




FINAL REPORT

Education, Protection and Management of ezhibiigaadek asin (Sanilac Petroglyph Site)

March 12, 2016






EZHIBIIGAADEK ASIN
SANILAC PETROGLYPHS HISTORIC STATE PARK



WRITTEN ON STONE

Ezhibiigaadek asin represents the collective memory of the Great Lakes Anishinabek (Original People) ancestors. Throughout the Anishinabek aboriginal territory, certain areas were used for ceremony. These areas were sought out for their spiritual power and significance. Ceremonies and teachings were conducted at these sacred sites, and many ceremonies still exist today.

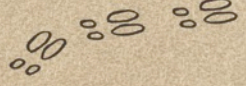

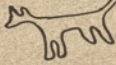
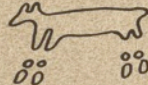
Petroglyph sites contain valuable lessons and lend a particular spiritual reference because they directly reflect upon Anishinabek oral history. Some *ezhibiigaadek asin* are said to contain very important information, such as Creation and Prophecy Stories. These stories are of particular importance because they have been handed down from one generation to the next.



Other symbols on *ezhibiigaadek asin* depict daily life and history, such as animal clans and celestial and/or seasonal events. The Anishinabek lived in small groups, usually by clan. Life was dictated by the seasons. These small groups hunted, fished and trapped wild game on the rivers, lakes and streams of the Great Lakes. The Anishinabek grew crops, harvested maple sugar and hunted the wild game that existed before European contact. Food and plant medicines were abundant and, in general, life was good.

Spirituality played an important role in Anishinabek life. The people lived by the spiritual context of the world that defined them. This world is illustrated in the petroglyphs. The Anishinabek universe and all that it entailed were carved in stone. Some of the same *ezhibiigaadek asin* imagery found here can also be seen within some sacred wigwas (birchbark) scrolls, reflected in earthworks (mounds) and seen in pictographs (rock paintings).

These carvings and their teachings are helping the 21st century Anishinabek understand their history, their present and their future.



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This research is part of a collaborative community-based participatory research project developed in partnership between the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan's Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways and the University of Massachusetts Amherst.



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Cover image: Revised Signage to be displayed at the Sanilac Petroglyphs Historic State Park at the location of *ezhibiigaadek asin*

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All participants and attendees of our 2015 Society for American Archaeology session "Caring for Knowledge on Stone: Rock Art Co-Management with Indigenous and Local Communities."

A Note about Culturally Sensitive Information

Certain portions of this report refer to, or mention cultural topics that are sensitive. In writing this report, we have made careful choices about what we feel is culturally appropriate to discuss and share. As such, we note the sensitivity of certain information/topics as they occur in the report without providing any further details.

Context for our Work at *Ezhibiigaadek Asin* (Sanilac Petroglyphs)

In what is today known as the State of Michigan, within the Aboriginal Land of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (SCIT) of Michigan, is a place of traditional teaching and learning for the Anishinabek—the Anishinabe people. For the Anishinabek, this place, located in the eastern thumb region of Michigan (Figure 1), holds importance as a traditional cultural property—Anishinabe people call it *ezhibiigaadek asin* (“writings on stone”). Archaeologists know this place as the Sanilac Petroglyph Site #20SL01.



Figure 1. Map of Michigan. *ezhibiigaadek asin* is indicated with a star and the Ziibiwing Center is indicated with a circle. The Ziibiwing Center is 90 miles west of *ezhibiigaadek asin*.

Prior to colonization, the Anishinabek had the ability to manage our sacred sites and landscapes as we saw fit. We were the sole keepers of knowledge about these places and the teachings they were created to hold. The responsibility that comes with holding this knowledge was securely in our hands, as we maintained sovereignty over the production and reproduction of knowledge about our past, and the way it was best preserved and shared for those in the future.

The concern for recording knowledge and preserving this knowledge for future generations is attested to in the teachings at *ezhibiigaadek asin*. One of the petroglyphs at the Sanilac site depicts a *shkabewis*, a spiritual helper or teacher. Oral traditions tell us that this *shkabewis* image, which resembles an archer with drawn bow and arrow,

(Figure 2), depicts our ancestors shooting knowledge into the future for later generations to benefit.



Figure 2. One of the petroglyph teachings at *ezhibiigaadek asin* depicting the *shkabewis*, a spiritual helper or teacher.

Such images were recorded on stone because our ancestors knew a time would come when our language, traditions, and practices would be threatened by colonization—carving knowledge on stone ensured permanence. Caring for this place and for the knowledge held there are both part of traditional knowledge stewardship practices.

Today, the Sanilac Petroglyph site is not under the control of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan—it is deeded to the State of Michigan and administered by the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR). However, the Ziibiwing Center, a museum and cultural center built by the Tribe to share its history with the rest of the world, has a positive working relationship with the DNR, and has been given permission to host regular ceremonies at the site that focus on multiple forms of cultural knowledge education and preservation. The Ziibiwing Center assisted in developing new signage for the site, and is also interested in producing further educational materials that share traditional knowledge about this place with visitors. The audience for these materials is a diverse one, including SCIT Tribal Members, Anishinabe people from the wider region, visitors to the region, and students of Anishinabe history and culture, as well as local residents in the area where the site is located. *ezhibiigaadek asin* strongly attracts both Native and non-Native Americans.

In our IPinCH community-based initiative—“Education, Protection and Management of *ezhibiigaadek asin* (Sanilac Petroglyphs)”—the central question guiding our work has been: what are the culturally relevant ways of providing educational information about *ezhibiigaadek asin* to diverse public audiences while protecting the knowledge and images from being co-opted and appropriated? This is an important question because we found there to be a desire on the part of many traditional Anishinabe culture keepers to share aspects of traditional cultural knowledge (when appropriate) with a wider public, yet there has been limited understanding and, at times, even complete disregard by some outside of Anishinabe communities for the cultural connections that Anishinabe peoples have with this and other sacred sites in the region. Finding culturally appropriate ways to share knowledge while at that same time ensuring it is protected from exploitation became central.

Project Development, Initial Goals, and Evolving Approach to the Work

In 2001 and 2002, under the directorship of Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Member, Bonnie Ekdahl, the Tribe’s Ziibiwing Cultural Society (which later grew to include the Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways) started actively prioritizing the care and protection of the *ezhibiigaadek asin* site. This was precipitated by a lack of state funding to provide overall management of the site, docents, and interpretation, and to keep the site open to the public. The preservation of *ezhibiigaadek asin* was also an important concern. In 2002, Ziibiwing hosted a four-day fire at *ezhibiigaadek asin* in an effort to reestablish the Anishinabek’s connection to that sacred site. At that time, Ziibiwing staff worked diligently to put files together and gather as much information as they could about the archaeological and anthropological work that had already been done on the site. In hosting the four-day fire, Ziibiwing wanted to properly acknowledge the grandfather stone at *ezhibiigaadek asin* in the way that was most culturally appropriate. For Anishinabe people, the stone that holds the petroglyphs is considered a relative, a grandfather. As an honored relative, there are cultural protocols and appropriate means of caring for and respecting both the stone and the place where he (it) resides.

At that same time the care of *ezhibiigaadek asin* was being prioritized, Ziibiwing’s permanent exhibit, “*Diba Jimooyung: Telling Our Story*,” was being planned. *Ezhibiigaadek asin* has a prominent place in the exhibit, at the opening to “Our Story.” This work required several site visits to *ezhibiigaadek asin*. As a team, the Ziibiwing staff agreed that they needed to restore their spiritual connection to the site. Ziibiwing planned a four-day fire for community members to come out and engage with the site. This included a feast, an offering of food to grandfather stone and to the land. There was also a sweat lodge ceremony. Fire keepers stayed at the site for four days and four nights.

Strengthening the community connection to this site was the primary goal. Soon after, Sonya Atalay, an Ojibwe-Anishinabe archaeologist and co-investigator on the IPinCH-funded initiative, approached Bonnie Ekdahl to discuss the idea of partnering on community-based research endeavors that were of interest to the Tribe and to the Ziibiwing Center. Bonnie immediately brought forward the *ezhibiigaadek asin* site and shared the importance of reconnecting with the site and how critical it was to prioritize culturally appropriate care and protection of the grandfather stone, the teachings it contains, and the surrounding cultural landscape. Sonya informed Bonnie about the IPinCH Project and asked Bonnie if Ziibiwing would be interested in becoming involved with IPinCH, with the eventual goal of co-developing a proposal for funding as an IPinCH community-based initiative.

After several rounds of grant proposal applications to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the IPinCH Project was funded in April 2008¹; the submission phase for community-based initiatives within IPinCH followed soon after. Just as the application process for IPinCH community-based initiatives was getting started, Bonnie Ekdahl stepped down from her leadership role at Ziibiwing and a new Director, Shannon Martin, took over. As many scholars who do community-engaged scholarship know, leadership changes can pose challenges for community–university research partnerships. Thankfully, this was not the case at Ziibiwing. As a member of the Ziibiwing staff prior to being hired as Director, Shannon Martin had been involved in the early planning discussions between Bonnie Ekdahl and Sonya Atalay. Shannon was in full support of applying for IPinCH funding to develop a community-based initiative focused on the protection and management of *ezhibiigaadek asin*. Shannon discussed the project with the staff and gained Tribal Council approval to move ahead with the grant proposal to IPinCH.

We share this history in this final report because we feel it demonstrates the way this project developed in a truly community-based fashion. The issues we examined as part of our IPinCH funded community-based initiative were not new to the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan or to its Ziibiwing Cultural Society. These were concerns that had developed over several years, as part of conversations and occurrences involving multiple groups, including: State authorities who manage the *ezhibiigaadek asin* site, the Michigan Archaeological Society (MAS)—an amateur archaeology organization that previously owned the land where the site is located—and Tribal Members who had an interest in using one of the petroglyphs images from the site in a new business venture.

Fortunately for everyone involved, the timing, research focus, and community-based methodological approach of the IPinCH project paralleled well with the emerging needs of the Anishinabe community in relation to the protection and management of this important traditional cultural property.

¹ Beginning in 2004, four proposals were developed and submitted to SSHRC's Major Collaborative Research Initiative program. The final proposal was successful.

Initial Research Questions and Objectives

Working together, the three of us—Shannon Martin, Director of the Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways; William Johnson, Ziibiwing’s Curator; and Sonya Atalay, an Ojibwe archaeologist and University of Massachusetts Amherst faculty member—developed a series of research objectives and a plan to carry out these objectives and submitted it to IPinCH requesting project funding. Our initial objectives were to: 1) develop and administer a community survey to assess the importance of and interest in the Sanilac site; 2) engage with Anishinabe spiritual leaders living in both the United States and Canada regarding appropriate knowledge to share and the relevant methods for doing so; 3) develop and put forth a proposal to the DNR for joint management of the Sanilac site; and 4) work collaboratively to create a culturally appropriate site management plan that includes funding projections for the long-term protection of the site.

Our proposal addressed three central IPinCH Themes and Working Group areas, specifically (1) commodification and appropriation of images and other traditional knowledge, (2) cultural heritage tourism and development, and protection and (3) collaborative management of traditional cultural properties. What we did not know at the time was that our project would also intersect in key ways with the IPinCH Research Ethics Working Group (as described below) and how fundamental these issues of ethics and research protocols and protections would be within our project.

Protection from Exploitation and Commodification

From the outset a key concern in this project has been how to best protect the petroglyphs engraved in the stone at *ezhibiigaadek asin* from appropriation and exploitation or misuse. This point of concern is not only directed at non-Native people who may visit the site, but also at Tribal Members and other Native communities. Visitors to this and other rock art sites have been known to draw, photograph, or even utilize the images they see at these sacred places for economic pursuits, such as on t-shirts and other merchandise.

As described in greater detail later in this report, the Ziibiwing Center was in the position of needing to provide cultural instruction to a Tribal business entity that planned to utilize the *shkabewis* (“spiritual helper” or “teacher”) image from the Sanilac site as the logo for a sporting goods store.² As further development of the site continues, bringing a greater number of visitors, the signage and other educational materials must address this issue. Our team hoped to bring some understanding about how we can best share knowledge about *ezhibiigaadek asin*, as we’ve been instructed to do so by our spiritual leaders, while at the same time ensuring that such information is appropriately protected.

² This is discussed further on p. 19.

Clearly this concern reflects topics of central importance for the overall IPinCH project, as issues of cultural appropriation and commodification crosscut many community-based initiatives and are the focus of several IPinCH working groups and other project initiatives.

Rehabilitating the Site through Re-etching

A key question we identified as a research team, and one we initially thought we would spend substantial time investigating as part of our case study work, is whether it would be appropriate to “rehabilitate” the site. We noted that there were a number of inscriptions on the stone from recent acts of vandalism and we were concerned that some of the initial carvings had begun to wear away.

We planned to use grant funding to engage with spiritual leaders to learn whether re-etching is culturally appropriate. We anticipated that this would be a controversial issue for archaeologists and perhaps also for the Michigan Archaeological Society (the land donors) and the State agencies charged with managing the site. Yet we felt it was crucial to ask: Would re-etching be a responsibility for present-day Anishinabek, as part of our role as stewards of this knowledge? Or does it go against our traditional teachings and appropriate cultural practices? If re-etching is appropriate and necessary, then we wanted to consider how we might best work with the DNR to facilitate this.

We thus anticipated that the bulk of our efforts on this project would need to focus in three areas: 1) understanding how to best keep the petroglyph images from being appropriated and misused; 2) gathering guidance from spiritual leaders and Tribal Members in relation to the issue of re-etching the petroglyphs; and 3) building relationships with the DNR in an effort to lay the ground work for developing a co-management plan. Our initial proposal focused on developing and administering a community survey to help us address Goals 1 and 2, coordinating a series of consultation meetings and interviews with spiritual leaders, and holding conversations with DNR personnel.

Need for Flexibility in Research Goals and Questions

As detailed in the sections below, we encountered several bureaucratic challenges that kept us from having a timely start to this work, which held up our progress significantly. As a result of these delays, when we were able to finally move forward with substantive aspects of our research in June 2014, we found that some of the terrain had changed; our initial questions and goals needed to be reworked, and our research priorities and activities shifted accordingly. While these setbacks were frustrating at the time, it turned out that the delayed start to our work allowed time for relationships between the Tribe, State agencies, and the original land owner of the site to improve, and significantly so (Goal 3, above).

Although our guiding questions and research design needed to shift somewhat over the course of this collaborative research project, we found that our central questions and areas of concern remained the same throughout: issues of protection from exploitation, the need for co-management of and access to the site, and the development of culturally appropriate approaches to education. Similarly, many of the final work products (e.g., conference reports/presentations) are the same as we anticipated, yet some have changed. As will be clear from the details below, flexibility in process and the ability to adjust and evolve with the project, allowing it to “breathe” a bit and guide us on the right path has been the *absolute key to success* and a positive outcome.

Challenges Encountered, Delayed Start

Unfortunately, we experienced several challenges that delayed our progress and kept us from making any substantial progress on this project until much later than we had anticipated. We detail these challenges here because we feel they shed light on important issues related to ethics review within universities and, ironically, the limitations and rigid restrictions that universities have in relation to how they view the intellectual property rights of Indigenous peoples.

Upon having our proposal accepted by the IPinCH steering committee, our first step was to undergo human subjects/ethics review. Our research design included holding meetings with Tribal Elders and spiritual leaders to gain their insights and advice and administering a survey to Tribal Members. It was required that the research undergo ethics review at both Simon Fraser University (SFU) and Indiana University (IU), where Co-Principal Investigator (PI) Sonya Atalay was, at the time, an Assistant Professor because the research involved what universities consider to be “human subjects.”

It should be noted here that, in contrast to the view of academic institutions, as Co-PIs on this project, we don’t view those who are engaged in this work with us (e.g., Elders, spiritual leaders, or Tribal Members) as “human subjects.” We see these individuals as *community partners* who are actively engaged in the research, not as resources or subjects from whom we intend to extract knowledge, information or “data.”

SFU and IU required that, prior to starting any research, our team develop a human subjects protocol and prepare the necessary documents for our proposed research to undergo review by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Indiana University and the Research Ethics Board (REB) at SFU. However, our research team felt it crucial that the project undergo Tribal review first, so that our first step was for Co-PI Shannon Martin to present the project to the Tribal Council of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan and receive approval to move forward.

After the research design was approved by IPinCH, Co-PI Sonya Atalay prepared the ethics review materials for both SFU and IU. This posed a major challenge because the IRB at Indiana University and the REB at Simon Fraser University had different expectations in terms of acceptable ways to develop the protocol and the types of

verbiage and approach that was acceptable to carry out the research we had proposed. In other words, we couldn't simply prepare one ethics protocol and submit it to both institutions; we needed to format our protocol very differently for each of the two universities. Furthermore, even in cases where the questions from the two Review Boards were similar, what was considered "acceptable practices" was different.

This process of reworking ethics protocols and moving documents through the IRB/REB process ultimately took several years. Eventually, we were able to find verbiage and a protocol process that was agreeable to both institutions. However, this took substantial time, effort, and something of an emotional toll. Our research team started to lose confidence that the process would ever be resolved; meanwhile, Elders and spiritual leaders on the project became frustrated about our delayed start. They had set aside time to work on this project and felt it was critical that we make progress in a timely manner.

Finally, in 2012, IU and SFU both gave ethics review clearance for the project to move ahead. Unfortunately, new challenges emerged when, in that same year, Co-PI Sonya Atalay accepted a new faculty position at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Because the current system of IRB process requires ethics reviews to be tied to a faculty member's institution, this meant that the project would need to go through yet another IRB review for UMass Amherst. Once Atalay was settled on campus, in summer 2012, she inquired about the IRB review process and what would be required. Fortunately, UMass Amherst agreed to accept the ethics review approvals from both SFU and IU, and only a modified, streamlined version of review would be required. This was wonderful news for our research team members, who were truly weary at this point.

The process of getting our project underway brought about yet another complication; one that proved to be insurmountable for the current way we'd configured the administration of our grant funds vis-a-vis IPinCH and UMass. While working through the complications of IRB review, our research team gave several conference presentations about the challenges we were encountering (see **Appendix A**). We also attended several IPinCH-sponsored meetings and conference sessions. Through these engagements with fellow IPinCH members, we learned of two complications faced by the Penobscot Nation as they worked to consider how to best administer funds for their IPinCH community-based initiative.³ The first related to intellectual property: if funds for the project went through UMass (from SFU to UMass administering the funds), then UMass would retain the rights to the intellectual property derived from the research.

³ See *Developing Policies and Protocols for the Culturally Sensitive Intellectual Properties of the Penobscot Nation of Maine*, by Bonnie Newsom et al. (2014). The report and other information on the Penobscot initiative available at: <http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/project-components/community-based-initiatives/developing-policies-and-protocols-culturally-sensitiv>

The second complication was that it was difficult to have grant funds directly administered by the Penobscot Nation, rather than by UMass.

In learning of these complications, our team became concerned about the loss of intellectual property rights over the data we would produce as part of this project. Co-PI Atalay immediately investigated the situation at UMass and found that, indeed, the university was not at all likely to give up intellectual property (IP) rights to the knowledge/data produced through our work. Our team found this unacceptable, and we chose to move forward as the Penobscot Nation had—we pushed to have the funds administered by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan through its Ziibiwing Center. This arrangement actually made the most sense since Ziibiwing already had a close working relationship with Tribal Elders and spiritual leaders with whom we would be working. It would be much easier to handle travel, reimbursements, honoraria payments, and other expenses if Ziibiwing administered the funds. Unfortunately, after a long period of negotiation between the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan and Simon Fraser University, it became clear that this arrangement was not possible for several reasons. Despite concerted effort, SFU and the Tribe could not come to an agreement that was acceptable to both entities concerning rights of intellectual property and process in the event of a breach of contract.

This was incredibly frustrating and disappointing, particularly since the legal fees incurred by the Tribe were quite substantial—more than the amount of the funds we were to receive for the grant. Our team was determined to conduct this research and knew that we would do so even without the IPinCH funding. However, IPinCH Director George Nicholas was very supportive and worked closely with our team to find an agreeable solution. Without a doubt, this project would not have been carried out as part of IPinCH without the care, attention, and overwhelming effort of Dr. Nicholas and Project Manager Brian Egan. Finally, in June 2014, after a series of multiple, complex delays and restructuring, we were able to officially begin our work on the *ezhibiigaadek asin* project.

Grant Activities

Participatory Planning – October 28, 2011

In October 2011, our team was at the end of the final round of ethics reviews through IU and SFU. We felt confident at that point that both institutions would quickly approve our ethics applications. We didn't yet have funds transferred to IU for the project, and, as it turned out, the grant would not be administered through IU because of Co-PI Atalay's move to UMass. Our team became concerned that it had been so many years since we first conceived of the project and wrote the grant proposal. We decided it was important for us to revisit the goals of our project and consider the best way to move forward once the ethics review was final. In October 2011, we held a participatory

strategic planning session at the Zibiwing Center in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan that included all three Co-PIs, as well as Elders, spiritual leaders, and Tribal Members.

The strategic planning session was facilitated by VisionMAKERS, an internal entity within the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan consisting of facilitators who have received extensive training in conducting strategic planning efforts in a participatory way. We spent two days together reviewing our research design and grant proposal (Figure 3) and worked collaboratively to develop a clear plan forward that would allow us to complete our project goals within about two years. The “IPinCH Strategic Plan: SCIT Conservation and Management of the Ezhibiigaadek Asin” is presented as Appendix B of this report. We felt this would provide us with adequate time to conduct the research and ensure sufficient time prior to the end of IPinCH funding to reflect on our work, share our progress within the Tribal community and with State agencies and other stakeholders, present our work at academic conferences, and write the final report.



Figure 3. Sydney Martin discussing project goals during the October 2011 strategic planning session held at the Zibiwing Center.

Working together to develop that strategic plan in a truly community-based and collaborative way was critically important to the success of this IPinCH-funded study.

Co-PI Shannon Martin recognized the importance of moving the project forward and making progress, if only through meeting together and planning as a team. This was a crucial step in helping us overcome the administrative setbacks and frustrations that we faced from the very start of our project.

One of the most helpful aspects of the strategic plan that we developed was that it provided our team with non-research tasks and goals that we could do to move our work forward. These included continued communication with Tribal Council, sharing our work with the Tribal newspaper *Tribal Observer*, encouraging each other and acknowledging our accomplishments, and identifying ways to increase engagement of Tribal youth with the site. It was also very important for us culturally to build spiritual engagement with the site into our plan—this is an important acknowledgement that spiritual practice is embedded within and not distinct from intellectual or research-related practices.

The strategic plan documented our long-term goals and vision for the site and reinforced our non-ending commitment to care for this sacred place. In essence, the strategic planning session reinforced that this work requires long-term effort that will not be complete at the end of this grant. We understand as Anishinabe people that we have an enduring responsibility to care for such places and to allow them to care for us. It's clear in the strategic plan that the research we set out to accomplish as part of IPinCH was only a very small part of what we envision and want for the site (Figure 4). IPinCH was the spark that got things moving, but we recognized that our work would progress with or without our involvement with the IPinCH project. In hindsight, the money, time, effort, and energy put in to moving the project forward through academic channels could have been much better spent by simply doing the research. While well intentioned, the university relationships had dramatically held up our efforts and put unnecessary barriers in the way of us conducting important and well-conceived research.

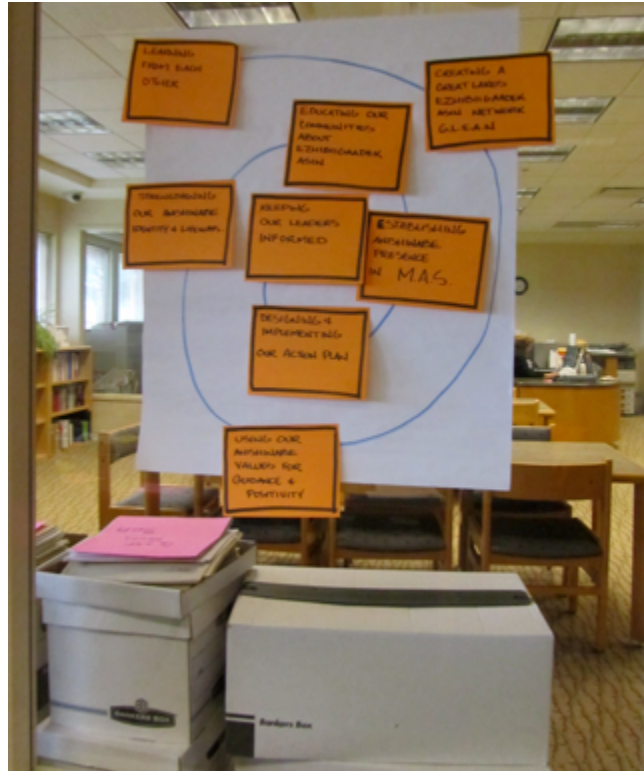


Figure 4. Organizing and labeling goals for our work during the October 2011 Strategic Planning session at the Zibiwing Center.

Meeting with Elders and Spiritual Leaders – June 23–24, 2014

After we worked out the administrative and financial issues of funding our project, we were able to begin research. When we first drafted the IPinCH proposal for this project, we identified two graduate students who would assist us with this research: Frank Raslich and his wife, Nicole Raslich. Frank is a Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Member. He and his wife are both Anthropology Ph.D. students studying archaeology at Michigan State University. At the Society for American Archaeology in Memphis in April 2012, Co-PIs Sonya Atalay and Shannon Martin met Stacy Tchorzynski. Stacy is a Ph.D. student at SUNY Binghamton who at that time had just been hired by the Michigan State Archaeologist's office. Stacy had heard about our work at *ezhibiigaadek asin* and was enthusiastic to learn more.

Over the two years that followed, Co-PIs Shannon Martin and William Johnson met with Stacy to discuss the site and our project goals. Stacy has been instrumental in helping to build and strengthen the relationships of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan and Zibiwing Staff with the State Archaeologist's Office, the Michigan Department of Natural Resources, and the Michigan Archaeological Society. As we began work on the project in June 2014, it was clear that Stacy would be an ideal research assistant. As a Ph.D. student she could lend her research skills to the project. Her insights, experience, and connections with the State Archaeologist and long-

standing relationships with those involved with Midwestern archaeology were both enormous assets. Stacy was already up to speed on our project, and so it was a smooth transition for her to join our research team. In her role as an employee of the State Archaeologist, Stacy had already worked with Co-PI Martin to author and present several presentations about the *ezhibiigaadek asin* project, so she was very well-versed in the research questions and what we hoped to accomplish with IPinCH funding.⁴

Our project team of three Co-PIs (Sonya, Shannon, and William) and three graduate research assistants (Frank Raslich, Nicole Raslich, and Stacy Tchorzynski), together with a group of Tribal Elders and spiritual leaders, met for two days in June 2014 to discuss the appropriate care and management of *ezhibiigaadek asin*. Using the strategic plan we'd developed in October 2011 as a starting point, we began to talk about key issues and points of concern with regard to the site.

Primary points of discussion focused on aspects of cultural appropriation that had already taken place at *ezhibiigaadek asin* and how we might protect the site—particularly petroglyphs on the stone—from being further appropriated and used inappropriately in the future. Shannon and William related to the group that a Tribal employee had inquired about using the *shkabewis* image from the *ezhibiigaadek asin* site (Figure 1) for the logo of the sporting goods store he was preparing to open. This issue had raised concern for Shannon and William because the petroglyphs at the site are spiritual in nature, and it is inappropriate to use them in a commercial way. In particular, the *shkabewis* image depicts a spiritual message and does not relate to hunting or sport.

This prompted the group to discuss the importance of education, not only for visitors and non-Native or non-Anishinabe people, but education among Tribal Members. The group looked closely at approaches to education and ways of protecting the site from further appropriation. One key point was how we might consider restricting photography at the site in order to lessen the chances of someone misusing the images. Of course, images already exist of the petroglyphs online and in archival records held by the State Archaeologist's office and the Cranbrook Institute of Science, to name a few—how could we control or limit the use of those images? Our group discussed this in detail. A quick Google search turned up several images of *ezhibiigaadek asin* online, most notably photos of the *shkabewis* petroglyph.

One image in particular caught the attention of our team. We noticed that the Michigan Archaeological Society not only had an image of the *shkabewis* posted on their website but that the image was copyrighted. This created great concern for us as we wanted to know if copyrighting the photograph meant that MAS had, in fact, copyrighted the *shkabewis* image itself. Our group also learned that a group of archaeologists had inappropriately used the *shkabewis* image on the program material for their conference. At the 2012 Midwest Archaeological Conference, held in Lansing, Michigan, an image of

⁴ Stacy soon after became an Associate member of IPinCH.

the *shkabewis* appeared not only on the meeting program cover, but also on a bag and water bottle given to each conference participant.

Elders, spiritual leaders, Tribal Council Members, and Tribal Members who were present at our June meeting all voiced concern over the inappropriate use of this image. We also determined that we needed to look to other Tribal Nations who have faced similar issues and consult them to learn how they handled the problem. We therefore began planning a trip to Peterborough, Ontario for our group to meet with Curve Lake First Nation Members who care for petroglyphs there. We felt that this would give our group insights into concerns over appropriation of images and inappropriate treatment and use of sacred places, and that we might also gain insights into co-management strategies and how to best develop such a plan with State agencies.

Prioritizing Work to Reconnect Youth to the Site through Ceremonies

Another key point that emerged from this group meeting was the critical importance of connecting Youth to *ezhibiigaadek asin*. Elders and spiritual leaders told us that we needed to prioritize work that would connect Youth to the site as part of our grant. This included acts such as holding fasting camps at the site and ensuring that Little People bundles and spiritual ceremonies occurred at least twice annually. Little People hold an important place within Anishinabe cultural teachings, and due to the sensitive nature of the information related to them, we have chosen to limit the information shared about them in this report.

As a result of the guidance we received at this meeting, the Ziibiwing team focused energy on putting together a spring and fall Little People bundle and a spring fasting camp for Native youth. On November 14, 2014, Ziibiwing brought together Tribal Youth and adults to place a Little People bundle at the site. Preparation of the bundle occurred over several weeks and a group traveled to the site to place the bundle and conduct the needed ceremony for the Little People. Plans are underway to have this take place regularly at the site, each spring and fall. This marks an important step forward toward encouraging Youth to re-engage and strengthen their connections to this place.

Forming a Central Michigan Chapter of the Michigan Archaeological Society

During our strategic planning session in June 2014, the idea of engaging more directly with the Michigan Archaeological Society (MAS) was a major point of discussion. The importance of relationship building in this project cannot be overstated. This includes developing stronger ties with State agencies that are currently involved in the care of *ezhibiigaadek asin*, as well as improving our relationship and lines of regular communication with MAS. The discussion of how to improve relations with MAS continued at this gathering. Although the State of Michigan holds the deed to the land where the site is located, MAS deeded the land to them with the restriction that the site be protected and preserved. As Anishinabek, we have cultural understandings about what it means to protect and preserve *ezhibiigaadek asin*. Unfortunately, some

members of MAS hold views about protection and preservation that conflict with Tribal understandings.

We determined that the best way to do this was to start a central Michigan chapter of MAS. Our research team took action on this and began researching the steps needed. We found that the process is straightforward and requires us to draft and submit by-laws along with the proposal for a new chapter. Progress is ongoing in this area, and we anticipate having a new MAS chapter before the end of 2016.

Opportunities for Cultural Education: Summer Solstice Gatherings

At every meeting and in all discussions about *ezhibiigaadek asin* the need for ongoing and increased engagement with *ezhibiigaadek asin* is discussed. A review of the strategic plan makes that clear, and that same sentiment resounded throughout this group meeting. Summer solstice gatherings at the site were a focal point, and we talked at length about how we might use those gatherings as opportunities for education to Tribal Members, Youth, and non-Native visitors as well. Some of the ideas we explored include:

- News articles in Tribal newspaper
- Presentations to Tribal Council
- Inviting Tribal Youth to develop short films about the site
- Developing a glossary of Anishinabe terms related to the site and its teachings
- Work with site docents to share culturally appropriate information they can share during tours
- Educational teachings during summer solstice gatherings

To this end, Ziibwing staff organized and held educational teachings at *ezhibiigaadek asin* on the summer solstice in 2014 and 2015.

Review of State Docent Training Materials

While the setbacks that delayed our work for so many years were frustrating, they also had positive aspects. One major unanticipated benefit of the delay was that it allowed time for the relationships of the Tribe with the State agencies that manage *ezhibiigaadek asin* and with MAS to develop in very positive ways. As a result, there are now strong and productive collaborations taking place between these groups. This has allowed the Tribe to have substantive and meaningful input in multiple state-funded projects related to *ezhibiigaadek asin*. One example relates to the training manual used by DNR to train docents who give tours at the site. As a result of our conversations and the work the Tribe has done in partnership with DNR, Ziibwing is now in the process of reviewing the docent training materials and providing DNR with comments and suggestions for how the materials might best be revised and updated with regards to the information and interpretation of the site that docents share with the public during site visits.

Signage at ezhibiigaadek asin

The question of who gets to tell the story of *ezhibiigaadek asin* and how to explain this in a culturally appropriate way to visitors was a key concern in our initial grant proposal. This theme was always front and center at both the strategic planning session held by our Co-PIs in 2011 and at the June 2014 meeting of Elders and spiritual leaders. One of the most critical and immediate ways to address this point was for Ziibiwing to consider the educational signage that is present at the site. As we were laying the groundwork for this project, and again when our IPinCH work finally started in full force, the issue of site signage was raised.

Fortunately, the relationship of the Tribe with the DNR and the State Archaeologist was such that two of our Co-PIs (Shannon and William) were able to have direct input on the collaborative process of re-designing the signage at the site, and new collaboratively developed signage was installed at the site in spring 2016. This marks a critical step forward in terms of having Anishinabe understandings of the site not only centrally present at the site, but also presented in respectful and sensitive ways. Collaborative outcomes such as this are a key highlight of this IPinCH project. At the start of this work, none of us involved in this initiative could have anticipated the very positive progress made in this area. Our work at *ezhibiigaadek asin* shows so clearly that relationships are central in doing the work of caring for and managing sacred places and traditional cultural properties. Once collaborative relationships were established and allowed to grow, we have found that the care of sacred places improves too.

Research on Appropriate Care and Preservation

A key point of departure at the outset of our work on this project relates to the question of what constitutes “preservation” and what are the appropriate methods of “care” at *ezhibiigaadek asin*. When the four-day fire in 2002 (mentioned above) took place, it marked the start of an annual cycle of cleansing at *ezhibiigaadek asin*. Elders came forward at that time and explained that the four-day fire should not be a one-time cultural spiritual event. They informed the group that such spiritual and physical care for the site needed to continue. It was critical to continue honoring the site and to have a spiritual presence there every year.

One Elder woman came forward and expressed to other women attending the event that the stone needed to be cleansed to care for and protect the place. She instructed that water needed to be used to give the grandfather (stone) a drink, something it had not been given since the covering was placed over the site in 1981. Such actions are important because they allow us to re-establish our connection to this place and let the spirit of the stone know that Anishinabe are here again. These activities allow our blood memories to connect again to *ezhibiigaadek asin*. Indeed, this teaching from Elders was the catalyst for cedar bathing that took place at the site. Since then, every year it has been important to reconnect and spiritually open the teachings on the stone so that our blood memories could hear and see them again.

Over the years, this process has changed because of restrictions from MAS and DNR. They became concerned about the amount of contact with *ezhibiigaadek asin*, and the use of water and cedar brooms at annual solstice cleansings. Once those concerns were voiced, Ziibiwing reduced contact with *ezhibiigaadek asin*. It has since been limited to a few people walking barefoot on *ezhibiigaadek asin*, wiping off bird dung and bat droppings⁵, and cleaning the stone with cedar water.

The question of how to address this difference in approach to care was raised at our June gathering, where our research team posed these questions to Elders and spiritual leaders. This discussion led to a larger inquiry: How quickly is the stone eroding? Are the petroglyphs in danger of being lost? What can we do (or should we do) about the erosion? How might we best preserve the petroglyphs? This discussion provided our research team with some guidance on where to focus research time and effort. Our graduate student researchers investigated multiple methods of preserving rock art and examined possibilities for using LiDAR (a remote sensing method for mapping) and various forms of photography to create a digital archive of the petroglyphs. The results of this work were presented and discussed with the group during follow-up meetings.

We hoped to have guidance from this project on whether or not technological approaches could tell us whether these petroglyphs had been previously re-etched in the past. This brought our group back to a recurring conversation that has been present from the earliest formations and start of this project: Should we engage in re-etching these petroglyphs as a means of preserving them and passing on the knowledge they carry? Due to the sensitive nature of the topic of re-etching, we have chosen not to report the details of this conversation. What we are willing to share is that these conversations were incredibly fruitful and provided our team with guidance on what is culturally and spiritually appropriate at *ezhibiigaadek asin*.

Our conversations during this June 2014 gathering brought into clear view how important it is to have comparative ideas to consider and draw upon. Spiritual leaders and Elders wanted to know how other rock art sites, sacred sites more generally, cultural landscapes of all sorts, and traditional cultural properties were being cared for by other Indigenous peoples. How were other communities facing the challenges of co-management? Had they entered into Memoranda of Understandings or Memoranda of Agreements with State agencies and/or landowners? Had they insisted on their own cultural protocols of care, even in situations where those conflicted dramatically with archaeological notions of care? In such cases, how did Indigenous communities navigate those difficulties? After all, aren't these clear challenges to Tribal sovereignty?

To address these questions, our research team divided up aspects of this research and began looking for comparative cases. We collected publications and grey literature on the topic, creating a small knowledge base of sorts via Dropbox, an online data storage

⁵ Birds and bats roost in the rafters of the shelter built by the Michigan DNR over *ezhibiigaadek asin*.

system. This research continued over the course of the next six months, while our team met regularly via conference call to share what we'd found and update each other on our progress. We made use of a shared Dropbox where we placed articles and links to online materials, and we used a shared task list to keep each other up to date on our work efforts and progress. One of the next steps for our research beyond IPinCH will be to provide a community report in which we share the results of this work. There is still much to be done on this front. Our IPinCH-funded work at *ezhibiigaadek asin* was a catalyst for this effort, but the work has much wider implications and uses. We therefore need to think carefully about how to best report on and share the information.⁶

As is clear from the above summary, our June 2014 meeting with Elders and spiritual leaders was incredibly productive and provided us with clear directions to focus our research efforts. It was evident that the most critical next step was to plan and carry out a trip to Peterborough, Ontario (Canada) to meet with another Anishinabe community, the Curve Lake First Nation, and learn from their experiences protecting and co-managing the petroglyph site in their territory.

As our work progressed on the IPinCH initiative, we found it incredibly valuable to be in conversation with Dr. Amy Roberts (Flinders University) and Isobelle Campbell (Mannum Aboriginal Community Association Inc.), who are Co-PIs on the IPinCH-sponsored Ngaut Ngaut case study in South Australia.⁷ Through regular conversations with Amy and Isobelle, we realized that we had a tremendous amount to learn from talking with other Indigenous communities involved in the care and management of their sacred sites and traditional cultural properties, particularly those facing similar challenges with rock art. This emerged quite clearly during our strategic planning as well. So it was really no surprise that our meeting with Elders and spiritual leaders in June led us to the same conclusions and highlighted the need for us to visit Peterborough.

Peterborough – Sanilac Trip, September 15-19, 2014

In 2014, our team set aside one week in September to meet in person, host another meeting of Elders and spiritual leaders, travel to Peterborough, Ontario, and make a site visit to *ezhibiigaadek asin*. On September 15th, our team met with Elders, spiritual leaders, SCIT Tribal Members, and members of the SCIT Tribal Council. We discussed our progress to date and updated the group on our research efforts. We had made substantial progress since our last meeting in June and it was very useful to get further feedback on our work.

⁶ For this reason, we have chosen not to make the appendices to this report publically available.

⁷ To learn more about Ngaut Ngaut and the IPinCH-related work carried out there, go to <http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/project-components/community-based-initiatives/ngaut-ngaut-interpretive-project-providing-culturally>

The entire group of 12 then traveled to Peterborough where we were joined by Three Fires Midewiwin Grand Chief Bawdwaywidun Banaise and then spent one day meeting with Elders, Youth, spiritual leaders, and Tribal leadership of the Curve Lake First Nation. During this visit we were able to view the petroglyphs at *Kinoomaagewaabkong* (“The Teaching Rocks”) at the Petroglyphs Provincial Park (Figure 5). We witnessed the connections between the two sites in terms of the Anishinabe sacred knowledge each carries and shared our practices and challenges of protecting and caring for these sacred places.



Figure 5. Mary Deleary, Sonya Atalay, and Shannon Martin (left to right) discussing the teachings at Kinoomaagewaabkong/Petroglyphs Provincial Park (Peterborough, Ontario) during our September 2014 visit to the site.

The importance of this visit, both for our IPinCH project and the work we will do at *ezhibiigaadek asin* and other sacred sites and cultural landscapes cannot be overstated (Figure 6). This connection was critical and set the stage for what will be a long-lasting collaborative relationship. We are very grateful to the Curve Lake First Nation for sharing their experiences so openly. It gave us much to consider in terms of how we move forward and work toward co-management.



Figure 6. Signage posted at Kinoomaagewaabkong/Petroglyphs Provincial Park (Peterborough, Ontario).

Following the visit to Peterborough, our group went to *ezhibiigaadek asin* and held a meeting at the site (Figures 7 and 8). We reflected on what we had learned from Curve Lake Tribal Members and considered how we might best move forward at *ezhibiigaadek asin*. We considered questions about the use of Anishinabe language at the site, issues of re-etching, whether and how we might restrict photography at the site, and how to best enact our Anishinabe protocols of care while balancing the desire to preserve and protect the petroglyphs for the future.



Figure 7. Discussion group held at *ezhibiigaadek asin* in September 2014 to discuss appropriate care, management and protection of the site. (Pictured from left to right: John Graveratte, Charmaine Shawana, Nicole Raslich, Frank Raslich, Stacy Tchorzynski, Sydney Martin, Bonnie Ekdahl, Shannon Martin, Alexis Bunten, Sonya Atalay, William Johnson, George Martin, and Eddie Benton-Banaise.

The primary message that came from that final gathering of our group at *ezhibiigaadek asin* was that the way to move these teachings forward and ensure the knowledge is passed on is by using the site and connecting our Youth to the teachings there. With all the high tech options available with which to capture images, preserve them, or even re-etch them, the most critical action we must take at this time is a low-tech approach. This is: Bring Youth to *ezhibiigaadek asin*. Allow them time to reconnect with their grandfather/grandmother. Give them opportunities to learn from *ezhibiigaadek asin* and with *ezhibiigaadek asin*. The work will flow from there.



Figure 8. Participants of the discussion group held at *ezhibiigaadek asin* in September 2014 pictured inside the gate at the site. (Pictured from left to right: Sonya Atalay, Stacy Tchorzynski, John Graveratte, Sydney Martin, Brian Corbiere, Shannon Martin, Charmaine Shawana, Frank Raslich, George Martin, William Johnson, Bonnie Ekdahl, Nicole Raslich, and Marcella Hadden.

This brings us to a point that we have heard from the start with regards to *ezhibiigaadek asin* and our efforts to properly educate, preserve, and manage the land and teachings there. This work must always and without fail be spirit-driven. While our method is community-based and firmly grounded at all times in core Tribal values, it must be spirit-driven. With this in mind, we can and always do attempt to anticipate the direction our research will take as we draft and carry out grant proposals and research designs.

Over the course of this project we saw several examples of the importance of allowing the work to be spirit-driven. Our Elder and one of our spiritual leaders, Sydney Martin, shared with us at the IPinCH midterm conference in 2011 that IPinCH has a spirit. This reminds us that, indeed, all of this work we carry out does have a spirit. The incredibly possible and productive working relationships that now exist between the Tribe and the

DNR, as well as the steadily improving relationship with the MAS, would likely not have happened if we had not had the many administrative setbacks we experienced getting through ethics review and with the administrative hold-ups on this grant. In our initial grant proposal, we planned to develop and carry out a survey of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Membership to assess their knowledge and level of interest in *ezhibiigaadek asin*. We developed the questionnaire for the survey, and set up times to administer the survey to the Tribal Membership. Yet each time there were hold ups or circumstances that kept the survey from going out.

At our final meetings, it became clear that people can carry a great deal of embarrassment or shame related to not knowing or not carrying knowledge about these sacred places. Issues of who holds or has access to sacred knowledge are so very sensitive. Thus, the very act of surveying people about their knowledge points, often glaringly so, to what has been lost, and on this project this recognition brought us all to the question of who rightfully should have access to the sacred knowledge carried by *ezhibiigaadek asin*? While we don't pretend to have answered that complex and difficult question, we do feel that by following a spirit-driven process that allows us to be flexible and adjust our project goals to fit the needs as they arise, we have come somewhat closer to the answer. If nothing else, we are much better off for finding ways to even pose such questions as we work to reclaim and decolonize.

The importance of sharing experiences and knowledge with other Indigenous people is a key take-away for us from this research. It is something we know and have experienced in other areas of cultural preservation and revitalization as well, yet wasn't clearly a defined priority in our research agenda when we first proposed this project. At the close of our final meeting in 2014, after our visit to Peterborough and Sanilac, our team shared a meal with Elders, Youth, and spiritual leaders. We discussed at that time how critical it has been for us to learn from each other and share experiences and challenges with Tribal Members from Curve Lake First Nation, with our colleagues working at Ngaut Ngaut, and with the cases we read about through our literature research.

It was during that conversation that we hatched plans for our next collaborative project. We are looking for funding to travel and to host talking circles with our IPinCH colleagues working at Ngaut Ngaut, with the Moriori⁸ who are working to preserve their *rākau momori* (memorial trees), and other Indigenous communities in Australia and New Zealand. The goal is to share experiences and knowledge about co-management of these sacred places and to consider and share ethics practices and research guidelines that we each use to guide our work. We had the opportunity to discuss this project and take some next steps during a consultation meeting with Amy Roberts and Isobelle Campbell at the November 2014 IPinCH meeting in Vancouver.

⁸ To learn more about the Moriori IPinCH community-based initiative, go to http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/sites/default/files/resources/reports/moriori_final_report_2014.pdf

Educational Efforts

Another key component of our work on this project has been education. We found it critical to raise awareness about the role that *ezhibiigaadek asin* has as a sacred site and traditional cultural property for Anishinabe people. The educational component of our work was clear at the October 2011 strategic planning session we held, which placed great importance on educating non-Tribal Members and non-Native people about the *ezhibiigaadek asin* site. However, we also identified the need to keep Tribal Members informed about and involved with the continuing efforts at *ezhibiigaadek asin*. We also felt it was crucial to have an ongoing and rich flow of information to the Ziibiwing Center Board of Directors and the SCIT Tribal Council.

To this end, Co-PI Shannon Martin provided regular reports on our progress to both the Ziibiwing Center Board of Directors and the SCIT Tribal Council. This was important in terms of the ethical responsibility we have to inform these Tribal entities and leadership about our efforts, but it also raised awareness about the challenges the Tribe faces in protecting the site from physical damage and deterioration, how the site may be (or has been) appropriated in the past, and about the key IP issues and options for future protection. Co-PI Martin drafted several articles about the IP issues involved at the site and our work on this project for the Tribal newspaper (*Tribal Observer*) and Ziibiwing Center's electronic newsletter (E-Noodaagan). Both Co-PI Martin and Co-PI Johnson discussed the *ezhibiigaadek asin* site and the IP concerns related to the site in verbal reports at Tribal community events. This reporting took place over the course of the project and will continue after IPinCH project funding is spent.

Sharing Research with Academic Audiences

As part of work during both the strategic planning and the June 2014 group gathering, we came to recognize how useful it would be to have an international rock art symposium to discuss issues of co-management of rock art. After researching the budget and time required to host an international symposium, we decided that it was more practical and a very solid first step to plan and organize a Society for American Archaeology (SAA) conference session on this topic. Our session entitled, "Caring for Knowledge on Stone: Rock Art Co-Management with Indigenous and Local Communities" took place on a Saturday morning in San Francisco at the 2015 SAA annual meeting. We video recorded the session and have added it to our project resource archive.

We have also presented our work on this project at numerous scholarly conferences, most notably at meetings of the Society for American Archaeology (April 2012), Central States Anthropological Society (2012), American Anthropological Association (2008), Inter-Congress of the World Archaeological Congress at Indiana University-Bloomington (June 2011), and the Ohio State University World Heritage symposium (May 2011). In addition, Co-PI Martin co-authored several presentations with Stacy Tchorzynski and

Michigan State Archaeologist Dean Anderson on topics related to *ezhibiigaadek asin*, most recently on March 13, 2015 at the Historical Society of Michigan's Local History Conference. Co-PI Atalay has also given numerous presentations about this work, including during invited lectures at Ohio State University in February 2014 and University of Wisconsin in March 2015.

As a result of our efforts on the *ezhibiigaadek asin* project and our involvement with IPinCH, we have developed many research connections and professional networks with other IPinCH members, particularly those involved in examining IP issues on a global scale (such as Jane Anderson and Kim Christen Withey) and the Ethics Working Group (Alison Wylie). Co-PIs (Atalay and Martin) were part of a panel at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) conference in June 2015, where we discussed issues of research ethics and the key components of research design, output, data ownership, and similar topics that should be discussed in developing partnerships or MOU and MOA documents as part of community-based research endeavors. One of the key outcomes of this discussion is that NAISA is now moving forward on developing a set of research ethics guidelines for scholars working in the area of Native American and Indigenous Studies.

Key Lessons to Share

Much useful data have come from this IPinCH project. In the final analysis of our research we have identified six fundamental take-away lessons from this work.

The first is that as Anishinabe people we must *ensure that our core Tribal values are central to the research at all times*. The planning and implementation of the work flows from that central set of values. For Anishinabek, the Seven Grandfather Teachings are fundamental: *aakodewin* ("bravery"), *gwekowaadiziwin* (honesty"), *maanadiitowaawin* ("respect"), *diibadendizowin* ("humility"), *debwewin* ("truth"), *nibwaakaawin* ("wisdom"), and *zaagidiwin* ("love"). We made every effort to rely on these teachings in making decisions about the work process and research direction.

Second, in conducting the research, our team recognized from the start the key role that Elders must play in guiding the research process. Their guidance proved to be essential for the success of the project. We heard several times from Elders and spiritual leaders that this work, because it relates to a site that is very sacred to Anishinabe people, needed to be informed and guided by spirit. Ziibiwing's former director, Bonnie Ekdahl provided clear guidance on this during our final group meeting in September 2014. She noted that we often become consumed in research projects and grant work with protocols, procedures, budgets, etc. She reminded us that what is needed is to strip all of that away so that the site and its spirit will lead us. We do need to address more practical concerns and those answers will come in time, but if we hope to see this project through to completion, *the most fundamental thing we can do is to have the site—the spirit of the site—lead us*. We found that practical and procedural answers

came in time; for others, we are still working to find answers. It is through our adherence to a spirit-driven process that we further build and strengthen our spiritual connection to the site.

A third key lesson from our IPinCH work is the *importance of connecting Tribal Youth to ezhibiigaadek asin*. Our ancestors chose this place to transfer knowledge into the future for us, and we found, time and time again, that we must continue to use *ezhibiigaadek asin* in a similar way today—as a place to pass on cultural knowledge and teachings to Tribal Youth. The rekindling of regular ceremonies and rites of passage that involve Youth through fasting camps and offering of Little People bundles are of the highest priority. This is because these are the fundamentals of Anishinabe approaches to care and preservation of this place.

A fourth lesson is that the *most useful and meaningful models for co-management of a sacred site such as this one come from other Indigenous communities*. The IPinCH funding we received gave us much more than just providing monetary support to conduct this research. It also gave our research team rich opportunities to share ideas and learn from the collaborative IPinCH research team working at Ngaut Ngaut in Australia. From this we were able to consider what works in co-management and where some of the stumbling blocks might be. The grant funding also allowed us to establish a relationship with the Curve Lake First Nation so that we could also learn through their experiences of working with Parks Canada. The Curve Lake First Nation also has direct experience with balancing the need to protect sacred information with the desire to share the site with larger audiences through cultural tourism. These relationships and learning/sharing opportunities will continue years after the IPinCH funding is spent.

The fifth key lesson to share relates to ethics review and the IRB process. One of the most frustrating aspects of this process of ethics review was that the whole point of having an IRB/REB is supposed to be to protect those community members who are “subjects” of the research. It seemed incredibly contradictory that the Tribal Council review was not sufficient to allow the project to move forward. It is ludicrous, presumptuous, and arrogant for any university to presume to be in a better position to protect Tribal Members from exploitation than a Tribal community that has its own Tribal citizens’ needs and well-being at the forefront.

Although fully unanticipated, this case study informed us and other IPinCH members in important ways about the ethics of research and some of the shortcomings of the IRB process. There are two key areas where this is particularly significant. It is problematic that IRB/REBs do not place the highest priority, trust, and authority in Tribal entities and governments who are reviewing research and capable of making their own determinations about what is exploitative and how to best protect Tribal citizens. Tribal IRB should be the most critical and first point of review, when applicable. Only in situations when a Tribe or community doesn’t have its own ethics review process should the university become the primary authority to deem what research is allowed and the way it should be carried out. As it currently stands, universities are violating

Tribal sovereignty by putting themselves in a position of authority to determine how Tribal governments protect its own citizens and how Tribal communities allow, safeguard or condemn research that aims to take place within their Tribal territory/land.

Furthermore, in our experience, IRBs are not well equipped to handle situations in which two or more institutions are involved in a research project (such as between SFU and IU). This may have been further exacerbated by the fact that these two institutions were working within university systems of two different countries. In such situations, it makes most sense to require only one ethics review, and to have the other institution(s) agree to allow the work to continue under the IRB review of that single institution. Serious reworking of these ethics review systems is required to address the problems we encountered in our case study.

Finally, one of the more unexpected key lessons to share from our work at *ezhibiigaadek asin* relates to the issue of *access*. We came to this project knowing that questions related to access and use of the site would be fundamental. We didn't anticipate how important it would be for us to consider questions of knowledge access among Anishinabe people. We found that discussions about who has knowledge about the site, what is appropriate to share and with whom, who determines what is appropriate to share when it comes to sacred knowledge and cultural teachings are difficult but essential questions. The answers can't be determined by discussions of policy, but rather they require ongoing conversations. The questions that are asked and how they are answered may evolve over time.

IPinCH funds provided us with the opportunity to investigate aspects of each of the six points above. Most importantly, we've found that many questions and areas of investigation remain unanswered or unclear. The success of our project has been that it allowed us the time to consider these questions carefully, the resources to come together to discuss these questions and to ask more questions, and opportunities to build relationships with scholars and other Indigenous people who we can rely upon to help us find ways forward.

Future Directions

As we've noted throughout this report, we have accomplished a great deal in a relatively short time. IPinCH provided us with the funds to build a strong foundation for what's to come at *ezhibiigaadek asin*. But our work continues, and we anticipate adding to this solid start in the coming years in a number of ways:

- *ezhibiigaadek asin*-based Curriculum development for Tribal Youth;
- Further relationship building with State and MAS as we draft the first co-management plan;
- Developing a draft MOU for special use permit that will remain on file with DNR. This includes a set of keys to the gate surrounding *ezhibiigaadek asin*;
- Developing a set of protocols on appropriate behavior to assist visitors in respecting sacred nature and significance of *ezhibiigaadek asin*; and
- Finalizing plans for Tribal Youth summer training program (summer 2015) so that Youth can participate in the internship program and serve as docents at *ezhibiigaadek asin*

Reflective Questions

Reflections on *Ezhibiigaadek Asin* Project

by Sonya Atalay

1. What would you say are the most important reasons for protecting or safeguarding cultural heritage?

SA: Aspects of cultural heritage play a critical role in community healing. Knowledge and practices associated with tangible and intangible heritage (and the processes of reclaiming such) help people to return to a place of balance.

2. What challenges face communities who wish to be caretakers of their cultural heritage?

SA: Having recognized and enforceable decision making authority.

3. What, in your experience, seems to work best as a strategy (or strategies) for protecting cultural heritage? Alternatively, what do you see as the main path in a community's journey to protect cultural heritage?

SA: Constantly working to assert the right to care for places and items of cultural heritage as communities see fit.

4. What do you think are important guidelines or strategies for conducting community-based cultural heritage research (in your community, in general, or both)?

SA: Respect is primary, but along with that must be an understanding of what RESPECT means.

5. What are key ingredients for good research relationships and research outcomes? Also, what, in your experience, causes these relationships or projects to break down?

SA: Regular and consistent face-to-face communication. The most important part of all of this work is relationship building.

6. What fundamental values should guide a researcher working on heritage issues within a community-based context?

SA: Respect, humility, honesty, sincerity. One must learn to be truly honest with oneself about why you are there, what you (personally and professionally) hope/plan to get out of the work.

7. What skills or capacities do researchers from outside a community need to be more effective in their research relationships? What skills or capacities do communities or other organizations with which you work need to be more effective in doing community-based research?

SA. Learning to listen and understanding that there are real and substantial limits to what they (researchers) should know/ask/expect. Learn not to confuse friendliness and hospitality in a professional context with friendship.

8. What legal frameworks, policies, protocols or other tools have you turned to help you in your cultural heritage work? What approaches have been useful and which have not? Does your community or any of the communities or organizations you work with have laws, practices, expectations, protocol(s) or guidelines for research that may be shared with others? If so, please provide copies of these in the appendices of your report if it is appropriate for the IPinCH project to have them. What advice do you have for communities regarding developing or using research guidelines or protocols?

9. What, if any, government or other institutions or authorities have oversight over your work in this project? How has this affected planning, implementation, benefits, access to results, consequences, etc.

SA: The university that employs me likely feels they have some authority of oversight generally for my work as a researcher. It hasn't affected my work any more or less on this project than it has for others I've worked on.

10. What would the community you worked with like to see in place that would continue to help support its future efforts in regard to similar issues or research initiatives?

11. What other experiences and perspectives can you share that illustrate examples of good (or poor) practices, policies and lessons learned concerning community-based studies of cultural heritage?

Appendices

At the request of the report authors, these are not included in the public version of this report.