WHAT HAPPENS WHEN COMMUNITIES ARE IN CHARGE OF THEIR OWN CULTURAL TOURISM VENTURES?

Rachel Giraudo completes survey of San-run cultural tourism projects in South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana.
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5 SAN CULTURAL TOURISM Rachel Giraudo takes us inside her work surveying Sanur cultural tourism initiatives in South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana.

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LIFE AFTER IPINCH?

With seven years of funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada, the IPinCH project has always had — at least in its formal incarnation — a limited lifespan. We are now halfway through our final year, and the end of the project is in sight. Although we have been granted a one-year extension by SSHRC, this is a wrap-up year only, to give us time to tie up any loose ends. At this stage, our thoughts have turned to assessing the project. What have we done well? What didn’t work so well? What are the lessons we’ve learned along the way? And, especially, how can we make a difference?

We have also been wondering whether IPinCH will continue on in any fashion. What will life be like after IPinCH? What elements of IPinCH should we keep? Will there be a sequel? As IPinCH? If not, what will be IPinCH’s legacy? These are important questions that we’ve been thinking about. The key IPinCH objective has been to nurture and inspire students and emerging scholars, particularly the next generation of community-based researchers, as well as heritage and museum professionals. IPinCH has provided over 15 students with fellowships to help them complete their graduate studies.

During IPinCH’s lifespan, many of these students, as well as our emerging scholar associates, have transitioned successfully into careers in academia, museums, or consulting. To highlight just a few... In November 2010, Kate Hennessy (IPinCH Associate and member of the A Case of Access CBBI team) completed her doctoral research and joined the Simon Fraser University faculty as an Assistant Professor in the School of Interactive Arts and Technology. In 2014, Sola Roth (past IPinCH Fellow and Working Group co-chair) completed her Ph.D. at the University of British Columbia and joined a private consulting firm in Montreal as their in-house anthropologist. And this year, Sarah Carr-Locke (past IPinCH Fellow and Steering Committee Student Representative) relocated to Yellowknife to take up a position as the Assistant Director of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (IPinCH partner). These are just a few examples of IPinCHers who, after completing their studies, have taken on new roles where their experiences with IPinCH will inform their work. One way that IPinCH will live on is through the future work of the students and emerging scholars affiliated with the project.

Over the past seven years, the IPinCH “family” has grown considerably. We currently clock in at nearly 140 members, including the core research team, advisors, associates, fellows and staff. In addition to this are the many individuals involved in IPinCH through our partnering organizations and our community-based initiatives. The project has acted as a hub or network through which IPinCHers can connect and collaborate, creating new partnerships and initiatives that will live on beyond IPinCH. It is IPinCHers who bring IPinCH to life. In that sense, the project will live on in spirit as long as the issues continue to be relevant, and those involved consider these topics worthy of their time and energy.

Over the past few months, we’ve also considered how IPinCH will live on after the official project end. For one thing, we’re working with a team of librarians and digital archivists at Simon Fraser University to transition the IPinCH database, the Knowledge Base, into a new, secure and sustainable format. SFU has pledged its support for maintaining this archive of materials (more on this soon!). In addition, we hope that we will be able to keep the website online indefinitely to serve as the repository for IPinCH’s many great public resources (see resource glossary on page 14 for examples of our materials).

At our 2011 Midterm Conference, Anishnabé Elder Sydney Martin spoke of the IPinCH project as being alive and of having its own spirit. Our own sense of the project is similar — of a constantly growing and changing creature, full of potential, rich in experience and its own spirit. Our own sense of the project is one of the project will live on in spirit as long as the issues continue to be relevant, and those involved consider these topics worthy of their time and energy.

We very much want to hear from all those in our wider community about what they view as the highs and lows of the project, how IPinCH— or aspects of it— should continue, and, if so, in what form. Brian Egan is the IPinCH Project Manager. Kristen Dobbin is the IPinCH Communication Specialist. George Nicholas is the IPinCH Project Director.
A CASE OF ACCESS

Natalasha Lyons: "The collection has really brought those memories to the forefront, and I think that’s made this truly a living history project."

NEW REPORT TAKES ON HISTORICAL TREATIES

Vancouver Island Treaties (also known as the Douglas Treaties; 1850-1854); the Stone Fort Treaty (Treaty 1); Treaty 4; Treaty 6; and Treaty 11.

Asch argues that there was a sense of mutual respect in the development of these historical treaties, and that the goal was not to "take things away from people. It was to work with them, for the betterment of all of us."

The report also highlights a narrative that is often forgotten: that of the settlers who attempted to make fair deals with First Nations. Understanding this side of history is important, Asch says, because "unless you have a sense of history, and [you] can say 'here’s who I am and here’s how I understand things', then you’re not a reliable ally."

Visit the IPinCH website to read the full report and to hear a podcast interview with Michael Asch. Alexa Walker is an M.A. Candidate in the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University and the Research Assistant for the IPinCH Bioarchaeology WG.

To listen to the full podcast, visit http://bit.ly/1g7CFly.
San are extremely marginalized throughout the region. Widely considered primitive, docile, and/or racially distinct, the San are seen by many non-San as possessing a culture that is on display. When communities are in charge of their own cultural tourism ventures, they have more control over what they choose to share with visitors about their cultural heritage. They still cater to tourists’ romanticized expectations, but some also seek to educate visitors about their history and current situation. These tourism encounters provide the San with a voice to the global community.

Cultural tourism involves the marketing and sale of cultural commodities, including people’s identity. My survey revealed important differences between San-based cultural tourism projects owned and run by the San and those owned and run by non-San peoples (primarily whites). Cultural tourism involves the marketing and sale of cultural commodities, including people’s identity. When outsiders are in charge of managing these markets, they can dictate what will be commodified. Non-San tourism operators often peddle a fantasy about the San as primitive, docile, and/or racially distinct from other Africans. They also see most of the tourism profit, and the San participating in these projects can become exploited laborers. However, when San manage their own tourism ventures, they have more control over what they choose to share with visitors about their cultural heritage.

San dance groups from across southern Africa travel to the Dqêe Qare San Lodge in Botswana to attend the Kuru San Dance Festival, which is held during the first full moon in August (photo: R.F. Giraudo).

Rachel learning to shoot a bow and arrow as part of the scheduled activities at the Living Hunter’s Museum of the Ju/’Hoansi San (photo courtesy: R.F. Giraudo).

San Cultural Tourism in Southern Africa

Rachel F. Giraudo

Does cultural tourism always exploit those whose culture is on display? What happens when communities are in charge of their own cultural tourism ventures? These questions propelled my recently completed survey of San-run cultural tourism projects in South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana, supported, in part, by an IPinCH fellowship. The San encompass members of many ethnic groups who speak click-consonant languages of the Khoisan linguistic family and who traditionally relied on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Widely considered the Indigenous peoples of southern Africa, the San are extremely marginalized throughout the region.
Edited excerpt from a discussion between Julie Woods (JW) and Bonnie Newsom (BN).

Bonnie Newsom is a member of the Penobscot Nation and President of Nutaket, a Native American-owned and operated small business that blends archaeology and heritage preservation consulting with Native American art and jewelry design. Bonnie holds a B.A. in Anthropology and an M.Sc. in Quaternary and heritage preservation consulting with Native American art and jewelry design. She also has a Ph.D. in Anthropology. She is a member of the Penobscot Nation and is a Trustee for the University of Maine System. Bonnie previously served for ten years as Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Penobscot Nation.

Bonnie led the Penobscot Nation IP Working Group team in the IPinCH-supported project, Culturally Sensitive Intellectual Properties of the Penobscot Nation, which has now published its final report. The project developed tribal protocols, tools, and organizational structures to address IP issues related to archaeology and heritage-based places.

JW: How did you get involved with archaeology and heritage preservation?

BN: When I was an undergrad I started off as a social work major because I wanted to do something service-oriented, but I soon realized it wasn’t a good fit for me. I just didn’t see myself doing social work and I took an intro Anthropology course with Cynthia Koppliy Mahmoud. She was doing work among the 500s. We got to know each other [and] she said “You could do a lot of good for people in your community if you pursued a career in anthropology, gave the community a voice in the field.” So that’s kind of how I came into it. I definitely came into the discipline to give marginalized people a voice. There were no Indigenous archaeologists in Maine at all. A few folks had participated in Field School and there were some in the Anthropology Program but nobody from the Maine tribes was doing archaeology professionally at the time. It was about 1993, maybe 1994. I’m pleased to say that we have a number of Native people who are going down that path. At the time I think Native students were looking more towards ways to help the community in areas of education, health, business. I don’t think people in general often make the connection that public service can happen through archaeology and anthropology as well. So that’s how I came into the profession and that’s what drives my work. For me, I’m most proud of building a program at Penobscot Nation and being able to pass it on to another Penobscot who has come up through the ranks. I would consider making the discipline more visible in the community as one of my legacies, but also point out to others in the discipline that we as Indigenous people are wholly capable of doing this ourselves. So I’m hoping that’s what I leave behind.

JW: How did you get involved in the IPinCH project?

BN: I had a problem while I was serving as Penobscot Tribal Historic Preservation Officer with information management and information sharing particularly around Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Through my connections at UMass, mainly you and Martin (Dr. H. Martin Webet), we collectively came up with a proposal to address some of those concerns. It was very timely because the issues were real and visible at the time and our cultural department was also initiating a process to address community-based research as well.

BN: I think intellectually we are and we are all still committed. However, since the IP project has wrapped up it’s been challenging to keep up the momentum. I hope it will continue. It comes down to the issues of sustainability and the community’s ability to continue with this work when we have so many other things that we are trying to accomplish. Communities need people who can devote the time to champion these kinds of efforts. I just don’t know how best to make them permanent fixtures within communities without some resources to support the work. The life cycle of grant-supported work is fragile and that’s a real problem communities face across the needs spectrum. Understanding how some communities have sustained IPinCH-supported projects once the funding has been exhausted would be good work for IPinCH to think about and share with all CBI teams.

JW: Can you tell me a little about the other people that were part of the Penobscot IP Working Group? Did their concerns stem from being members of the community or from their roles within the community in natural resources or other areas?

BN: I think it was a combination of the two. I think everybody in the group cares deeply that things are not misappropriated. I think that’s just personal on everybody’s part and that’s what I believe motivated most folks to participate and continue on. I know there are some professional interests in IT, natural resources, etc. There is no doubt in my mind that if I need to reconvene the group for whatever reason, they would be there. They believe strongly in protecting our culture. I know that. So there’s... Continued on page 14....
NEW IPinCH PEOPLE

Fanya Becks, Associate
Fanya is a Ph.D. Student in the Department of Anthropology at Stanford University. She has been working closely with the Musqueam Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area. Within her research she is interested in conceptions of landscape, individual and collective memory, tribal intellectual property issues and persisting practices related to human, plant, and landscape interactions.

Malcolm Connelly, Associate
Malcolm is an Australian archaeologist who brings to IPinCH 14 years of cultural heritage experience and a lifetime of exposure to Australian Indigenous community issues. His interests include cultural heritage management in a developing world, and zone archaeology and Indigenous knowledge retention and revival. Malcolm has applied these interests in cultural heritage positions in the Northern Territory and Queensland.

Gordon Bronitsky, Associate
Gordon is trained as an anthropologist (Ph.D., University of Arizona, 1977). For the last eighteen years, he has been founder/president of Bronitsky Associates. He works with groups and artists around the world who want to preserve, promote and develop their culture and heritage and voices on their own terms.

Thomas Burelli, Associate
Thomas is a Ph.D. student at the University of Ottawa, Faculty of Law. His research interests are at the intersection of cultural property, traditional knowledge, biotechnology, biodiversity, intellectual property ethics, and decolonization. In his thesis, he will analyze non-governmental and non-legal instruments implemented in France and Canada to regulate the circulation of traditional knowledge associated with biodiversity.

Priya Chandrasekaran, Associate
Priya is a Doctoral Candidate in Cultural Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, and an Instructor at Pratt Institute and Hunter College. Her National Science Foundation-supported dissertation research investigates how women farmers and rainfed grains in the north Indian leading edge are situated in regional, national, and transnational circuits of political economy, food production, and rural activism.

Carol Elick, Associate
Carol holds a B.A. in anthropology from The Evergreen State College, Ocean Shores, WA, in education, with a specialization in curriculum and instruction, from Chapman University (1992). As Director of Archaeological and Cultural Education Consultants, Carol is involved in regional, national, and transnational circuits of political economy, food production, and rural activism.

Allison Fish, Associate
Allison is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of California, Davis, with the Innovating Communication in Scholarship program. She holds a J.D. from the University of Arizona and a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Irvine. Her principal interests are in the areas of cultural anthropology, socio-legal studies, and science and technology studies.

David R. Guilfoyle, Associate
David is an Archaeologist with Applied Archaeology Australia - Applied Archaeology International. He is focused on collaborative, integrated cultural heritage management that upholds customary protocols and supports local community’s goals and structures. He is interested in exploring the development of community archaeology as both a theoretical and methodological practice.

Joanne Hammond, Associate
Joanne is an archaeologist and anthropologist based in Vancouver, British Columbia. Her practice supports First Nations communities in reclaiming control over their heritage, territories, and economies, and strives to incorporate the ideals of social justice into resource sector work.

Sarah Lison, Associate
Sarah is an M.A. student in the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University, researching the dialogue generated between archaeologists and descendant communities in British Columbia. She is interested in navigating the corridor between archaeology as an objective endeavor, and research directed and informed by cultural protocol. Sarah has experience with CRM in San Francisco, and worked at the Center for Digital Archaeology at UC Berkeley.

Darren Modzelewski, Associate
Darren is currently completing his L.L.M. (Masters in law) degree in the Indigenous Peoples Law and Policy Program at the James E. Rogers College of Law. Before moving to Arizona, Darren earned his Ph.D. in anthropology and J.D. from the University of California, Berkeley and his B.A. in history and anthropology (with honors) from Brown University.

Jasmin Synes, Research Assistant
Jasmin is a B.A. student at Simon Fraser University’s Department of Archaeology. Jasmin has done archaeological fieldwork in the lower mainland and northwest coast of British Columbia, and her research interests include palaeodemography, palaeoecology, post-colonial studies, archaeology, Indigenous research, and cultural heritage ethics.

Emanuel Valentin, Associate
Emanuel is a social and cultural anthropologist. He graduated from the DCUSY Graduate Center in Berlin, and an M.A. degree in social and cultural anthropology, ethnology and religious studies from Eberhard Karls University Tübingen (Germany). Currently, he is a Ph.D. student in the Faculty of Education at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, Italy. He is the President of EVAIA (South Tyro Anthropological Association).

Erica Kowaz, Associate
Erica is an anthropologist and filmmaker, interested in cultural heritage, archaeological practice, the semantics of materiality, and the history and ethnography of North America. She is currently pursuing her Masters and Ph.D. in the Anthropology Department at UMass Amherst. Erica’s Masters thesis focuses on the contemporary heritage uses of two ancient pit house villages sites in British Columbia’s Sticcan Valley.

Tariq Zaman, Associate
Tariq is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Institute of Social Informatics and Technological Innovation at Universiti Malaysia Sarawak. Tariq has 12 years of experience as a development practitioner, teacher and researcher with marginalized groups in society such as Indigenous communities, women, and religious minorities.

For the full bios of our new team members, visit the IPinCH website: www.sfu.ca/ipinch
For the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, ezhibiigaadek asin is a sacred place, where over 100 petroglyphs convey teachings from their Anishinabe ancestors. The Michigan Archaeological Society (MAS) holds the deed to the land, and the site is managed by the State of Michigan’s Department of Natural Resources (DNR), who retain the keys to the locked 12-foot fence around ezhibiigaadek asin. Concerns around the management and protection of the site and its associated intellectual property prompted Shannon Martin, Director of the Zibiwiwng Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways, and Dr. Sonya Atalay, an Anishinabe-Ojibwe archaeologist then at Indiana University, to develop an IPinCH-supported project related to ezhibiigaadek asin. The initiative focuses on the development of a co-management strategy that will take into account the intellectual properties — the images, stories, lifeways, ceremonies, interpretations, research data, and so on — associated with ezhibiigaadek asin. Though the project officially began in early 2009, challenges related to funding transfers and ethics board approvals significantly slowed progress, especially after Sonya moved to the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, and new transfers and approvals were required. With these complications now behind them, the project has leapt forward over the last few months.

In June 2014, the project team, including Sonya, Shannon, Zibiwiwng’s curator William Johnson, newly-appointed Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, John Guevarete, and graduate student assistants (Saginaw Chippewa tribal member Frank Raslich, his wife Nicole Raslich and Stacy Tchorzynski), gathered with Elders and spiritual leaders at the Zibiwiwng Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways to revisit their earlier strategic plan, which mapped out their project goals and timelines. The two-day meeting was an opportunity to reassess their original strategy of community engagement and research, following the resolution of university bureaucratic challenges.

The project team is excited to report that a number of encouraging conversations have now taken place between the tribal community, MAS, and the DNR. The DNR has expressed their openness to working towards developing long-standing special permits to give the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe their own key to the locked ezhibiigaadek asin site, and several constructive meetings have taken place with MAS as well. Somewhat ironically, the delays in this project have worked in favor of its overall goals.

Stacy Tchorzynski, one of the graduate research assistants on this project, was also recently employed as an archaeologist with the State Historic Preservation Office and the Michigan Historical Center, a division of the DNR. In this role, she is charged with identifying, protecting and interpreting Michigan’s archaeological sites. Stacy’s Ph.D. dissertation (supervised by IPinCH team member Randy McGuire) explores the processes of sharing access to and engaging collaboratively with ezhibiigaadek asin site. The fact that Stacy is on the ezhibiigaadek asin project team and has extensive understanding of the importance of the site for the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, and is also employed by the DNR, is promising for the facilitation of future conversations. The project team is looking forward to seeing how their partnerships with DNR and MAS develop.

In September, the project team embarked on a road trip across the border to Canada. From September 15th-18th, Sonya, Shannon, their graduate research assistants, and a group of Elders and spiritual leaders travelled through southern Ontario. The first stop was a visit to Neal Ferris’ Sustainable Archaeology project facilities. Sustainable Archaeology is a collaborative initiative between the University of Western Ontario, in London, Ontario, and McMaster University, in Hamilton, Ontario, to advance a sustainable form of archaeological practice and research.

Next, the group travelled to Peterborough, Ontario, to Petrolyns Provincial Park. Here they met with members of the Curve Lake Anishinabe community, for whom the petroglyphs site is sacred, as well as delegates from the Province. The Peterborough petroglyphs site is co-managed by both parties, and the Province has established positive partnerships with the tribal community. The visitor centre and the interpretation of the rock carvings is managed by the Curve Lake First Nation.

The ezhibiigaadek asin project team is keen to learn from those with experience co-managing rock art sites. It has been difficult for the group to locate many such sites in North America, and this made the Peterborough Petroglyphs site at all the more significant. The project team previously worked with their elders to come up with a list of concerns and questions regarding how information about ezhibiigaadek asin should be shared, what information is appropriate to share, and what the protocols should be. The group then sat down with those co-managing the Peterborough site to see how they deal with these issues. The team also invited Michigan state archaeologists to come along for the trip.

On their return to Michigan, the group stopped for a visit to the ezhibiigaadek asin site. Another key element of this project is reinstituting traditional cultural practices associated with ezhibiigaadek asin, including fasting camps, rites of passage, and customs associated with the “little people” (gusgi) who inhabit this site. Sonya has committed to a four-day fast next spring, and there are plans to bring youth out to prepare a feasting bundle for the little people. In addition to reviving these important practices, the hope is that the state and landowners will increasingly acknowledge the significance of this site for the Saginaw Chippewa peoples.

There has also been a renewed commitment to involve youth in the project. Given that many tribal youth are interested in filmmaking, the project team has invited Pemii’ Pooti to spearhead a documentary project related to the ezhibiigaadek asin site. Some tribal youth have already participated in workshops and training with the Sundance Institute. Connecting youth with Elders involved in the project also facilitates the sharing of intergenerational knowledge, deemed crucially important to the future protection and management of ezhibiigaadek asin.

The project team is also developing a survey to be distributed to tribal members and Anishinabe people before the end of the year. This survey will ask broad questions about ezhibiigaadek asin, such as “what cultural information do you think is appropriate to share?” and “how do you think this site should be cared for?” The survey, which will be distributed online via SurveyMonkey and in paper format at local events, will provide valuable feedback about community and individual values and opinions. Sonya is also planning a roundtable forum at the upcoming Society for American Archaeology’s Annual Meeting, which will bring together scholars and community experts to discuss the challenges of working with state and federal bodies in the co-management of rock art sites. The hope is to connect representatives from the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, with those from the Nagu Nguits site in Australia, and the Curve Lake Community in Peterborough.

Keep a look out for more exciting developments to come related to the ezhibiigaadek asin project.

Kristen Dobbin is the IPinCH Communication Specialist.
Ngaut Ngaut Conservation Park, located on the River Murray in South Australia, is a significant place for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians alike. Intimately connected to Aboriginal culture and beliefs, it is the ancestral home of the Nganguraku people, and the central site for the “Black Duck Dreaming.” Traditional owners have used this area for generations, engraving the limestone walls of the rock shelter with ancient knowledge. The site also has particular archaeological significance as the first excavated rockshelter in Australia (1939), known to non-Indigenous people as Devon Downs. Ngaut Ngaut’s dual significance for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians led the late Richard Hunter, an Nganguraku cultural steward and former chairperson of the Mannum Aboriginal Community Association Inc. (MACAI), to consider the potential of the site for fostering cross-cultural dialogue and encouraging reconciliation, unity and respect between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. This inspired him to develop Ngaut Ngaut as a cultural tourism site.

Today, tours continue to be conducted by MACAI, managed by Richard’s daughter, Isobelle Campbell. As an organization dedicated to the care of the land and on South Australia’s Department of the Environment, Water and Natural Resources website, Julie Mitchell is a member of the Penobscot IP Working Group for UMass. As we approach the end of the IPinCH project, we’re keen to spread the word about the many resources that we offer. Below are examples of materials available online that may be useful to researchers and community members. For these materials and more, visit www.sfu.ca/ipinch and click on the Resources tab.

NOTES ON THE NGAUT NGAUT INTERPRETIVE PROJECT

Julie Mitchell

Photo from the Ngaut Ngaut Interpretive Guide (courtesy of MACAI).

As we approach the end of the IPinCH project, we’re keen to spread the word about the many resources that we offer. Below are examples of materials available online that may be useful to researchers and community members. For these materials and more, visit www.sfu.ca/ipinch and click on the Resources tab.

BONNIE NEWSOM CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

...definitely a strong desire on their part to protect our identity and culture and of course that’s going to intersect with their professional goals and responsibilities as well.

JW: I was just looking at the Project Summary and under “what lessons about good research practices emerged” there are a couple of points I’d like to talk about. The first, “never assume to know what it is like to be a Penobscot or an Indigenous person if you’re not a member of that community” comes up in a couple of places. The second is “researchers must respect the research community and have empathy for past indiscretions.” Could you give an example when these kinds of things come up today even with all of the knowledge out there about past indiscretions?

BN: One thing that comes to mind immediately is language. I think when an academic dedicates a career to an Indigenous language, there appears to be a tendency to jump on board as an authority. But often when they’re lacking is the cultural context. So what they are getting is words, but they’re not getting the cultural experience that goes along with those words. Sometimes people may infer what it’s like to be Penobscot because of words. You can’t do that. That’s what immediately comes to mind. I don’t want to single out UMass, though. I realize they understand the importance of language and context as do other social scientists. However as scholars we have to keep respectful of our knowledge. I also think that sometimes while researchers may be good intentioned, sometimes they assume something is better for the community when in reality it may not be. That’s a delicate one for researchers to watch. I liked our relationship with UMass. You and Martin were very supportive but not intrusive. And that was so refreshing, Julie. You didn’t make any claims to any of the research. You were there to offer assistance when we needed it. You all took a very hands-off approach. It allowed us to go through that process on our own, so I think people/researchers need to hear that.

JW: I got a lot out of it, so much. But I was feeling bad about how it was going and how the intentionality of the project seemed to change when we were negotiating the agreements with different institutions. The words kept changing and different lawyers got involved and it became an institutional power struggle.

BN: Yeah. There were many times that I wanted to throw in the towel and say “This isn’t worth it,” but I’m glad I didn’t. We did a great piece of work. I think everybody in the working group would agree that we did a great piece of work and it was worth it. Had you asked two months before signing on I probably would have said “No, it’s not worth it,” but sometimes perseverance pays off. I think that we did make some good changes, albeit small... we enlightened people and I think that’s important.

JW: You definitely enlightened me and others at IPinCH too, Bonnie. Thank you so much for taking the time to share your thoughts with me and the IPinCH community and thank you again to the Penobscot IP Working Group for all of their hard work, and giving Martin and I an opportunity to assist the community with this wonderful project.

Jule Woods is a member of the Penobscot Community-Based Initiative team, as well as a Ph.D. Student and Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts.
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