institute is a prime example of how these curricular trends have been incorporated into the school.

Rolling River School Division Case Study

Rolling River School Division is a small school division in western Manitoba that includes elementary and high schools in Onanole, Erickson, Minnedosa, Rivers, Forrest, Rapid City, Oak River, and Douglas. The priorities of the school division are outlined as: mental health and wellbeing, cultural proficiency, literacy and numeracy. In 2015 the school division mandated that the infusion of aboriginal education into all schools was a top priority. This has come to fruition through additional training for teachers and support staff, a requirement for all classes to have at least one unit that focuses on Indigenous themes, and a database

through which teachers can share their curricula. While all schools in the division have embraced this change, one school stands out: Erickson Collegiate Institute (ECI). ECI is a high school located in the town of Erickson, Manitoba, but has students attending from the surrounding towns of Onanole, Sandy Lake, and Rolling River First Nation Reserve. The school has a population of approximately 150 students from grades 7-12, with 45% of the population being Aboriginal. In 2012 ECI began the long-term goal of incorporating Indigenous perspectives into the curricula and extra-curricular activities, three years before it was required by the division. The goals of ECI are to create a space for education in which all students feel a sense of inclusion and where a better understanding of the history of all Canadians can be reached while providing role models for all students. It is important to the school that the infusion of Indigenous knowledge is not seen as an event, but rather a sustainable practice.

Outside of the classroom, this has included students participating in the Drag the Red Project, Orange Shirt Day, organizing a multicultural day, attending conferences, organizing a drumming group, and having the opportunity to smudge at school and attend ceremonies and feasts. Within the classroom, each teacher has taken a different approach to infusing Indigenous knowledge into the curriculum. The Food and Nutrition course has guest chefs come in to teach the students how to make different dishes from various cultures, including the making of bannock and Indian Tacos. In the sciences the focus is on the relationship with the natural world, studying plants and their uses, such as suggested by Kulnieks, Longboat, and Young (2011). The Horticulture class has an assignment on “the significance of wild rice crops to Indigenous people of Manitoba” in which the presentation of the information can be written, oral, or visual (Waterman 2017). In the fall of 2017, the photography class undertook a project where they attended a traditional dance and photograph it. This assignment provided the students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, with the opportunity to experience and better understand the ceremonies and ways of knowing. It allowed the students to connect the land and histories with the coursework in photography.

The grade 11 history course is another course that has taken strides to incorporate Indigenous perspectives. *Shaping Canada: Our History from Our Beginnings to the Present*, the provincially mandated textbook has undergone significant changes from the previous textbook used, *Our Canada*. Numerous **emendations** have been made. *Shaping Canada*, published in 2011, was written by Manitoban authors in consultation with educational advisors, historians, and elders from across the province. Topics range from the First Peoples and their way of life, to settlement and colonization, Confederation, and the challenges and achievements of the country. Included are also the issues of residential schools, reconciliation, and decolonization. The Indigenous perspectives in this textbook are not reduced to a single chapter, but are included throughout each area of study. One of the most notable **emendations** is the language used when referring to Indigenous peoples. Instead of using the colonial names given to certain language groups or areas, the textbook uses that traditional names used by the Indigenous peoples. For example, “Anishinaabe” is used instead of the colonial term “Ojibwe” or “Cree” (Connor, Hull, and Wyatt-Anderson 2011). Furthermore,



Figure 6: Photograph taken by ECI student of traditional dancer

the textbook acknowledges the importance of traditional oral histories and stories, incorporates teachings of the Medicine Wheel, and discussed the archaeological evidence for and against the Land Bridge Theory. Along with the improvements to the textbook, the History class is also incorporating Indigenous perspectives by undertaking an oral history project to document the history of families in the Rolling River First Nation community. This project allows students to experience the power of oral histories and gain knowledge from lived experiences. ECI has made enormous progress in the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge into their curricula but it is important to maintain a balance between cultures so that one is not privileged over another. This is evidenced by the school having the highest aboriginal graduation rates in the province, the highest pass rate on the English Provincial Exam, and a noticeable reduction in the gaps of reading levels (Lee 2017). The division, the school, and the educators and staff, have done an excellent job at maintaining that balance and continue to improve upon their curricula in a holistic way that will equally benefit all of the students.

Educational anthropology has a strong colonial background from the colonial schools that anthropologists have developed curricula for, to the study of residential schools in Canada, but an attempt has continuously been made to move toward decolonization. The development of the sub-field saw conferences held that encouraged localization of education, the incorporation of Indigenous knowledges, and a departure from enforcing Western ideals of education. Current trends in educational anthropology and curriculum development are seeing an increase in attempts to decolonize both anthropology and education through the infusion of Indigenous perspectives and land-based learning. Rolling River School Division and Erickson Collegiate are excellent examples of how these new ideals can be successfully implemented to improve the education and lives of all students in a **holistic** manner. The cooperation between anthropologists and educators in the study of education is a necessity to decolonize Canadian anthropology and education.

Conclusions

Cody- Colonialism today is still an issue that affects us. This is why discussions are needed to be made on how we can move forward out of this framework. Looking at the cultural appropriation that was done to fill museums without the consent of the indigenous communities is still a problem that is needing to be fixed, thankfully it is. Whether it is done by reforms to the code of ethics or by federal acts such as the NAGPRA it shows that we are moving away from the colonialism framework, even if it is slow. We cannot afford to revert back to the armchair anthropology that was practiced or ignore the colonial past that our country has endured. Discussions and acts are needed to continue and improve. For, once we start working together not only will we be preserving cultures, we will be making sure even our most colonial institutions - museums - are inclusive and better than they are now. This does not mean that there needs to be no more work in the area but means that we should always look to improve the system. The changes should come from all sides whether it is giving voices to the indigenous community or reforming the education system. The work to end colonialism in Canada is a process that is still being worked and will continue until we are able to equal incorporate the indigenous people fairly throughout the country. To keep in mind is that we do not have all the answers to grand theories that have been made in the past but what we do have is the knowledge from then to build a better future to make sure cultures and societies grow the way that is natural for them; even after colonialism.

Kevin -

Rachael - Our colonial history encouraged men of European descent to fill the positions of power in society, forming roadblocks for minority populations and, at times, denying them their rights all together. As society gradually shifts away from these trends, positions of power are created, settled, and utilized by individuals who formerly would never have had access to them. Alongside obvious institutions such as politics and business, this trend extends to education, cultural work, and anthropology. Underlying colonial issues are being exposed. Accessible media brings these issues to a far wider audience than there would have been a century ago. People are calling for change—both from within and from outside these institutions.

At the most base level, the primary and secondary education system inform the worldview of the next generation. An increasingly detailed and accurate portrayal of both colonial history and indigenous cultures prevents stereotyping or a misunderstanding of our country's history. Museums do much the same to a wider demographic, informing the cultural identity and historical understanding of Canadian citizens by highlighting rich indigenous cultural heritages. To achieve these changes, and in response to new demands, shifts in methodology

have taken place that encourage more nuanced and complete explorations of culture. Autoethnographies and collaborative methodology are two examples of new perspectives being incorporated into anthropological research. As methodology adjusts to our society's theoretical shift away from colonialism, more thorough research is conducted, and more people benefit.

Delaney - The emergence and beginnings of anthropology has been influenced by its past ties to colonialism and there has been a gradual shift to move away from these practices through postmodernism theories and the rejection of grand theories. Canadian anthropology especially has struggled with coming to terms with its own distinct identity and anthropologists have responded to colonial critiques by taking an active role in their research and creating participant observation and collaborative techniques with their subjects. Anthropologists have begun to become committed to improving the lives of others through their research and have become whistleblowers, specifically in Indigenous groups advocating on behalf. Material remains through archaeology and in museums were collected through colonization and efforts have been increasingly made in order to repatriate this loss of culture. Education remains one of the most essential ways to decolonize anthropology as newer sub-fields such as applied anthropology have emerged to combat these past colonial ties. Colonial anthropology was exclusive and with postmodernism techniques and through education it has become a more inclusive discipline. Techniques such as oral traditions, collaborative and auto-ethnography have introduced diversity in anthropological methods that decolonize the discipline. Decolonizing anthropology in Canada is also achieved through a balanced relationship between anthropologists and Indigenous groups through active participation. Minority groups the subject of fieldwork are now given the power to dictate who conducts research in the communities and how it will and should benefit the participants positively.

Nelly - New tools are being produced within anthropology to work in decolonizing the discipline. One of the methodologies is autoethnography, which uses an introspective approach to its work. Instead of only playing the role of the observer, one now fuses both etic and emic perspectives to understand all the sentiments – those who are being observed and the observer. Collaborative anthropology employs a similar approach where it allows for all voices to be heard with no censorship. Archaeologists in particular are making great strides in improving their fieldwork methods from past practices. Instead of taking on the role as the expert in ancient materials, they are now applying collaborative approaches to include the Indigenous populations within their work. This inclusion of the Indigenous perspective reinforces the shift away from its colonial past. Finally, the access to our past through education is crucial in understanding ourselves as individuals and within a community. By incorporating Indigenous practices and perspectives into the present curriculum, we are able to set aside past differences and come together in sharing cultural differences through a safe and nurturing environment.

Breanna - The effects of the colonial history of our nation are still greatly felt today in many aspects of society and the discipline of anthropology has played a major role in colonization but also has the opportunity to be a part of the decolonization process. Because of

anthropology's colonial background, it is vital that the discipline work toward decolonization both in methods, theories, and applications. Despite criticisms for being unscientific, autoethnography has proven to be a useful method for decolonizing the field for its ability to present a point of view that is removed from direct colonial influence and is the product of an authentic voice. Repatriation of artifacts and a shift in archaeological practices must also take place in order for anthropology to work toward decolonizing the discipline. Museum's play an important role in the education of the public and the youth, therefore decolonization through proper display and storage of artifacts as well as the histories that are presented, are necessary. Through collaborative anthropology, many voices are able to be represented and a more thorough understanding and presentation of cultures can be attained. Collaboration is also important between anthropologists and educators in decolonizing education. Working together, curricula can be developed that allow for the infusion of Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing, and accurate renditions of Canadian history that tell the histories of all peoples, having a positive impact on all students. By acknowledging the colonial past of anthropology in Canada and changing the discourse, the discipline can work toward decolonization and allow for all voices to be represented.

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