

INDIGENOUS STUDIES AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

VOLUME **I** ISSUE **I** MARCH 2023

Published by Global Station for Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity, Hokkaido University



Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity

Volume 1, Issue 1, March 2023

Edited by GSI E-Journal Editorial Office, Hokkaido University

Published by Global Station for Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity (GSI), Hokkaido University

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ISSN 2758-1012

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editor's welcome

Joe E. WATKINS

Editor-in-Chief

Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity Journal



Hello, and welcome to the inaugural edition of the e-journal, *"Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity!"* As the Editor-in-Chief, I want to thank those who have voluntarily served as editors, reviewers, and manuscript managers as we have worked to develop this first volume. I also want to thank our authors for contributing their articles to this inaugural issue. This first issue is based on commemorative lectures and discussions by members of Hokkaido University's Global Station for Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity (GSI) in January 2022. GSI was established to bring together global researchers within three broad areas: Indigeneity, Indigenous Heritage, and Human Ecology and Global Health.

Our journal intends to publish research papers on the global and regional issues of Indigenous people and on topics related to the nature of cultural diversity and Indigenous communities. We will publish articles exploring a variety of wide-ranging themes: Indigeneity; Indigenous

heritage; human ecology and global health; culture, ethnicity, minorities, and adaptation; government policy impacting Indigenous people; and other research areas that relate to Indigenous people and cultural diversity. We welcome the opportunity to look at the intersections of these topics through contemporary research.

It is our intention to serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas and clarification of issues of importance to global Indigenous groups. We aim to offer opportunities for a wide variety of authors – from the established to early career researchers. We especially welcome submissions from Indigenous writers as they work to give voice to their ideas, concerns, and perspectives. We hope to publish the results of research “by, with, and for” Indigenous people to help create more globally Indigenous disciplines, and a more inclusive atmosphere for sharing, learning and discovery. As such, we will periodically produce a non-academic special issue focused on communities with content created by the community. We believe it is this mixture of research orientation and authorship that will make our journal unique.

The journal is committed to publishing all manuscripts that our qualified reviewers deem to be impactful contributions to Indigenous studies and the examination of cultural diversity globally. We will publish original articles, research reports, and reviews and commentaries that have not been published before as an open-access electronic journal. The editors will evaluate all submissions to confirm their suitability for the journal before passing through the double-blind peer review process for evaluation and recommendations.

While we expect to publish a minimum of two issues of *Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity* per year, we are also open to suggestions by researchers or Indigenous communities for special volumes or bodies of related articles. We intend to create a special issue each year of selected works in Ainu or other Indigenous languages as a means of making research available and to help in revitalizing Indigenous languages. We will also periodically issue special calls for papers to investigate specific issues or topics. The journal will serve as the reporting arm of Hokkaido University's Global Station. As such, each year one issue of the journal will provide short reports concerning the on-going activities of each of the three units. This first issue is one such issue.

In conjunction with this formal publication program, we also expect to utilize online media platforms to give further voice to our published work and to make it more easily available to non-academic communities.

We will refine this multimedia concept as we develop relationships with communities and partners.

I close this message with an invitation to everyone to submit their articles and original manuscripts to the Managing Editor of Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity through our [website](#) for immediate consideration. All submissions will be acknowledged and reviewed for suitability for publication.

Inheriting “Difficult Histories”: National Identities, Memory Debates and Cultural Diversity

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Abstract

For some reason, modern European nations have traditionally presented themselves as having a lot of rich and important history, much of it portrayed as being “international” in terms of cultural impact and wider global significance. Today, much of this history appears to be far more controversial than many comfortable national-popular narratives have acknowledged. This article explores how Europe is increasingly being forced to confront more negative and painful dimensions to its past; this involves deeper societal engagement with entangled legacies that are best defined as “difficult histories”. The Netherlands is presented as a central case-study, which explores how two difficult chapters in national history are caught up in debates about memory, commemoration, national identity and new forms of cultural diversity. The overarching goal of the paper is to stimulate deeper reflection on the challenges and opportunities generated by renewed engagement with the kinds of complex historical legacies that are shared, in one form or another, by all nations of the world.

Keywords: *Memory, Identity, Indigenous, Ethnic, Nationalism, Colonialism, Slavery, Netherlands, Occupation, Dutch Golden Age.*

Introduction: Inheriting “Difficult Histories”

The aim of this article is to explore how former colonial powers of Western Europe are struggling to engage with a diverse set of legacies best defined as “difficult histories” (Note 1). It explores how these complex and controversial histories are caught up in current debates about memory, collective commemoration, national identity and contemporary cultural diversity, focusing on the Netherlands as a central case-study (Note 2). This paper is primarily aimed at an international non-European readership; the overarching goal is simply to stimulate deeper personal and collective reflection on the challenges and opportunities generated by renewed societal engagement with the

kinds of complex historical legacies that are shared - in one form or another - by all nations of the world (Note 3).

In Western Europe, there are three main dimensions to these entangled historical legacies; these strands continue to shape contemporary academic, political and societal debate. The **first** issue is how best to portray the European colonial expansion that went on to define the painful histories and contemporary experiences of today's global Indigenous peoples. The **second** is acknowledging the major role that many European nations had in trafficking millions of African slaves to remote colonies, and also accepting that the profits generated by these activities played a key role in creating the national wealth that established many enduring institutions that persist to this day. The **third** strand is linked to the parallel notions of "indigenous" ethnic identity that were crystalizing across Europe over the same time period, culminating in the genocidal events of the mid-twentieth century.

For international readers, the most effective entry point into these entangled historical legacies is to examine current definitions of Indigenous peoples, which highlights their experiences as local communities negatively impacted by centuries of primarily European colonial incursion. The paper then falls logically into three sections. In **Part 1**, contrasts are drawn between: (i) the "external" European perspectives on "Indigenous" place-based identities, which were shaped and defined by European colonial expansion; (ii) the "internal" place-based ethnic national identities that were emerging across Europe in the nineteenth century; and (iii) the new civic-based national identities that were created across Western Europe after the trauma, chaos and destruction of World War II (WWII). **Part 2** develops a deeper analysis of the intersecting roles of history, collective memory, national commemoration and cultural diversity in the contemporary Netherlands, focusing on the centuries of Dutch involvement in the Atlantic slave trade, and the controversial insights that continue to emerge from the difficult years of wartime German occupation (1940-1945). **Part 3** concludes the paper, and provides some reflections on how contemporary developments in the Netherlands have parallels with many other nation states who also seek ways to reconcile their own "difficult histories" with older and more emergent forms of identity and cultural diversity.

Defining Indigenous Peoples

Global humanity has today inherited many fundamental existential problems, including accelerating climate change and an insatiable demand for natural resources. Rising trends in mass-consumption drive species extinction and the degradation of marine and terrestrial ecosystems, but globalization has also accelerated the flow of people, commodities and information, a relentless process that creates new forms of cultural diversity, some of which collide with older traditions, practices and collective identities, generating both challenges and new societal opportunities for all nation states.

Some of the most entrenched and complex challenges centre on particular kinds of "traditional" community, which typically form marginalized minorities within larger nation states. The NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation) *Survival International* broadly defines such groups as "Tribal

Peoples”, which typically rely heavily on traditional livelihoods and place-based food systems. More commonly, such groups are defined as “Indigenous peoples” (or “descendent communities”), whose lifeways and identities emerged from long-term occupation of particular ecosystems of which they often maintain intimate “Traditional Ecological Knowledge”, coupled with strong inter-generational cultural and spiritual bonds to local landscapes.

Overall, this loosely-defined group of communities makes up around 5,000 distinctive cultures. These groups maintain the vast majority of the world’s total of 6,700 languages, though many have now been assigned endangered language status and face acute risk of impending extinction (<https://www.un.org/ar/node/135468>). Demographically, these groups also form less than 6 per cent of the world population, but constitute 15 per cent of the poorest sectors of global society. Additional challenges include the dispersal of these small groups across a hundred different nation states, with many modern political boundaries serving to further fragment and marginalize them, both demographically, culturally and politically.

It is important to highlight that Indigenous communities need to be defined in relational terms, as the deep cultural and ancestral affinities to particular places forms only one side of the equation. The other defining criterion is that the communities have been historically impacted by diverse forms of settler colonialism, commercial resource extraction, and other associated socio-cultural and environmental pressures. But before deploying the term “Indigenous”, several further distinctions are required. First, the generic term “i-ndigenous” (with lower case “I”) simply refers to any *person or thing* (human, plant, animal, etc.) that originates in, and is native to, a particular place or region. In contrast, the carefully-worded UN definition of “indigenous peoples” highlights the importance of the relational dimension - Indigenous communities are defined as “peoples of long settlement and connection to specific lands who have been adversely affected by incursions” (<https://www.un.org/ar/node/135468>). In most cases, these damaging incursions have their historical roots in European colonial expansion, though several other parts of the world, including East Asia, experienced their own particular colonial and imperial histories. These legacies are now highlighted by using “I-ndigenous” – spelt with a capital “I” – to emphasize and acknowledge how centuries of colonialism have impacted on local communities, leading to displacement, loss and marginalization (see: <https://www.sapiens.org/language/capitalize-indigenous/>).

Colonial Encounters

Turning now to the impacts of European colonial expansion, these incursions evolved historically: they typically started with opportunistic exploration, followed by creation of colonies and the consolidation of global empires. Most regional trajectories culminate in the emergence of newly-independent nation states that retain and protect many of the older colonial wealth and power differentials. However, European colonialism was both global in reach, and relentless in its quest for commercial opportunities, making it important to highlight the actions, experiences, and destinies of three broad groups of historical actors whose local encounters and interactions shaped particular colonial outcomes: (i) Indigenous communities – the local communities and original inhabitants of the Americas, Australia and other world regions; (ii) European explorers,

traders, administrators, and settlers; plus (iii), the millions of African trafficked by Europeans to provide slave labour in their colonial plantations. Over the centuries, contacts between these three diverse groups created a complex “middle ground” of multicultural interactions and historical transformations that continue to shape and inform regional, national, and community-based social and civic identities.

Many historical events and processes remain controversial and deeply painful to this day. These “difficult histories” have long shaped the experiences, memories, and life-chances of particular groups that emerged from the colonial encounter; increasingly these legacies are confronting modern European nation states who have relinquished their colonial and imperial ambitions, and evolved new forms of collective identity and societal ideologies that can serve to gloss over uncomfortable events, actions, and deeper societal legacies. While each European nation has its own particular history which defines the structure and content of these internal debates about memory, collective identity, and cultural diversity, there are common trends and experiences that define shared European histories. These overarching themes are explored first at a global scale, paving the way for a more detailed contextual examination of how the Netherlands is still trying to come to terms with two different - yet equally uncomfortable – chapters in its recent national history.

PART 1: EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON “INDIGENOUS” IDENTITY

Theme 1: “Looking Out”: European Expansion and Indigenous Peoples (1500-1950 CE)

By 1500 CE emerging European powers were expanding across the globe. The first wave was led by Portugal and Spain, with efforts aimed initially on coastal Africa through to South and Southeast Asia, and also westwards, to the “New World” of the Americas. Their monopolization of the main southern trade routes to the Orient shaped the second major wave of expansion, which was led by Dutch, English and French explorers, many seeking alternative northern access routes via the Canadian and Russian Arctic.

Over time, these combined efforts at exploration led to creation of formal colonies and larger maritime empires. These later imperial entities were largely dominated by Britain, France and Spain, with some early European colonies evolving into newly independent states after the 18th C. Throughout this period, significant colonial outposts and territories were also maintained by Belgium, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and other European nations. Meanwhile the Russian Empire had expanded into northern Eurasia and eventually expanding as far as Alaska. Russian efforts focused mainly on consolidating income from the Eurasian fur trade via new forms of state taxation.



Figure 1. *Early inter-cultural encounters in the Canadian Arctic: English explorer Martin Frobisher and an early depiction of Arctic Indigenous peoples (Source: Public Domain).*

Although European expansion was driven by opportunistic commercial and political instincts, it was not long before encounters with other cultures captured the fascination of European educated elites (Figure 1). By the mid 19th C, the convergence of radically new ideas emerging across geology, biology, archaeology, and anthropology started to focus on concepts of deep-time evolution. For scholars interested in explaining human cultural diversity, evolutionary thinking provided a useful unilinear framework to assign different cultures into generalized stages of human progress. First, this framework appeared useful for explaining the increasing societal and technological sophistication that appeared to characterize the material evidence recovered from stratified archaeological sequences. Second, but more controversially, evolutionary frameworks offered a simple but convenient way to survey and classify cultural diversity in a world increasingly colonized and transformed by European expansion. In its essence, these initially scientific - and eventually political - ideologies concluded that white Euro-Americans – and especially members of their educated urban elites – were more innovative and progressive than other cultural groups, while the native peoples of the Americas, Africa, and Australia could be defined as having failed to achieve similar levels of social and technological advancement; they remained trapped within the various lower stages of “Barbarism” or more primitive forms of “Savagery” (Figure 2).



Figure 2. *Abrupt and violent colonial encounters marked the rapid expansion of European settlement into Australia. Paintings by the artist Joseph Lycett (1774-1828) capture traditional Aboriginal festivals (top) and the imposition of European colonial landscapes and associated Enlightenment ideologies of clearance, enclosure and improvement (bottom) (Source: State Library of New South Wales, Public Domain).*

Colonial expansion was not a uniform process and there were many diverse forms of inter-cultural encounter, each with its own unique historical character. In general, slower processes of contact, encroachment, and eventual subjugation marked the European commercial and fiscal advances into the Indigenous Sami homelands in northern Scandinavia. Similar processes of expansion and taxation defined early Russian imperial expansions into northern Eurasia, involving contacts and transformations among a diverse range of Indigenous hunting, fishing and reindeer herding groups across Siberia. In contrast, more abrupt, deadly, and genocidal confrontations often marked the arrival of European settlers into other world regions, including the Americas and Australia. The impacts and legacies of European expansion extended far beyond these opening contacts, and across the Americas, Australia, and the Arctic, involved transmission of deadly new diseases, violent expulsions, and other profound disruptions to older Indigenous lifeways. Demographic collapses hollowed out local populations in the Americas, eventually culminating in the loss of millions of Indigenous lives. To address the looming labour shortage, European colonial ventures began the systematic shipment of African slaves to work their new colonial plantations that were producing the sugar, coffee, tea, and other new products that generated enormous profits in local European markets.

The cumulative impacts of European colonialism on local cultural diversity were also profound, ranging from outright exterminations of local populations, through to displacement, amalgamation of groups, and deeper socio-cultural transformation. After four centuries of colonial dislocation, the first generation of professional Euro-American anthropologists started to radiate out into remote corners of the globe to urgently document that last surviving member of “timeless” and “traditional” Indigenous cultures, most of which were believed to face imminent cultural extinction. These scholars and scientists often shared their journeys with commercial collectors who eagerly hunted for human, cultural, biological, and geological specimens to equip a new generation of urban museums and research institutes. These entangled histories of commercialism, exploitation, science, and collecting leave a bitter and controversial legacy that is remembered differently by various communities, scientific institutions, and nation states.

European colonialism had other unforeseen legacies. By 1950 most European nations were already downsizing their older imperial ambitions, leading to wider processes of decolonisation and the emergence of new nation states as older empires fragmented and withdrew, some via peaceful transitions to independence, others involving violent confrontations. Within Europe, many former colonial nations started to experience large-scale migration from their former empires and colonies, leading to new forms of domestic cultural encounters, at times challenging and unsettling older forms of identity and cultural diversity. To understand these reactions - and their contemporary legacies - it is important to look first at how “internal” European national identities had also evolved over the centuries of external colonialism.

Theme 2: “Looking In”: Identities and Ethnic Nationalisms in Europe (1850-1950 CE)

Within Europe, ethnic nationalisms emerged as a growing socio-political reaction against older imperial and dynastic hegemonies. These new movements challenged the fundamental political legitimacy of the sprawling multi-cultural empires that had defined “Old Europe.” While these precarious “top-down” power structures focused on maintaining imperial monarchies and similar figure of elite authority, the growing ethnic nationalisms that expanded across continental Europe typically worked from the “bottom up”, mobilizing real - or idealized – expressions of original place-based folk identities to justify autonomy, separatism, and national liberation. As a result, it was argued that ethnic identities were reflected – or could be actively “discovered” – within shared histories of language and tradition. In turn, particular folk histories were anchored in the occupation of, and deep ancestral and emotional connections to, particular homelands. The defining topographic and environmental characteristics of these homelands - mountains, rivers, forests, and plains – were further used to essentialize distinctive, original, and authentic ethnic identities.

These collective-identity debates were fluid and situational, and operated across a range of geographic scales. In their largest and most embracing form, there were various Pan-Germanic and Pan-Slavic national-folk movements which emphasised the need to create larger and more transformative national-cultural entities out of the chains of mutually-intelligible dialects and closely-related cultures that were scattered across different parts of the continent. Powerful movements also emerged at more regional and local scales, especially within older political entities, such as the increasingly unstable Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose boundaries had long struggled to contain an eclectic mix of peoples, cultures, and languages. Throughout Central Europe’s slow process of imperial stagnation and disintegration, culminating in defeat and fragmentation after WWI, many generations of local activists emerged; typically, they were young, educated and ambitious members of the expanding middle classes.

One of many early characters personifying this trend is Ľudovít Štúr (1815-55), the “Father of Slovak National Consciousness,” who once declared that “my country (Slovakia) is my being, and every hour of my life shall be devoted to it”. Like many national activists of his time, he devoted efforts to mobilising the language and folklore of rural Slovak hinterlands. These remoter regions were widely assumed to have preserved the most authentic and original remnants of ancestral ethnic heritage, while the larger cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been reduced to multi-ethnic - and multi-lingual - “melting pots,” rendering them less useful in this slow and forensic process of recovering pure and original folk identities. Likewise, dialects that were geographically central to anticipated national territories were also frequently selected as the “purest” expressions of particular linguistic cultures, making them worthy of eventual codification into the formal written language of the national group. For example, it was the Banská Bystrica dialect of central Slovakia that became the foundation for the national language; other peripheral Slovak dialects were assumed to have been “tainted” by contact with neighbouring ethno-linguistic groups.

While linguistics, folklorists, and ethnographers were busy across Europe, archaeologists also joined in the action. For the wider discipline, this period marked an important intellectual shift away from analysis of stratified deposits to reconstruct general sequences of cultural change,

towards an increasing concern with mapping changing spatial distributions of distinctive artefacts and cultural features. The major inferential leap was linking the identification and mapping of these “archaeological cultures” to the particular histories of specific ancient groups. In turn, it was not long – and perhaps even inevitable, given the fraught political atmosphere across late 19th C Europe – before the spatio-temporal mapping of archaeological traits took on a more “ethnic turn,” with discrete archaeological cultures directly expressing the origins, homelands, and ancestral trajectories of contemporary ethno-linguistic groups. Definitive work in this era was conducted by German archaeologist Gustav Kossina, who completed the fateful alignment of culture-historical archaeology with wider political aspirations for ethnic-national unification, as a first step towards eventual territorial expansion to reclaim lost homelands and carve out new living spaces.

Importantly, these developments were not restricted to a newly reunified Germany but can be detected in one form or another across Europe. For example, in Finland, then within the Russian Empire, the 19th C period of “National Awakening” focused on developing deeper scientific understandings of the collective Finno-Ugric cultural and linguistic ancestry that could pave the way for the emergence of a new and independent nation state. This overarching mission united the Finnish “National Sciences” around philology, ethnology, folklore, and archaeology. Uniquely, this also involved linguistic and comparative ethnographic expeditions to affiliated Ob-Ugric language groups, including the Indigenous Khanty and Mansi of Western Siberia.

In contrast, identity politics in England – by that point forming the largest core nation of Great Britain – developed down different pathways and never went on to develop a strong and centralised sense of ethnic English folk identity. Already transformed internally by rampant industrialization, gradations of social class – and not an underlying folk-based ethnicity – eventually emerged within England as the major structuring principle of the social order. Interestingly, social evolutionary thinking (see above) was also projected onto a rigid hierarchy of English social classes, such that urban working peoples were assigned - like the Indigenous peoples of the remoter imperial colonies – to lower stages of development, whose destinies were doomed either by the inherited traits of laziness and low intelligence, or emerging as worthy objects of paternalistic salvation and opportunistic moral improvement.

Where were all these historical developments leading? Any perceptive political observer gazing out across continental Europe during these protracted struggles over ethnic identities and national destinies (1850-1930) could not have failed to grasp some of the more sinister implications that would eventually converge within these powerful new collective-identity movements. First, ethnic nationalism – by default – assumed bounded cultural groups, with distinct “peoples” united by a shared primordial inheritance of language, custom, and blood-based genetic ancestry. In turn, these “deep” ethnic histories were deployed to energise and steer – through collective recollections of loss and grievance, or via shared aspirations to return to earlier “Golden Ages” – powerful campaigns that addressed future-focused national-political agendas aimed at liberation, unification and expansion. Second, as this cultural dissection process started to break up Europe’s larger imperial entities, the inevitable result was a new matrix of national state boundaries that brutally carved across the complex on-the-ground realities of older multi-ethnic mosaics. In all cases, minority populations

became stranded within larger new ethno-political entities, condemning them inevitably to the status of second-class citizens. Third, the carving up of Europe into a discrete, ethno-nationalistic blocks offered tempting opportunities for some intellectuals to arrange this horizontal diversity into an imagined hierarchy of cultures and peoples – and in more extremist formulations, into discrete biological races - each possessing divergent potentials for higher socio-cultural development. It is precisely around this time that ideas about “Higher Nordic Races” also started to crystalize across Northern Europe. Finally, the most terrifying implications of this increasingly nationalistic expression of internal European cultural diversity would be felt by smaller groups who were spread as minorities over the entire continent.

Who were these communities? In many of the colourfully-chaotic ethno-linguistic maps created by the imperial cartographers of the doomed Austro-Hungarian Empire just prior to WWI, these groups are listed in the map key but not assigned territories in the map because they are scattered too thinly to ever form a local majority. They are simply listed in terms of overall numbers and categorized as “dispersed peoples” almost as a bureaucratic afterthought. These groups form the large pre-WW2 populations of Roma, Sinti, and Jews, and by this point, the grim familiarity the mid 20th C European history confirms where these powerful national-identity politics would eventually converge.

The economic chaos that followed WW1 was one catalyst that eventually pushed Germany towards an aggressively-populist form of ethnic nationalism, whose political ideologies were built on assertions of inherent Germanic biological and racial superiority over all other cultures and peoples. Perhaps for the first time, these explicitly racial political agendas were directly supported by government investment in the work of professional archaeologists, linguistics, anthropologists, and other specialists. These scholars worked within the state-run interdisciplinary “think tank” of the *SS Ahnenerbe* (“Ancestral Heritage”) in direct intellectual service of the German National Socialist State.



Figure 3. Promoting “authentic” German lifestyles. A late 1930’s propaganda poster for the “Strength through Joy” movement in National Socialist Germany. The image highlights the importance of visiting traditional “Germanic” landscapes, with family excursions combining traditional folk values with new technological developments (the Volkswagen “People’s car”) that reflect higher standards of living. Also emphasised are particular physical features of the family members, their glowing health, plus traditional Germanic gender roles, with masculinity defined by strength, duty, determination and leadership, and female roles associated with fertility, family values and guarding the heritage of deeper folk traditions (Source: Public Domain).

These national-political developments evolved over time and had many familiar and also surprising facets. For example, explicit rejection of the international spirit of Communism led domestic German propaganda of the 1930s to cultivate a deeper ethnic sense of “Land and People” (Figure 3). Organisations like KDF (“Strength through Joy”) celebrated the fusion of modern German technological achievements with deeper folk traditions, championing explicit gender roles for men and women that underlined the moral importance of family and female fertility as guardians of national identity and collective folk destiny. In turn, these values encouraged the pursuit of healthy outdoor recreation within the ancestral folk landscapes of the German homeland.

Iconic species – most centrally the oak tree – came to symbolize a deeper national ideology and worldview and were singled out for special legal protection. Eventually, the unlicensed felling of “ancestral” German oak trees would be assigned the death penalty (Schama 1995). Around the same time as implementing this extreme form of nature protection legislation, the state was also embarking on a twisted journey that would culminate in the industrial-scale extermination of millions of innocent people; these events are now defined as the Porrajmos (“the Devouring” – Roma and Sinti groups) and the Holocaust (European Jews).

Theme 3: Convergent Legacies – History, Memory and Identity in Multicultural Europe

Out of the wreckage of WWII emerged the “New European Dream.” This sought to combine diversity and independence with the ideals of unity and integration. All this required a new and more civic variant of national identity, with citizens protected by legalistic commitments to universal human rights. This shared European framework could then support new kinds of cultural diversity reinforced by commitments to shared prosperity and freedom of equal movement for peoples, goods and services. In this way, this more ethical, optimistic and better-integrated Europe could rise from the ashes and leave behind, once and for all, all the senseless conflicts that had defined the first half of the 20th C. These more recent developments have created a new context in which many different forms of identity and diversity are starting to converge. Specifically, after five hundred years of expanding outwards, Europe’s colonial legacies were finally “coming home” – the result has been the emergence of increasingly multicultural – and in some cities and districts – even majority ethnic communities. But how are the constituent nations of the New Europe dealing with these uniquely complex and entangled legacies of “external” colonialism (“we’re here because you were over there”), as well as the memories of the “internal” conflicts, persecution and genocide that defined the mid 20th C? These details are best examined at the national scale.

PART 2: NATIONAL CASE-STUDY: THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands provides a particularly interesting case-study because it played a central - yet frequently overlooked - role in leading early European colonial expansion, which included sustained involvement in the African slave trade. Moreover, it was subject to German wartime occupation during WWII, culminating in the transportation and extermination of the majority of its large Dutch Jewish community. To understand how and why these two “difficult histories” still figure so highly in contemporary debate and national acts of commemoration and apology, it is important to look first at the main developments in Dutch national history.

Overview of the Netherlands History (1500-1950)

Until late Medieval times what is now the Kingdom of the Netherlands formed a low and

swampy maze of rivers and wetlands undergoing a slow and steady process of reclamation. The region did not play a major role in wider European developments until the late 1500's with resistance to Spanish domination, emergence of an independent republic, and the sudden influx of rich Flemish refugees – including a large proportion of Sephardic Jews – from Antwerp into the sleepy port of Amsterdam and surrounding cities. Historians continue to debate the precise causes of these developments, but the consequences were spectacular – this sudden concentration of knowledge, finance, international contacts and human capital, combined with an optimal geographic location that straddled older and emerging international trade routes, kick-started what eventually became known as the “Dutch Golden Age.”

Over the next hundred years the Netherlands underwent a spectacular process of development, leading global developments in commerce, shipping, exploration, finance, high art, and elegant new forms of urbanization. Dutch navigators pioneered the exploration and mapping of many of the remotest corners of the globe, stretching from Svalbard (“Spitsbergen”) in the Arctic to New Zealand at the edges of Antarctica. New Dutch commercial entities pooled investment and shared risk to create companies that drove an expanding wave of trade, resource exploitation, and the establishment of new colonial outposts. The middle decades of this “golden century” formed the high-water mark of the Netherlands’ imperialistic ambitions - Dutch companies were running whaling stations in the Arctic, operating slave-trading stations in Africa and the Caribbean, and founding colonies and plantations across the Americas, including New Amsterdam (now New York City). In East Asia, they consolidated control of Indonesia, established outposts in Taiwan and even secured monopoly trading rights with the closed empire of Japan.

Intense rivalry with England also ensued over access to primary shipping and trade routes, with the Netherlands prevailing in several cycles of maritime warfare. Arguably, the ultimate triumph for the Netherlands was the “invasion” of England by a sizeable Dutch army in 1688, which enabled Mary and her Dutch husband William of Orange to seize the throne and re-establish a resolutely Protestant lineage (these events are glossed by English historians as “The Glorious Revolution”). However, coeval with these moves was a steady shift in global business operations from Amsterdam towards London, which quickly gained ascendancy, leaving the Netherlands to enter into a long period of relative economic decline. Overall, the Netherlands dropped its larger imperial ambitions and for the next two centuries focused on more lucrative commercial activities centred on its main colonies in Indonesia, the Caribbean, and Surinam in South America.

Skillful geopolitical positioning enabled the Netherlands to remain neutral in WWI, ensuring it remained one of the wealthiest, most stable, and tolerant countries in Europe in 1920. Events unfolded differently in WWII. The Netherlands was attacked by Nazi Germany in May 1940, surrendered quickly, and experienced five years of occupation. Several factors make this a controversial chapter in national history. First, the occupying Germans viewed the Dutch as a Germanic “sister” culture with shared ancestry and a common historical destiny; they sought to integrate and “Nazify” the Dutch population via a civic rather than military occupation. This tactic meant that all the main state institutions remained in operation throughout the occupation, staffed as before, by Dutch citizens. Second, resistance to the occupation was initially slow to develop and

focused mainly on information gathering and production of illegal newspapers. In contrast, there were significant levels of collaboration with the German occupiers at all levels of society. Overall, most people were compelled to operate in the morally-complex “middle ground” between these two polarized positions, though many people went into hiding towards the end of the conflict. Third, the Netherlands was eventually liberated by Allied forces – Polish, Canadian, British and Americans - with most of the cities in the western Netherlands surviving intact, although many civilians perished in the final “Hunger Winter” due to collapsing food supplies. Finally, one of the most enduring academic and societal legacies of the occupation has been the need to adequately explain the sheer scale of the Dutch Holocaust. The Dutch Jewish population was quickly stripped of its legal status, marginalized, and the vast majority then transported to eastern extermination camps.

The immediate post war period (1945-50) was also difficult, but for different reasons. First, the nation needed to repair damage and extensive flooding caused by the final battles of liberation. Second, the Dutch Holocaust left complex ethical and legal issues pertaining to compensation and restoration of property rights. Third, there were difficult questions about the roles played by individuals, communities, and institutions during the occupation. Overall, the Netherlands managed to avoid large-scale lynching and general blood-letting after the liberation, but head-shaving and the parading of traitors was followed by formal trials and a handful of executions for the highest-profile collaborators, offering some sense of justice and “closure.”

On the international stage, however, the initial Netherlands reaction was essentially nationalistic and colonial. Within Europe, it campaigned for the Bakker-Schut Plan - “Oostland - Ons Land” (East land - Our land) – which would have involved annexing large tracts of western Germany as reparations to create a larger and strategically secure Netherlands. Local German populations (who spoke Low German dialects similar to Dutch) would be either forcefully assimilated into mainstream Dutch society or subject to what is now called “ethnic cleansing.” By 1947 this idea was definitively vetoed by an Allied Command that was increasingly concerned about the stability of a newly-democratic West Germany within the tense geopolitics of the early Cold War. Meanwhile, in East Asia, the main Dutch colonies in Indonesia had been liberated by the Allies but it took months before representatives of the post-war Dutch government could arrive and attempt to re-establish colonial authority. Meanwhile, it was clear that local populations were already seeking autonomy from their former European masters. The Netherlands embarked on a short, savage, and ultimately doomed attempt at counter-insurgency warfare to maintain their white colonial rule, though Indonesia achieved formal independence in 1949.

Building the New National Identity (1960-2010): Celebrating “Golden Age” Heritage

From the late 1950s there was a tangible sense in the Netherlands that it was time to move on and embrace the “New European Dream” in a uniquely Dutch manner. This new national “branding” exercise involved the Netherlands presenting itself as a fresh, outward-looking, yet internally-

confident nation. It was proudly historic, but also progressively modern, tolerant, innovative and ethically. The new courts of international justice found a welcoming home in The Hague, and the Netherlands also led early steps in campaigning for increased European economic integration that eventually led to creation of the European Union.

In its own unique way, Dutch archaeology and cultural heritage also found particular roles to play in the forging of this new narrative, though only certain elements were used to illustrate the high points of the national-historical “journey.” First, slow and steady work on domestic archaeological heritage dating to the prehistoric and medieval periods essentially continued as before. Overall, knowledge and understanding benefitted greatly from rescue excavation, research-led projects, and extensive interest from amateur archaeologists, but the main producers and consumers were essentially academics and enthusiasts. Second, and in stark contrast, anything connected to the national glories of the 17th C Dutch Golden Age – architecture, fine art, maritime history, and heritage – all captured the national imagination. They were all actively promoted to shape wider international perceptions of the late 20th C Netherlands, including the elegant architecture of central Amsterdam, Utrecht, Haarlem, and Leiden, combined with the treasures in the National Museum (Rijksmuseum). Together with windmills, tulips, bicycles, and edam cheese, the iconography of the Dutch Golden Age came to define a unique “national brand” that attracts millions of tourists and still sells Dutch products and services worldwide.

Against this backdrop, historical archaeologists born directly after the German occupation also sought out Dutch national heritage in remoter corners of the globe, retracing the footsteps of “heroic” Golden Age explorers as far afield as distant Arctic archipelagos (Figure 4). In terms of theory and method, the overarching research goals were as clear as they were simplistic - to recover the material traces of “our people,” and to use this cultural heritage to illustrate and re-tell the national-populist narrative. Projects included efforts in the late 1970s to early 1980s to excavate European whaling stations and cemeteries on Svalbard. Particular emphasis was focused on the site of Smeerenburg which had originated as a Danish-Dutch joint enterprise, and eventually been taken over by the Dutch whaling companies in the brief but intensive “Whaling Wars” of the mid 17th C. Both scientific and more popular interpretations – published overwhelmingly in Dutch - have consistently framed these events in terms of national-heroic competition, culminating in eventual Dutch triumph and the domination of Svalbard whaling operations. However, this “victory” was short-lived as the collapse of local marine mammal populations to extinction levels drove European whaling fleets to explore other regions. Other activities by recent Dutch archaeological expeditions have included placement of commemorative plaques at sites where 17th C Dutch crews perished in early attempts to over winter on remote Arctic islands to protect whaling stations and stores from raiders. Other plaques have been placed on the Russian Arctic islands of Novaya Zemlya where Willem Barentsz and his crew were stranded in their early efforts to navigate the Northeast Passage over Arctic Russia and through to East Asia.



Figure 4. National-populist high points in Dutch “Fatherland History” (“Vaderlandse Geschiedenis”). Top: traditional picture board used in school history classes (now popular collectors’ items); bottom left: 17th C whaler hat with personalized design recovered from frozen graves on Svalbard and now displayed in the National Museum in Amsterdam; bottom right: “Dutch Hollywood”- poster from the popular 2012 film “Nova Zembla” which retells the heroic story of the doomed Willem Barentsz expedition to discover the Northeast Passage over northern Siberia to the Orient. The film takes the form of a “happy ending” love story (The elderly Barentsz perished but some crew survived and eventually made it home to their loved ones). (sources: Public

Domain).

Some of this fragile heritage was eventually brought “home” from the Arctic and housed like sacred national treasures in Amsterdam’s Rijksmuseum. Personal work-a-day items include the rows of knitted hats recovered from the frozen graves of whalers buried on Svalbard (Figure 4). The proud narrative primarily revolves around the exploits of the brave and enterprising “White Man” up against “Raw Nature”; often, this involves fighting with polar bears (Figure 4) but does not include encounters with local Arctic peoples (Svalbard has no Indigenous cultures). In this way, the national nostalgia for this heroic period of polar exploration and early commercial exploitation enjoys an elegant moral and ethical simplicity; this stands in stark contrast to the more contentious histories of other Dutch colonial ventures that were developing at the same time in the Americas and East Asia (see below).

On a domestic level, these national-populist polar “legends” continue to garner significant public interest and enthusiasm. In 2012, “Dutch Hollywood” jumped into action to produce “Nova Zembla” which retells the fate of the doomed Willem Barentsz expedition in terms of a love story. Internationally, the polar heritage of “our people” has also played a more pragmatic and opportunistic role in supporting Dutch national claims to Svalbard Treaty Rights, and furthermore, in securing the Netherlands Observer Status in the Arctic Council, a new political body created at the end of the Cold War to develop closer circumpolar political collaborations on key issues. Finally, the history of Dutch maritime exploration has also been recycled at the other end of the world – a first ever “Netherlands Antarctic Station” was officially opened with a flurry of flags by the parka-wearing future Dutch King Willem-Alexander in 2013. This “pop-up” research station takes the form of portable labs housed in four shipping containers, which are parked at the edge of Rothera, one of the main operating bases of the British Antarctic Survey. In a burst of romantic national pride, the Dutch drew directly on “Golden Age” heritage and named their new station after Dirck Gerritsz, possibly the first European to sight Antarctica in 1637. Furthermore, the four shipping containers are named after the four ships of his expedition: *Hoop* (*Hope*), *Liefde* (*Love*), *Blijde Boodschap* (*Annunciation*) and *Geloof* (*Belief*).

Commemorating Difficult Histories (1): The Occupation Years (1940-45)

Collective remembrance of the controversial WWII German occupation stands in stark contrast to the central visibility of the Dutch Golden Age within the new national narrative. The difficult issue is how a stable and prosperous democracy, with deeply-embedded commitments to tolerance, diversity, and openness, could allow so many of its fellow citizens to be transported away and exterminated. More specifically, what role did the state, national institutions, and everyday citizens play in these traumatic years? Memory and commemoration have evolved over the decades into different directions. Originally marked every five years, an annual event has now been held from 1990. This starts with the sombre “Dodenherdenking” (“Remembrance of the Dead” held on May 4), focusing on memory of all victims of violent conflict. Wreaths are laid by the royal family and

political leaders at the National Memorial in Dam Square, Amsterdam, with similar ceremonies across the entire country. The next day forms the Bevrijdingsdag (“Liberation Day” on May 5th) with large raucous music parties held in city parks and arenas, often lasting all night. For foreigners living within the Netherlands, the precise significance of these events can be obscure, especially since only Dutch flags and national colours are displayed. In contrast, Canadian flags rarely figure - and Polish flags are never ever displayed - despite that fact that Allied troops from these other nations spearheaded the advance into the northern Netherlands and suffered significant casualties along the way (Figure 5).



Figure 5. *Scenes from a difficult chapter in Dutch national history. Left: Recruitment poster from the period of the German occupation of the Netherlands. It asks “Which of these two is the genuine Dutchman?”, and appeals to young Dutch men to express their masculinity and deeper loyalty to the Netherlands by joining specially-created national units of the Waffen SS – note the Dutch flag on the lower left arm of the uniform (many thousands of Dutch men followed the call and went on to serve with the Waffen SS in Russia, Yugoslavia, France and in the “defence” of their own homeland against the eventual Allied “invasion”). Right: physical scars still visible from the Battle of Groningen (April 1945), which saw several days of bitter street fighting between Canadian troops of the 2nd Infantry Division and members of the Dutch SS, NSB and German Wehrmacht (Source: Public Domain).*

All these features – and especially the ubiquity of the national flag - suggest this is an entirely Dutch *national* commemoration that cherishes celebrated *national* values. But external observers may also be justified in wondering who was being liberated, by whom and from what? And in commemorating only the *victims* of conflict, is there a collective societal amnesia about more controversial aspects of this historical period, including the role of active collaborators and passive bystanders? In fact, the reality of this “memory debate” is more nuanced and marked by intense academic and public discussion, most of which is conducted within the national language media.

Importantly, it is clear that the Netherlands has never attempted to steer or suppress a deep and open fact-based examination of this intensely difficult period, or to withhold these insights and information from wider public scrutiny. For example, the government immediately established the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation in May 1945 whose work culminated with a massive 14-volume standard work on Dutch wartime history. Over time this organisation merged with the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (CHGS) to form the current NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (Dutch: *NIOD Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies*), now an internationally-renowned centre of expertise.

The central issue in the national historiography of this period is explaining the “Dutch paradox” - the question is how could a stable democracy with a long tradition of diversity and religious tolerance become the nation with the lowest Holocaust survival rates in occupied western Europe. Both Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews had been migrating to the Netherlands for centuries and were dispersed across the country. The Dutch Jewish community had particular concentrations in Amsterdam, forming a stable and significant ethnic minority, which varied between 1.4% to 2.2% of the total Netherlands population between the 1800–1940 period (Knippenberg 2022).

When the Germans occupied the Netherlands in 1940, all Jews, most of whom were Dutch citizens, were immediately classified as a separate, inferior race. In 1941 these racial criteria were used to classify around about 140,000 ‘full-Jews’ (all grandparents Jewish). Two core statistics highlight what happened next. First, around 107,000 Jews were transported from the Netherlands and murdered. Only 5,200 survived the concentration camps. Second, at the peak of weekly train transports, the membership of the NSB Dutch Nazi Party (Dutch: *De Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging in Nederland*) had surged to around 100,000. Many of these individuals served in mid to lower governmental roles, as well as in other key regional and local bureaucratic and administrative roles. Together, these figures mean that for every Jewish man, woman and child being transported eastwards to the camps, there was a Dutch citizen directly serving the goals and policies of the German occupiers. Of course, it is also vital to emphasize that throughout the German occupation there were many, many thousands of acts of brave resistance across all sectors of Dutch society, including the sheltering of many thousands of Jewish citizens. Although the resistance movement was slow to emerge and essentially non-violent in nature, many activities ended in arrest, execution, or deportation to the extermination camps.

More generally, the scale of the Dutch Holocaust is often explained by several factors (Knippenberg 2022). First, the Netherlands was subject to a united and very effective government of occupation enabling the German SS to exert strong and direct influence over daily societal affairs. Second, the wider Dutch population and especially the main bureaucratic structures were essentially cooperative, either passively, or in some cases more actively. Third, the Jewish community in the pre-war Netherlands was largely integrated and assimilated into wider society, and like the rest of the population, also tended to comply with orders issued during the onset of the German occupation. Other contributing factors include the developed Dutch state bureaucracy which made it easy to identify and locate individuals with Jewish ancestry, as well as early steps taken by the Germans to isolate the Jewish population via simple measures including exclusion

from certain public spaces, removal of basic legal and property rights, followed by targeted round-up operations. Finally, the flat and densely-settled Dutch landscape offered few opportunities to hide from persecution, and to escape round-ups and targeted arrests.

Over time, however, the national debate about this excruciatingly-sensitive issue has evolved and changed. To briefly summarize a large body of significant national research, initial post-war studies tended to deploy simple quasi-judicial categories of “wrong” versus “right”, or “guilty” versus “innocent”, also expressed in binary black-and-white terms (i.e. “black” as the occupying Germans, plus an actively collaborating Dutch minority; “white” as the occupied Dutch, including members of the resistance). Later Dutch scholarship sought to move beyond these binary black-white “innocent” versus “guilty” formulations, and explore the contextual role of a more ambiguous “grey” category of actors whose decisions and interactions also shaped historical outcomes. These “grey” people are primarily the “bystanders” – the everyday Dutch citizens who were making difficult choices and opportunistic compromises as they struggled to “muddle through” exceptionally challenging and uncertain times. At the centre of this “grey” historiography is the argument that all groups and individuals, whether general bystanders, perpetrators and resistance members, had – at least in certain brief moments - some degree of choice, however constrained by particular events and circumstances. While these day-to-day judgements were often based on incomplete information and balanced perceived risks with potential gains, the argument is that the sum total of these cumulative actions generated a powerful contextual dynamic that ultimately shaped historic outcomes.

The Role of National Institutions

As the deeper implications of this “grey” historiography have gained momentum across Dutch society, the Netherlands has experienced a string of official apologies for the role of state organisations in the Holocaust. For example, after 1942, the state-owned national rail company, Nederlandse Spoorwegen (NS) was awarded lucrative business contracts from the German SS to run the weekly transport trains. These trains – and the wider rail network - were staffed and managed by Dutch employees and carried tens of thousands of Dutch Jews – including Anne Frank – in packed cattle trucks to the German border, from where they were moved onwards to the eastern extermination camps. While railway strikes were eventually held in the Netherlands in the closing months of the war, the vast majority of Dutch Jews had already been removed from national territory by this point. The same company continues to run the national rail network to this today. In 2019 the director of NS made a formal apology for the direct role of the company in the Dutch Holocaust and launched a financial compensation scheme for any remaining survivors.

Other national apologies were timed to coincide with the 75th anniversary of the liberation of the extermination camps in 1945. In May 2020, both the Dutch prime minister Mark Rutte, and King Willem-Alexander, made separate formal apologies on behalf of the Netherlands for its involvement in the Holocaust, as well as for the difficult treatment and bureaucratic obstructions faced by the few survivors in their quest for restoration of looted property after they returned. Overall, the carefully-phrased message was that “Sobibor started in Vondelpark” – in other

words, the road leading to the extermination camps started first with removal of smaller rights and liberties, including the ability of Jewish citizens to enter the large civic parks of Amsterdam. More specifically, the apologies also highlighted the ambiguous conduct of the wider “bystander” population – including members of the exiled royal family – in not doing enough to acknowledge the persecution and suffering of its own citizens, and to do more - and start much earlier – in shielding and protecting the Dutch Jewish community.

The Role of Dutch Academia

It is also possible to find traces of this “grey” historiography amidst the architecture and symbolism of Dutch higher-education institutions, many of which are today leading primary academic research into key events and individuals of the occupation years. For example, the University of Groningen (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen) is one of the oldest Dutch universities and was opened during the Dutch Golden Age in 1614. Over three hundred years later, it remained open throughout the German wartime occupation, though it was steadily integrated into the National Socialist administration. Today, the grand staircase of the main academic building contains a black commemorative stone marking the names of all staff and students who perished between 1940-45, many in death camps, others executed after brave acts of resistance. The top of the staircase leads on into the grand academic hall where aspiring researchers defend their PhDs and where new professors hold inaugural lectures. All these awards and distinctions are officially bestowed by the university’s Rector Magnificus. In one part of the large stained-glass windows that shed soft, colourful light on these formal proceedings, there is a dedication to the Dutch Jewish intellectual Leonard Polak, a local university professor who died at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, becoming one of Groningen’s first Holocaust victims.

Information about the events and personalities that defined the role of the university in the occupation are by no means withheld - or are in any way made secret – but serve to illuminate the controversial roles played by some Dutch academics in this period. In 1940, the Germans occupiers imposed a new Rector Magnificus on the university, who was promoted from within its own Faculty of Letters, albeit in direct breach of university autonomy. The aging Johannes M.N. Kapteyn was a Dutch Germanist whose research had sought to highlight the deeper Pan Germanic roots of the Netherlands’ Frisian and Saxon populations. One of his first acts during the occupation was to oversee the sacking of all Dutch Jewish teaching staff from the university; in March 1941 all Jewish students were also excluded – the new regulations were initially tolerated by both the academic and student community. Kapteyn also played a very direct and personal role in betraying and incriminating Leonard Polak for alleged anti-German sentiment, and these actions led directly to his arrest and death. At his eventual trial just after the war, the frail Kapteyn pleaded to being “educated but naive” but died before he could be sentenced. By 2005, a new Rector Magnificus stated that the university had done too little to save Polak and that it should feel “deep shame” for allowing Nazi sympathisers to be inserted so easily into senior academic roles.

Later in the German occupation, Kapteyn was replaced by a new “puppet” leader, Herman Maximilien de Burlet, who was an NSB member. Later phases of the occupation created more

difficult choices for the university community. After all Jewish students were banned from student organisations, combined with closure of the student newspaper, the student community took the brave step of boycotting lectures in 1943. The response was harsh – all students needed to sign a declaration of loyalty or would be conscripted for labour duty in Germany. Choices were made: around ten percent of the students signed the pledge of loyalty document; others reported for work and some went into hiding for the rest of the war.

Dutch archaeologists were also involved in these turbulent events – one of the most enigmatic figures was Assien Bohmers, affiliated for many decades with Groningen University’s Biological Archaeological Institute (BAI). In the late 1930s he had already developed very close academic ties to the SS Ahnenerbe, including a strong professional relationship with its Director, Wolfram Sievers, who was eventually found guilty of crimes against humanity and hung in 1948. Historical analysis concludes that Bohmers was self-focused, driven, and opportunistic (Carmiggelt 2019). When viewed from this perspective, his cultivation and manipulation of personal connections with the SS Ahnenerbe were clearly important in securing rapid professional advancement, including access to important career-defining archaeological collections. In contrast, his academic publications made no explicit reference to Nazi racial doctrine and nor was he a formal member of the SS. However, he did subscribe to the widespread belief – fairly typical across academia at that time - that North Europeans and certain East Asian cultures had a capacity for higher cultural development that Africans and Australian Aborigines generally lacked.

Although arrested and interviewed by Canadian Military Intelligence after the Allied liberation of Groningen, the investigators were probably asking the wrong kinds of question about his roles and activities, and he was eventually released. He remained on the university academic staff until the 1960s and retired with full pension (Carmiggelt 2019). Overall, these kinds of detailed biographic analyses of significant – albeit controversial – historical figures generates further insights into some of the “grey” workings of Dutch academia in the decades prior to and also after the German occupation.

Discussion: Shaping National Memory Debates

Across the Netherlands, there are now thousands of monuments referencing the people, places, and events that defined the horrors of the occupation years. These range from small plaques at the execution sites of resistance fighters in remote forests, through to “stumbling stones” in the cobbled streets marking the names of fates of particular Holocaust victims. Many critical heritage initiatives are now underway, aiming to educate current and future generations about the complex lessons to be drawn from this period of “difficult history.” Larger projects include work on the “camp-scapes” of Westerbork, the main railway transit camp used for the transportation of victims to the extermination camps. All these memorials, exhibitions, and commemorations expose the operation of both explicit - and implicit - decision-making processes that guide primary societal narratives by selecting certain individuals, images or artefacts for presentation while glossing over and concealing others. Together, these intersections generate the process by which collective memory is actively shaped, updated, and transformed by the cumulative actions of curators, cultural

critics, and academic researchers, as well as the expectations of survivors, their descendants, and the streams of public visitors.

So would it be correct to conclude that the annual May 4th commemorations and May 5th celebrations represent a carefully choreographed exercise in collective “societal amnesia”, a kind of deliberate “un-remembering,” of many of the more controversial and sensitive aspects of the German occupation? Or is something more subtle involved? Overall, Dutch society continues to engage in a frank, vigorous, and fact-based assessment of this most painful chapter in its recent national history. Also important is the widespread effort invested in linking the latest academic developments in understanding the evolving historiographic analysis of the occupation to collective commemoration of that period. Factual and moral dimensions are actively taught in schools and shared with the wider public.

In discussing the occupation years, it is also important not to lose sight of the fact that events are still grounded in a brutal historical logic – the Netherlands did *not* initiate WWII, it was a neutral country *invaded* by a larger neighbouring power. In other words, it was indeed a *victim* of external military aggression and all subsequent events unfolded from that pivotal moment. At the same time, however, many personal actions and interventions in this complex chain of events simply remain “difficult history” – information is widely available but the national narrative generally settles on the clearer and more acceptable themes of invasion, suffering, resistance, and eventual liberation. Interestingly, other aspects of recent national history have experienced similar treatment but for other complex reasons. These include the conduct of Dutch military forces in the Indonesian counter-insurgency campaigns of the late 1940s (Doolan 2019), also the subject of state apologies by the Dutch Foreign Minister in 2016 and King Willem Alexander in 2020.

Difficult Histories (2): Revisionist Perspectives on the “Dutch Golden Age”

Other aspects of Dutch national history are also undergoing renewed reflection and growing critique, especially the role of the Netherlands in leading European colonial expansion, especially the sustained and substantial Dutch role in organising and profiting from slave trading. These memory debates have a different dynamic. In many ways, this critique levels a more direct assault on the cherished “Dutch Golden Age” of national-cultural achievement. Moreover, many of the more controversial aspects of this period have been glossed over in the national consciousness because they largely – at least from a Dutch perspective – took place in remoter corners of the world and could be quietly forgotten. Until relatively recently, the topic of slavery never figured highly in school education, nor in the contemporary national consciousness.

Revisionist critique first emerged from the museums sector around ten years ago, highlighting that the concept of a “Dutch Golden Age” was, at best, a creation of national-popular pride that

did not reflect the historical reality of the period. At worst, it was argued to be outdated, elitist and deliberately blind to poverty and exploitation, and that it should be replaced by more neutral chronological terms such as the “seventeenth-century Netherlands”. Initially, curators and historians highlighted the fate of poorer classes within the Netherlands both in cities and rural hinterlands. For example, it was known from the outset that many of the “heroic” Dutch whaling crews buried in Svalbard (see above) were essentially poor, older men in acute bad health, faced with few other economic options, and probably forming a wider maritime “underclass” that serviced the demands of the expanding commercial fleets. Indeed, only around two-thirds of the crews were actually registered as Dutch, others sailors came from “other places.” However, this kind of class-based critique (or highlighting the ecological devastation on marine mammal populations inflicted by the Dutch fleets that triumphed in the 17th C “Whaling Wars” in the seas around Svalbard) has never gained wider public or academic traction within the Netherlands, perhaps due to the enduring national nostalgia for the events of this period. Likewise, the artistic and architectural treasures of the 17th C continue to define the successful Dutch national “brand.”

Historic Dutch Involvement in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

A more intense public debate now centres on the details and contemporary significance of the deep Dutch involvement in trafficking slaves. First, the sustained Dutch involvement in people-trafficking is beyond dispute. As an aspiring colonial power, Dutch participation in slave trading brought immense profits flooding back into 17th C Amsterdam and other Dutch cities and institutions. The proceeds were pivotal in the creation of early national wealth, supporting further commercial expansion. Dutch companies were responsible for half of all slaves shipped to the New World between 1650 and 1675. By the end of the 19th C around 600,000 Africans had been transported in Dutch ships, forming around 6% of the 12 million Africans shipped by Europeans to the New World. Second, the Netherlands was also the last European nation to abolish slavery, and while the trade in slaves was made illegal in 1814, slavery remained in place in the Dutch colonial plantations until 1863. After abolition, the Dutch owners were compensated for their financial loss, but freed slaves continued to work as indentured laborers for another decade, until replaced by the arrival of Asian workers.



Figure 6. *The Netherlands flag flies proudly over Fort Elmina (circa 1667), a major Dutch slave-trading in West Africa. Here African slaves were obtained by Dutch merchants from local brokers and shipped to the Americas. The Dutch captured the fort from the Portuguese in 1637 and the entire Portuguese Gold Coast in 1642, renaming it the “Dutch Gold Coast”. The Netherlands ran major slave trading operations from Fort Elmina until 1814 (source: Blaeu-Van der Hem Atlas (dated ca 1665-1668), vol. 36:19, fol. 62 - 63, (16), Austrian National Library (<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/baa13770845>)).*



Figure 7. High-profile contributions to the (inter)national debate about the sustained historical role of the Netherlands in the Atlantic slave trade. To raise awareness and stimulate public debate Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum has curated a series of path-breaking exhibitions, books and documentary films, all combined with resources that align with the updated versions of national education curriculum (Source: Public Domain).

The “triangular” character of the Atlantic slave trade meant that the trafficking of Africans was never witnessed directly within the Netherlands. First, ships of the WIC (West India Company) left Dutch harbours and sailed for West Africa loaded with weapons, ammunition, liquor, and textiles. These goods were used to buy slaves from local intermediaries. Slaves were first corralled and then shipped across to colonies in the Americas. Like many European nations, the Netherlands developed its own company-owned slave-trading posts in West Africa, including Fort Elmina (Figure 6), which formed part of the “Dutch Gold Coast” that was run by the WIC. Second, with growing competition for profitable colonies, the WIC had switched efforts from running vulnerable outputs to profiting from the more safe and lucrative slave trade. Curaçao in the Caribbean emerged in the 17th C as a major slave-trading hub, where the Dutch sold on fresh shipments of Africans to the Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French colonies for a steep profit (Curaçao remains today a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and has now emerged as a popular Dutch long-haul holiday destination). Third, the slave ships would then return to the Netherlands laden with sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, or tobacco, all grown on plantations. While Amsterdam’s merchants and bankers profited most, smaller Dutch business including sailmakers, carpenters, and shipyards enjoyed a lively business from the slave trade. In the 18th C the Netherlands started to lose its dominance in the slave trade, with Britain taking over this role. Instead, Dutch efforts focus on its remaining colonies including Surinam, whose plantations continue to require a slave labour force; in total, the Dutch shipped around 300,000 Africans to this colony.

Modern Legacies: Dutch Slave-Trading Histories

The scale and significance of Dutch involvement in the Atlantic slave trade has long been overlooked in populist national narratives of the Dutch Golden Age but this “difficult history” has now burst into wider public debate and shows no sign of disappearing. Overall, it was the innovative Dutch museums sector, combined with local community leaders in the major cities, who took bold and early steps to improve wider public awareness. In a manner quite untypical of national institutions that are typically tasked with “celebrating” national cultural achievements, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam curated a series of high-profile exhibitions, leading to books, films, and teaching resources for the national curriculum (Figure 7). Many of these efforts adopted a multi-vocal approach to explore diverse roles and experiences, covering the full Dutch colonial period from the 17th to the 19th century. They develop a global perspective on events of this period, including the role of both the WIC in the Atlantic slave trade, as well as the Dutch East India Company (VOC) which was involved in colonial slavery in South Africa and Asia. Also examined is how the system impacted back on economic and cultural life of the Netherlands.

The complex legacies of colonial slave trading received a renewed surge of international attention in 2020, and within the Netherlands, the sustained Dutch involvement was also highlighted in a burst of protests and frank public debates. These confrontations highlighted a particularly uncomfortable dimension to the more popular national narratives that define Dutch identity in terms of deep civic values of mutual tolerance and respect for diversity. Marked societal shifts have resulted, with the Mayor of Amsterdam making a formal public apology in 2021 for the city’s past role in slavery, stating that “The city officials and the ruling elite who, in their hunger for profit and power, participated in the trade in enslaved people, in doing so entrenched a system of oppression based on skin colour and race.” Utrecht followed with a formal apology in 2022 and the major Dutch bank ABN-Amro has also made apologies for historic involvement in slavery. A national apology has long been regarded as divisive and controversial, but was eventually issued in late 2022 by the Netherlands prime minister Mark Rutte. While welcomed as long overdue in some quarters, the statement was heavily criticized due to the lack of consultation with the descendent communities who now form significant ethnic minorities within the Netherlands.

From Revisionist Histories to Popular Folk Traditions

Have debates about the “difficult histories” of Dutch slave-trading and colonial exploitation within academic and political circles, or been restricted to the larger multi-cultural cities? Perhaps unique to the Netherlands is the fact that the growing awareness of slavery and other forms of colonial injustice now collide with a deeply-traditional Dutch children’s festival – within this festival “Black Pete” (Zwarte Piet) is the central character (Figure 8). Opinions remain sharply deeply divided but show some signs of reconciliation.

So who is Black Pete? The figure probably emerged in the mid 19th C and is central to an essentially “indigenous” Dutch tradition. He is the playful assistant of Sinterklaas (or Sint-Nicolaas), a senior white-skinned bishop, who together bring boat loads of gifts and sweets to well-behaved

children at the start of December. After arrival of their ship, they parade through the streets, the white bishop in lavish robes and tall hat riding on a horse, and the playful Black Pete (often several of them) walking alongside giving out gifts to the crowds. Black Pete is traditionally dressed as a servant, with tight black curly hair, a black face, thick lips and gold earrings (Figure 8). The same themes and characters were depicted in many generations of children’s books. It has also been traditional to decorate shop windows with a Black Pete display at the start of the festive season. Most families, schools, social clubs, companies, and educational institutions also held festivals in which Black Pete was central. Traditionally, this meant that as white-skinned Dutch people – children and adults – played out these festive roles, as they have done for many generations, they donned wigs, earrings, red lip stick and “black face” to become the Black Pete character (as recently as 2014, supermarkets typically sold “black face” kits by the checkout every year).



Figure 8. *Innocent character in a traditional Dutch children’s festival or deeply racist caricature? Example of a set from Playmobil’s “Sinterklaas-Zwarte Piet” toy series, with new themes issued each year from 2010 to 2013. The Playmobil steamboat with Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet was nominated as “Netherlands Toy of the Year 2011” by Stichting SpeelGoed Nederland. Production briefly ceased with the intensification of the “Black Pete Debate”, but was briefly resumed in 2018 due to very high public demand. Production has now been terminated but the older toy sets have become popular “collectors’ items”.*

The fundamental controversy in what has become known as the “Black Pete Debate” is the precise cultural and historical significance of this character – does he reference an embedded societal racism, a lingering colonial mentality associated with slave-trading and exploitation, or is he an innocent figure in an essentially naïve and harmless festival for children? In other words, is the character simply being “misunderstood” (or mis-represented) by outsiders and international activists who do not understand and appreciate the Netherlands’ deep history of religious and cultural tolerance? Many Dutch families regard this as an unfounded attack by outsiders on their “indigenous” family and community traditions.

Within the Netherlands’ increasingly multicultural society, however, the parades and displays of Black Pete are regarded as symptomatic of a deeper and more institutionalized racism that pervades all sectors of society. For these reasons, the debate has polarized opinion across the country, with larger cosmopolitan cities and the main urban areas leading the way in replacing “Black-Face” Pete with an updated and more neutral “Sooty-face” Pete whose smeared and grimy face is a result of him climbing down chimneys to deliver presents. In contrast, traditionalists – many of whom predominantly live in smaller towns and rural areas – have stubbornly maintained the original form of the character as an expression of their right to uphold authentic Dutch traditions and practices without outside interference. As a result, divergent perspectives impact families, split generations, and unsettle communities. Many parents have talked about the dread and fatigue of having to navigate changing expectations about what is essentially an annual “children’s festival;” the debate resurfaces in the media as each new winter season approaches.

Significantly, the mayors of all the major Dutch cities have now moved to ban “Black-Face” Pete in the annual civic processions. There are now clear signs that a wider transition to “Sooty Pete” is already well underway across Dutch society. Throughout this period, the government has refused to take sides and issue formal statements or positions. Yet are these developments just cosmetic and superficial updates to a popular festival character? Many civic leaders assert that the convenient switch to “Sooty Pete” barely masks deeper societal prejudices and argue that an institutionalized racism that still lingers within the Netherlands. The “Childcare Benefits Scandal” of 2021 (Figure 9) devastated the lives of 26,999 parents and shocked the entire Dutch nation, bringing these issues again into central focus. Accusations of systematic racial profiling at the expense of deeper human rights eventually resulted in resignation of the entire Dutch cabinet (Amnesty International 2021: 5-6).



Figure 9. Cover of Amnesty International’s independent investigation into the 2021 Dutch Child Benefit Scandal, which reached damning conclusions about institutionalized racism within national ministries (Source: Amnesty International).

Conclusions: National Memory Debates, Identity and Cultural Diversity

This paper has explored - on a very general level – some of the origins and contemporary legacies of “difficult histories” that now play out at national, European, and indeed, global scales. The Netherlands case-study explores how popular national narratives are repeatedly being challenged

by new and emerging perspectives on history, identity, and diversity. These confrontations and adjustments have been stimulated by both increasing international awareness as well as new forms of local cultural encounter generated by migration and globalization. While the evolving Dutch “memory debate” has its own particular trajectories and nuances, it is clearly nourished and protected by a broader societal commitment to objective enquiry, fact-based analysis, and energetic efforts at wider public engagement and debate; importantly, these initiatives involve local communities, civic leaders, academic researchers, the national media, plus all the major cultural and political institutions.

These progressive trends are further protected by commitments to basic academic freedoms, and via deeper financial and political support for original research into controversial historical themes. Notably, the focus of public debate is also encouraged and enriched by a bold and dynamic museums sector, not afraid to reach out and explore themes that unsettle more “comfortable” and familiar national-historical narratives. Likewise, public exhibitions are combined with in-depth research, wider societal and community-based engagement, supported by targeted educational activities aimed at informing future generations. In turn - and in an increasingly globalized and multi-cultural world – these elements do appear to signal a broader societal capacity to tackle uncomfortable historical questions in the pursuit of deeper understanding and improved mutual accommodation and understanding. Of course, problems remain, but on balance, the Netherlands continues to exhibit a frank and open commitment to “coming to terms with the past” in order to create more tolerant and equitable futures, no matter how complex, troubled, and uncomfortable the intervening memory debates have often become.

To conclude these reflections, there are many insights here that could help guide and inform how other nations choose to resolve their own “difficult histories.” For example, within northern Europe, complex legacies are tied to similar colonial histories in the Americas (and beyond), but in some cases, they also involve controversial state interactions with Sami Indigenous communities of northern Scandinavia, and with the Inuit populations of Greenland. Likewise, in Northeast Asia, Japan is also coming to terms with its complex colonial entanglements with Ainu Indigenous minorities in Hokkaido.

NOTES

Note 1. This article forms an abridged version of a key note lecture that was delivered in January 2022 at the opening ceremony of Hokkaido University’s new Global Station for Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity (GSI GSI GI-CoRE). The invitation encouraged a presentation that offered critical reflections on European concepts of indigenous identity and cultural diversity. The original title was “Reflecting on i(Indigeneity in the Age of the Anthropocene: A European Perspective”.

Note 2. These insights and reflections based on two periods of residence in the Netherlands as a British Citizen: (i) circa 6 months at the University of Amsterdam as an ERASMUS exchange student (1990); (ii) 8.5 years of formal residence as an employee of Groningen University (2013-

2021). Fluency in Dutch, combined with numerous friendships and other social and professional interactions, supported a more “internal” understanding of how the contemporary Netherlands is engaging with particular events and historical legacies. In the end, however, all the interpretations offered here are subjective and personal.

Note 3. Given that the paper originated as a public lecture the academic citation has been kept to a minimum. This also reflects the fact that all the main historical events covered here are already public knowledge across Europe. Moreover, many of the more specific insights and interpretations are personal interpretations (see Note 2, above). Finally, as stated in the introduction, the paper primarily aims to engage with international readers living and working outside Europe, and is intended to stimulate broader personal reflection into how the themes of historical memory, identity and contemporary cultural diversity intersect in particular ways in other world regions.

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Indigenous Studies and Anthropology: Future Pathways and Partnerships

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Abstract

Anthropology, with its holistic approach to the study of human cultures, past and present, has a great deal to offer to contemporary societies. Its ability to provide insights about humans over the course of millions of years continues to serve those interested in the ways that humans might continue to evolve. Indigenous Studies is more generally thought to be focused on specific groups of people who have been impacted by colonization and their individual cultural developments. Indigenous Studies uses a more internal perspective that recognizes that Indigenous peoples have disparate literatures, knowledge systems, political structures, languages, and world views, but that they share commonalities that link them with other Indigenous peoples of the world. It also acknowledges that colonialism in its many forms has impacted sovereignty, human rights, landholdings, religious freedom, health, welfare, and cultural integrity. This paper offers a general discussion of anthropological and Indigenous Studies perspectives, presents the benefits and problems of working with communities, and then offers suggestions on how anthropology can become more relevant to Indigenous communities through a hybridization of anthropological and Indigenous Studies' perspectives.

Keywords: *Anthropology; Colonialism; Community-Based Participatory Research; Indigenous Studies; Collaborative archaeology; Participatory Action Research*

Introduction

While practitioners of Anthropology and Indigenous Studies might believe that the approaches to research exercised by each discipline are better remaining separate and distinct from each other, I believe that each approach to studying contemporary peoples has much to offer the other. This paper begins with some basic background on Anthropological and Indigenous Studies perspectives, and then delves into a discussion of some of the benefits of working with communities as well as

some of the problems that occur in trying to do so. The paper concludes with suggestions on ways that Anthropology can become more relevant to Indigenous communities through a hybridization of Anthropological and Indigenous Studies' perspectives.

The discipline of Anthropology has consistently focused on studying human behavior, and the product of that behavior, human culture. It attempts to draw generalities from studies of individual human cultures, both over time and over geography. Cultural anthropology attempts to derive general ideas about human groups through comparison with specific things in human cultures; biological anthropology works to develop hypotheses about human development over time; linguistic anthropology studies human languages and language use over time; and archaeology attempts to provide information about human cultural development through comparisons with cultures of the past. In this way, anthropology can be seen as a mechanism by which we are better able to understand human behavior in its many forms and to provide a broader understanding of the ways that humans have evolved over time.

Anthropology might use other sciences as part of specific research foci, but it is generally considered a single discipline. Indigenous Studies, on the other hand, is an interdisciplinary field of study that researches various groups of people who are generally seen to have been colonized by other cultures. Paul Sillitoe (2015: 8) describes Indigenous Studies as “research conducted by and for Indigenous people rather than being about them,” which aims to benefit the community and the researcher.

It is important to recognize that the term “Indigenous” has many interpretations and meanings. As a base point from which to start, the definition offered by the United Nations' International Labor Organization in Part I, Article 1, of its Convention 169 (ILO 1989) is appropriate:

- (a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural, and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; and
- (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.

Despite this international approach to defining “Indigenous,” the recognition and application of the definition to specific groups of people often rests with the formality of the relationship between the nation-state and the group under consideration. In the United States, for example, there are 574 American Indian tribes recognized as eligible for government-provided programs.

These tribes have a formal government-to-government relationship with the federal government. But there are also groups of people who claim American Indian ancestry but who are not members of one of these 574 groups, and thus are not eligible for government-provided programs. In Japan, where the Ainu have been recognized as Japan's indigenous population, some authors have reported that there are Ainu-identified persons (individuals who claim Ainu ancestry) who are precluded from membership in the Ainu Association of Hokkaido and from receiving government-issued subsidies because they choose not to live on the Island of Hokkaido (Lewallen 2008, Nakamura 2015, Watson 2010).

There are numerous Indigenous studies programs – American Indian/Native American Studies¹, First Nations Studies, Aboriginal Studies, Māori Studies, and even Ainu Studies² – and each has different goals and paradigms under which they operate. Even though such programs tend to focus on specific groups, many also offer broad comparisons concerning global issues that face Indigenous groups. In a broad sense, the primary focus of Indigenous Studies programs is on Indigenous ways of knowing and thinking as avenues to better understanding Indigenous culture, history, sovereignty, government, education, philosophy, and the environment, to name but a few.

Using a contemporary example, the Centre for Indigenous Studies of the University of Toronto describes its Indigenous Studies program as a way of engendering “a rigorous and respectful understanding of Indigenous peoples’ languages, knowledges, cultures, histories, politics, arts, intellectual traditions, and research methodologies” (Centre for Indigenous Studies n.d.). A key feature of their program relies upon “respect and promotion of Indigenous knowledges, as evidenced by the commitment to Indigenous language instruction and courses devoted to the topic of Indigenous knowledge itself” (Centre for Indigenous Studies n.d.).

At first glance, the differences between the approaches of Anthropology and Indigenous Studies programs are apparent. Anthropology, as an outgrowth of Western science, generally sets the outsider-as-observer as the expert, recording aspects of cultures that the cultural practitioners may not recognize. The researcher generally tries to gather materials that can usefully be objectively compared to human cultures globally and often attempts to maintain an objective perspective so that the resultant data are somewhat free from researcher bias (an etic perspective). Nonetheless, Anthropology has often been linked to colonialism and the colonial enterprise, reflecting its earlier manifestations, which it has not entirely shaken off despite considerable efforts. Indigenous Studies, on the other hand, attempts to foreground insiders’ perspectives in the research (an emic perspective), and works from the idea that “objectivity” is neither possible nor preferable. The variety of Indigenous Studies programs generally aim to “decolonize” their disciplines as a means of lessening the impact of previous research and resultant policies on contemporary populations. While both groups of researchers aim to provide specific information about a specific group of people

1 In this paper, I use “American Indian” and “Native American” interchangeably, although some other authors recognize the politics of each term.

2 Hudson, Lewallen & Watson 2014 volume *Beyond Ainu Studies* draws attention to an alternative meaning of the term as it has been applied to the study of the Ainu as scientific specimens.

that can be beneficial to contemporary populations, Anthropology tries to maintain “objectivity;” although the idea of researcher subjectivity has become a vibrant theme in Anthropology (i.e., the post-processual approach).

Action Anthropology

Regardless of whether Indigenous Studies are seen as expressing advocacy, there are some practitioners of Anthropology who approach their work in ways that can be seen as advocacy. Their research derives from the community and is intended to relate to specific situations, rather than trying to craft a “fix” based only on the researcher’s perspective. Two common forms of research that fit this perspective are Community-based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR).

Community-based Participatory Research

Community-based Participatory Research (CBPR) is a research program that involves communities directly in all aspects of research that has impact on them. It allows the community to set the research agenda, determine the specific situations that the community wants help with, and initiate any programs that might result from the research. It has been more commonly used in public health initiatives, but increasingly anthropologists are using it as a way of creating outcomes that directly benefit the communities where the anthropologists work. For example, archaeologists Sara Gonzalez and Ian Kretzler of the University of Washington partnered with Briece Edwards of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde Community of Oregon to conduct an archaeological field school that served to increase tribal capacity to identify, record, and protect tribal heritage on the reservation (Gonzalez et al 2018).

There is a large and growing body of papers written describing CBPR and CBPR projects. Green and Mercer (2001) provide Venn diagrams (Figure 1) to illustrate the levels of participation and collaboration of different stakeholders played out in participatory research (PR). This diagram is a good general way to clarify distinctions between basic and applied research (the area within the oval on the left) and action research (the central circle). The overlap between the circle on the right and the other two necessarily includes those involved in the action situation (usually practitioners and service providers) as *subjects* of, rather than as *participants*, in the research. While Green and Mercer’s figure relates primarily to health-related research, it was one of the first to diagram different types of research and their impacts on various publics as stakeholders.

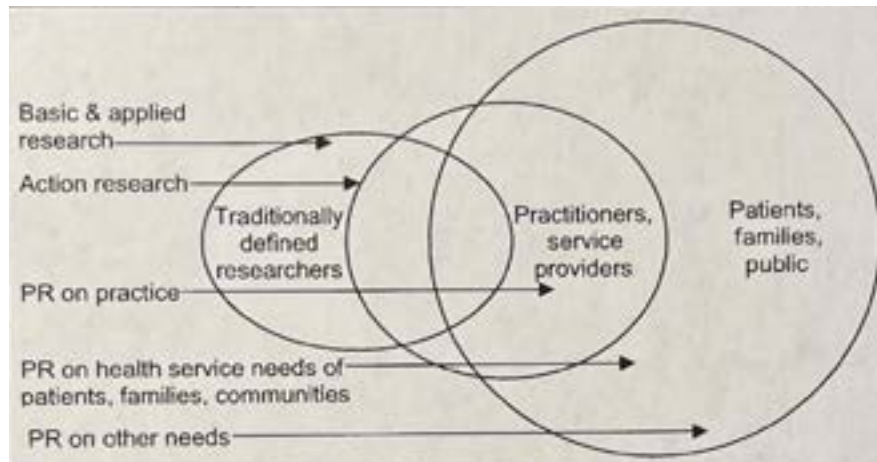


Figure 1. Levels of participation and collaboration of different groups in participatory research (PR). From Green and Mercer 2001: Figure 1, 1927.

In 2003, the United States Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality within the US Department of Health and Human Services offered a good summary of the relatively new (at that time) community-based participatory research. The report described the ways that CBPR partnerships with community-based organizations can lead to better health outcomes. The document, while dated, still provides good background on the processes, goals, and methods of conducting this sort of research.

More recently, Holkup et al. (2004) discuss how CBPR is “an appealing model for research with vulnerable populations” as part of their work with Native American communities (2004: 162). Their article is useful as it provides a definition of CBPR, discusses principles of the approach, offers a historic context of the use of CBPR, and discusses some of the challenges the researchers faced when using the approach.

Despite the positive examples that have come out of CBPR, some researchers may find it difficult to give up their power by allowing the community to set the agenda and the research questions it would like to be researched. For example, Muhammad and his colleagues (2015) offer insights into the role that unequal power relations and positionality (of the researcher and the community members) plays in the partnering processes and the outcomes. They note how researchers are seen by community members to have “power, privilege, and status” based on academic standing and research publications; thus, the authors suggest it is necessary for practitioners of community-based research to recognize “how dimensions of power and privilege conferred by [the researcher’s academic *personae*] ... impact our capacity to co-create effective CBPR” (2015: 3) and for the practitioners to take steps to try to lessen those power differentials at the beginnings of community-based research endeavors.

Anthropology might have been slow to adopt the CBPR model, but it is now widely recognized as a valid method of study. In 2015, the Society for Applied Anthropology published an issue of its *Practicing Anthropology* journal devoted entirely to CBPR. Titled “Community – Academic

Partnerships and Ethnographic Field Training” (Vol. 37, No. 4), the issue offered insights and discussion of student and professional experiences during work that emerged from the 2013 season of the Health Equity Alliance of Tallahassee (HEAT) Ethnographic Field School community-academic partnership in Tallahassee, Florida (Szurek and Gravlee 2015: 3). The various articles offer positive examples and the authors’ insights into the process that can help researchers better understand the positive outcomes that can accrue as a result of this approach to research.

But CBPR is not just for individual researchers. The Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (BARA) is an academic research unit within the School of Anthropology at the University of Arizona in Tucson, Arizona. It uses CBPR as a foundation in its work with research projects that involve or impact communities. The Bureau considers CBPR to be “a framework for learning and reflection in action” (BARA n.d.). Key tenets of the program are to “foster collaboration among community members and researchers (including students), engage all in reflective practice and reciprocal learning, build the capacity of community groups to create change, balance research and action, practice inter- and multi-disciplinary work, and situate community concerns in a larger context” (BARA n.d.). As a research-driven organ within the University, the Bureau continues to find newer ways to bring the community more fully into the research process.

Sonya Atalay (2007, 2010, 2012) has advocated for CBPR in archaeology. Her 2012 volume *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by and for Indigenous and Local Communities* drew its title from Nicholas and Andrews’ 1997 definition of “Indigenous Archaeology” as “archaeology done with, for, and by Indigenous peoples” (Nicholas and Andrews 1997: 3, footnote 5). It provides examples of Atalay’s work in projects that involved the communities and calls for archaeology to recognize that research must benefit the community as well as the discipline – otherwise, Atalay believes, archaeology will continue to be paternalistic and colonialist without contributing to the non-academic reader.

Participatory Action Research

Another sort of action archaeology is known as participatory action research (PAR). As described by Hollowell and Nicholas, PAR is “a well-established emancipatory methodology that promotes reciprocal and collaborative practices through participation of ‘the researched’ in the design, implementation, evaluation, and benefits of research” (2009, 147). They note the similarities with community-oriented/collaborative archaeology projects: both PAR and collaborative projects aim to increase partnership in the choice of research problems, bring in the partner to co-develop research methodology, and target benefits to the community. However, the power base and benefits of such partnerships still tend to be skewed towards the outside researcher who is often seen as bringing money (and, therefore, “power”) into the research.

Thus, for PAR or CBPR projects to succeed, these potential power imbalances must be identified and challenged. Hollowell and Nicholas (2009, 148) present some of the “critical questions” that PAR typically addresses: Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose intentions does it serve? Who

will benefit? Who designs the questions and frames the scope of research? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How are results disseminated? These and other sorts of questions must be asked at the beginning of any community-based project in order for the answers derived from the research to be beneficial to the community involved with the anthropologist.

Collaborative archaeology

There are other names given to a community-based approach to conducting research in addition to CBPR. “Collaborative archaeology” has come into use to describe projects that are more directly involved with community members. “Indigenous Archaeology” can be seen as one aspect of collaborative archaeology and has been discussed quite fully in the past, but it is important to note that collaborative archaeology can be used with any community and not just Indigenous ones. Jordan Kerber’s edited volume *Cross-Cultural Collaboration: Native Peoples and Archaeology in the Northeastern United States* (2006) was one of the first to specifically mention “collaboration,” but there are other edited volumes that describe many such projects (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Silliman 2008). Chip Colwell provided a more detailed discussion of collaborative archaeology in his *Annual Review of Anthropology* article in 2016 (Colwell 2016: 113-127), including a brief history of the various projects that have occurred which have sought to bring the community into partnerships with researchers.

Colwell’s representation (Figure 2) of the continuum of colonial control on one end of the spectrum and community control on the other (Colwell 2016) as it played out in the past is a good example of the range that communities and researchers can (or can choose not to) share power and control over archaeological projects. However, it is important to define “collaboration.” It is most often presented as some form of the archaeologist “working together” with the community (of whatever sort), but that seems rather unsatisfactory; true collaboration should involve full and equal power sharing, decision making, benefits flow, and so forth – at least as much as the research and community allow.

Colonial control	Resistance	Participation	Collaboration	Indigenous control
Goals set solely by archaeologists	Goals develop in opposition	Goals develop independently	Goals develop jointly	Goals are set by tribe
Information is extracted and removed from community	Information is secreted	Information is disclosed	Information flows freely	Information is proprietary and controlled by tribe
Descendants involved as laborers	No stakeholder involvement	Limited stakeholder involvement	Full stakeholder involvement	Archaeologists are employees or consultants of tribe
No voice for descendants	Little voice for descendants	Some voice for descendants	Full voice for descendants	Full voice of descendants is privileged
Acquiescence is enforced by state	No support is given/obtained	Support is solicited	Support is tacit	Support is authorized by tribe
Needs of science are optimized	Needs of others are not considered	Needs of most parties are mostly met	Needs of all parties are realized	Needs of tribe are privileged

Figure 2. Five historical modes of interaction with tribes in the United States (Colwell, 2016: Figure 1, 117).

In this figure, the arrow along the bottom indicates the level of power and control that is shared (or not) between archaeologists and tribes. The rows indicate six “elements” of the relationships: Who sets the goals of the research? How is the information shared? How are the descendants involved? What “voice” do the descendants have? To what level is the tribe involved in the research agenda? Whose needs are prioritized? At the same time, the five topics across the top offer specific outcomes of the involvement of the communities. Because the complexity of the relationships varies across the range of topics and elements, it is important that individual researchers realize that the variety of ways that researchers and tribes (or other Indigenous communities) work together depends on the ways that researchers decide to share power and control to create mutually beneficial research programs.

In Japan, Hirofumi Kato has worked to bring the community more into the discussions about archaeology. His practice of “Indigenous archaeology” in Japan (Kato 2009, 2014, 2017) indicates a drive to present the perspectives of the Ainu of Hokkaido in the archaeological enterprise. Kato’s approach to working with Ainu individuals as part of the research process on the archaeology of Hokkaido has aspects of CBPR in that it attempts to find ways of integrating the community voice into archaeological research in such a way that the archaeologist’s voice is not the only one.

Defining “community”

If community involvement in anthropological projects provides such a wide range of benefits, why don’t more anthropologists involve the community more fully? Beyond the idea that many

anthropologists are hesitant to give up some of their power or their control over the projects, one major question is “What is ‘community’?” MacQueen et al., (2001) note how “the lack of an accepted definition of community can result in different collaborators forming contradictory or incompatible assumptions” (2001: 1929).

MacQueen and her colleagues asked 118 participants in a research study about how the various participants defined “community.” The researchers identified five major core elements in the responses: *locus* (a sense of place); *sharing* (common interests and perspectives); *joint action* (a sense of cohesion and identity); *social ties* (the foundation for community); and *diversity* (social complexity within communities) (MacQueen et al. 2001: 1931-1932). They see these five core elements as imperative in identifying “community” in research. However, putting this into practice often requires that the researcher spends time in the “community” in order to better understand the options and situations that might be inherent in the research area.

This process of defining “community” can lead to unintended consequences that might prevent or negate collaborative research. For example, a researcher may inadvertently interact with or privilege one portion of a community or fail to consider or consult with other groups. In this way, the researcher might be seen as “taking sides” by choosing one group’s perspectives or recommendations over another.

There are other problems that might occur with collaborative or community-based archaeology. Quite often, community members feel that the researcher is the expert and automatically defer to his or her perspectives rather than offering their own. Another situation arises when a community member (perhaps inadvertently) offers previously collected ethnographic or other research results as their own perspectives, indirectly deferring to other researchers’ expertise. This process, known as “read back,” can unknowingly offer previous research results to outside researchers as that of the community. Additionally, a situation may arise when the knowledge of the community is taken with little benefit to the community, or when the community loses control of particular aspects of knowledge that become someone else’s “intellectual property.”

Positive and Negative Aspects of Collaborative Research in Anthropology

As a means of furthering the discussion about community-focused research undertaken by anthropologists and archaeologists, I briefly discuss some of the positive and negative aspects of community-oriented research. The following discussion is in no way meant to be an encyclopedic presentation of all aspects of community-oriented research but is merely meant to provide examples to illustrate some of the process.

Positive Aspects of Collaborative Research in Anthropology

What are some of the benefits of CBPR and/or collaborative archaeology? First (and perhaps foremost), collaborative archaeology allows archaeologists to tell a fuller story about the past in a more accurate and more meaningful way. It allows us to gather additional perspectives that derive from long-term interactions with environments with which researchers might not be familiar. Of course, researchers must not run the risk of “essentialism” (see McGhee 2008, 2010³), which presumes that Indigenous perspectives are correct only because they come from an Indigenous person.

Collaborative projects serve the community by providing opportunities for community building, building broader public “buy-in” of research findings, and increasing connections of Indigenous youth to their heritage. They provide possibilities of obtaining and presenting more detailed information on communities that is often not readily available (or presented) in the histories of dominant cultures. They can provide information to help policy makers better understand social and social justice issues within communities, often leading to the opportunity for policy-making that better serves the needs of the communities and which might lead to alleviation of social problems.

Ultimately, however, successful collaboration with communities opens the door for future endeavors and increases our knowledge of our partners’ values, goals, and worldviews. It also provides the communities with access to anthropology’s and archaeology’s tool kits and research capabilities. It gives insights into other epistemological systems that exist outside of Western science and helps us better understand the variety of ways that humans perceive and interact with the world. The various community-based projects facilitated by the seven-year Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) project (<https://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/>) serve as great examples of things that may be accomplished through such a collaborative framework.

Negative Aspects of Collaborative Research in Anthropology

Other aspects that might serve to negate collaborative projects include the concept that such research is somehow “unscientific” since it is by definition not “objective research.” George Nicholas wrote an essay for *The Conversation* that served to “explore the double-standard that exists concerning the acceptance of Traditional Knowledge by practitioners of Western science” (Nicholas 2018). Surprisingly (or not), the article created a stir among some readers, and Nicholas was criticized for offering his “anti-science” views (Nicholas 2019). Even when research is complementary to current “objective” research, practitioners of collaborative archaeological

3 See Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010 for a response to McGhee.

projects are often viewed with question and concern.

Researchers who try to integrate the community in research projects also report on the inherent problems within determining who speaks for the people under concern. In the United States, heritage preservation laws require federal agencies to interact with elected officials and, through them, to the most appropriate individuals relevant to the task at hand. However, “traditional leaders” may or may not be included in the conversation, depending on whether the appropriate officer determines the need (or desire) to include those voices in the conversation. In addition, there are some occasions where various “factions” of a community oppose other factions, with each group indicating the desire to be the “only” voice in the matter.

More aspects include the idea that such research is advocacy for a specific group and somehow tainting the “purity” of academic research, and that collaborative research is driven by politics or “New Age” postmodernist thought. While some archaeologists still believe that research is somehow apolitical, others argue that research has always been political (c.f., Fowler 1987; McGuire 1992; Trigger 1980, 1986).

Nicholas et al. (2011: 25-26) identify some of the challenges of developing and implementing collaborative projects. They note the difficulties involved when academic researchers, often used to developing their research designs in a vacuum, need to rely on community input; they note as well that community priorities might not mesh with the researcher’s desires, and that such an issue might require the researcher to shift approaches entirely.

There are other negative aspects that other authors have offered, but these will suffice to provide adequate caution for those who want to increase the involvement of community in research associated with collaborative archaeology. Be forewarned: “Collaboration is not for everyone, and in some cases it may not be the best or most appropriate approach” (Nicholas et al. 2011: 26).

Benefits of integrating Indigenous Studies Perspectives into Anthropology

Bringing more Indigenous Studies methods and perspectives into Anthropology provides the discipline the opportunity to become more active and relevant in issues of importance to contemporary groups. As noted, in the past Anthropology has endeavored to maintain an objective stance, but such a stance more often serves to create the perspectives by the groups we study that they are under a microscope and are nothing more than study objects. By altering our perspective (and resultant methodologies) we can lessen the divide between ourselves as researchers and ourselves as humans. We remove the artificial boundaries that “objective, scientific research” places between researcher and researched. By bringing in more Indigenous voices, we can challenge the idea of science as “homogenous” (Wylie 1997).

We also gain the possibilities of providing more relevant benefits to communities. When we

bring the community into the picture, we step away from the view that we are doing “science for science’s sake” and more toward creating products that may serve purposes other than just the production of knowledge. Research can help to fill out histories that are currently under-represented in the national history and school curricula and offer hope to the children of those under-represented families. Creating and publicizing such products can serve to increase self-esteem and strengthen identity among vulnerable community members as well as provide information that can influence governmental policies toward those populations.

Creating these partnerships with communities can go a long way toward moving anthropology out of its colonial history and toward a more inclusive and diverse discipline. It is not necessarily an easy task, and sometimes the community may not want to be involved with anthropologists or archaeologists. Regardless of whether we can instill trust in the communities where (and with which) we work, I believe this is something we owe to our discipline and that is necessary for anthropology (and archaeology) to become more relevant to global issues.

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Report on the Seminar of the Indigeneity Research Unit, GSI

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Introduction

The seminar of the Indigeneity Research Unit was held online on 21 January 2022, with the aim of discussing possible research and collaborations between unit members. Prof. Hirofumi Kato (Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University, Japan), introduced four possible research areas to be explored by members that could be conducted during the 5-year timeframe of the Global Station for Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity (GSI), namely: (i) Defining indigeneity and related issues (political, social, cultural); (ii) Contemporary concerns facing Cultural Diversity; (iii) Perspectives on diversity in historical interpretation; and (iv) Indigenous repatriation (Indigenous rights, international repatriation, Indigenous participation).

Discussion time was also allocated toward developing the first-year plan with particular focus on joint research in Hokkaido Prefecture, online seminars and seminars aimed at including and educating young scholars, GSI sessions at international conferences and joint publications. Members were encouraged to share any additional topics of interest for discussion.

Possible Research Projects in Hokkaido, Japan

Prof. Kato introduced three possible collaborative research projects based in Hokkaido Prefecture, all three having potential for collaborations with the local community. A summary of the focus and potential of these projects is as follows:

1. Saru River Basin (Nibutani, Biratori Town)

Nibutani is a district of Biratori Town which is home to a large number of Ainu, the Indigenous people of Hokkaido. Collaborative research with Biratori Town's local Ainu community would be aimed at Indigenous cultural heritage.

2. Lake Kusharo (Teshikaga Town):

The Lake Kusharo area is within a national park, and has a very well-preserved natural environment, over 100 archaeological sites, and some of the oldest Ainu villages which date back to the 19th century. The town aims to develop an eco-museum system including cultural heritage and Ainu Language place names, archaeological monuments, and environmental resources.

3. Tokachi River (Urahoro Town)

There have been legal discussions between the national government and the local Ainu community regarding fishing rights in the Tokachi River area. Residue analysis has shown that the use of salmon resources goes back to the early Jomon Period, and to this end, the community has expressed an interest in research collaboration focused on recovery of Indigenous rights. Notably, the upper Tokachi River area is also a key archaeological area, holding the oldest pottery found in Hokkaido.

Suggested Research Themes

Based on the suggested research projects, Prof. Peter Jordan (Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University, Sweden) offered four themes for further discussion: (i) Food traditions and regional cuisine; (ii) Repatriation of artefacts and remains; (iii) Community and Indigenous Archaeology; and (iv) Historical Ecology (Cornerstone species).

Origin of Regional Cuisines and Indigenous Foodways

Prof. Jordan linked this theme to the possibility of research in the Tokachi River area, citing studies in Stockholm on the origin of cuisine. In Ishikari Town, Hokkaido, Ishikari Nabe – a traditional winter hot pot dish which includes predominant use of salmon – dates back thousands of years to the beginning of the Holocene. Today, the popular dish is a source of economic gain. In addition to taking a deeper look at salmon harvesting and storage, there is the opportunity to investigate other food sources, e.g., acorn harvesting and deer hunting. Through tracing food origins, these studies feed into the discussions on Indigenous rights as it relates to food traditions.

Adding to the discussion on food and Indigenous rights, Prof. Rick Schulting (School of Archaeology and Wolfson College, University of Oxford, United Kingdom) introduced the use of biochemical and molecular analysis of human artefacts and remains. He cited a previous research partnership with the Indigenous communities in British Columbia, who, like the Ainu of Tokachi River, were having legal fishing rights discussions with the government. Analysis of the residue in pots and human remains was able to prove the dietary habits of the community who were no longer living as close to the water source.

The discussion highlighted the opportunities GSI has to support Indigenous rights, cultural heritage and Indigenous ways of life, and the opportunities academia and research can offer to communities through collaborative research and increased community participation. This also

emphasized the need to share research results with the communities in both written and verbal forms with language translations as needed.

Indigenous Repatriation

Prof. Jordan introduced the topic by referring to a review by Kakaliouras (2021) of ‘The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation: Return, Reconcile, Renew’ (Fforde et al. 2020). He noted that while the book gave insightful historical reflection, it highlighted an opportunity for forward reflection, zoning in on repatriation as the future of archaeology. He then cited an article by Collard et al. (2019) on Community Bioarchaeology to compare the activities of Archaeological science in the past and current repatriation. The research uniquely combined genetics and community archaeology in a community project.

Looking forward to possible research activities, the theme offered an opportunity to explore the repatriation of remains to specific communities despite the lack of origin information. During the discussion, Prof. Michael Pickering (Department of Heritage and Museum Studies, Australian National University, Australia) highlighted the importance of investigating the nature of the culture from which the objects came, including how the artifacts were moved from place to place, the various cultural contexts of the artifacts movements, and why communities would want their artifacts back. His comment also explored the cultural context of secular museum collections.

Prof. Carl-Gösta Ojala (Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Upsala University, Sweden) mentioned the possibility for international comparative perspectives on repatriation in reference to Sami Heritage. In mapping locations of various Sami artefacts, consideration has been placed on how and why they were collected, and several Nordic national museums are involved in the process. The repatriation of artefacts also opens a doorway to discussions on colonialism, complex histories, and engaging with the decolonization process.

As it relates to artefacts, Prof. Mika Lavento (Department of Cultures, University of Helsinki, Finland) expressed his interest in ceramic and metal research and highlighted the international mapping and tracing potential through comparisons of similar metal objects through Scandinavia to as far as China. He linked this to the possibilities for international comparisons in environmental research.

Prof. Kato mentioned the international nature of repatriation and the importance of international collaboration toward repatriation and repatriation studies. He gave an example of the movement of Ainu remains from Japan to Australia and the possibility of future research exploring artefact exchanges, and the background and history of anthropological collections.

Material Traditions and Historical Ecology: Cornerstone species

Prof. Jordan introduced the topic of Material Traditions, the learning of traditional crafts of the land on the landscape, e.g., boat building. He mentioned how material traditions served as a medium for Indigenous revival, and transmission of knowledge and skills to future generations. He referred to the work of ISTEAM (Indigenous Science, Technology, Engineering, Art and

Mathematics) and their work in supporting Indigenous resurgence through (re)making relations with lands, waters, and peoples towards just, sustainable, and culturally thriving futures (ISTEAM Collaborative 2020).

He tied this into historical ecology and the exploration of key local resources and cornerstone species, e.g., forests, grazing lands, specific species, and combinations thereof. Within this research theme, focus would be placed on terrestrial ecosystems of resources that have been central to Indigenous communities. This includes understanding historical impacts and baselines, and how findings can be used to manage and predict future states of both specific and whole cultural ecosystems. He cited work by Daniel Lepofsky et al. (2021) in the Pacific Northwest Coast on the management of wild landscapes for creation/rejuvenation of sustainable ecosystems and communities. Again, this would require community engagement, feeding into the larger discussion on Archaeology and its relations to broader society impact.

Indigeneity Unit First-Year Plan

As part of their first-year plan, Unit A members discussed the various collaborative possibilities. Pertaining to seminars, plans included organization of a themed/topical round table discussion focused on: (i) the relationship between State and non-State societies from the perspective of social archaeology and anthropology; and (ii) the Island environment: archaeology, anthropology, history, sociology, political science.

Prof. Kato suggested the Unit have seminars aimed at young scholars with the intention of offering seminar organizing opportunities to post-doctoral researchers and PhD students from various GSI member institutions. Through the seminars, the young scholars would be given a chance to exchange ideas with leading scholars on pressing topics. Due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, online seminars were recommended. Post-pandemic, preference was given to in-person seminars. This would create opportunity for travel and field site excursions.

The Hokkaido Summer Institute (HSI) under Hokkaido University was offered as an opportune platform for advertisement of seminars to young scholars within and outside Hokkaido University with the possibility of offering course credits to students. Through HSI, students from Hokkaido University and abroad could apply for seminars.

Indigenous Considerations for Hokkaido: The Ainu People

In closing, Dr. Mai Ishihara (Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University, Japan), a member of the Ainu community, shared her views on the Unit's responsibility to the Ainu communities in Hokkaido. She expressed the need to consider how the Ainu people would be defined by GSI, and their relationship with the Global Station in reflection of GSI's location in

Hokkaido, Japan. She also stressed the need to consider and limit language barriers, while creating a space for community engagement, with the hope that the Ainu community would benefit from partnership with GSI and Unit A's activities.

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Report on the Seminar of the Indigenous Heritage Research Unit, GSI

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Introduction

This seminar of the Indigenous Heritage Research Unit was held online on 22 January 2022. The seminar aimed to share work by unit members, and to discuss expected works or collaborative research for future GSI projects. The three presentations shared during the seminar are summarized below.

“Eight Steps to Improve Research Practices Involving Indigenous Peoples and their Heritage,” by Professor George Nicholas, Simon Fraser University

Dr George Nicholas’ presentation outlined recent developments and current challenges for research concerning Indigenous peoples and their heritage. He took as his starting point, the principle that all people should have free access to, and be able to benefit from, their heritage as a basic human right. As such, any research involving Indigenous groups must not only be ethically responsible (including free, prior, and informed consent), but also beneficial to the people involved.

Nicholas then highlighted the positive impact that recent research has had for Indigenous groups, including more effective protection of heritage sites and materials, and increased participation of Indigenous and minority groups in archaeology, academia, and professional institutions. Another important change has been the impact of education; not only through more education opportunities for members of Indigenous groups, but also through bringing the lessons of socially responsible research back to the classroom to inform new generations of students. This ties in with increased awareness and action at the national and international level, such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

However, the talk also called attention to continuing challenges and cautioned against complacency or inaction regarding these issues. These problems include: a) the disturbance,

destruction, or restricting access to heritage or sacred sites; b) the unauthorized study of ancestral human remains, and difficulties associated with their repatriation; c) the dismissal of traditional values and beliefs; d) the commodification of indigeneity and the appropriation of material culture; and e) the limiting of Indigenous groups' participation in institutional decision making. A lack of action regarding such concerns can lead to economic, cultural, and spiritual damage to individuals and communities. In turn, this can contribute to the further loss of land, language, social networks, lifeways, and cultural practices, and can even lead to wider social unrest in reaction to these issues.

Dr Nicholas outlined his steps for researchers to positively respond to these challenges as follows: increasing Indigenous participation, respecting indigenous intellectual property, improving research ethics, employing new methods, developing better heritage protection policies, expanding corporate social responsibility, increasing outreach education, and pursuing new research based on Indigenous knowledge. He concluded by pointing out the need for researchers to engage in honest and meaningful dialogue with Indigenous stakeholders in order to tackle these problems in-step with those who are directly affected by them.

He also emphasized that: a) “heritage” means different things to different peoples; b) outsiders are not the best qualified to determine what is proper care for Indigenous in/tangible heritage items and places; c) there is need for effective and bi-directional translation of the values, goals, perspectives, methods and research ethics necessary for heritage protection and preservation; and d) patience is required when engaging in difficult conversations about heritage, and that a willingness to respect cultural differences is essential.

“Ethnic Tourism and Local Development in China,” by Associate Professor Zhang Tianxin, Peking University

The presentation by Dr Zhang Tianxin explored the relationships between tourism, urban development, and Indigenous minority communities in China, paying particular attention to the processes involved in developing indigenous areas for the purpose of encouraging tourism, and the impact this has on those regions' “cultural landscapes.” Of particular concern for Dr Zhang is the influence of this on the spiritual and ecological environments of indigenous' people's sacred mountains.

After introducing the recent trend towards ethnic tourism in China, and the resulting development of indigenous areas as tourist attractions, the presentation laid out the main problems which occur during these processes, namely the lack of inclusion of local residents in decision-making, the irrevocable change of landscape and space, and the loss of traditional beliefs and practices which are considered irrelevant to providing the desired tourist experience. In addition, those customs and skills which are incorporated into attractions for visitors' risk becoming mere performance, potentially damaging the “authenticity” and “integrity” of Indigenous culture.

Using two case studies, namely Lijiang and Qinghai in China, Dr Zhang introduced the notion of sacred mountains as “cultural landscapes.” That is, areas in which traditional beliefs and practices intertwine with natural ecologies. In Lijiang, the construction of a ski site and other tourist

facilities on the sacred Yulongxueshan mountain has resulted in high volumes of tourists, which has had a negative impact on the mountain's ecosystem, as well as locals' image of this sacred site. By contrast, the case of Sanjiangyuan National Park shows how scientific research has been complimentary to the area's Indigenous beliefs. In this case, efforts by scientists to protect sites of ecological importance have dovetailed with the local Indigenous peoples' efforts to safeguard their sacred mountain sites.

In agreement with the other presenters, Dr Zhang concluded by pointing out the importance of including local people in planning and decision-making. Moreover, this must be done with respect and sensitivity towards Indigenous beliefs and practices, a respect which must also be instilled in tourists and visitors who come to enjoy the area and its attractions.

“Investigating Ainu Tourism in the Past and Present for Sustainable Indigenous Tourism Development within Japan,” by Associate Professor Mayumi Okada and Professor Johan Edlheim, Hokkaido University

Dr Mayumi Okada and Dr Johan Edlheim's presentation focused on the issues involved in indigenous tourism connected to the Ainu people of Hokkaido/Ainu Mosir, Northern Japan. It considered Ainu cultural tourism in its specific, historical context, and explored the potential in Hokkaido/Ainu Mosir for an approach based on Bennett's (1986) “ethnorelativism” and Viken, Höckert and Grimwood's (2021) “culturally sensitive tourism.”

Beginning with a brief introduction to the colonial history of Hokkaido/Ainu Mosir, the presentation outlined three key phases in the development of Japanese tourism vis-à-vis the Ainu people. The late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries saw Ainu people portrayed as an ‘exotic’ attraction for the burgeoning domestic tourism industry, where the Ainu could be used as a ‘primitive’ foil against which Japan's modernizing civilization could be measured. The next Ainu tourism boom was from the 1960s to the 1990s, during which time Ainu crafts were promoted as souvenirs. This had the result of fostering traditional skills and craft techniques, but these were often exploited by ethnic Japanese tour operators who still viewed the Ainu as ‘backward.’ The final phase covered the official recognition of the Ainu as an Indigenous people by the Japanese government in 2008, to the present day. Improvements in the legal and cultural status of the Ainu has led to various policies aimed at improving Ainu representation and participation in the tourism industry, as well as in institutional decision-making. This movement culminated in the opening of *Upopoy* – the Symbolic Space for Ethnic Harmony, which houses the National Ainu Museum, the first state-funded national museum dedicated to Indigenous culture in Japan.

Despite these recent improvements, Okada and Edlheim pointed out a major ongoing challenge, namely the inherently unequal power-balance between the Ainu people and the corporate businesses at the centre of the Japanese tourism industry. However, they also highlighted the efforts of organizations such as the Akan Ainu Consulun and the Hokkaido Destination Management Organization to provide advice and guidelines for the promotion and branding of Ainu cultural products. According to the presenters, such efforts provide the potential for “culturally sensitive tourism,” whereby tourism can provide a space for an encounter with the Other that is more

reflexive than in the past. In this way, tourism can help foster cultural exchanges based not on commodification and exploitation, but on the “three Rs” of respect, recognition, and reciprocity.

Discussion

Cultural diversity, multi-cultural coexistence, and mutual understanding of society are key words for the GSI project. Collaboration or partnership between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous people, or between minorities and the majority is crucial for indigenous studies. In the discussion, Professor Yamamura of Hokkaido University raised two important issues. The first one was “encouragement.” That is, thinking about how we can encourage participation of involved people, especially Indigenous peoples, and how minorities can establish equality with the majority. The second point was “social systems, or public mindset;” finding ways to create social systems or a public mindset for encouraging mutual understanding or multicultural coexistence. Professor Nicholas and Professor Joe Watkins each mentioned the importance of building trust with people, noting that it takes a long time to gain the trust of stakeholders and to understand a community’s ideas. Professor Zhang agreed to these points and mentioned the importance of “public mindset.” Open knowledge could be another way to show local people’s wisdom or a public mindset, and the need to negotiate and communicate with people, that is, not to fix the system but to strengthen the system together. Professor Edelheim emphasised that “acknowledgement” is crucial for expressing GSI’s position to the public. Acknowledgement on the GSI website or at the beginning of each presentation helps us to remember that we are always “outsiders” or “guests” on the land. Professor Okada mentioned that there are multiple stakeholders in cultural heritage management, and each of them have different values and backgrounds. The important thing is to find out what are the common issues among these different people. The discussion closed with the sharing of suggestions and recommendations from seminar participants, and the possibilities of collaborative work, e.g., comparative studies on the cultural landscapes in Okinawa, Hokkaido and China by Prof. Zhang and Prof. Yamamura in the near future.

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Human Ecology and Global Health Research Unit Seminar

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Introduction

On Day Two of the Global Station for Indigenous Studies and Cultural Diversity's (GSI) Kick-Off Symposium (22 January 2022), the Human Ecology and Global Health Research Unit (HEGH-RU) held an online seminar comprising members of the research unit and interested members of GSI. The seminar aimed to introduce the varying works and research interests of unit members and explore possible collaborations between them and towards GSI's goals.

The opening remarks shared by Prof. Taro Yamauchi (Faculty of Health Sciences, Hokkaido University, Japan), introduced the two main disciplines within the Unit: Global Health and Resource Management, citing the interdisciplinary core and nature of the unit. As an introductory seminar towards considering the unit's contributions to GSI for its initial four years of operation, Prof. Yamauchi requested that focus be placed on not only defining the multi-disciplinary identity within the unit, but also the inter-disciplinary identity within GSI and finally, a transdisciplinary identity within society.

For this purpose, the seminar was scheduled to have each of the nine unit members give a short presentation outlining their research works, interests and areas of likely contribution and collaboration followed by a time for discussion. The contents of the member presentations, brief discussion and overall conclusions have been summarized in this report.

HEGH-RU Member Presentations: Current trends and research interests

Prof. Taro Yamauchi (Faculty of Health Sciences, Hokkaido University, Japan)

Prof. Yamauchi introduced Dr. Sikopo Nyambe and Dr. Akira Sai as members of his research

team at the Laboratory of Human Ecology. His introduction provided an overview of the theories within their collaborative work. He presented Food-Body-WASH nexus: ‘Food’ (change in diet and globalization), ‘Body’ (body size and body composition among adults, child growth, body image and physical activity and physical fitness) and WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene: focusing on use, facilities, knowledge, attitudes, and practices, and most recently, Menstrual Hygiene Management and COVID-19) (Yamauchi et al. 2022, Yamauchi 2007). Through their work, they have noted the importance of the linkages between each of these themes for a comprehensive understanding of human health, deeming the nexus a suitable means of exploring the fundamental components of human life and wellbeing. Prof. Yamauchi presented the Bio-Psycho-Social (BPS) model proposed by Dr. George Engel (Engel 1981) as a possible means of making use of the Food-Body-WASH nexus. Unlike the biomedical model which focuses more on one’s biology, the BPS model explores biological, psychological (e.g., thoughts, emotions, and behaviors), and social (e.g., socioeconomical, socioenvironmental, and cultural) factors and the role they play in health, disease, quality of life and wellbeing.

Dr. Sikopo Nyambe (Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University, Japan)

Dr. Nyambe’s presentation focused on Participatory Action Research (PAR) being conducted in Lusaka City, Zambia, a low-middle income country in sub-Saharan Africa. WASH and health through SDG 6 and 3 respectively were key focal points, particularly in how they relate to the frequent diarrheal disease outbreaks in Lusaka peri-urban despite diarrheal diseases being treatable and preventable. For research purposes, she established the Dziko Langa Club (DL) which focused on incorporating children and youth as researchers and innovators in WASH (Nyambe and Yamauchi 2021). DL made use of participatory research approaches such as photovoice (Wang 2006) and art (Franz 2010) for problem identification and data analysis. Of interest were the activities selected by young participants for engagement with their broader communities: poetry, drama, song, and group discussions were added to the events as common community practices for information sharing.

Future research plans based on the DL experience focus on implementing the DL model with diverse communities, including those of indigenous peoples such as the Baka Pygmies of Cameroon; this may uncover novel and/or traditional methods of conducted PAR and will highlight different ways of doing and knowing in relation to WASH, waste and menstrual hygiene management.

Dr. Akira Sai (Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University, Japan)

Dr. Sai’s presentation focused on obesity and body image in consideration of psychological and sociocultural factors for health. He noted that countries of the South Pacific were predominantly in the top 10 for obesity prevalence in 2016; this was also true of obesity prevalence in children with body mass indices indicating drastic change from 1995 to 2018. Changes in perceived body size among Polynesian populations has also increased over the last two decades, with a decreased tolerance towards having a larger body size. This may be due to ‘Body Image’, a persons’ multidimensional self-attitude towards their own appearance based on their beliefs, assumptions, feelings, perceptions, and various behavioral aspects (investments) in appearance.

This psychological aspect of human health is associated with obesity and fat phobia, representing a drive for thinness, particularly among young females.

Dr. Sai explored sociocultural factors and pressures from family and peers, conventional and modern media and ethnocultural norms impact individuals' aesthetic values, which many studies have suggested contributing to diversity in body image. He also considered differences between Western and non-Western countries, and among local ethnic groups, citing his published work on the Malay, Chinese and Indian ethnic groups of Malaysia (Sai et al. 2018). Dr. Sai's future research and collaborations focused on exploring health and quality of life among broader populations, including indigenous communities by looking at sociocultural factors, (intra-ethnic differences), and biological and social health outcomes as they relate to body image.

Prof. Stanley Ulijaszek (*School of Anthropology and Unit for Biocultural Variation and Obesity, University of Oxford, United Kingdom*)

Prof. Ulijaszek has conducted research on evolving human diet and nutrition for about two decades. Current focus has been centered on dietary modernization, changing food habits, food patterns, and global food systems, and their relationship to chronic disease risk among others. He presented on his obesity research under the Unit for Biocultural Variation and Obesity at the University of Oxford. His presentation was broken into four parts: the political ecology of obesity, models of obesity, physical activity and urbanism, and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on food, physical and mental health, and the limits of public and domestic health. In 2017, Prof. Ulijaszek published 'Models of Obesity: From Ecology to Complexity in Science and Policy' (Ulijaszek 2017) which focused on the different ways in which obesity is framed as a complex problem, modeling a complex system of obesity.

Prof. Ulijaszek's work has also covered physical activity, with focus on the body, built environments and smart cities discourses using approaches framed as life history and early exposures in production of obesity. This includes policy types and variations according to political type, and structural factors that shape the health of physical environments. Finally, Prof. Ulijaszek looked at mental health eating and physical activity during the COVID-19 pandemic. According to survey work during the first lockdown in the UK, anxiety levels and suicidal tendencies had increased threefold, and binge-eating more than doubled among others. Several reports and evidence briefs of these changes were submitted to the UK government (McLennan et al., 2020).

For future research, Prof. Ulijaszek is interested in continuing research on obesity, particularly pertaining to the paradigm shift in terms of networks, complexity, and multi-level modeling. Artificial intelligence and machine reading has been helpful in exploring existing literature on the obesity environment and breaking down obesity from one field into five, aiding in better framing of arguments around, and directing of resources towards greater impact on obesity intervention.

Prof. Josh Snodgrass (*Department of Anthropology and Global Health Program, University of Oregon, USA*)

In his presentation, Professor Snodgrass highlighted the focus of his lab, the Global Health Biomarker Laboratory, and his long-term field projects in Siberia and Ecuador. He also shared about his long-term collaboration with the World Health Organization, and community health work in Oregon. His work focuses on the influence of changes in social and environmental factors on health, exploring the connection between certain underlying biological, behavioral, social and environmental changes. Most recently, he has focused on the role of physical and social factors in suicidal ideation, anxiety, depression, and other mental conditions, particularly with aging populations.

Prof. Snodgrass' future research interests relate to human ecology and the health and wellbeing of Indigenous communities. He proposed encouraging Indigenous communities and individuals to play a greater role in driving the research based on their desires and needs by way of a mixed method, biocultural approach.

Prof. Thomas Thornton (Alaska Coastal Rainforest Center, University of Alaska, USA)

Most of Prof. Thornton's work integrates cultural anthropology and indigenous perspectives on contemporary human ecological issues, including environment and health. He proposed combining human health, animal health and environmental health into one integrated health concept, as embodied in the One Health framework, which is now used and adapted widely in Alaska and elsewhere. In reference to the Indigenous people of Alaska, Prof. Thornton noted their more holistic and integrated views of human-environmental health and how it had made it difficult for them to frame their problems within a more segmented, specialized Western framework. This further impacted their ability to access funding for health programs based on their own models of eco-cultural health. Indigenous Alaskans are now attempting to reframe the concept and Indigenize the One Health concept through organizations like the Alaska Native Tribal Health Consortium, which serves more than 150,000 Alaska Native and other American Indians. Indigenous health services have become not only a major driver of Alaska's economy, but also a vehicle for transforming the health sector, including the ways health is conceptualized, professionals are trained, and care is deployed. This case highlights the importance and potential for holistic, Indigenous cultural models of health to be realized within a One Health relational framework of human-environmental wellbeing.

His discussion on Alaska and its diversity also brought forth themes related to biocultural diversity, niche environments, food and energy systems, environmental protection, and health. To this effect, he published a book on herring and people in the North Pacific focusing mainly on Alaska and British Columbia, with comparative reference to Europe, Russia and Japan (Thornton & Moss 2020). Prof. Thornton's other interests include resilience and adaptation of human wellbeing to climate and environmental change. He also explores how indigenous social organization, law, and property rights have been actively undermined and replaced by modern, Western institutions. He discussed environmental health as a big systemic issue in the North due to the Western Arctic and Subarctic regions being on the vanguard of major climatic change, such as loss of sea ice and permafrost, which are critical to the lifeways of Alaska Natives and Canada First Nations.

Dr. Masatoshi Sasaoka (*Faculty of Humanities and Human Sciences, Hokkaido University, Japan*)

Dr. Sasaoka conducts extensive research on resource management with a focus on (i) local knowledge and its transformation; (ii) the impacts of state policies on local livelihood and local responses to policy; (iii) local land and resource use decisions; (iv) environmental governance; and (v) land/resource conflict. He is currently working on three different projects in Indonesia.

The first study in gold-rich North Kalimantan, Borneo, explores the impacts of the socioeconomic benefits gained from motorized small-scale gold mining (MSGM) in relation to local perceptions on the environmental impact with a particular focus on subsistence activities (river fisheries). Dr. Sasaoka also explores the factors and conditions that would enable the local people to avoid choosing socially and environmentally destructive land uses. The second explores the social factors underlying illegal squatting in industrial tree plantations (Musi Rawas, South Sumatra), while discussing socially just resolutions to illegal occupation. The third is a case study on the hidden victimization in self-regulatory governance for the responsible production of paper products (Tebo, Jambi), in which Dr. Sasaoka explores loss of land access suffered by local communities and the process of invisibilization of victimization through analysis of the selective disclosure of information in corporate social responsibility communications. Based on his background, Dr. Sasaoka suggested future research relating to multicultural inclusive resource governance which would create opportunities for development of resource governance systems involving multiple stakeholders including Indigenous people groups. He also brought forth the themes of ecological grief.

Prof. Elena Godina (*Institute and Museum of Anthropology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia*)

Prof. Godina focused on changes in human biology with particular emphasis on the influence of sports and physical activity on growth and development. She shared on her previous research in which she conducted 15 growth studies in various populations and ethnic groups of Russia (at that time, the Soviet Union), mostly among Russian children. She used maps to visualize the spatial distribution of variables like height, weight, and age at menarche among populations of interest. She had also partnered with Mongolian National Institute of Physical Culture, studying growth and development of Mongolian children and adolescence, exploring rural urban differences, and the influence of different climatic zones social conditions and different levels of physical activity.

Currently, Prof. Godina is directing several methodological investigations, comparing various methods of studying body composition, and accumulating several big datasets. These datasets span rural-urban differences, as well as ethnic and wider population differences. She intends to use these big data on morphological characteristics from various populations for meta-analysis.

Potential Collaborative Outcomes

After all presentations were finalized, there was opportunity for unit members to briefly discuss possible research collaborations. It was noted that the unit had two distinctive themes – Global Health and Research Management – both exploring the interaction between human populations and their natural and sociocultural environment.. Emphasis was placed on ensuring collaborations between these distinct themes.

Publication of research works was one means of collaboration which was brought forward. In addition to the GSI e-journal that was to be launched, the unit discussed the possibility of publishing a series of books by the end of the GSI term. Each unit member would have opportunity to make chapter contributions focused on their research areas and interests.

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