

**ETHICS of the NATIVE SKELETON:
Reception and Internalization of NAGPRA in Academia**

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DEDICATIONS

This research is dedicated to the mentors who have supported me, inspired me, and brought me to the work I hope to do for the rest of my career. I also acknowledge and honor the indigenous people and anthropologists who have devoted and will continue to devote their lives to the dutiful, ethical treatment of all ancestors.

“Combining the cultural with the academic is one of the best ways to preserve the languages and [traditions] of Native people for future generations... Every society needs educated people, but the primary responsibility of educated people is to bring wisdom back into the community and make it available to others so that the lives they are leading make sense.”

– *Vine Deloria Jr.*

“As an academic, I work with scientists who take various positions on the rights of indigenous peoples to remains — including those who would have kept my ancestors’ bones in a museum. I’ve learned that there are two ways to elevate the rights and perspectives of indigenous people in global scientific conversations. The first is to train scientists to do ethical and democratic research collaboratively with Native Americans. The second is to train scientists who are themselves indigenous.”

– *Kim Tallbear*

“Repatriation, we argue, is the most important aspect of collaboration, and if archaeologists cannot collaborate with tribes by standing up for tribal primacy in determining what happens to all Native American human remains, then our other forms of collaboration become much less relevant.”

– *Jon Daehnke and Amy Lonetree*

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ABSTRACT

The skeletal remains and cultural materials of indigenous people have for centuries been displaced from their burials by accidental discoveries and intentional excavations. In many instances, individuals have been disinterred without tribal permission and historically became the subject of study, exhibition, and curation. Institutions – including universities – still curate or receive these remains and materials, and anthropologists are responsible for their preservation. It has been essential for the professionals involved in such circumstances to be aware of legislation, such as the United States’ “Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act” (colloquially known as NAGPRA), which dictates the appropriate treatment of these remains.

Repatriation legislature like NAGPRA was developed through the collaboration of native rights activists, scientists, and academics who curate these materials, with such laws functioning as a structured compromise between these communities. It has become necessary to identify complications in educating experts who are responsible for implementing NAGPRA and similar laws. This thesis was motivated by the potential of NAGPRA and repatriation in a university context, where training begins. As a current law, NAGPRA served as an example of well-known, successfully integrated academic protocol for accomplishing the repatriation of Native American material. Research methods involved a digital survey of Anthropology and History faculty and students from The Ohio State University, who may be trained in NAGPRA, repatriation, or Native American cultural studies. Figures were supplemented with interviews of faculty members who have interacted or complied with NAGPRA in their professional careers, providing qualitative understanding to corroborate quantitative figures.

All questions were designed to identify 1) cohorts and demographics, 2) personal attitudes, interpretations, and reception, and 3) awareness of the law. Through respondent data, this research visualized how personal understanding or experience may affect NAGPRA training and how such comprehension may affect compliance or repatriation trends in an occupational space. Based on cohort trends and testimony, the project indicated no conclusive division between current generations of academic anthropologists in terms of reception or interpretation of NAGPRA and repatriation. Trends and testimony did demonstrate the limitations of ethical training among academic anthropologists. The interpretation of this data was used to project how repatriation and NAGPRA compliance will continue to be enacted by academic professionals if programs emphasize their training in ethics and inclusion of indigenous perspectives.

CHAPTER I: Historical Background

NAGPRA's Origin and Protocol

It is not uncommon for universities to curate or possess human remains; this is a long-established practice among anatomy, medical, and anthropology programs. Many remains are not contemporary or medically acquired, and a point of contention has risen in the past half century as to how collections of human skeletal remains should be identified and handled. Anthropologists were encouraged to consider the sources of their teaching and research assemblages.

Historically, a large portion of these remains have originated from Native American burials. The field accumulated these skeletons as archaeologists and anthropologists assumed the roles of material and historical custodians, using Western theory to curate, analyze, and educate students about the lifeways and heritage of other cultures. This was the same period that Native American remains were systematically excavated from their burials. Unfortunately, the scientific and academic value of human skeletons motivated these experts to disinter them for research. While modern human remains research primarily studies individual identification and population history, early anthropologists collected and “studied” remains to reinforce theories of the period. These philosophies, without real scientific merit, established a racial hierarchy elevating European populations at the apex of physique, intellect, and culture. This was only one aspect of the identified abuses of native peoples in North America, perpetrated by scientific and academic institutes; it is a period of malpractice recognized by current generations of activists and anthropologists who seek to expiate such offenses. ¹

Legislation arose to correspond with these new notions of preservation and the concept of repatriation, which returned remains and cultural objects to native people. Over a dozen other repatriation and preservation laws were developed and introduced by collaborators from anthropology and activist groups but were not passed. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), enacted in 1990, “remains the centerpiece of repatriation activities in the United States.” ² The law sought to repatriate the sacred or ceremonial objects,

¹ Atalay, Sonya. 2006. “Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice,” Daehnke, Jon, and Amy Lonetree. 2011. “Repatriation in the United States.”

² Ibid.

funerary goods, items of cultural patrimony, and human remains previously acquired from Native American burials. NAGPRA's application was based on affiliation between materials (remains or objects) with indigenous groups. Claims for repatriation could be made by individuals or groups identified as members of "federally recognized tribes" or nations of Native Americans.¹

Provisions of the law include resolving rights of institutions and native people, a committee for inventory review, grants for the documentation and repatriation of materials, and establishing penalties to enforce compliance. The law in its current form is divided in two main subdivisions: material found on federal or tribal land and those located in collections. Remains and funerary objects discovered intentionally or accidentally are subjected to disposition, or the transference of power to tribal bodies. Those located in institutional collections (including museums and universities) may originate from research or the transference of personal collections to academic professionals. These are conducted through the repatriation system, which requires a summary and inventory from the institute possessing them, most often composed by a staff anthropologist. The process of repatriation or disposition is determined by the cultural affiliation of the material.

Cultural affiliation is defined as the "a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present-day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group."² Affiliated remains or cultural objects can be associated to a group by different types of evidence, including (but not limited to) geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, historical, other expert opinion or information. These represent groups of knowledge from both academic and indigenous worldviews. No new physical analysis is required to establish affiliation, especially if previous study has been conducted. Only in 2010 was the law modified to allow for the processing of culturally unaffiliated remains through this law. Repatriation in this context is the transfer of physical custody to a group that may not have direct cultural affiliation. An inventory is submitted to regional tribes so an agreement of responsibility can be made.

Inventory summaries made by institutions are published to all tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations with possible interest in their collections so claims can be made. Claimants of repatriation can request the review of this material if it's not already in the process of repatriation.

¹ U.S. Federal Government. 2010. "Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act," Daehnke, Jon, and Amy Lonetree. 2011. "Repatriation in the United States."

² Ibid.

Failing to enact the protocol of NAGPRA results in criminal or civil enforcement from the federal government, a penalty that has been suffered by museums and universities alike. Future accountability is required of institutions as new material arrives, as more tribes are federally recognized, and as new institutions receive federal funding and become qualifying collections. As of 2015, “nearly 40,000 individuals and more than 1 million funerary objects... have been culturally affiliated... Additionally, more than 6,000 sacred or communally owned objects have been returned to Indian tribes... [but] only 27% of human remains have been affiliated.”¹ As of 2017, 8,217 previously “culturally unidentifiable” remains have been affiliated.² It suffices to summarize, then, that the work of NAGPRA and its consulting anthropologists is far from over, and the law will have continued if not increasing importance in the following decades.

Implementation and Community Standing

The implementation of NAGPRA is a dynamic issue in academia. As stated by the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA), “in a field of such complex involvement and obligations, it is inevitable that misunderstanding, conflicts, and the need to make choices among apparently incompatible values will arise.”³ Anthropologists must assist universities, museums, and federal agencies, but conflict arises between the pursuit of anthropological knowledge and the repatriation of remains or archaeological objects. NAGPRA has been criticized for its exclusive standards and scientific biases. NAGPRA’s protocol does not repatriate all materials, including those outside its land or date specifications. Indigenous remains or artifacts are studied in circumstances where the law permits research on defined materials.⁴

Many anthropologists recognize that research practices have been developed from and continue to operate on Western cultures and values. The colonialist, often racially-driven motivations and theories of early anthropological thought defined the structure that has not been entirely undone in the field and its continued teaching. Since NAGPRA’s implementation, there has been discussion and debate concerning the collections held by anthropologists across academic institutions. Although Native Americans are a minority in the US, they comprise the majority of

¹ Colwell, Chip. 2015. “Curating Secrets: Repatriation, Knowledge Flows, and Museum Power Structures.”

² Mountain, Rebecca. 2017. “The Future of the Past.”

³ AAPA. 2003. “Code of Ethics of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists.”

⁴ Schillaci and Bustard. 2010. “Controversy and Conflict,” Stoffle and Evans. 1994. “To Bury the Ancestors.”

skeletal collections in research institutions across the nation, and often the studies they are subjected to don't have direct benefits to native people.¹ This is a point of disquiet in the field, but NAGPRA still exists in a precarious, sometimes contentious place in the community. The law protects researchers, students, and their institutions from civil or criminal consequences, sociopolitical conflict, and damage to reputation. It also requires thorough consideration of collections, new materials, and research practices; it prevents the use of some remains and objects in research, and it often does so by dispossessing institutes of their previously held collections.

The role of implementing NAGPRA falls upon contemporary anthropologists who are experts in this science. This role produces conflict within the profession, as the intents of repatriation can be adverse to conducting research. Methods for determining cultural affiliation can also differ between tribal members and scientific experts – an analytical approach can minimize the significance of indigenous knowledge. Repatriation cases often involve identification approaches established by anthropological professionals, such as the biological profile. Although cultural affiliation can be proven by “linguistics, kinship, folklore, oral tradition, and history,” there is a precedent for affiliating material via typological concepts of biological anthropology and bioarchaeology if site location/identity does not suffice.² A biological profile determination (approximated identity of remains) is still a Westernized and science-driven notion not synonymous to the theology of many Native American heritage beliefs. Similar to blood quantum concepts and patrilineal heritage, the biological profile is a Euro-American relationship imposed on tribal perspectives. Thus, the interpretation of “Native American” and the law protecting them can differ between politicians, anthropologists, and activists, resulting in the the study of native remains or artifacts to fulfill NAGPRA protocol. Consequently, indigenous notions of evidence such as oral tradition are consistently overlooked in favor of the data collected through scientific research, and the American court system is biased towards scientific data.

This issue was demonstrated by the 2002 decision on The Ancient One or “Kennewick Man,” whose repatriation was stalled for over a decade. To comply with NAGPRA, scientific study methods are only explicitly forbidden if 1) remains aren't permitted to be excavated by tribes or 2) institution-possessed remains are contested for repatriation by affiliated tribe and aren't

¹ DeWitte, Sharon. 2015. “Bioarchaeology and the Ethics of Research Using Human Skeletal Remains.”

² Schillaci and Bustard. 2010. “Controversy and Conflict,” Stoffle and Evans. 1994. “To Bury the Ancestors,” Mountain, Rebecca. 2017. “The Future of the Past.”

“indispensable for completion of a specific study... which would be of major benefit to the United States.”¹ This circumstance allowed scientists to conduct research on The Ancient One’s remains, despite the applicability of NAGPRA, finally determining his cultural affiliation and native status. In 2015, analysis culturally affiliated him to contemporary Washington tribes, and 2016 legislation allowed for his burial by Columbia basin tribes. In a statement by the AAPA, “the archaeological remains impacted by [NAGPRA] are irreplaceable in terms of the biocultural history they indisputably document.”² This argument is frequently present in repatriation debates.

Beyond its scientific allowances, the requirements for NAGPRA’s application can exclude remains due to selectness. Remains from federal or tribal lands post-November 16, 1990 are under different priorities than those found beforehand: remains held by institutional collections after this date are regulated more strictly, but there is “no requirement... for determinations of the closest affiliated tribe for museum collections for museum collections established prior.” Further conflating are the museums and agencies responsible for providing appealing parties with information on the remains’ affiliation. The availability of data varies among collections, so if no accurate documentation exists, research is performed to determine cultural affiliation. This creates a paradox in which remains must be further studied to be properly repatriated; while not all tests are destructive, they can still be culturally disrespectful to affiliated groups.³

The majority of anthropologists don’t dispute the necessity of repatriation or the ethical foundation inherent to this law. Additional ethics codes are provided by many institutions, like the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) and AAPA, and academic researchers are encouraged to follow them. For example, the AAPA endorses a “responsibility to people with whom anthropological researchers work and whose lives and cultures they study,” superseding the “responsibility to scholarship and science.”⁴ While the anthropological community debates the necessity of specific regulations in NAGPRA, there is a broader acceptance that human rights and the respect of subjects must be prioritized over scientific research. This is reflected in the literature of support for NAGPRA and repatriation and its inclusion in academic training.⁵

¹ U.S. Federal Government. 2010. “Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act.”

² AAPA. 2010. “AAPA Comments on 43CFR Part 10: NAGPRA Regulations.”

³ Mountain, Rebecca. 2017. “The Future of the Past.”

⁴ AAPA. 2003. “Code of Ethics of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists,” SAA. “Principles of Archaeological Ethics,” “Committee on Repatriation and Statement Concerning the Treatment of Human Remains.”

⁵ Kakaliouras, Ann. 2012. “An Anthropology of Repatriation.”

CHAPTER II Related Contexts and Research Background

NAGPRA in Indigenous Communities

NAGPRA has received general acceptance and endorsement from the native communities now legally empowered to repossess their cultural objects and ancestral remains. Tribal leaders and activists have helped promote the claims process and encouraged further participation by anthropologists or other material holders. Despite it being essential in the preservation of native heritage and sovereignty, there has been little scholarly attention to the impact of NAGPRA on the indigenous people who receive remains or cultural artifacts. This is a consequence of NAGPRA which requires further exploration.

In one survey 2012 conducted by curator and anthropologist Chip Colwell, 93 native participants of 67 tribal identities explained their reasons for being involved in NAGPRA-regulated repatriation. Most participants testified to being assigned their repatriation roles, half “asked by community leaders” to participate and 63% having “recognized the need to address cultural issues through NAGPRA.” Respondents expressed concerns for the ethical structure and successful implementation of NAGPRA. Native people were motivated by moral, ethical, and spiritual obligations, situating themselves between religious and social positions of activism. Thus, cultural significance equates the “social justice and spiritual concord with... personal and religious nature of the work,” whereas NAGPRA’s nature is primarily legal and scientific when approached from the Western perspective. Conflict between indigenous claimants and scientist defendants have occurred as a result of differing values or conceptions of the law. Recent generations of Native Americans and tribal boards have become more involved in the anthropological field to minimize this divide and provide solutions to weaknesses of NAGPRA and federal regulation strategies. “Few Native Americans today have formal degrees in anthropology... [but] this trend is slowly changing,” and pursuing the application of NAGPRA offers “difficult but positive experiences” through removing their ancestors from collections.¹

Respondents of the survey likewise experienced “disappointment in the pace of the repatriation process... [and] they grew more discouraged,” because the process is long, involved,

¹ Colwell, Chip. 2012. “The Work of Repatriation in Indian Country.”

and funding is generally difficult to acquire. 71% reported that “NAGPRA’s requirements are a major burden for tribes,” and 43% did not believe museums followed NAGPRA’s mandates; an additional 25% were unsure. Requirements for application are likewise a burden on tribes, and most respondents believed institutions did not “provide enough information about cultural items [or] follow NAGPRA’s legal mandates” for them to properly identify cultural affiliation. Institutional consultation was also not regarded as being “done effectively and appropriately,” so native peoples were not properly assisted by scientists in claims processes. The survey collected suggestions for improving NAGPRA; respondents consistently advised Native American activist groups to compel repatriation. Suggestions included “giving tribes direct involvement in determining cultural affiliations,” “increasing funding,” and “obliging [institutions] to consult with tribes more thoroughly and share more information on collections.” These revisions would shift ethics and power from scientific institutions favored by NAGPRA’s paradoxical biases, returning agency to indigenous people who can achieve the vision of NAGPRA.¹

The survey did provide some promising figures as the law was taking effect. 47% of respondents thought institutions had increased their ethical practices since 1990, compared to 30% disagreeing; 59% believed NAGPRA to be overall successful, and 61% believed it would continue to be useful for indigenous empowerment. These figures speak to the continued desire to pursue the intent of NAGPRA, even if its implementation has not been without fault in the scientific or academic realms.

NAGPRA in Academia and Other Institutions

Anthropologists have new expectations of NAGPRA as it impacts education and research opportunities. The intent of universities is to produce and disseminate a common body of knowledge, values, skills, and abilities among students. In anthropology programs across the United States, skeletal remains are frequently used to educate the next generation of anthropologists; theory and history lessons contextualize the expert training granted through these physical materials. These and other collections are also used in academic research projects by students and faculty members alike. In many circumstances, academic programs use legally

¹ Colwell, Chip. 2012. “The Work of Repatriation in Indian Country.”

permitted medical specimens, and manufactured non-biological skeletons. This is not universal – Native American skeletons still exist within academy walls.

According to Colwell, “the history of the collection of human skeletal remains by anthropologists and others... has resulted in misconceptions about current practices in the field... important changes [have] been made in recent decades to ensure that bioarchaeological research is done ethically.” Professionally trained anthropologists are no longer engaged in such practices and instead “make reparations for past ethical violations perpetrated against indigenous peoples and others.”¹ In cases where remains were obtained unethically, faculty work to adhere to standards established by anthropological institutions and federal legislation.

After NAGPRA’s passage, anthropologists have shifted their teaching materials and approaches, and its procedures have been incorporated into prominent literature. Buikstra critiques ineffective procedures “that affect both Native people and academic agencies,” and promotes the treatment of Native oral tradition “as a source of information for untangling historic and geologic events” for determining cultural affiliation; Turner argues that instructors should only teach methods of identifying race skeletally if students are warned about the “flaws and questionable ethics of such research... weaving instruction about past and present social injustices into student understandings of the continuing biological consequences of cultural oppression;” Larsen and Walker prompt debate on mandating federal recognition for tribal claimants and promote the application of “bioarchaeological ethics to practice, as well as to a larger system of respectful interaction ideal for the possible resolution of a heterogeneous set of repatriation problems.”²

Departments have developed curricula to partner skeletal and cultural training, avoiding the total exclusion of skeletal references and arguing for “cross-cultural” training, reflective studies, and collaboration as well as the inclusion of indigenous people.³ These programs intend to educate a more reflexive generation of North American osteologists and anthropologists. NAGPRA is a concept often included in the curricula, so students can learn its procedures and impact on their field. Students are also introduced to the law’s social and ethical implications. In this context, repatriation law has both impacted and become a necessary component of training anthropologists.

¹ Colwell, Chip. 2012. “The Work of Repatriation in Indian Country.”

² Kakaliouras, Ann. 2008. “Leaving Few Bones Unturned: Recent Work on Repatriation by Osteologists.”

³ Kakaliouras, Ann. 2012. “An Anthropology of Repatriation: Contemporary Physical Anthropological and Native American Ontologies of Practice.”

The increasing enrollment of native people in anthropology studies has aided in such adapting programs. Indigenous studies have increased relativistic thought; consultants informed in native culture augments awareness in the faculty and student communities. Indigenous anthropologists, whether they be teaching or training at the university, recognize “the effects of colonization on their culture and communities [in] the academy,” and they encourage their colleagues to consider “archaeology's colonial lineage” and implications to native populations. There has been a greater exploration of “postcolonial studies, decolonizing methodologies, the ethics of conducting research, public benefits and access to research, and the ownership of knowledge... [such as] Indigenous archaeology and the methods and theories associated with its practice.”¹ This is an early stage of improvement for the field. With the integration of native concepts and strategies, the field becomes more relativistic and effective in its relationship to living communities. NAGPRA accomplishes a similar mission with a physical rather than intellectual exchange, and its inclusion in curricula has increased alongside Native American representation.

In accordance to this demographic change, there has been increasing literature around the subject of repatriation. Atalay summarizes this trend in an essay on indigenous archaeology:

“Academic publications, documentaries, and popular books describing activism around reburial and repatriation [are growing]... archaeologists began to think critically about their right to control the material culture of the Indigenous past... Debates over who owns the past, human remains, and material culture and who has the power to speak for and write the stories of the past have all played a prominent role in archaeology... and [brought about] working with Native peoples to develop reburial and repatriation legislation including NAGPRA.”

Like the native communities surveyed by Colwell, Atalay believes funding and training opportunities should be augmented to facilitate more indigenous anthropologists. “Further development of ethics guidelines and the rise of intellectual and cultural property research” is also important if anthropologists are to continue moving in the direction of collaborative, considerate practices that address the concerns of Native Americans before their own research questions.² To fully realize academic “decolonizing” or “indigenous archaeology,” the foundation that has been laid out – NAGPRA, among other codes and ethics – must be followed, but first taught.

¹ Atalay, Sonya. 2006. “Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice.”

² Ibid.

A survey conducted in 2016 among members of the SAA demonstrated some of the divisions encountered when addressing NAGPRA amongst academic archaeologists, one subset of the anthropological community in North America. The survey gauged “impact of NAGPRA and related legislation on archaeology” and visualized opinions SAA members had on the organization’s relationship to repatriation. It sought to identify demographic trends in response and assess how these may be related to opinions to SAA’s interaction with repatriation laws. 77% indicated some experience with repatriation, whether through consultation, coordination, or communication.

60.5% of respondents identified as operating within the academic setting, and 73.6% had received their most recent degree after the passage of NAGPRA in 1990. Demographics of regional focus demonstrated a majority (81.5%) studying material from “the United States,” which indicates work with Native American material. The results of this survey “revealed no great divide within the SAA on the subject of repatriation,” although significant percentages of respondents indicated they were not satisfied with the impacts of NAGPRA on their profession. 34% reported “negative results” on archaeological research and 21% reported the same to their own studies as a result of the legislation, with higher instances of this response in older generations of archaeologists; younger respondents were more likely to answer “mixed results” or “positive results,” but these responses were fewer. When asked if “NAGPRA legislation to be a compromise – a balance between science and Native American rights,” 30.1% of United States archaeologists disagreed.

The same cohorts that reported negative responses to NAGPRA also had more conservative views of what remains should be included in the “Native American” category and thus subject to NAGPRA procedures. 37.9% of respondents working in the United States (35.3% of the “Academics” and 37.6% of the “Students”) did not think “Archaic period” remains should be included; even more respondents disagreed with categorizing remains from the Paleoindian period under this legislation (46.4% in the United States, 45.6% of “Academics,” and 42.7% of “Students”).

In responses to revising SAA’s “engagement with NAGPRA,” archaeologists in the United States were 21.8% towards placing greater emphasis on “scientific values” 31.4% towards “cooperation and balance among different stakeholder’s interests,” and 11.2% towards “Native

American individual and community rights.” Trends for scientific prioritization were among older archaeologists, while the other responses occurred more frequently among younger respondents; a significant portion (41%) had no revisions or response to offer. Patterns were generally retained for specifically academic archaeologists, including both faculty and students, though only 8.4% students wished to emphasize scientific values. These figures indicate a variety of opinions towards the association’s response to NAGPRA and repatriation. 64.2% also reported wanting the SAA to maintain or increase its involvement in repatriation.

Written responses spoke to support for ethical, effective repatriation. Frequent suggestions included the development of collaboration protocol and an educational program on “NAGPRA legislation and best practices.” Open responses were described as having “varying degrees of conviction, and at times, hostility,” demonstrating the emotional and ethical foundations of these discussions and the law itself. Some respondents characterized repatriation policy as “outdated and Eurocentric” while others “argued that NAGPRA legislations have hindered bioarchaeology.”

Taken in their entirety, these responses indicate some trends towards favoring repatriation and NAGPRA in newer generations of American archaeologists, although the figures did not cross-identify which setting these experts operated in, a factor that may also determine the trends visualized. The data also demonstrates some concern for how the law is currently taught in academia, as divisions in opinion (especially the perception of “negative results”) can discolor the impact of NAGPRA or the essential work accomplished by repatriation. A conclusion by the researcher stated the SAA members “would benefit from learning more about the SAA’s activities concerning repatriation and other issues surrounding the NAGPRA legislation.”¹

NAGPRA in Medicolegal Contexts

The discussion of NAGPRA in a forensic context is diminutive compared to that of the anthropological or academic, although there is a potential for those involved in the medicolegal setting to encounter historic or prehistoric remains. This disconnect may be an artifact (pun intended) of educational practices in early anthropology programs which those in the forensic anthropology field first train and where anthropologists typically first encounter repatriation law.

¹ Alonzi, Elise. 2016. “SAA Repatriation Survey Analysis.”

A 2018 research project by Megan Kleeschulte, a Master's student of Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, sought to determine how informed medicolegal professionals were in NAGPRA procedures. Her nationwide survey was conducted to identify problems with awareness or understanding and provide context for future training improvements.¹

Kleeschulte's survey began with requesting general demographics to visualize who was responding. Age, profession (medical examiner, coroner, pathologist, or other), highest level education, and work experience were collected to understand the individual's job experience. Further information was collected for state/home town (to establish possible tribal land relations or state laws), office circumstances, skeletal remains cases a year, and number of cases determined to be non-forensic Native Americans. These factors determined the frequency with which the respondent may encounter remains protected under NAGPRA and potential reasons for being familiar with the law beyond academic training.

The following questionnaire requested data on the respondent's familiarity with laws that establish protocol for handling human remains, continuing to isolate the concept of NAGPRA and identify familiarity with this law. Questions then prompted respondents to divulge their protocol to how cases of non-forensic remains were processed. Responses helped clarify in what way NAGPRA's protocol was implemented in the institutions where these professionals worked, whether this be within a medicolegal or blended academic setting.

Results demonstrated that there is an age range of familiarity with the law among medicolegal professionals. There was also a professional divide; medical examiners were the least aware of the law, forensic anthropologists were the most, and coroners exemplified a near even split. From the responses on education and profession, it was clear these experts were not learning about NAGPRA in their undergraduate programs or in training at their offices. It was far more common for personal research to provide this knowledge. Awareness was thus correlated somewhat to education level, skewed by forensic anthropologists with doctorates. The respondents encountered hundreds of NAGPRA-sensitive cases around the nation yearly, yet there is no protocol in place to aid medicolegal professionals in the special treatment necessary for remains qualifying under NAGPRA protection. This is an oversight for their offices, training, and the law, because experts can be easily implicated in the mishandling or documentation of these individuals.

¹ Kleeschulte, Megan. 2018. "NAGPRA's Broader Impacts."

One surprising figure indicated that a majority (63%) of the respondents believed NAGPRA applied to their professions; why, then, was it not being taught as a standard practice in their training programs? ¹ The survey identified a problem of awareness, with a potential dilemma in the early education of professionals in the medicolegal field. Although these experts are not exclusively trained in anthropology programs (the exception being forensic anthropologists), there's still a necessity to train all professionals who handle human remains in the specific protocol for Native American bones. This training can and should begin in an academic setting.

Dahnke and Lonetree thus succinctly summarize the current state of the law: “although we recognize... collaborations and repatriations have taken place since the passage of NAGPRA, we caution against subscribing to a narrative of progress when assessing the current situation of NAGPRA compliance in the United States” or believing the campaign for repatriation is over. ²

Project Proposal

The faults past and present within the system of NAGPRA have been unfortunately perpetuated by oversights in the academies where its main agents are being educated. Poor understanding of the legislation or ambivalence to its ethical foundation have also led to inconsistencies in its implementation, despite it being incorporated into the curricula of many anthropology programs. ³ Smaller or ancillary institutes such as medical examiner's offices or historical societies may also be unaware of NAGPRA's updated regulation as a result of non-continuous education practices. ⁴ Those involved in anthropological work may still not be informed on the existence of NAGPRA, how it is enforced, or how it restores the rights due to Native Americans contemporary and deceased. These obstacles make repatriation difficult if not impossible to complete in these settings, because the agents are not properly trained. Academic anthropologists are trained more consistently, necessitated by compliance to NAGPRA.

¹ Kleeschulte, Megan. 2018. “NAGPRA's Broader Impacts.”

² Daehnke, Jon, and Amy Lonetree. 2011. “Repatriation in the United States.”

³ Atalay, Sonya. 2006. “Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice,” Colwell, Chip. 2015. “Curating Secrets,” DeWitte, Sharon. 2015. “Bioarchaeology and the Ethics of Research Using Human Skeletal Remains,” Kakaliouras, Ann. 2012. “An Anthropology of Repatriation.”

⁴ Kleeschulte, Megan. 2018. “NAGPRA's Broader Impacts.”

It is evident, from cases of misinformed or underexperienced experts, the potential consultants of NAGPRA need assistance if they and the legislation are to succeed in returning the remains of native people to their families and descendants. The social progress enacted by NAGPRA – preserving the rights of those exploited by past ignorance – must be prioritized by the academic and scientific communities if they are to end the perpetual abuse committed against Native Americans. After NAGPRA’s 2010 revision, there’s a new demand for unidentifiable remains to be repatriated. Legislation has also been developed to account for remains that were damaged by previous handlers. As such, a larger number and expanse of claims are being filed. NAGPRA hasn’t lost its ethical foundation, as demonstrated by the increasing number and size of claims made in the past five years and increasing activism in anthropology departments. The law does, however, need support from the programs where its agents originate.

In late 2018, the University of California implemented a policy to promote repatriation after decades of debate over its holdings of remains at its Museum of Anthropology; Marshall University in Virginia was fined one of the highest civil penalties of NAGPRA history only three months prior for “failing to complete inventories of American Indian remains and artifacts in its possession.” Claims have been made that these activities have persisted alongside “stalled the repatriation process and denied repatriation claims using loopholes.”¹ As we approach the thirty-year anniversary of NAGPRA, why are these and other institutes, employing professional anthropologists, not in compliance to its regulations? How may reception, internalization, etc. by staff and students impact training and practices in anthropology and history departments? And how might the trends of these relationships imply its continued legacy in universities, which are a huge portion of the around 750 American institutes in possession of these materials?

It has become universal knowledge in the anthropology community that “many physical anthropologists feel not only that unique and valuable remains should be examined, but also must stay available for testing with the advancement of future technologies,” and “many people are on the polar extremes of this issue-either believing in continued possession for research purposes or insisting on immediate burial without study.”² While it is important to remain non-confrontational with colleagues in the field, it is also essential to reach a consensus that this law is not only

¹ Teodorescu, Alexander. 2018. “Gov. Jerry Brown signs bill to facilitate repatriation of Native American remains at UC campuses,” Raby, John. 2018. “University Fined for Violating Indian Remains Law.”

² Cryne, Julia. 2009. “NAGPRA Revisited: A Twenty-year Review of Repatriation Efforts.”

important but unavoidable. There are legal and reputational consequences that come with ignorance to NAGPRA, and the only fortification to such a catastrophe is through education. Ethics must also be prioritized and maintained throughout the field. With the mission to promote this law in an academic context, the idea of this research project was engendered.

The project intended to assess academic awareness, reception, internalization, and ultimately endurance of NAGPRA among anthropologists, thus contextualizing their training in NAGPRA and repatriation theory. The Ohio State University was chosen for its accessibility and familiarity; relevant academic programs; and activity complying with NAGPRA, curation, and repatriation of Native American remains. It was designed to discriminate between reception rates and individual internalization of NAGPRA training that may produce trends related to understanding, best practices of compliance, and – ultimately – repatriation. The project's objective was to quantify and contextualize the problem of “reception,” or the initial encounter with and synthesis of the law through education, and “internalization,” or how the law is learned through training and then incorporated in the responsibilities of anthropologists. Reception and internalization were recorded from individual experiences but assessed on community and cohort levels. Methods included visualizing the demographics within an anthropology program and gaining an understanding of divisions in awareness and training. The researcher theorized differences may be occurring between generations, professions, or education levels, and these cohorts could be correlated with the potential of faculty and students having an accurate understanding of (and consequently compliance to) NAGPRA. Using this data, the researcher hoped to predict trends of future cohorts correctly implementing repatriation procedures. This model would thus be valuable in determining where NAGPRA education must be revised or augmented in the universities responsible for training of anthropologists.

CHAPTER III Methodology

This research was designed to visualize the reception and internalization of NAGPRA protocol as it is taught in an academic setting. From this data, the researcher could visualize the trends in the anthropology community, then postulate why and how community response may influence professional compliance to NAGPRA regulations and reactions towards repatriation. The study focused on students and faculty in the discipline of anthropology who curate or handle material that may be subject to NAGPRA's protection, as well as those in the peripheral discipline of history who may be aware of this law through studies in American, indigenous, or human rights' histories. The research conducted for this thesis isolated the perspectives from one academic setting, The Ohio State University, which exemplifies robust anthropology and history programs, including experts on biological anthropology and Native American studies.

Data was collected in the form of responses to a digital survey offered to professors and students; additional responses were acquired from faculty members in the form of interviews. Conclusions made with this data would, in the best scenario, offer insight to how NAGPRA is being presented to an academic audience. The data gathered was intended to identify trends of reception, internalization, and other responses to NAGPRA and see if these tendencies correlated to certain professions, demographics, or stages of experience. Further data was acquired through interviews to compliment the appearance of trends with personal experience, specifically from professionals who interacted with and/or implemented NAGPRA protocol to comply in their work.

Objectives included visualizing cohorts within the departments of Anthropology and History at The Ohio State University (as they relate to attitudes towards NAGPRA) and theorizing the relationship between demographics and divisions in awareness, acceptance, and application of NAGPRA. The project used survey responses to quantify and contextualize attitudinal trends concerning NAGPRA as it influences scientific, anthropological research potentially involving Native American remains or cultural materials. History was included as a comparative profession to offer alternative attitudes, as the study of historical populations often involves similar materials (exempting human remains) but varies in approach and method of study. Historians are less likely to receive NAGPRA education and may interpret it differently to anthropologists, based on their paradigm of historical study rather than scientific inquiry. The research attempted to distinguish

any differences in reception and internalization between these groups as a result of disparate practice, theory, or representation. The American Indian Studies program, although not a distinct department at the university, was included to provide an indigenous or indigenous-adjacent perspective to the Western approaches of a university.

The project intended to demonstrate if aspects of individual identity, generational divisions, profession, or academic identity correlate with training in NAGPRA protocol and support for its system, intent, and ethics. This data could then potentially predict if future cohorts of professional anthropologists are properly informed on the law's regulations and thus be more likely to comply with its protocol. Depending on trends (i.e. reception and internalization) in academic cohorts, the study could project the future productivity of NAGPRA and repatriation efforts in academic institutions and potentially recommend improvements for training in anthropology programs.

Background Research

Background research sources included digital databases, physical texts, and presentations on these topics. Reference texts were amassed from previous research and literature on the systems, impacts, and limitations of NAGPRA. Further contextualization was established through publications on the relationship repatriation has with the universities and anthropologists responsible for claimed materials. Anthropology associations revealed evidence to the current environment of the academic system in relation to the law and repatriation in general.

Study Design and Protocol

Design

The project was developed and submitted for IRB approval in the autumn semester of 2018, while the recruitment, data collection, and analysis occurred in the spring semester of 2019. The digital survey was made accessible to faculty and students from The Ohio State University's Anthropology and History departments. Data was collected through a Google form, organized in Excel sheets, and analyzed to seek cohort trends in opinions about NAGPRA's intent, protocol, consequences, and ethical foundations. An additional component of participation was offered to faculty, providing the opportunity for individual interviews.

Questions for survey and interview were based on the relationship between identity and experience, understanding of NAGPRA, and internalized notions of repatriation. These aspects of the respondents’ perspectives or opinions helped identify potential origins of their knowledge and enactment of NAGPRA. This analysis then informed the researcher as to how education and academic settings impacted the formation of these understandings.

Schedule

The survey was offered to potential participants through email following study approval (January 2019). Initial emails were followed by a secondary recruitment email the following month, as was necessitated by low response rates. In March, the survey was closed and data collected. In the time between the first email and the close of the survey, interview scheduling was available to interested participants; four were scheduled during late March. Survey data was analyzed in March, and the manuscript was composed in late March to early April.

<i>Stage</i>	<i>Approximate Dates</i>
Survey	January – February, 2019
Interviews and Transcription	March – April, 2019
Analysis	March – April 2019
Manuscript Composed	March – April 2019

Sampling

Participants in the survey included faculty (professors) and students (graduates and undergraduates) from the Anthropology, History, and American Indian Studies departments of The Ohio State University. All members of these cohorts were contacted to request participation in the survey, while faculty were the exclusive cohort requested to participate in interviews. Sampling did not exclude any faculty or student on the basis of specialization, experience, or other demographic trait. The group was heterogeneous in aspects of age, identity, profession (or projected profession), academic and work experience, and regional affiliations. Trends in these cohorts were assessed statistically in relation to attitudinal responses, with priority placed on

profession, education, and experience. Correlations or the lack thereof were assessed to infer if there was a trend between attitudes and groups within the faculty or student populations.

Researchers had previous association with faculty and/or students of the departments and were familiar with potential subjects of the research. This was not a conflict of interest, because the research posed no compensation and minimal liability or risk to the subjects; no coercion was used to encourage participation or produce desirable results from the subjects. Multiple completions of the survey were not recorded in the analysis. The institution was not a partner in the research but a source from which the sample was taken and a site of research. Neither students nor faculty were prompted or required by their respective departments to participate.

Recruitment Procedures, Informed Consent

Invitation to participate in the survey was communicated via email sent to the listing of professors and graduate students provided by the Anthropology and History department websites as well as the American Indian Studies page. The same email was sent to the undergraduate students enrolled in these majors, a list of which was requested from the Program Managers of these departments. Written permission was obtained from appropriate staff members in advance.

Faculty and students chose to participate in the digital survey by accessing a form through a digital link available in the email and filling out identification information. Faculty who wished to complete the survey were prompted at the end to volunteer for participation in personal interviews conducted at a later date, in person or over the phone. Participants could at any time in the survey process cancel submission of the survey or leave portions incomplete.

“Informed Consent Forms” were provided in PDF documents attached to emails. Specific forms were structured for the survey and interview procedures, reviewing the protocol, risk, and provisions for the respective procedure. Subjects were responsible for reviewing these forms before they completed the survey or interview process. Digital consent was given by checking off boxes when providing identification in the survey platform. Further consent was provided for interviews through a signed form sent to the researcher.

Protocol was established to preserve anonymity and confidentiality; individual answers for the survey were not reported in relation to singular, identifiable participants. The participants were

made aware of this through the Informed Consent Form and texts before and during the survey. Personal relationships within the department or between members of the university were not discussed. Attitudes of others were not speculated, nor were subjects made aware of or required to make judgements on the responses of other participants.

Procedures: Survey

A survey method was the most appropriate for collecting the quantitative data of cohorts and community responses to NAGPRA; this data represented group reception or internalization which could then be compared to individual responses. Participants were verified as members of interest groups by confirming their identity; this procedure guarded against distinguishing the data of individuals who may later request admission from the final research report. Constraints arose in low response rate and necessitated analysis methods suited for less robust data sets.

The survey began with questions concerning the individual's identification with certain personal and professional demographics, concentrating on their academic role and affiliation at the university. Questions on education, reception, and interaction with the law focused on how NAGPRA was learned and involved in their academic or professional lives. These inquiries included the experience each participant had in their respective field, the frequency with which they encountered NAGPRA as a topic or responsibility, and what impacts they believed the law had on their chosen profession. Attitudes towards NAGPRA intent, protocol, consequences, and ethical foundations were included. Each question was answered voluntarily, and participants had the opportunity to skip questions or choose neutral answers that did not reflect in their responses.

Procedures: Interviews

Interviews were supplements of qualitative data to contextualize survey data. Individual accounts broadened the research to consider how experience or background not disclosed in the survey may affect NAGPRA's inclusion in academic or occupational practice. Faculty members were experienced in how NAGPRA or repatriation affect their profession and had more practical insight to its consequences, thus more relevant insight. Interviews were conducted in-person and

over the phone with the researcher producing notes from respondent answers; an additional interview was conducted through typed response from the respondent.

Subjects had full control to the length and detail of answers they disclosed, and interviews did not exceed forty-five minutes. All questions asked were relevant to the previous topics of personal reception, internalization, and experience with NAGPRA in the participant's academic or professional career. Queries were adapted to fit the subject in their respective department at the university. So interviews could develop organically and conversationally, a guide to interviews of predetermined questions was used, allowing the researcher to select and adapt to previous answers and gain the most relevant insight. More involved topics were added to interviews. These questions involved the subject's internalization of NAGPRA protocol and repatriation, observed reception of the legislation in their field, and personal experiences with the law as it was implemented in their professional career. These interviews helped elucidate how the foundational ethics of NAGPRA and repatriation were present as viewed by the involved experts.

Data Storage

Survey answers were stored with the identifying information of the subject who provided them. All answers to the survey were kept confidential and protected by the digital survey system to which only the researcher had access. The information was transferred to storage on an encrypted file within a personal, password-protected laptop. The survey data was kept in digital records as an archive for review and verification during analysis. Interview responses were transcribed in documents on the same device and were likewise restricted to the researcher's view. No data was available for viewing from the original survey platform or made available through files or other means after the research was completed.

Analysis

Analysis of survey responses involved quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques. After digital collection was completed, percentage statistics were performed on the numerical data. For categorical data (such as the nominal responses of cohort or the ordinal responses of agree/neutral/disagree), groups were delineated based on the frequency and relatedness of answers.

Short answers were isolated for case-by-case validity and supportive data to visualized trends. Demographic groups would then be separated to compare the trends in responses for each question pertaining to NAGPRA reception and internalization. These calculations aided in the interpretation of how cohorts in academia may relate to the frequency of different attitudes towards NAGPRA. Responses were not removed or excluded based on inconsistency with researcher theory, but some had to be excised from presentation due to their irrelevance to the current study, i.e. respondents from departments outside of Anthropology or History.

Analysis of interview responses involved similar qualitative analytical techniques. After transcription, a review of the responses identified the most relevant content. Content from the interviews was used as supplemental evidence to the trends that were uncovered through the statistical analysis of the survey. Interviews or parts of interviews were not selected in relation to biases had by the researchers before, during, or after the data collection process.

Data was interpreted through grounded theory research. This method “move(s) beyond description [of experience] to generate or discover a theory... for a process of an action” through which “the development of the theory might help explain practice or provide a framework for future research.” Grounded theory amasses data from participants with experience in the process or system being explored; it prioritizes qualitative inquiry to generate a theory or explanation as to the circumstances of the process, action, or interaction being researched. Quantitative data was thus coded around categories, allowing the collected responses to propose patterns between categories and predict relationships. Interview questions were formatted to understand “the individual experience,” allowing the theory to adapt with data collection and analysis.

A large number of participants was necessary to view data through this method, which can be further refined into “constructivist grounded theory.” The constructivist approach emphasized “views, values, assumptions, and ideologies of individuals... [alongside] data, coding, memoing, and using theoretical sampling.” Merging quantitative and qualitative data functioned best to examine responses of participants and expose the complex relationships between reception, internalization, and compliance to NAGPRA from an academic setting. This culmination of data and analysis produced a theory for the model or discussion for future consideration. ¹

¹ Creswell

CHAPTER IV Data Presentation, Analysis, and Inferences

“Cohorts and demographics”

Establishing the cohorts and demographics of respondents was an important preliminary to gathering their reactions to NAGPRA or general repatriation. By collecting the personal background and academic environment of respondents, correlations could be theorized to understand their responses concerning NAGPRA and repatriation. Questions focused on primary identifiers such as age, race/ethnicity, sex, and gender to establish individual experience. Further specification arose with academic identity (department, position at the university, and career) from which levels of academic experience could be postulated. While NAGPRA exposure in the academic setting would likely show trends from the latter identifications, the research also aimed to see if trends were skewed by other demographic identification (i.e. age, race/ethnicity). Respondents were prompted to indicate their identification with the following categories based on their current personal identity, professional cohort, and experience.

Department

Departmental identification was the most important demographic division for studying participant responses and was divided into “American Indian Studies,” “Anthropology,” “History,” and “Other.” These would later be used to isolate the two comparative groups, those from Anthropology and those from History. Individuals from the American Indian Studies program and Other departments are referenced in analysis when their answers appear in disproportionate trends than focus group respondents. Respondents who indicated more than one major were listed twice in the results; if these were separated from totals, they would be as followed: 1 in American Indian Studies, 31 in Anthropology, 14 in History, and 5 in Other.

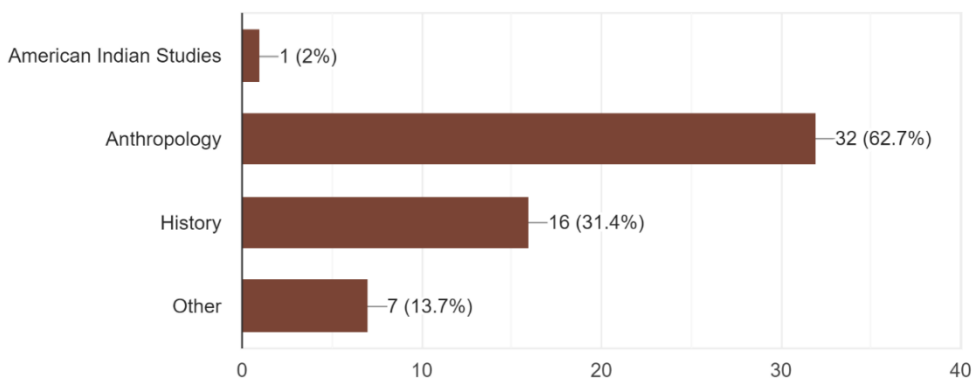


Figure 1. Department cohort groups

All column charts visualize the frequency of responses from all 51 participants.

Age

Age was the first cohort identifier which may influence personal experience or trends; these differences could come from generational divisions or shifts in the approaches of study encountered during education. Most respondents were between the ages of 21-35, which corresponded to the high respondent count of latter undergraduates and all programs of graduate students; a somewhat skewed bell curve arises in the direction of older individuals, indicating more professors and experienced academics responded to the survey. It was viewed from cross-referencing age demographics and the cohorts of Academic Identity (referenced later) that the age discrimination of responses would be equated by using the Academic Identity of respondents. Thus, the interest in generational trends was demonstrable through Academic Identity, which represented age clusters of roughly the same ranges throughout.

The individuals in both Anthropology and History included one 18-20 year old and one 21-25 year old. The respondent from American Indian Studies was 56-65; four respondents in “Other” departments were 18-20 (2) and 21-25 (2).

Age	Total (51)	Population in Anthropology Department (31)	Population in History Department (14)
18-20	10%	0%	21.5%
21-25	37%	35.5%	36%
26-35	31%	39%	28.5%
36-45	10%	16%	0%
46-55	4%	6.5%	0%
56-65	4%	0%	7%
Over 65	4%	3%	7%

Figure 2. Age cohort groups from Anthropology and History departments

Ethnicity and Race

Ethnicity and/or race identification was requested through a short-answer response rather than a listing of possibilities due to the wide range of identifications. Respondents were separated into departments to show representation within these communities. Because individuals in anthropology may not identify race (as it is often defined in academic teaching as a “social construct”), the question model hoped to isolate the respondents’ primary racial background or ethnicity, as they were most apt to identify. This data would potentially indicate exposure to indigenous or minority perspectives that may counteract traditional Western practices, including a prioritization of scientific research over the preservation of material culture. The ethnic or racial

background of respondents may have then contributed to their response to or internalization of NAGPRA protocol or repatriation when learned in an academic setting.

The majority of respondents indicated their ethnic or racial identity in the category of “European/White/Caucasian,” while two members of each department identified as minority groups, including Hispanic/Latina and Asian/East Asian. Research was thus concluded to already be disproportionate to favor responses from a Western perspective, but the representation of respondents compared to that of the academic setting is not surprising.

Of those with mixed identities, one respondent indicated mixed identity of White and Asian ancestry; another indicated mixed Native American and white and belonged to an outside department. One respondent was incredibly self-descriptive, specifying “Settler colonial” alongside “white.” Both dual members of the Anthropology and History departments also identified as “white.” The only member specifying as “American Indian” or “Native American” was a member of the American Indian Studies program.

Primary Ethnic or Racial Identity	Total (51)	Population in Anthropology Department (31)	Population in History Department (14)
“American”	2%	3%	0%
“European,” “Mixed European,” “European American,” “White,” “Caucasian”	76%	78%	71.5%
“Asian American,” “East Asian”	2%	3%	0%
“White Hispanic,” “Hispanic,” “Latina”	6%	3%	14.5%
“American Indian,” “Native American”	2%	0%	0%
Multiple identities	4%	3%	0%
None specified	8%	0%	0%

Figure 3. Primary ethnic or racial identity cohort groups from Anthropology and History departments

Sex and Gender

Sex and gender were requested as a supplementary demographic estimate to see if answers may be concentrated in a specific perspective. Overall divisions were 63.7% female, 36.3% male. Anthropology respondents were as follows in terms of sex: 77% female, 23% male. In History, respondent spread was 36% female, 64% male. Members of Other departments were 60% female, 40% male. Gender showed similar but not symmetrical responses: from the total 51 respondents, 62.7% identified female, 35.3% male. This makeup shifted between departments – in Anthropology, 77% female, 23% male; History 29% female, 64% male, and one respondent indicated non-binary identification; members of Other departments were 60% female, 40% male. The respondents thus represented more female-identifying perspectives, but this is again typical within contemporary anthropology departments, which made up the majority of respondents.

Academic Identity

Academic Identity was another indicator of experience and professional stature beyond objective age; it indicates likelihood of potential exposure to NAGPRA in an academic setting through education or training and was a more academic prediction than biological age. With every level of academic experience, there was a higher likelihood that a student or faculty member had learned of NAGPRA or dealt with NAGPRA-sensitive material. The most essential insight from this division arose from the different experiences of students versus faculty – undergraduates and some graduate students may have only learned about NAGPRA, its intent, and community impact through education, whereas other graduate students and professors had personal experience from their professional lives. Thus, visualizing these cohorts helped indicate if trends in reception or internalization were occurring in the departments, as exposure levels would be generally increasing, whereas personal responses could be disparate as a result of other factors (i.e. approaches they learned in training or generational values).

Respondents concentrated in academic cohorts of Doctorate graduate students and upperclassmen undergraduates, with disproportionately high faculty and graduate students in comparison to undergraduates. The low response rate of undergraduates may have been due to their unfamiliarity with NAGPRA, as they had less experience in research studies or involved careers, and they therefore did not feel qualified to participate in the survey.

Academic Identity	Total (51)	Population in Anthropology Department (31)	Population in History Department (14)	Population in Other Department (6)
First/Second year Undergraduate	10%	0	3	2
Third/Fourth year Undergraduate	15.5%	4	4	0

Fifth year + Undergraduate	4%	2	0	0
Master's program Graduate	8%	2	0	2
Doctorate's program Graduate	43%	18	4	0
Lecturer	4%	0	2	0
Professor/Emeritus	13.5%	4	1	2

Figure 4. Academic identity cohort groups from Anthropology and History departments

Respondents were also asked to describe their career or projected career; in cases that the respondent was employed, they could provide the number of years they'd been in that position. This figure was another indicator of exposure to NAGPRA, because certain groups of anthropologists are more likely to encounter and then be impacted by its regulations.

It is significant that the vast majority of respondents specified their career or intent to begin a career in an academic setting and in subcategories of physical anthropology (rows 2-4). Although "academic" or "professor" is nonspecific to the subfield of anthropology being studied, most anthropologists operating in North America will learn about the law or encounter NAGPRA-sensitive material. Those in subfield specific roles (rows 2-4) are types of anthropologists who should expect to encounter these materials, be prepared to handle such cases, or teach the law to students. "Researchers" may have a multitude of interpretations and subfields of focus, so it is impossible to predict whether they would also have experience with NAGPRA-related research.

Of those 8 who provided the length of time in their current position, reports ranged from 1-13 with no calculable significance in concentration. This represents a small portion of the overall respondent population, which may have been due to confusion in the question or a drop off from students not having positions to which they could ascribe themselves.

Title of Career or Projected Career	Number of Respondents from Anthropology Department (31)
"Academic," "Professor," "University Faculty"	39%
"Bioarchaeology"	16%
"Forensic Anthropology"	9.5%
"Archaeology"	9.5%
"Anthropology," "Biological Anthropology"	9.5%
"Researcher"	7%
Other field	9.5%

Figure 5. Career or projected career cohort groups from Anthropology department

Region

23 respondents identified their region of origin as Ohio; 3 from Pennsylvania; 2 from Maryland, New Jersey, and Texas respectively; one from each of the following states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. This is a significant spread, because those from Ohio are less likely to have exposure to Native American communities due to the historic removal and diaspora of indigenous people from the region; a similar effect may hold true in the Northeast and many Midwestern states. These areas are also, however, high concentrations of indigenous archaeology and material collection, which may have an affect on awareness to native culture or NAGPRA.

No respondents identified their home state as being in Alaska, California, Florida, New Mexico, or Oklahoma, which have by census reported some of the largest populations of Native Americans. Arizona, Texas, Washington, and New York do have higher populations of Native Americans and may have correlated to more familiarity or contact with indigenous cultures before the student/faculty member came to Ohio, but small cohort sizes preclude analysis.

“Personal attitudes, reception, and interpretations”

The research was primarily interested in visualizing differences in the academic experiences of students and faculty from the two focal departments. Additionally, identifiers such as sex and gender did not seem significant to receiving NAGPRA training, because all members of the academic setting would be afforded the same experience in classes. Region and ethnicity were also so highly skewed towards “Ohio” and “White/European” respectively that these identifiers did not seem applicable to showing direct demographic differences, although notes will be shown to specify the different response rates between white and minority groups. As such, the following responses are visualized in respect to department and academic title.

“Do you believe NAGPRA is in any form involved with your profession or projected career?”

Overall, respondents from the Anthropology department were more likely to state that NAGPRA was involved in their profession/career than respondents from the History department, and this was somewhat supported by responses. More members of the high-level academic cohorts were more likely to assert that NAGPRA was in some form involved in their job, and this was also demonstrated in the responses; this may be attributed to their personal experience level and exposure to or interaction with NAGPRA. Most Anthropology respondents believed NAGPRA was or was somewhat involved in their career, which could be an indicator of awareness of the law and/or the applicability of this law to the student and faculty groups’ research interests. Undergraduates more often answered “no” or “unsure,” which is likely a result of education rather than experience, as explained in the approach of isolating Academic Identity.

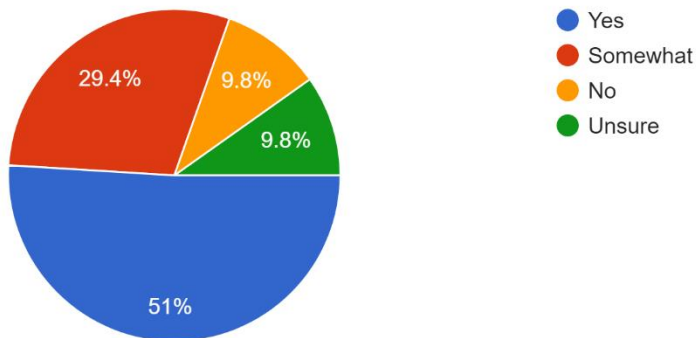


Figure 6. “Do you believe NAGPRA is in any form involved with your profession or projected career?” All responses

All pie charts visualize the frequency of responses from all 51 participants.

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 17% History 29%	Anthropology 33% History 29%	Anthropology 33% History 0%	Anthropology 17% History 42%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 67% History 75%	Anthropology 22% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 11% History 25%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 50% History 0%	Anthropology 50% History 100%	Anthropology History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%

Figure 7. “Do you believe NAGPRA (Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act) is in any form involved with your profession or projected career?” Anthropology and History department responses

All Academic Identity categorized charts visualize the percent of the Academic Identity type which answered the response of the column, i.e. if the “Yes” column’s “Anthropology” percentage in “Undergraduate” is 50%, half of the Undergraduate Anthropology respondents said “Yes” to this question.

“Would you expect to encounter a situation in your career which will necessitate you to be in NAGPRA compliance?”

In comparison to those professors and graduate students who believed they would act in accordance to NAGPRA, which was a significant majority, undergraduate students had a lower frequency of answering “yes” or “somewhat.” Therefore, the reception and internalization of NAGPRA protocol (in this environment, how students learn about and then understand the law) may have been less than what is necessary for undergraduates. As anthropologists who are training and likely will operate in North America, these students will likely need to be in NAGPRA compliance in research or work; it is even possible for NAGPRA-sensitive material to be involved in their education. This assumption was confirmed by the responses of the graduate students and professors, who more frequently asserted that they expected their career would require them to be in NAGPRA compliance. The academic program for undergraduate anthropologists therefore may not be properly disseminating this expectation to its students, and it can be assumed that subsequent training in its ethics and protocol is not occurring.

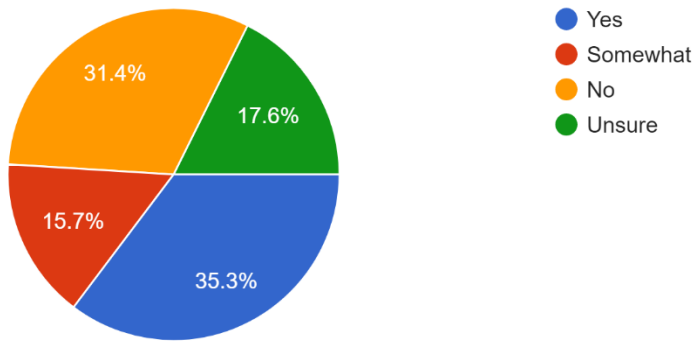


Figure 8. “Would you expect to encounter a situation in your career which will necessitate you to be in NAGPRA compliance?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 33% History 29%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 33% History 57%	Anthropology 33% History 14%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 39% History 0%	Anthropology 22% History 0%	Anthropology 22% History 25%	Anthropology 17% History 75%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 50% History 0%	Anthropology 25% History 0%	Anthropology 25% History 100%	Anthropology 0% History 0%

Figure 9. “Would you expect to encounter a situation in your career which will necessitate you to be in NAGPRA compliance?” Anthropology and History department responses

For those who answered “yes” or “somewhat” to the previous question, respondents were asked the frequency with which they expected to reference and comply with NAGPRA. Of responses from those previously identified as Anthropologists, the following estimates were given: Daily (1), Once or more a month (4), Once a year (3), Once every few years (9), Rarely (4), or Never (1). Given the data from the above two questions, then, most students and faculty in the Anthropology department expected to have some contact with NAGPRA in their career. This set up the expectation, then, that experts should have training in NAGPRA protocol and intent, and such training would originate from the academic setting in which they are first educated. Of responses from those previously identified as Historians, the following estimates were given: Once or more a month (1), Once a year (1), or Rarely (2). This data demonstrates the range of frequencies academic anthropologists (and historians) would need to be aware of NAGPRA and have competency for performing its protocol. Having this responsibility more frequently may also contribute to opinions on the law and its impacts, and students should also be aware of the frequency with which such responsibilities will occur in their future careers.

“Do you believe your profession or projected career is impacted by NAGPRA?”

The responses from undergraduates resembled that of the previous answer, which could indicate that their learning of NAGPRA was realistically separate from their projected careers *or* they were not aware of how the law will play a role in their professional experiences. The rates of responses did resemble those for NAGPRA being “involved in” the students’ career, which supports the theory that the students who said “yes” or “somewhat” to both are those who have projected professions necessitating NAGPRA training. Conversely, graduate students and professors were more likely to acknowledge that NAGPRA did or somewhat impacted their job, which is a more realistic figure for how often anthropologists in the academic setting will be interacting with the law. Undergraduate students should, in theory, have similar rates of these responses to their employed peers in the field; the professors and graduate students they learn from are in the careers these younger students will have post-graduation, so academic cohorts should have the same expectations for NAGPRA’s impact. This indicates a similar shortcoming as the previous figure in NAGPRA’s reception among students in the academic setting.

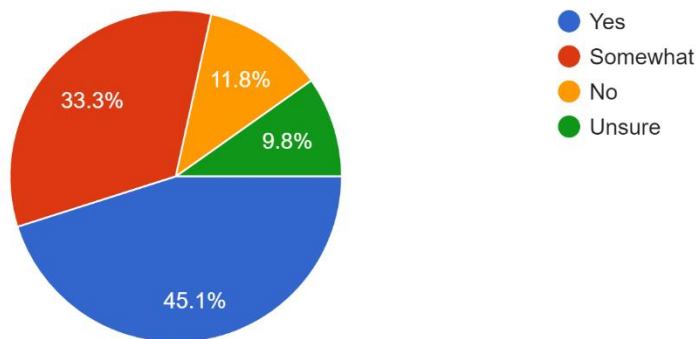


Figure 10. “Do you believe your profession or projected career is impacted by NAGPRA?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 33% History 29%	Anthropology 17% History 13%	Anthropology 33% History 29%	Anthropology 17% History 29%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 100% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 61% History 25%	Anthropology 33% History 25%	Anthropology 6% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 50%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 25% History 0%	Anthropology 75% History 100%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%

Figure 11. “Do you believe your profession or projected career is impacted by NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History department responses

A follow-up question was provided for respondents to describe NAGPRA’s impact on their career. Answers from anthropologists ranged widely, but they could be condensed into several distinct categories: “I must comply with NAGPRA in my handling of human remains in a medicolegal or bioarchaeological context” (9); “I must comply with NAGPRA in my handling of cultural materials from North America” (6); “the relationship between academia/anthropologists and Native American groups have changed to give indigenous voices more agency” (6); and “it has decreased the excavation practices of anthropologists in North America” (5). The answers thus emphasize the necessity of handling remains and other materials within NAGPRA’s established protocol; the law’s foundational ethics, intent, and social impact; and shifts in practice for research that has been experienced in the anthropological community. These responses demonstrate an awareness of what NAGPRA entails for different types of anthropologists (i.e. biological anthropologists versus archaeologists), which indicates particular forms of understanding in the community; the latter two answers also demonstrate that academic anthropologists are aware of and support NAGPRA’s intention to shift power dynamics from academia to native communities. There was no mention of training or teaching NAGPRA in the academic setting, but this may have been an implied response within the topics of compliance.

Historians also had several categories of answers: “Museums must be in compliance with NAGPRA” (1) and “I may have to teach about it in relation to indigenous history” (2). These are expected responses, because historians deal less with materials protected by NAGPRA but respect the law’s context and impact it has had among indigenous and academic communities.

“In your career experience, how do you interpret the general consequences of complying with NAGPRA?”

The majority of respondents in both groups asserted the observation that their experience in complying with NAGPRA was “positive” or “somewhat positive,” indicating general acceptance and approval of the regulations set by the law as well as its consequences. Others responded “neutral” or “unsure,” with concentrations in undergraduate students and members of the History department, which may be attributed to anthropologists or historians who have not yet/do not interact with NAGPRA’s protocol and thus have not experienced any consequences from compliance. No respondents indicated a “negative” or “somewhat negative” experience.”

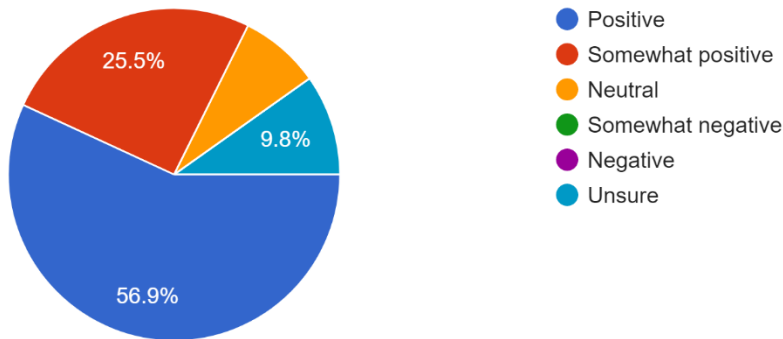


Figure 12. “In your career experience, how do you interpret the general consequences of complying with NAGPRA?” All responses

“Do you believe NAGPRA legislation should be taught to and reinforced post-graduation for those whose professions will require NAGPRA compliance?”

A large majority of respondents (98%), including all Anthropology respondents and almost all graduate students and professors, believed NAGPRA training should occur in the primary education and job training of experts responsible for complying with it. 92% answered “yes” and an additional 6% answered “somewhat;” zero respondents answered “no.” This figure infers a positive reception and internalization of NAGPRA protocol, promoting experts involved in repatriation to be trained in academia and the workplace. Those who were unsure or somewhat agreed with this statement belonged to cohorts which were less likely to have encountered or trained in NAGPRA protocol, i.e. undergraduates and professional historians. Ideally, this figure would demonstrate 100%, as it is essential for professionals dealing with NAGPRA-sensitive material to have training. Again, undergraduates had slightly lower “yes” responses, which is likely a result of lower awareness of protocol training rather than opinion on training experts.

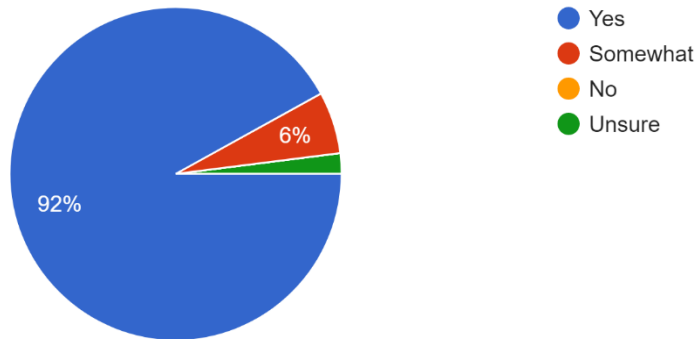


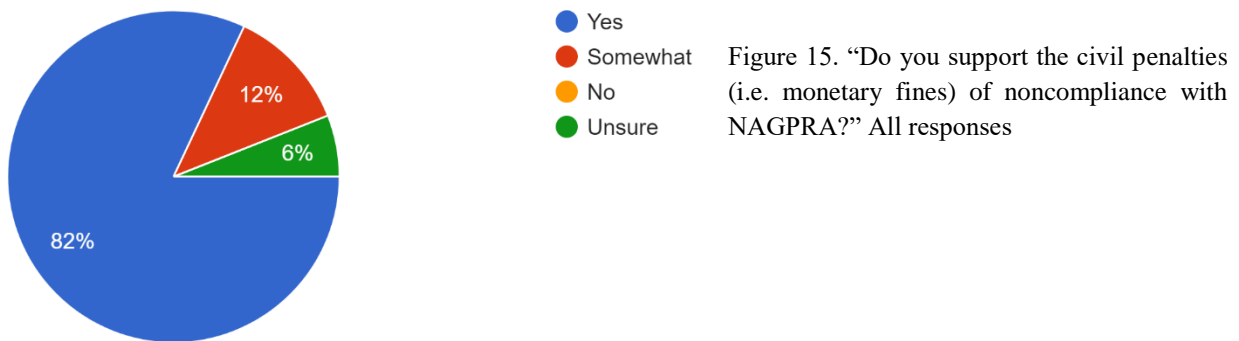
Figure 13. “Do you believe NAGPRA legislation should be taught to and reinforced post-graduation for those whose professions will require NAGPRA compliance?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 83%	Anthropology 17%	Anthropology 0%	Anthropology 0%
	History 86%	History 14%	History 0%	History 0%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 100%	Anthropology 0%	Anthropology 0%	Anthropology 0%
	History --	History --	History --	History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 100%	Anthropology 0%	Anthropology 0%	Anthropology 0%
	History 50%	History 25%	History 0%	History 25%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 100%	Anthropology 0%	Anthropology 0%	Anthropology 0%
	History 100%	History 0%	History 0%	History 0%

Figure 14. “Do you believe NAGPRA legislation should be taught to and reinforced post-graduation for those whose professions will require NAGPRA compliance?” Anthropology and History department responses

“Do you support the civil penalties (i.e. monetary fines) of noncompliance with NAGPRA?”

Again, a majority of respondents (94%), including 90% of the Anthropology department and almost all of the Anthropology graduate students and professors, supported or somewhat supported the civil penalties enforced by NAGPRA in cases of noncompliance. No respondents answered “no.” This figure infers respondents were also receptive to the negative consequences of not complying with the law. Support of these penalties may be a result of alignment with the intent of NAGPRA as it is accepted in the community to transfer power from institutions to native populations. As with the previous question, those who were unsure or only somewhat agreed with this statement were individuals who were less likely to have encountered or trained in NAGPRA protocol, i.e. undergraduates and professional historians. In this case, as with the last question, the minority of undergraduates in Anthropology who answered “Somewhat” or “Unsure” may not have been informed on the penalties of NAGPRA; this is, however, an important aspect of the law (and other repatriation codes), in respect to future involvement with the law directly through compliance roles or indirectly through the roles of colleagues.



Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 66% History 71%	Anthropology 17% History 29%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 17% History 0%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 100% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 88% History 4	Anthropology 12% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 100% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 33%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 67%

Figure 16. “Do you support the civil penalties (i.e. monetary fines) of noncompliance with NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History department responses

“Do you support the view that NAGPRA promotes social benefits in all communities?”

Responses were not so unanimous for this question, although a majority (90%) agreed or somewhat agreed that NAGPRA promotes social benefits for all communities it involves. Crucially, only one answered respondent “no,” whereas others were distributed with a majority in “Yes” and significant minorities in “somewhat” and “unsure.” This indicates a majority of respondents, both involved and indirectly knowledgeable about NAGPRA, believed that its implementation in academia and elsewhere had positive impacts on the involved parties, their own fields included. This is a perspective which has gained exposure and backing in the academic setting as more literature exhibits NAGPRA’s contribution to awareness, community collaboration, and decolonizing efforts. Such a trend is visible in the undergraduate respondents, who had the highest number of “yes” answers. It is also significant that the majority of respondents who answered “somewhat” or “unsure” were in later positions of their academic careers, which may correlate to generational teaching and opinions of NAGPRA’s effects.

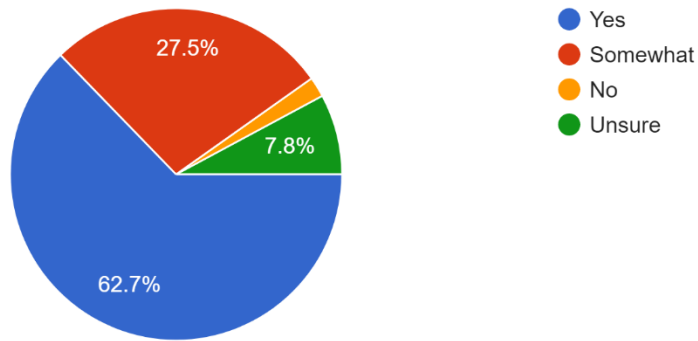


Figure 17. “Do you support the view that NAGPRA promotes social benefits in all communities?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 66% History 57%	Anthropology 17% History 28%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 17% History 15%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 100% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 56% History 50%	Anthropology 39% History 25%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 5% History 25%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 50% History 67%	Anthropology 25% History 33%	Anthropology 25% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%

Figure 18. “Do you support the view that NAGPRA promotes social benefits in all communities?” Anthropology and History department responses

“Do you believe scientific advancements have/may have declined as a result of NAGPRA's regulations?”

38% of respondents indicated they did not believe NAGPRA had decreased scientific advancements. A third indicated they believed NAGPRA had caused some decline, which could arise from decreased excavation and curation of Native American remains by modern anthropologists. A visible minority of students believed a decrease in scientific advancement has occurred as a result of NAGPRA compliance. This view could contribute to negative interpretations of the law – though the answer does not indicate respondents believe NAGPRA to be an impediment to the field, it is implied that declining scientific advancements are not a positive outcome for researchers such as anthropologists. An important disparity occurred between undergraduate students and graduate students. Students of all levels were likely to believe the law led to decline, although undergraduates had a higher frequency of “no” responses. These results may indicate a difference in the understanding of how science advances or what value advancement has in relation to ethical practice. It is especially significant that no professors in the Anthropology department believed decline occurred as a result of the law, which implies that science has not been negatively impacted by NAGPRA in the experts’ perspectives, and this viewpoint may be transferred in the professors’ training of students.

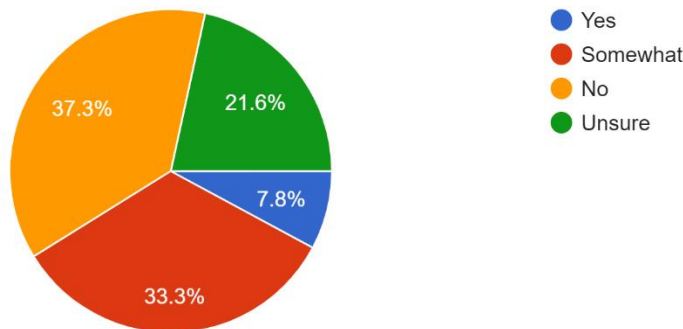


Figure 19. “Do you believe scientific advancements have/may have declined as a result of NAGPRA's regulations?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 12% History 0%	Anthropology 33% History 14%	Anthropology 33% History 43%	Anthropology 12% History 43%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 11% History 0%	Anthropology 55% History 0%	Anthropology 17% History 25%	Anthropology 17% History 75%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 37%	Anthropology 100% History 66%	Anthropology 0% History 0%

Figure 20. “Do you believe scientific advancements have/may have declined as a result of NAGPRA's regulations?” Anthropology and History responses

“Do you believe the scientific community benefits from the regulations of NAGPRA?”

The responses to the above question had similar implications to the previous. Most respondents believed that NAGPRA has benefited the scientific community; this is a positive reflection on reception and internalization of the law within academia. There are more instances of the “no” response in this figure, which may be a result of anthropologists experiencing restrictions on their scientific exploration (Anthropologist professors and graduate students) or a lack of understanding as to the social benefits that arise from the loss of materials most often experienced by academic anthropologists (Historians, undergraduates). In the case of those respondents from the history department who answered “no” or “unsure,” this may be contributed to postulating due to not being directly involved in the scientific community. Undergraduates did have similar if slightly lower positive responses, which is likely an assessment based in education and the transferal of opinions towards the law rather than personal experience.

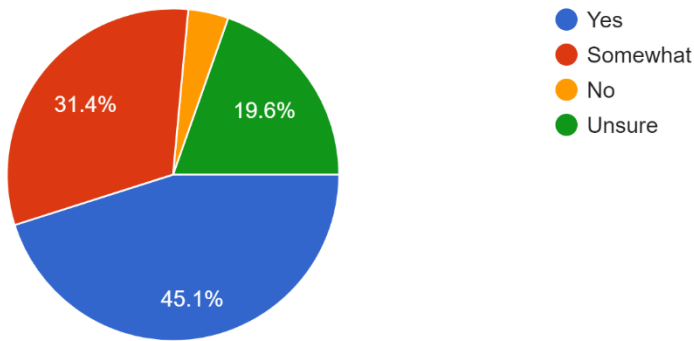


Figure 21. “Do you believe the scientific community benefits from the regulations of NAGPRA?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 50% History 0%	Anthropology 33% History 14%	Anthropology 17% History 14%	Anthropology 0% History 72%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 44% History 50%	Anthropology 44% History 25%	Anthropology 6% History 25%	Anthropology 6% History 0%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 75% History 0%	Anthropology 25% History 66%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 34%

Figure 22. “Do you believe the scientific community benefits from the regulations of NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History department responses

“Do you believe the fundamental purposes of NAGPRA apply to other artifacts outside of Native American culture or identification, such as African or Australian artifacts?”

This question implies the ethical origins and fundamentals established in NAGPRA – relativism, human rights, and indigenous agency – could be applied to material culture or remains originating from other systematically disenfranchised populations, such as indigenous groups from Australia and Africa which have been historically dispossessed of material culture then curated by Western institutions. This is a question which sought to uncover the deeper internalization of NAGPRA’s ethical origins as related to repatriation. The underlying ethics of NAGPRA are better understood after continued exposure to the law and discussions surrounding it, which have as of late broadened to topics of decolonizing science and “ownership” of the past. Superficial teachings of NAGPRA can, however, also emphasize the ethical benefits of the law in returning agency to a minority group previously abused by scientific study.

Any of these reasons may explain the spread of responses, which indicate a majority of respondents believed the fundamentals of NAGPRA do or somewhat apply to other communities (67%, 20% respectively). Especially important, a majority of respondents from the Anthropology department answered “yes” (58%) or “somewhat” (23%). The remaining responses in both departments were mostly “unsure,” indicating the respondent was uncertain if the law could apply or was not familiar enough with the law to make such a conjecture. Two professors – one from each department – indicated that NAGPRA’s fundamental purposes did not apply to other realms of cultural patrimony, which could be a response to the ethics of the law, the mechanics, or the communities and materials being involved. Graduate students and professors had a higher instance of answering “yes” than undergraduates, but professors were also the only respondents who answered “no.” Along with the frequency of “unsure” answers for Anthropology undergraduates, these trends demonstrate this type of ethical, projective opinion may become more definitive with levels of experience, or it may have higher frequency of polarization in the generation of older cohorts due to past theories and approaches to archaeological study.

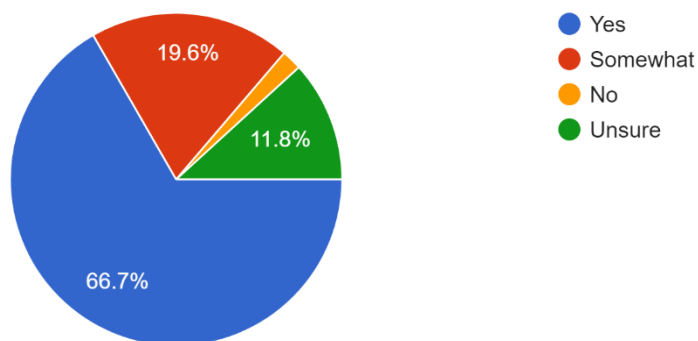


Figure 23. “Do you believe the fundamental purposes of NAGPRA apply to other artifacts outside of Native American culture or identification, such as African or Australian artifacts?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 33% History 71%	Anthropology 33% History 29%	Anthropology 0% History 0%	Anthropology 33% History 0%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 100% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 67% History 4	Anthropology 28% History 0	Anthropology 0% History 0	Anthropology 5% History 0
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 50% History 33%	Anthropology 0% History 33%	Anthropology 25% History 33%	Anthropology 25% History 0%

Figure 24. “Do you believe the fundamental purposes of NAGPRA apply to other artifacts outside of Native American culture or identification, such as African or Australian artifacts?” Anthropology and History department responses

A similar question was posed in relation to specifically human remains: “Do you believe the fundamental purpose of NAGPRA applies to human remains outside of Native American culture?” Due to a functional issue with the survey, some respondents were not able to indicate an answer; data is included from the thirty who did. The responses are dissimilar from the above proportions, perhaps attributed to the more sensitive topic of remains, which many of the researchers rely on to complete their studies. This question was also less specific in providing examples of disenfranchised communities that could be impacted by an extension of repatriation practices; this variance may have prompted different or less specific answers. The lack of data to this question precludes much theorizing from the results.

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Number	“Somewhat” by Number	“No” by Number	“Unsure” by Number
Undergraduate	Anthropology 0 History 1	Anthropology 2 History 0	Anthropology 0 History 0	Anthropology 0 History 0
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 0 History --	Anthropology 2 History --	Anthropology 0 History --	Anthropology 0 History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 6 History 1	Anthropology 8 History 1	Anthropology 0 History 0	Anthropology 1 History 1
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 1 History 1	Anthropology 1 History	Anthropology History	Anthropology History

Figure 24. “Do you believe the fundamental purpose of NAGPRA applies to human remains outside of Native American culture?” Anthropology and History department responses

For the following two questions, ethnic/racial identity were referenced:

“Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of ancient populations related to a culture you identify with?”

There was a high concentration of both anthropologists and historians who stated they would be comfortable with all types of academic excavation, curation, and study by anthropologist communities. Minority groups were small samples in comparison to the “European/White” group but were still predominantly comfortable with these kinds of studies. This response rate may be a result of the groups responding, particularly the “European/White” group, who represent a majority of academic scientists and have a limited history of oppression or abuse by the scientific community. Both Native American respondents, in “Other” departments from Anthropology and History, answered “None of the above.” The continuation of this trend through each Academic Identity may also demonstrate the reinforced support of this research model within the Anthropology community.

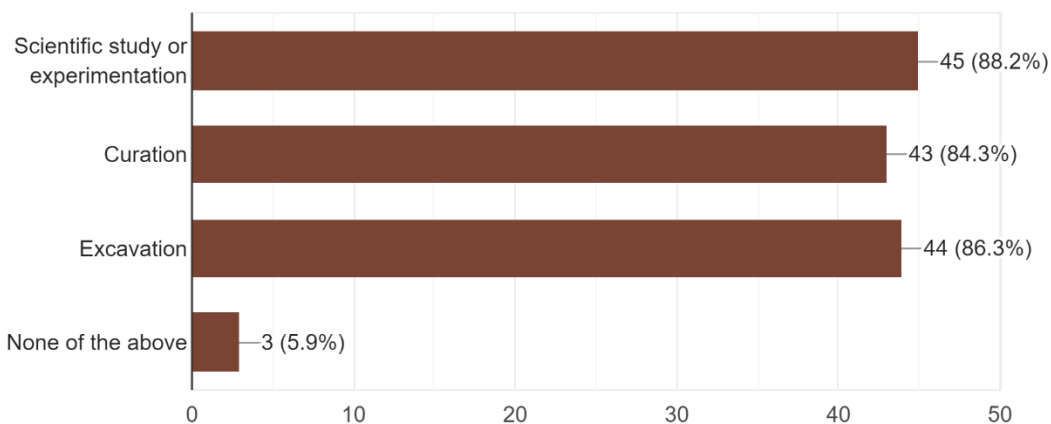


Figure 25. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of ancient populations related to a culture you identify with?” All responses

Racial/ethnic identity	“Scientific study, experimentation”	“Curation”	“Excavation”	“None of the above”
“European,” “White,” “Caucasian”	Anthropology 96% History 100% Other 100%	Anthropology 93% History 58% Other 100%	Anthropology 89% History 83% Other 100%	Anthropology 4% History 0% Other 0%
“Asian American,” “East Asian”	Anthropology 100% History -- Other --	Anthropology 100% History -- Other --	Anthropology 100% History -- Other --	Anthropology 100% History -- Other --

“Hispanic,” “Latina”	Anthropology 100% History 50% Other --	Anthropology 100% History 100% Other --	Anthropology 100% History 100% Other --	Anthropology 0% History 0% Other --
“American Indian,” “Native American”	Anthropology -- History -- Other 0%	Anthropology -- History -- Other 0%	Anthropology -- History -- Other 0%	Anthropology -- History -- Other 100%

Figure 26. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of ancient populations related to a culture you identify with?” Anthropology and History responses

All Racial/ethnic identity categorized charts visualize the percent of the Racial/ethnic category which answered the response of the column, i.e. 50% in the “Excavation” response for “Hispanic,” “Latina” would indicate that half of the Hispanic or Latina respondents would agree to the excavation of ancient populations related to the culture they identify with.

“Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of contemporary (the last century) populations related to a culture you identify with?”

Responses came at nearly the same rates, with a slight decrease in permission to all types of academic study, curation, and excavation. This may be attributed to the sensitive, sentimental nature of burials that are closer to contemporary populations, when the individuals uncovered could potentially be relatives of the respondent. Again, both Native American responses, outside of these departments, answered “None of the above.”

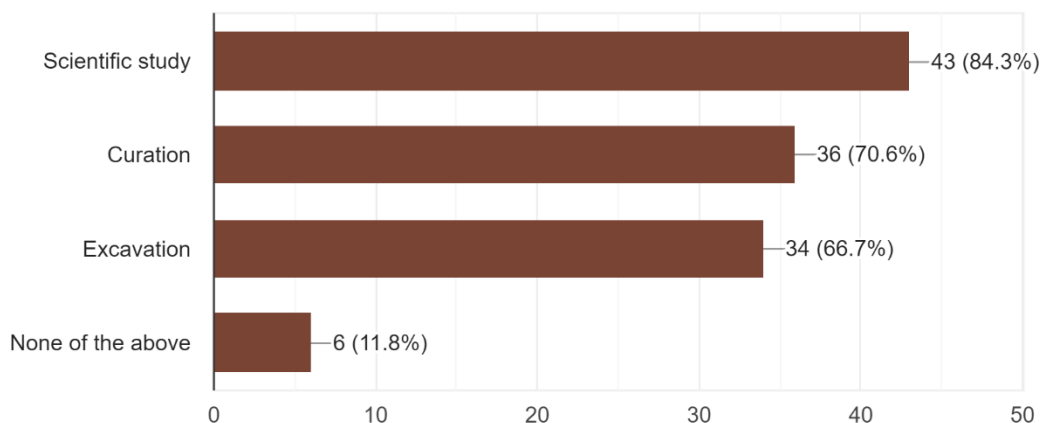


Figure 27. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of contemporary (the last century) populations related to a culture you identify with?” All responses

Racial/ethnic identity	“Scientific study, experimentation”	“Curation”	“Excavation”	“None of the above”
“European,” “White,” “Caucasian”	Anthropology 93% History 92% Other 66%	Anthropology 82% History 58% Other 33%	Anthropology 79% History 83% Other 33%	Anthropology 7% History 0% Other 33%
“Asian American,” “East Asian”	Anthropology 100% History -- Other --	Anthropology 100% History -- Other --	Anthropology 0% History -- Other --	Anthropology 0% History -- Other --
“Hispanic,” “Latina”	Anthropology 0% History 50% Other --	Anthropology 0% History 100% Other --	Anthropology 0% History 100% Other --	Anthropology 100% History 0% Other --
“American Indian,” “Native American”	Anthropology -- History -- Other 0%	Anthropology -- History -- Other 0%	Anthropology -- History -- Other 0%	Anthropology -- History -- Other 100%

Figure 28. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of contemporary (the last century) populations related to a culture you identify with?” Anthropology and History responses

“Awareness”

Respondents were requested to indicate their basic awareness of NAGPRA, which served to quantify how much of the sample had been educated in the law’s concepts before the survey. This was the last section of the questionnaire in order to facilitate more genuine answers and not prompt respondents to research the law to familiarize themselves before beginning the survey.

“Were you familiar with NAGPRA before this survey?”

This question assessed basic awareness and produced predictable results. Awareness is directly correlated to experience, with graduates and professors of the Anthropology department unanimously familiar with the law while only 50% of undergraduates were familiar, and others were “somewhat,” which could mean they have been taught the concept or title of the law but not its extent or regulations. Members of the History department were overall less aware of the law.

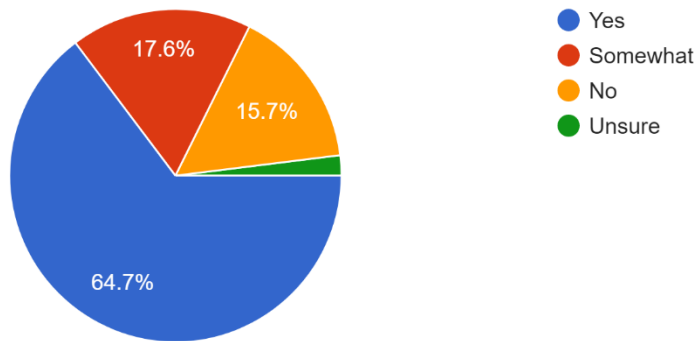


Figure 29. “Were you familiar with NAGPRA before this survey?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Yes” by Percent	“Somewhat” by Percent	“No” by Percent	“Unsure” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 50% History 0%	Anthropology 50% History 43%	Anthropology 0% History 43%	Anthropology 0% History 14%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 100% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 100% History 25%	Anthropology 0% History 25%	Anthropology 0% History 50%	Anthropology 0% History 0%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 100% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 66%	Anthropology 0% History 34%	Anthropology 0% History 0%

Figure 30. “Were you familiar with NAGPRA before this survey?” Anthropology and History department responses

“If you answered 'yes' or 'somewhat' to the above, to what extent were you familiar with NAGPRA?”

For those who had been aware of NAGPRA preceding the survey – 42 of 51 – most had only “heard of” or “could define” the law (57%), while a large minority had “interacted with” it or “know [it] in detail” (43%). Most of those latter respondents were anthropologists in a higher academic level – graduate student or professor. The chart indicates total percentages of the cohort, of the original 45 responders in these departments, who reported these categories of knowledge and awareness, and thus do not always add up to 100% as to accurately represent awareness. These figures resemble the last question’s, with direct correlation between awareness and experience level in association to respondents belonging to the Anthropology department.

Undergraduates concentrated in “could define,” which is the basic expectation of students who have no responsibility to interact with the material itself but must perform rote memorization in coursework. Graduates and professors were progressively more likely to answer “interacted with” or “know in detail,” which also supports the rule of experience dictating levels of awareness. History department respondents have overall lower levels of awareness.

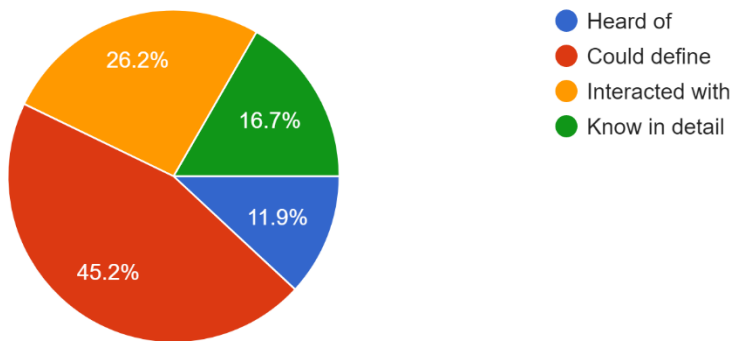


Figure 31. “If you answered 'yes' or 'somewhat' to the above, to what extent were you familiar with NAGPRA?” All responses

Academic Identity	“Heard of” by Percent	“Could Define” by Percent	“Interacted With” by Percent	“Know in Detail” by Percent
Undergraduate	Anthropology 0% History 50%	Anthropology 83% History 25%	Anthropology 17% History 0%	Anthropology 0% History 0%
Master’s Graduate	Anthropology 0% History --	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 50% History --	Anthropology 0% History --
Doctorate’s Graduate	Anthropology 6% History 25%	Anthropology 39% History 25%	Anthropology 33% History 0%	Anthropology 22% History 0%
Lecturer, Professor	Anthropology 0% History 33%	Anthropology 25% History 33%	Anthropology 25% History 0%	Anthropology 50% History 0%

Figure 32. “If you answered 'yes' or 'somewhat' to the above, to what extent were you familiar with NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History departments

“In relation to awareness of NAGPRA, describe the instance in which you first learned about NAGPRA (i.e. 'academic setting,' 'personal experience,' or 'professional experience')?”

Short answer responses to this question included, from the Anthropology department, the following general categories: “academic setting” (7), “undergraduate anthropology education or experience” (16), “graduate anthropology education or experience” (3), “high school” (2), “personal or professional reading” (2), and “an anthropology or archaeology-associated organization (i.e. SAA)” (1). These answers hold significance in demonstrating the prevalence of learning about NAGPRA in the academic setting, with a majority having encountered it first in their undergraduate courses. Introducing students to this law and its concepts early will directly influence awareness rates and functionality of the law as it is used in the later research and careers of these experts.

A secondary question was posed asking how long it had been since respondents had first learned about the law; responses from all departments included: “today,” “in the last semester,” “in the last year,” “in the last four years,” “in the last ten years,” and “more than ten years ago.” Respondents had the expected answers corresponding to their academic identities and assumed levels of experience, with Anthropology graduate students concentrating in “more than ten years ago,” “in the last ten years,” and “in the last four years.” Anthropology professors exclusively answered “more than ten years ago;” undergraduates reported mostly “in the last four years” and “in the last year.” History students and faculty had shorter overall intervals between first learning about NAGPRA and taking the survey, with 100% of the “today” responses coming from members of the History department.

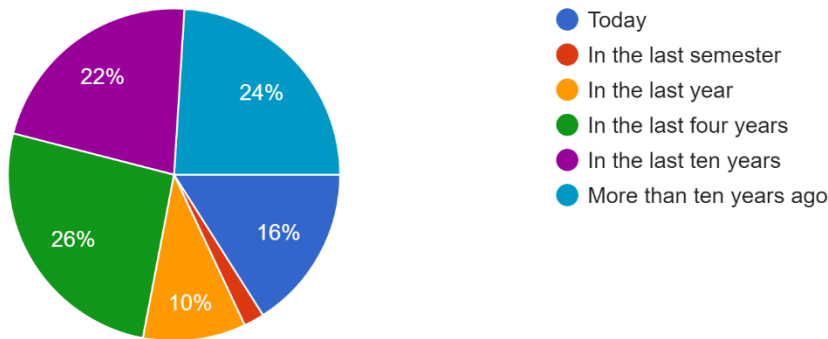


Figure 33. “When did you learn about it?” All responses

Complimentary Interview Data

Interview data was collected as a supplement to the correlations and inferences presented by quantitative survey responses. The interviews involved a range of academic professionals who differentially experienced NAGPRA, whether directly operating under its regulations or mediating and educating others in the academic community. This data helped to expose some of the nuanced, individual-level reception and internalization trends both held and observed by professionals in the academic setting.

*

A microbiologist specializing in disease had experience debating the broader implications of researching genetic samples from indigenous communities. Study performed on this material is rare as a result of previous abuses from the scientific community and the general unease between indigenous groups and Western-approach researchers. The respondent had encountered two generalized groups of thought on this topic: more established individuals who demonstrated less awareness of native representation or sample restriction, and a younger generation that worked with communities to collaborate on research. The respondent had also interacted with biological anthropologists and bioarchaeologists who consulted in repatriation and worked with indigenous groups from the Northwest.

The microbiologist had learned of NAGPRA from his education, native activists, and involvement in academic communities impacted by the law. In the respondents' internalization of the law, its rules and regulations were clear, but this understanding has evolved in relation to the loopholes of studying materials that originate from private property. Such loopholes were characterized by the respondent as deficits of the law, because NAGPRA's guidelines still allowed those in the academic community to seek out material not protected by the law's specifications. Such an approach to handling NAGPRA defeats the intent of the law and promotes the continued abuses of academic institutions on marginalized communities.

The respondent also recognized several points of contention with how colleagues had reacted to the law. They'd questioned why a certain group was protected in different ways than others, and peers did not understand why consent must be made by a population or board rather than from individuals. This misinterpretation of the law – as a restriction of research demoting the consent of individuals – discounts the federal nation-to-nation relationship between the United

States and sovereign nations of indigenous people. In the respondent's own experience, it was also the norm for researchers to think about driving their scientific advancement forward rather than implications of using indigenous-sourced materials. These are perspectives that could be expected to perpetuate problematic research approaches in the academic environment if no alternative position is presented in the community and NAGPRA's regulations are not enforced. Endorsing NAGPRA's social benefits and emphasizing its intent to balance the dynamic between science and native cultures could counteract the loophole-seeking reported by this respondent.

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A historian who studies relationships between native and non-native people also affirmed familiarity with NAGPRA, although this knowledge came when the respondent was preparing to teach a course on modern native history. It became evident that repatriation was an "issue" as presentations on its impacts appeared at conferences. The respondent was acquainted with anthropologists who were affected by the law's regulations, but the most important demonstration of NAGPRA's importance was through the activism of native people. The historian had worked in partnership with groups involved in activism for repatriation. While the law doesn't personally affect the respondent's research, teaching about it and witnessing its promotion first-hand necessitated learning about its regulations.

In the respondent's observations, anthropologists have become more cognizant and accepting of NAGPRA alongside the incorporation of native perspectives into their field. The historian cited the founding of Newark Earthworks Center, an educational center for an important indigenous site in Ohio. When this center was erected twenty-five years ago, anthropology departments from nearby universities were reluctant to partner with historians and involved activist parties due to their insistence on discussing NAGPRA. There was also more resistance at the time to working with native communities. There has been a trend, however, to improve these kinds of relationships. The departments of these universities have changed because the anthropologists' perspectives and understandings have changed, whether this be through pressure or new ways of interpreting the changes brought about by activism and laws like NAGPRA. Addressing awareness on a national breadth, the respondent conveyed that NAGPRA may not be properly taught in academia, but there has been an improvement to the overall system of including Native American remains in academic study.

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One anthropologist had first been introduced to NAGPRA in an undergraduate “Introduction to Archaeology” course. The discussion of NAGPRA and its contentions were first presented as a debate between science and religion, but experience and further education recontextualized for this respondent the “colonialist history and inequality” that was deeply integrated into early methods of anthropology. The anthropologist also learned about the importance of tribal beliefs and claims to remains through participation in ritual alongside native people and through personal research on native history. These learnings engendered a deeper empathy to the oppression experienced by Native Americans.

Though NAGPRA materials were not a primary subject in the anthropologist’s research, there were instances when the respondent had to understand the law and speak to tribal leaders about designing research to minimize contact with any Native American burials. NAGPRA training was also necessary when working at national parks, to prevent any undue disturbance of NAGPRA-sensitive material while also being educated in regulations should this occur inadvertently. Considering the law itself, the respondent wanted to see funding dispersed among universities to “repatriate collections in a more timely manner,” improving the current system of grant reliance and the slow cataloguing process that occurs due to the rarity of such allocations.

Further criticism arose in relation to collections in many universities being “grandfathered” into exemption from NAGPRA. This trend leads to a resistance to repatriation, because collections become the intellectual property of departments. The act of funding as well as developing strong relationships with tribes would, in the respondent’s opinion, help address what must be done with such collections. In the academic setting, the respondent believed there was a tendency for faculty to encourage compliance and ethics to students regardless of personal assessment of the law, leading to a general appearance of acceptance. Some schools with programs on CRM (Cultural Resource Management) training emphasized cooperating with the regulations while considering ethics and collaboration. Meanwhile, other programs avoided research in North America entirely to prevent the necessity of NAGPRA compliance; this tendency was then passed on to students who reflected international research interests from the example of faculty. North American archaeology thus became “inaccessible and confounding” within such departments, archaeological ethics were not taught, and NAGPRA was not incorporated into the training curriculum.

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Another anthropologist provided a perspective from a field of research more directly involved in NAGPRA compliance. Although the respondent worked outside of North America in terms of research and population interests, it was still necessary to understand the regulations of NAGPRA while teaching and working in the academic environment of the United States. This work did not necessitate specific knowledge in the legalese of NAGPRA, but awareness of general terms helped the respondent direct students who did work on NAGPRA-sensitive material and consult on preserving material culture among indigenous communities outside of North America.

Due to a more “superficial” experience of NAGPRA, the respondent had no evolving assessment or understanding of the law but continued to maintain the core intent of the law that prioritized redistributing power to the native communities involved. The anthropologist supported this transference of agency and decision-making despite community concern of a “scientific price.” In an ideal situation, the respondent believed it was more possible for scientists and tribes to balance knowledge and values through compromise.

Impacts of NAGPRA did, then, amount to a decrease in studying North American anthropology, and the fewer instances of these collections being accessed resulted in their concealment so departments were not held responsible for cataloguing or returning them. The respondent recognized that many anthropologists don’t understand the legal consequences or law practice of NAGPRA at the same level as do museum staff and are thus more likely to avoid NAGPRA entirely. Speaking to training, the respondent did not prioritize knowing all aspects of the law. Anthropologists could continue doing work without knowing every detail and rely on the expertise of consultants when cases arise. There has already been a halt to excavation in North America due to the law’s protocol. The only problematic tendency the respondent noted was instances of researchers bypassing NAGPRA by using previously acquired collections.

Through interactions with students, the respondent observed a positive response to NAGPRA, as the scientific value of skeletal remains has become less absolute. The generation currently comprising academic faculty members and training future anthropologists recognized the importance of indigenous voices and systems of ethical practice. This acceptance was occurring among experts, however, without much discussion on the greater problem of “owning” the past, which is a topic of debate often associated with regulations such as NAGPRA that seek

to make claims of “ownership” over materials. The generation above, in the respondent’s opinion, was also less likely to be conciliatory and negotiable with native perspectives on material research. Impressions of the field in general included awareness of NAGPRA but a sense of intimidation, especially among students who respected but feared its penalties, leading to an avoidance of Native American skeletal collections and a migration to other countries of study.

Discussion around the law itself was another aspect of the problem, and revising its functionality was not the respondent’s posed solution. The respondent understood NAGPRA’s regulatory nature as being another iteration of colonial practice, which allowed the production of knowledge to still rely on Western, non-native agents. Experts handling claims were still largely non-native, and scientific evidence was continuously used as the ultimate evidence for knowledge as to affiliation or cataloguing remains. In discussing or teaching NAGPRA to students, this also became an issue; the law itself brought two clashing, irreconcilable perspectives into conflict – the pursuit of knowledge versus persisting cultural worldviews. To some extent, it thus proved difficult to discuss NAGPRA in a classroom without being culturally insensitive, leading to a more superficial teaching strategy. The discussion of “owning the past” struck more personal topics, whereas the law distinctly dictates what material is or is not owned by certain groups. Without enough native representation, there also persisted a biased debate within the academic space.

A vital improvement in the training of anthropologists then, was to train them in ethics first, emphasizing a post-colonial perspective and indigenous understanding; then, specific examples of decolonization, like NAGPRA, could help frame the necessity of implementing such laws. NAGPRA would thus become a tool in the wider intention of indigenous people, activists, and modern anthropologists, reorienting the law’s presentation to align with its original intention: to give rights back to those previously disenfranchised by science. Another solution was to promote the building of indigenous knowledge outside colonial scientific practices. The core problem in the academic setting is not a nefarious desire to curate material from other cultures; it is the little opportunity granted to non-Western perspectives. Allowing space for indigenous perspectives contributing to the community would promote recognition from anthropologists that these contributors and their values are valid in the academic setting. The debate of repatriation must then be framed not with a law, but in the academic discussion of colonialism and ownership.

CHAPTER V Discussion

Although the research project was able to visualize some of the trends and shortcomings observed by interview respondents, the survey encountered problems in fully procuring responses and accurately representing an entire community. Survey responses were limited in their evidence to support theories of NAGPRA reception or internalization, so a robust literature and history review as well as the interview process were useful in reinforcing the models posed by survey data. To fully realize the scope of this study, a higher number responses, better representation, and equal proportions of department cohorts would be ideal. The project may not have properly represented the academic programs as a result of potential respondents not participating if they believed they were not knowledgeable enough on NAGPRA to complete the survey. There is also a question as to who provides their personal opinions on a divisive subject such as repatriation, as it can be controversial to critique an ethics-based process that is both a law and standard practice.

The data amassed from survey analysis does demonstrate the focus departments of this university have awareness and understanding of NAGPRA. Experts recognized a connection between the law and their own work, especially after spending extended careers in academia; this awareness can be attributed to levels of experience acquired from academic training to responsibilities in the professional setting. Support for NAGPRA's repatriation intent does not appear to be fluctuating; data didn't so much show a generational trend in reception or changes in internalization as it demonstrated the necessity of continued training in the ethics underlying the law. Interviews corroborated these theories about NAGPRA's reception and internalization in academia. Personal experiences of respondents in interviews also exposed what still needed to be addressed in means of training experts and departments on NAGPRA's greater social motives.

NAGPRA has expanded conversation in the anthropological community in matters of repatriation, training, and adapted research practices. It has fundamentally shifted the consultation process between institutions, experts, and native groups in a way that has ultimately benefited both communities. This pivotal legislation, though spiking debate, is in part responsible for enforcing the change sought by several generations of ethically motivated anthropologists and activists,

producing a disciplinary-wide shift towards collaboration and relativism.¹ These trends of progress can be interpreted from the responses accrued through this research project.

Progress has come in a variety of forms in the academic setting, reverberating through the larger institutional community via the teaching of standardized ethics, changes in theory or approach to research, and incorporating regulations into practice, as visualized in this study. Ethics statements and their reinforcement in the scientific community have gained traction as a result of codes made to corroborate NAGPRA's regulations. The AAPA code of ethics, for example, emphasizes awareness of ethical protocol and has been internalized by anthropology programs; codes recommend "including and requiring ethical training in their curriculums" in which professors "impress upon students the ethical challenges involved in every phase of anthropological work" to encourage reflection, dialogue, and participation in ethically aware projects.² Professors incorporating these concepts in their teaching appears in student respondents' who themselves have not been involved in handling NAGPRA-sensitive material; this supports the view that successful reception is taking place. It does appear that this training may be superficial, discouraging debate and ethical discussion in favor of undeliberated compliance.

Changes in theory and approach also appear to have contributed to changes of internalization. Whereas previous generations of anthropologists critiqued NAGPRA or identified negative impacts on the scientific community, the cohorts in this survey did not appear to view NAGPRA as a cause of decline in scientific study. This may be a result of anthropology shifting away from the museum-oriented curation of material and instead prioritizing modern, relativistic theories and research models. Postmodern training beginning in the 1980's focused on reflexive, self-critical analysis of the field and post-processual theory, which used humanistic techniques to contextualize human behavior and lifeways. With this new lens to viewing human interaction, anthropologists have become better suited for repatriation and resolving divides in worldviews. Initial literature on the issues of NAGPRA has been replaced by publications on the importance of cooperation and understanding in the exchange of repatriation.³ This theater of relativistic voices, along with changes in theoretical framework, was the environment from which current professors

¹ Gonzalez, Sara and Ora Marek-Martinez. 2015. "NAGPRA and the Next Generation of Collaboration."

² AAPA. 2003. "Code of Ethics of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists,"

³ Mithlo, Nancy. 2004. "Red Man's Burden," Atalay, Sonya. 2006. "Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice," Buikstra, Jane. 2006. "Repatriation and Bioarchaeology."

and graduate students trained; this shift resonates in training conducted by these experts and is internalized by modern students. Such a trend has been confirmed by the data presented by this study. It can't be discredited, though their representation was not seen in the data, that the presence of indigenous archaeologists has provided new opportunities to present and publish native-oriented understandings of NAGPRA/repatriation and the important purpose it serves for indigenous communities. This cross-cultural education is also formative to expert views of repatriation.

The data, especially through interview evidence, also highlights persistent problems in academic awareness of NAGPRA beyond initial reception. Anthropology students need to be more aware of NAGPRA's involvement in their jobs as an aspect of protocol or ethics for all physical anthropologists curating or researching in North America. Archaeologists who handle or study North American cultural material must reference the same protocol as physical anthropologists. All students should likewise be made aware of the problematic history of anthropology, especially in the region where they are being trained; they must be familiar with the past of their institutions to understand how to better address research questions and community interactions. Without this kind of teaching, awareness of only the existence of NAGPRA will not support the continuation of relativistic, ethical approaches to anthropological research or repatriation. Laws cannot only be taught as rules to be followed – their history, purpose, and legacy must also be made explicit so stakeholders can continue the discussion of ethics, compromise, and collaboration.

This project has further exhibited the necessity of educating anthropologists in NAGPRA awareness, career expectations, and ethics training. The first decade of NAGPRA, as well as its later revisions, resulted in a generation of anthropologists being educated in the inventory cataloging process of repatriation; this was a requirement for university compliance. However, the ethical motivations of NAGPRA are not as well represented in the curricula. Students studying remains are first taught to interpret the material for anatomy, physiology, pathology, and individual life history. The students who will work with material protected by legislation such as NAGPRA should also be receiving lessons in and practicing standards for protocol, best practice methods for value judgements, and humanitarian law. Relevant codes should be a curriculum requirement in training, but the ideal program will also mandate coursework in ethics, past transgressions, and areas of improvement for anthropologists. This type of literature can be integrated into coursework and discussion to prevent cursory or superficial teaching of the law.

Complimentary theory should also take a role in this training, because it offers a lens for interpretation and a precedent for practices of future anthropologists. The theories and even personal viewpoints of professors and graduate students in positions of power will be transferred to students through training or mentoring. The internalization of laws, protocols, or repatriation will often be determined by academic, theoretical frameworks within which training occurs, and the views of experts will inevitably be dispersed in the academic setting. To avoid the “objective” science that can reduce human remains into data points, students and faculty must consistently look to theories of relativism to study humans past and present while protecting the rights of all people, alive or dead. ¹ In accordance to NAGPRA’s ethical foundation, researchers should not encourage or enact projects that seek loopholes or allow for ambivalence towards NAGPRA through the avoidance of North American anthropology. This approach to NAGPRA’s motives could inadvertently discount what progress it seeks to accomplish by transferring the problem of repatriation to a storage closet, not to be disturbed so the ghosts of theories past aren’t recalled. These historical issues must be confronted, counteracted, and replaced with new approaches.

Indigenous approaches to anthropology can thus reinforce the compromise of repatriation. American academies do not require Native American studies alongside anthropological degrees, but to be an active partner in repatriation, a Western-centric perspective cannot be the only one relied on. ² Anthropological studies and training must incorporate native views on remains and artifacts rather than presenting the debate as a science-versus-religion conflict. Technical skills for repatriation can be augmented by the social skills of sympathizing with the history and cultural activism that brought NAGPRA into existence. The conversation must include decolonizing science and demystifying the intent of NAGPRA as it redistributes materials to redistribute of power. This angle of discussion is more relevant to anthropologists of today’s generation, who are interested in seeking cooperation and social progressivism. Cultural competency should be a priority for a field that values culture and human rights higher than do most if any of the other sciences. Anthropology programs can strengthen their students and faculty by expanding teaching outside of data sets and Western theory, adding texts like Battiste’s “Decolonizing Education,” Kovach’s “Indigenous Methodologies,” and essays from Kim Tallbear and Vine Deloria Jr.

¹ Kakaliouras, Ann. 2012. “An Anthropology of Repatriation,” Kim and Steadman. 2014. “A Review of Codes of Ethics in the United States,” Gareau, Marcelle. 2003. “Colonization within the University System.”

² Steeves, Paulette. 2015. “Academia, Archaeology, CRM, and Tribal Historic Preservation,” Ibid.

Involving native people in departments that handle these materials has and continues to be one of the best resolutions. Native American students and faculty were not present in this study, a result of either misrepresented data from response rate or a lack of representation in the department itself. There is a distinct absence of native students in these types of programs, along with most science departments nationally, and this is perpetuated by low rates of universities employing native faculty who could present indigenous perspectives to students. The sources of knowledge and experience from these scholars is essential in the discussion of NAGPRA and repatriation; half of the discussion is not being properly heard unless academic programs involve native voices. It needs to become a common practice to include native “authors, educators, researchers, and policymakers” into realms of academic anthropology, where they exist as stakeholders alongside all other members of the scientific community. This inclusion and the mutual exchange of paradigms will make a visible impact on the discussion, practice, and policy of repatriation within the academic setting, further developing the relativistic views seen in this study.¹

Additional consideration must be given to the operations of academies providing NAGPRA training and holding collections of remains and artifacts. The implementation of NAGPRA has been in many cases diminished due to minimal resources, training, and labor designated to repatriation efforts. This type of oversight on the part of funding agencies can lead to decreased effort put into the efforts of repatriation. Even with proper awareness and ethical motivation, labor limitations will prevent agencies from fulfilling NAGPRA’s requirements. This concern is best addressed to institutional boards who must be made aware of the legal and ethical repercussions of not complying to laws that seek social change.

This research contributes to an important perspective often neglected by literature on NAGPRA’s impact, which usually focuses on NAGPRA’s influence on museums and research but rarely considers the academic setting where collections exist and anthropologists are trained. University programs are the most common place for anthropologists to learn about such regulations, indigenous histories, and ethical practices. Though laws are not posed in the classroom, ethical debates and changes in protocol can contribute to new legislation and social movements. It is especially important, then, to understand how NAGPRA is introduced to and

¹ Parker, Smith, and Dennison. 2017. “Decolonizing the classroom,” Bowman, Nicole. 2003. “Cultural Differences of Teaching and Learning.”

internalized by the next generation of anthropologists who will be responsible for its implementation. Without the continued discussion of these topics in an academic setting, experts will not carry the legacy of change that was produced by earlier activism and ethical approaches.

The importance of this study is reinforced by topics of discussion which were featured in workshops and presentations at the AAPA's 2019 national conference in Cleveland, Ohio, only two hours from where this research was conducted. Workshops included "Repatriation in the Digital Age," which sought to increase relative thought and future extensions of NAGPRA in handling digital recreations of material protected by NAGPRA, which has since been dispersed among academics, institutions, and publications. This workshop emphasized the continued examination of what constitutes NAGPRA-sensitive data and how to coordinate research with native communities, promoting experts to continue their education as the breadth of repatriation expands. Another workshop for professors, "Citing Marginalized Scholars in Biological Anthropology" promoted the literary scholarship of minority groups and indigenous peoples, often overlooked or absent in academic settings. As in the discussion of repatriation, it is crucial for anthropologists to include these voices and publications in their self-education and academic coursework to increase awareness and indigenous representation in a field involving native lives, cultures, and concerns.

A panel on "The Missing Dead: Underrepresented Groups in Bioarchaeology and Forensic Anthropology" encouraged anthropologists to minimize the damage, dispersal, and chronic storage of skeletons post-excavation. This is an important consideration in the care of collections for future repatriation and maintaining relationships with tribes who may have claims to remains. Finally, a research project titled "Disentangling and Disappropriating Science" was included in the session for Education in Biological Anthropology; it expressed the importance of presenting native perspectives simultaneously with or as a replacement to problematic narratives of theory and history. Through this new perspective, faculty could dispense among students what ethical, cultural reasons exist for the repatriation of remains, and the teaching of NAGPRA will involve the perspectives of those most invested in and benefited by its success. With the largest organization of American physical anthropologists taking such care to address these important shifts in academic practices, it can be assumed there will be more discussion and revisions to anthropology programs that will benefit from further similar projects to this one. These changes can and will likely begin in the classroom.

CHAPTER VI Conclusion

The physical or biological anthropologists completing these claims have a moral obligation to the natural and civil rights owed to Native Americans, but NAGPRA's social implications are relevant to all anthropologists. Training experts in the regulations, history, and ethics of repatriation alongside the law will improve relationships between institutions and tribes, countering a cycle of abuse. To accomplish this mission, anthropology programs must be aware of but also train their students and faculty in NAGPRA, as they are the agents of repatriation within these institutions. Anthropologists should know not only how to comply with these laws but also consider the ethical intentions of legislation such as NAGPRA and be cognizant of what they can contribute to repatriation by being informed and empathetic. Human sciences necessitate the respect for humanitarian causes, the prevention of exploitation, and an understanding of how these coincide in circumstances like the repatriation of human remains.

The survey data and interview testimony of this research indicates that there are growing numbers of anthropologists who have a conceptual understanding and work-place employment of NAGPRA. The concepts discussed in the law are likewise demonstrated as being dispersed from faculty to students; what may be absent, however, is a focus on the implications of NAGPRA on a wider academic and ethical scale. Anthropologists in university programs must not only be aware of NAGPRA; they must learn its affects on all aspects of North American anthropology and the important ethical compromise it entails. Ethics, both personal and academic, are an essential aspect of higher education in fields involving human subjects. These value systems lead to the questions, theories, and research being produced by experts. To encourage this education, it will prove essential to introduce NAGPRA early in university curriculums but use it as a fragment of the broader discussion of repatriation and ethics. This approach will expand the law's fundamental intent, promote discussion, and help students (and faculty) visualize its benefits to all communities, as opposed to teaching the superficial legalities of one code, which can perpetuate professional discomfort with legal complexities or penalties. Indigenous histories, views, theories, and voices may be the best addition to program syllabi. Anthropologists have a duty to encourage new knowledge in their field as well as the communities they impact and serve; instead of achieving this through the research practices of the past, it is now necessary to develop studies for the future.

Future Research

In follow-up research to this project, the exploration may expand beyond a singular university to encompass national trends in the teaching of NAGPRA. This may involve surveys and interviews from multiple regions and many departments, including data from degree requirements to discriminate between academies that do or do not emphasize certain aspects of NAGPRA or ethics training in their curriculum. A national survey will also provide a larger sample size, as statistical and correlation analysis proved impractical in this project due to the small number of respondents in certain cohorts. Ideally, a more representative proportion of undergraduates to graduate students and faculty will participate to help realistically visualize trends between the academic cohorts. Correlation may also be perceived through the contents of curricula, syllabi, resources and coursework, or faculty involvement with repatriation. A final point of interest may be explored through the intersectionality of identity or personal demographics in the reception and internalization of NAGPRA's protocol along theories of repatriation. As the next generation of North American anthropologists arrive in the halls of universities across the nation, it will be imperative to understand how they are to be primed, equipped, and motivated to traverse the complex academic-ethical intersection that defines repatriation.

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APPENDIX A. Outreach and Recruitment Material

Email Recruitment Text:

Email Title: Attention: Requesting Your Participation in an Anthropology Research Thesis!

The below research project is the primary study for an undergraduate research thesis in the department of Anthropology at The Ohio State University.

This study intends to visualize how the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act, also known as NAGPRA, functions in the academic setting of The Ohio State University. The research focuses on the experiences of students and professors in the Anthropology and History departments. It consists of survey and interviews methods meant to collect data on the cohorts each subject identifies with and their experience with or awareness of NAGPRA. The outcome of this study will hopefully support the intent of NAGPRA by inferring how it is received in these professions.

As a student or faculty member in the interest groups of this study, the researchers are requesting your participation. We appreciate any contribution you can make to the survey or interview process. While interviews are reserved for faculty members, surveys can be taken by anyone. Attached in PDF files, you will find the Informed Consent Forms for both surveys and interviews.

If you are interested in participating in the survey, please read the Informed Consent Form and click this hyperlink for the survey. You will be prompted to fill in identification information (email, name, university number) and agree to the Informed Consent Form.

[Link]

The survey should take approximately fifteen minutes. After survey completion, applicable participants will be asked to communicate their desire to be interviewed. Interviews will be between fifteen minutes to an hour long, depending on the subject and their availability.

The researchers appreciate your participation and valuable contribution to this study!

Informed Consent Forms

Informed Consent Form for Interview

You have been invited to participate in an interview on the interpretation and reception of NAGPRA in the academic setting. This research study is being conducted by Megan Hardie, an undergraduate Anthropology student at The Ohio State University. It should take no more than an hour to complete.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. You have the opportunity to refuse inclusion in the research; you can end the interview at any time without penalty, and you can

choose not answer questions for any reason. You are also able to request any or all of your responses redacted from the data compiled before the research study is completed. You may request, approve, or deny of a follow-up interview following the initial interview if more information is required. Rescheduling for interviews is permitted due to time conflicts and emergencies. The in-person interview will be completed at Thompson Library at a time of your convenience. Phone interviews can also be conducted if that is your preference, and they will also be scheduled to your convenience.

BENEFITS

Benefits to you as a participant will be coincidental in the effect of being more aware of NAGPRA following the survey and/or interview process. Other possible benefits include the opportunity to contribute your experiences in a research study and the potential for this study to influence future proceedings of NAGPRA. Participants may also welcome the chance to discuss issues of importance, express their own feelings about the subject being studied, and clarify their thoughts in relation to the law. There will be no monetary or material compensation for participation.

RISKS

There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this study other than those encountered in your every-day experience.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All interview responses will be recorded on an audio tape recorder (upon approval for audio recording to occur) and will be stored in a password-protected electronic format; they will later be transcribed, and the audio recording deleted. If audio recording is denied, the researcher will request to take notes during your interview, and these will be transcribed into electronic format. Your name and position at the university will be kept with this information for purposes of identification. Your responses will remain confidential. In the analysis of these responses, you will remain completely anonymous. Your participation in this study will not be disclosed.

By participating in the interview, your survey responses may no longer be unidentifiable, but no names or identifying information will be included in any final form of the research, whether this be publications or presentations. Responses to the survey will not be related to any interviewees.

CONTACT

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact myself, Megan Hardie, via email at hardie.13@buckeyemail.osu.edu, or my research supervisor, Professor Daniel Rivers, via phone at 614-292-5478 or via email at rivers.91@osu.edu.

For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact Ms. Sandra Meadows in the Office of Responsible Research Practices 1-614-688-4792 or by e-mail at hsconcerns@osu.edu.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: You will indicate your consent to this form by emailing a completed version to the student contact above, hardie.13@buckeyemail.osu.edu, and providing a list of times and dates during which you will be available to have the interview. Please also indicate in your email whether you prefer in-person or over the phone interview(s). You may print a copy of this consent form for your records. By electronically or physically signing the box available, you indicate that you are a faculty member of the Anthropology or History Department at The Ohio State University and the following statements are true:

- I have read the Informed Consent Form of the interview and agree to the given procedures which I will participate in upon inclusion as a subject in this research study
- I am aware of the risks and benefits liable to participating in the interview process of this research study, as stated in the Informed Consent Form.
- I am aware that I can at any time request removal of myself and my responses from the data being collected in this interview, as stated in the Informed Consent Form.

Informed Consent Form for Online Survey

You have been invited to participate in an online digital survey on the interpretation and reception of NAGPRA in the academic setting. This research study is being conducted by Megan Hardie, an undergraduate Anthropology student at The Ohio State University. It should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. You have the opportunity to refuse inclusion in the research; you can exit the survey at any time without penalty, and you can choose to leave some answers incomplete for any reason. You are also able to request any or all of your responses redacted from the data compiled before the research study is completed.

BENEFITS

Benefits to you as a participant will be coincidental in the effect of being more aware of NAGPRA following the survey and/or interview process. Other possible benefits include the opportunity to contribute your experiences in a research study and the potential for this study to influence future proceedings of NAGPRA. Participants may also welcome the chance to discuss issues of importance, express their own feelings about the subject being studied, and clarify their thoughts in relation to the law. There will be no monetary or material compensation for participation.

RISKS

There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this study other than those encountered in your every-day experience.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All survey responses will be sent to a digital database where data will be stored in a password-protected electronic format. No information will be kept by the website itself; no additional data beyond the identification you provide (name, email, etc.) will be collected upon submission of responses. Your responses will remain confidential. In the analysis of these responses, you will remain completely anonymous. Your participation in this study will not be disclosed.

We will work and create necessary barriers to make sure no one sees your survey responses without approval. But, because we are using the Internet, there is a chance an outside party could access your online responses without permission. In some cases, this information could be used to identify you.

At the end of the survey, those participants who identify as faculty will be asked if you are interested in participating in an additional interview either in person or over the phone. If you would like to participate in this portion of the study, please indicate your interest by sending an email to the below contact, along with a completed Informed Consent Form for Interview (attached to email). By participating in the interview, your survey responses may no longer be unidentifiable, but no names or identifying information will be included in any final form of the research, whether this be publications or presentations. Responses to the survey will not be related to any interviewees.

CONTACT

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact myself, Megan Hardie, via email at hardie.13@buckeyemail.osu.edu, or my research supervisor, Professor Daniel Rivers, via phone at 614-292-5478 or via email at rivers.91@osu.edu.

For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact Ms. Sandra Meadows in the Office of Responsible Research Practices 1-614-688-4792 or by e-mail at hsconcerns@osu.edu.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: You will indicate your consent to this form via the survey available through the recruitment email and below. You may print a copy of this consent form for your records. Clicking on the “Agree” button in the consent questions in the survey indicates that

- You have read and understand the above information
- You voluntarily agree to participate
- You are 18 years of age or older
- You are a student or faculty member of the Anthropology or History Department at The Ohio State University

APPENDIX B. Survey and Interview Questions

Questionnaire

Survey Questionnaire:

- Cohort demographics: Indicate your identification with the following categories based on your current personal identification, professional cohort, and experience. If you prefer not to answer a question, indicate using the “prefer not to disclose” option or leaving all options for the question blank. For fill-in answers, answer to your comfort level and awareness.
 - Age:
 - Younger than 18
 - 18-20
 - 21-25
 - 26-35
 - 36-45
 - 46-55
 - 56-65
 - Over 65
 - Prefer not to disclose
 - Sex:
 - Female
 - Male
 - Intersex
 - Prefer not to disclose
 - Gender:
 - Female
 - Male
 - Trans
 - Non-Binary
 - Other
 - Prefer not to disclose
 - Ethnicity and/or race:
 - Identification [Fill in]
 - If an Undergraduate Student:
 - Year
 - First
 - Second
 - Third
 - Fourth
 - Fifth+
 - Does not apply

- If a Graduate Student:
 - Year
 - First
 - Second
 - Third
 - Fourth
 - Fifth+
 - Degree type
 - Master's
 - PhD
 - Other
 - Does not apply
- If a Faculty Member:
 - Professor
 - Specify title at university [Fill in]
- Department (mark all that apply):
 - Anthropology
 - American Indian Studies
 - History
 - Other [Fill in]
- Career or projected career title:
 - [Fill in]
- Years in current position
 - [Fill in]
- Home state or region:
 - [Fill in]
- Personal opinions: Indicate your identification with the following responses based on your current personal opinions, knowledge, and experience. If you prefer not to answer a question, indicate using the “prefer not to disclose” option or leaving all options for the question blank. For fill-in answers, answer to your comfort level and awareness.
 - Do you believe NAGPRA (Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act) is in any form involved with your profession or projected career?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
 - Would you expect to encounter a situation in your career which will necessitate you to be in NAGPRA compliance?
 - Yes
 - If so, how frequently? (i.e. once or more a month, once or more every ten years, etc.) [Fill in]
 - Maybe
 - No
 - Unsure

- Do you believe your profession or projected career is impacted by NAGPRA?
 - Yes
 - If so, how? [Fill in]
 - Somewhat
 - If so, how? [Fill in]
 - No
 - Unsure
- In your career, what are the general consequences to complying with NAGPRA?
 - Positive
 - Somewhat positive
 - Neutral
 - Somewhat negative
 - Negative
 - Unsure
- Do you believe NAGPRA legislation should be taught to or reinforced post-graduation for those whose professions will require NAGPRA compliance?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
- Do you support the civil penalties (i.e. monetary fines) of noncompliance with NAGPRA?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
- Do you support the view that NAGPRA promotes social benefits?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
- Do you believe scientific advancements have/may have declined as a result of NAGPRA's regulations?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
- Do you believe the scientific community benefits from the regulations of NAGPRA?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure

- Do you believe the fundamental purpose of NAGPRA applies to other artifacts outside of Native American culture?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
- Do you believe the fundamental purpose of NAGPRA applies to other human remains outside of Native American culture?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
- Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of ancient populations related to a culture you identify with? Select all that apply with yes:
 - Scientific study
 - Curation
 - Excavation
- Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of contemporary (the last century) populations related to a culture you identify with? Select all that apply with yes:
 - Scientific study
 - Curation
 - Excavation
- Awareness: Indicate your identification with the following responses based on your current awareness, knowledge, and experience. If you prefer not to answer a question, indicate using the “prefer not to disclose” option or leaving all options for the question blank. For fill-in answers, answer to your comfort level and awareness.
 - Were you familiar with NAGPRA before this survey?
 - Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
 - Unsure
 - Is you answered yes or somewhat to the above, to what extent were you familiar with NAGPRA?
 - Heard of
 - Could define
 - Interacted with
 - Know in detail
 - In relation to awareness of NAGPRA, describe the instance in which you first learned about NAGPRA (i.e. 'academic setting,' 'personal experience,' or 'professional experience') ? [short answer]

- When did you learn about it?
 - Today
 - In the last semester
 - In the last year
 - In the last four years
 - In the last ten years
 - More than ten years ago
- Were you familiar with any other federal or state laws for handling Native American remains or artifacts?
 - [Fill in, title or describe]

Interview Questions

- On a scale of 1-10, how would you rank your familiarity with NAGPRA, with one being cursorily aware and ten being intimately familiar?
- In what context did you first learn about NAGPRA?
- How has your reception, understanding, or opinion on NAGPRA changed through your career? Was this impacted by various positions or responsibilities?
- How do you believe your own experiences outside of the professional or academic setting influenced your reception and interpretation of NAGPRA?
- How do you believe NAGPRA operates in the academic environment?
- Do you see a broad acceptance of NAGPRA in the academic setting, and do you believe it is being properly addressed in department curriculums?
- How often do you have to consider NAGPRA in your current professional role?
- In what ways has NAGPRA impacted your work environment, protocols, and responsibilities?
- What aspects of NAGPRA do you believe could benefit from revision? Are there any additions or reductions to the protocol which you would find beneficial?

APPENDIX C. List of Figures

Figure 1. Department cohort groups

Figure 2. Age cohort groups from Anthropology and History departments

Figure 3. Primary ethnic or racial identity cohort groups from Anthropology and History departments

Figure 4. Academic identity cohort groups from Anthropology and History departments

Figure 5. Career or projected career cohort groups from Anthropology department

Figure 6. “Do you believe NAGPRA (Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act) is in any form involved with your profession or projected career?” All responses

Figure 7. “Do you believe NAGPRA (Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act) is in any form involved with your profession or projected career?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 8. “Would you expect to encounter a situation in your career which will necessitate you to be in NAGPRA compliance?” All responses

Figure 9. “Would you expect to encounter a situation in your career which will necessitate you to be in NAGPRA compliance?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 10. “Do you believe your profession or projected career is impacted by NAGPRA?” All responses

Figure 11. “Do you believe your profession or projected career is impacted by NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 12. “In your career experience, how do you interpret the general consequences of complying with NAGPRA?” All responses

Figure 13. “Do you believe NAGPRA legislation should be taught to and reinforced post-graduation for those whose professions will require NAGPRA compliance?” All responses

Figure 14. “Do you believe NAGPRA legislation should be taught to and reinforced post-graduation for those whose professions will require NAGPRA compliance?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 15. “Do you support the civil penalties (i.e. monetary fines) of noncompliance with NAGPRA?” All responses

Figure 16. “Do you support the civil penalties (i.e. monetary fines) of noncompliance with NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 17. “Do you support the view that NAGPRA promotes social benefits in all communities?” All responses

Figure 18. “Do you support the view that NAGPRA promotes social benefits in all communities?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 19. “Do you believe scientific advancements have/may have declined as a result of NAGPRA's regulations?” All responses

Figure 20. “Do you believe scientific advancements have/may have declined as a result of NAGPRA's regulations?” Anthropology and History responses

Figure 21. “Do you believe the scientific community benefits from the regulations of NAGPRA?” All responses

Figure 22. “Do you believe the scientific community benefits from the regulations of NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 23. “Do you believe the fundamental purposes of NAGPRA apply to other artifacts outside of Native American culture or identification, such as African or Australian artifacts?” All responses

Figure 24. “Do you believe the fundamental purposes of NAGPRA apply to other artifacts outside of Native American culture or identification, such as African or Australian artifacts?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 24. “Do you believe the fundamental purpose of NAGPRA applies to human remains outside of Native American culture?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 25. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of ancient populations related to a culture you identify with?” All responses

Figure 26. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of ancient populations related to a culture you identify with?” Anthropology and History responses

Figure 27. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of contemporary (the last century) populations related to a culture you identify with?” All responses

Figure 28. “Would you be comfortable with the scientific study, curation, or excavation of contemporary (the last century) populations related to a culture you identify with?” Anthropology and History responses

Figure 29. “Were you familiar with NAGPRA before this survey?” All responses

Figure 30. “Were you familiar with NAGPRA before this survey?” Anthropology and History department responses

Figure 31. “If you answered 'yes' or 'somewhat' to the above, to what extent were you familiar with NAGPRA?” All responses

Figure 32. “If you answered 'yes' or 'somewhat' to the above, to what extent were you familiar with NAGPRA?” Anthropology and History departments

Figure 33. “When did you learn about it?” All responses

Researcher Profile

Megan Hardie is an undergraduate of The Ohio State University Honors Arts and Sciences program, double majoring in Anthropological Sciences and English Creative Writing with a minor in Forensics. These specializations have provided her the opportunity to study NAGPRA and gain proficiency in anthropological study as well as scientific writing. She has completed a multitude of courses and engaged in research concerning skeletal remains, anthropological theory, bioarchaeology, Native American history, and NAGPRA. Through an internship at the University of Tennessee's Forensic Anthropology Center, she engaged with professionals involved in the NAGPRA consultation and repatriation process. Interviews with these consultants and other experts propelled her interest in exploring NAGPRA as it exists in academia.

In her graduate studies, she intends to further develop work on the application and adequacy of NAGPRA and other repatriation laws as they are employed in the United States institutional and medicolegal systems. She aspires to be a consultant for NAGPRA and promote public awareness of repatriation by educating students and authorities on the aspects, implementation, and significance of this process. She plans to develop a national education campaign for promotion public awareness of repatriation and augmented training programs within universities, museums, and law enforcement. Education is essential for repatriation, so assessing awareness of NAGPRA within academia has provided an initial perspective to how necessary such an educational campaign is within universities and beyond.