Western Graduate&PostdoctoralStudies

Western University

Scholarship@Western

Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

12-8-2016 12:00 AM

Accounts of Engagement: Conditions and Capitals of Indigenous Participation in Canadian Commercial Archaeology

Joshua Dent, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Neal Ferris, *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Anthropology

© Joshua Dent 2016

Follow this and additional works at: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd

Part of the Archaeological Anthropology Commons

Recommended Citation

Dent, Joshua, "Accounts of Engagement: Conditions and Capitals of Indigenous Participation in Canadian Commercial Archaeology" (2016). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 4287.
https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/4287

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlswadmin@uwo.ca.

Abstract

Indigenous engagement in Canadian archaeology encompasses jurisdictional variances, microcosmic colonial/resistance implications and the promise of mutually-beneficial heritage management practices. Drawing from literature commentary, primary document review, surveys and interviews, this dissertation explores consistency and uniqueness in the relationship between commercial archaeology and Indigenous peoples in Canada. Four Conditions of engagement and four Capital properties of engagement emerge and are theorized as constituting a framework capable of considering the diversity of engagement practice in Canada.

Conditions include: Regulation, Capacity (Developer and Community) and Relationships. The regulatory heritage regimes governing engagement are considered across provincial/territorial boundaries together with a host of legislation, policy documents, treaty settlements, and other State/Indigenous agreements. The reasons for developers to instigate and maintain Indigenous community engagement components of cultural resource management (CRM) and the infrastructures within communities capable of realizing community-centric heritage management outcomes are defined and explored. The importance of interpersonal and institutional relationships and the identities of participants and proxies in the course of these relationships are emphasized in detail by those involved in archaeological practice.

Drawing from Bourdieu's cultural and social capital marketplaces, the four capitals in this dissertation include: embodied, objectified, collective (social/institutionalized), and economic. Embodied cultural capital represents the skills, knowledge and experiences acquired and transmitted during engagement and as a product of the archaeological process. Objectified cultural capital represents the varyingly ascribed values attached to objects/artifacts and places/sites by archaeologists and Indigenous peoples. Objectified capital also represents the various ways heritage is commodified in commercial/development transactions. Collective capital represents both the social (group/community affiliation) and institutionalized (institutional affiliation/certification)

capitals. Collectively, these capitals define and perpetuate the proxy roles of engagement participants, emphasizing that Indigenous engagement in archaeology is about more than just the individuals involved. Finally, economic capital represents the tangible monetary component of engagement.

Together, these conditions and capitals are defined and combined as Indigenous and critical heritage epistemologies synthesize a fluid interpretative framework considering the dynamics of Indigenous engagement in contemporary archaeology.

Keywords

Cultural Resource Management, Bourdieu, Cultural Capital, Social Capital, Indigenous Engagement, Archaeology

Acknowledgments

First, thank you to my family for their patience and support during this process. Kerry, Cecily and our newest addition, Iris. Cecily, you inspire me to do better; Iris, even as newborn you exude peacefulness and I look forward to seeing you develop into your own; Kerry, you are a partner I do not deserve but one I am tremendously grateful for. I love you all. Thank you also to my parents, brother, grandparents and circle of family friends with whom I grew up, you have lifted me up and pushed me forward all while keeping me grounded for which I cannot sufficently express my gratitude.

Second, thank you to my supervisory committee Dr. Peter Timmins, Dr. Regna Darnell and, most of all, my supervisor, Dr. Neal Ferris. This research would also not have been possible without the generous and most appreciated support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship - Doctoral). Thank you also to the defense committee for patiently wading through this hefty volume. To the many people I have had the pleasure of working with in archaeology over the years: the experiences and moments in time from those periods are reflected in this work and in who I am as an individual and for that I am forever grateful.

Finally and especially, thank you to everyone who participated in this research project. Your contributions were insightful and valuable despite being freely given. To Carrie Dan, Jo Brunsden, Bill Fox, Carolyn King, Ingrid Kitsch, and Tom Andrews thank you for sharing your narratives and situating your experiences. Special thanks to Tom, Ingrid and the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre who were the most gracious of hosts; if you have never visited the facility, I strongly recommend doing so. Carolyn and Fred King, you are wonderful travel companions, thank you for a trip I would not hesitate to repeat.

I am not an individual in isolation as much as I am a motley collection of gifts given to me by the people I have known and the places I have been. Mahsi cho! Chi-miigwetch! Yerí7 skukwstsétsemc!

Table of Contents

Abstract i

Acknowledgments iii

Table of Contents iv

List of Tables xi

List of Figures xii

List of Plates xvi

List of Appendices xvii

1 Introduction 1

2 Historical Background 12

2.1 Indigenous Perspectives of the Past 13

2.2 Archaeology in Canada 16

2.3 The Rise of CRM in Canada 17

2.4 Indigenous Activism and Cultural Resource Management 24

2.5 The Contemporary Engagement Setting 28

2.5.1 The People 28

2.5.2 The Pathways, Paradigms and Epistemologies 31

2.5.3 Other Forces and Contemporary Summary 37

3 The Many Ways of Regulating Indigenous Engagement in Archaeology 39

3.1 The Lay of the Engagement Landscape 39

3.1.1 In the beginning-ish… 39

3.1.2 The Constitution and the Court 42

3.1.3 The Pre-Emptive Logic for Engagement 48

3.1.4 Canadian Heritage Jurisdictions 48

3.2 Newfoundland and Labrador ... 49
3.2.1 Governance Context ... 49
3.2.2 Authority ... 50
3.2.3 Communication ... 50
3.2.4 Participation ... 51
3.2.5 Disposition ... 52
3.3 Nova Scotia ... 53
3.3.1 Governance Context ... 53
3.3.2 Authority ... 54
3.3.3 Communication ... 54
3.3.4 Disposition ... 55
3.3.5 Customization ... 56
3.4 Prince Edward Island ... 58
3.4.1 Governance Context ... 58
3.4.2 Authority ... 58
3.4.3 Communication ... 59
3.4.4 Disposition ... 60
3.5 New Brunswick ... 60
3.5.1 Governance Context ... 60
3.5.2 Authority ... 61
3.5.3 Communication ... 62
3.5.4 Disposition ... 62
3.5.5 Customization ... 63
3.6 Quebec ... 64

3.6.1 Governance Context ... 64
3.6.2 Authority ... 64
3.6.3 Communication ... 65
3.6.4 Disposition ... 66
3.6.5 Customization ... 67
3.7 Ontario ... 67
3.7.1 Governance Context ... 67
3.7.2 Authority ... 68
3.7.3 Communication ... 69
3.7.4 Participation ... 73
3.7.5 Disposition ... 73
3.8 Manitoba ... 75
3.8.1 Governance Context ... 75
3.8.2 Authority ... 75
3.8.3 Communication ... 75
3.8.4 Disposition ... 75
3.8.5 Customization ... 76
3.9 Saskatchewan ... 78
3.9.1 Governance Context ... 78
3.9.2 Authority ... 78
3.9.3 Communication ... 79
3.9.4 Disposition ... 79
3.9.5 Customization ... 81
3.10 Alberta ... 81

3.10.1 Governance Context 81

3.10.2 Authority 81

3.10.3 Communication 82

3.10.4 Disposition 83

3.11 British Columbia 84

3.11.1 Governance Context 84

3.11.2 Authority 85

3.11.3 Communication 86

3.11.4 Disposition 88

3.11.5 Customization 90

3.12 Yukon 90

3.12.1 Governance Context 90

3.12.2 Authority 91

3.12.3 Communication 92

3.12.4 Participation 92

3.12.5 Disposition 93

3.12.6 Customization 95

3.13 Northwest Territories 95

3.13.1 Governance Context 95

3.13.2 Authority 96

3.13.3 Communication 96

3.13.4 Participation 98

3.13.5 Disposition 98

3.13.6 Customization 100

3.14 Nunavut 100

3.14.1 Governance Context 100

3.14.2 Authority 101

3.14.3 Communication 102

3.14.4 Participation 103

3.14.5 Disposition 103

3.14.6 Customization 104

3.15 Patterns of Archaeological Governance 104

4 Trails and Means of Travel: Datasets, Data Gathering and Methodology 109

4.1 Conceptual Places and Travelers 109

4.2 The Analytical Framework: A Vehicle for Understanding Engagement 112

4.2.1 The Engagement Instance: Bourdieu's Cultural and Social Capital Marketplace 113

4.2.2 Context: Representing Engagement Conditions 127

4.2.3 The Composite Framework 131

4.3 Datasets and Data-Gathering Methodologies 132

4.3.1 Literature Review 134

4.3.2 Community Website Review 136

4.3.3 Survey Questionnaires 137

4.3.4 Interviews 141

4.3.5 Yellowknife Round Table 144

4.4 Methodology Summary 146

5 Travelers: Engagement Questionnaire Responses 147

5.1 Survey Question 1 148

5.2 Survey Question 2 150

5.3 Survey Question 3 ... 154

5.4 Survey Question 4 ... 156

5.5 Survey Question 5 ... 158

5.6 Survey Question 6: In your own words, briefly describe standard CRM Indigenous engagement in your region(s) ... 161

5.7 Survey Question 7: Please tell us about the most rewarding or best instance of CRM Indigenous engagement from your own experience: ... 162

5.8 Survey Question 8 ... 163

5.9 Question 9: What are your personal goals when participating in Indigenous engagement in archaeology? ... 166

5.10 Survey Question 10 ... 167

5.11 Survey Question 12: If you have anything additional you would like to say with regards to cultural resource management, archaeology, and/or Indigenous engagement, please do so below. ... 169

6 Analysis and Interpretation Part I: Engagement Conditions ... 170

6.1 Survey Engagement Conditions Analysis ... 170

6.1.1 Survey Question 6: Engagement Conditions ... 170

6.1.2 Survey Question 7: Engagement Conditions ... 176

6.1.3 Survey Question 9: Engagement Conditions ... 177

6.2 Identifying and Evaluating Engagement Conditions ... 181

6.2.1 Regulation Conditions ... 181

6.2.2 Capacity Conditions ... 189

6.2.3 Relationship Conditions ... 211

6.3 Summary: Engagement Conditions/Market Conditions ... 225

7 Analysis and Interpretation Part II: Engagement as a Cultural Capital Marketplace 227

7.1 Survey Engagement Capitals Analysis ... 227

7.1.1 Survey Question 6: Engagement Capitals ... 227

7.1.2 Survey Question 7: Engagement Capitals ... 230

7.1.3 Survey Question 9: Engagement Capitals ... 235

7.2 Embodied Cultural Capital ... 238

7.2.1 Embodied Cultural Capital – Analysis ... 239

7.2.2 Embodied Capital – Interpretation ... 241

7.3 Objectified Capital ... 258

7.3.1 Objectified Capital – Analysis ... 259

7.3.2 Objectified Capital – Interpretation ... 263

7.4 Collective Capital ... 277

7.4.1 Collective Capital – Analysis ... 278

7.4.2 Collective Capital – Interpretation ... 282

7.5 Economic Capital ... 296

7.5.1 Economic Capital – Analysis ... 297

7.5.2 Economic Capital – Interpretation ... 303

8 Synthesis ... 314

8.1 Considering Engagement within the Framework ... 317

8.2 Regional Focus: Southern Ontario ... 324

8.2.1 The Darlington New Nuclear Power Plant Project ... 328

8.2.2 The Skandatut Site ... 333

8.3 Legacies and Trajectories: The Future in the Past ... 340

References Cited ... 348

Appendices ... 387

Curriculum Vitae Joshua Dent ... 524

List of Tables

Table 5-1: Jurisdictions Identifications in Surveys and 2013 Project totals by percent . 153

Table 6-1: Individual British Columbia Indigenous Communities with Heritage Offices 200

Table 6-2: Indigenous Community Formal Heritage Depts. by Region 202

List of Figures

Figure 2.1: Compiled Archaeological Permits per Year in Canada (Developed from data collected by Dent and Beaudoin 2016). 21

Figure 4.1: The Instance of Engagement – Indigenous and Archaeological Roles Intersecting during a Heritage Project 110

Figure 4.2: Engagement Context and Engagement Instance 112

Figure 4.3: Engagement Capitals and Engagement Instances 114

Figure 4.4: Engagement Conditions and Capitals Analytical Framework 131

Figure 5.1: Survey Question 1 Responses 148

Figure 5.2: Survey identifications represented in subsequent distribution analyses 149

Figure 5.3: Survey Question 2 Responses 150

Figure 5.4: Interviewee regional affiliations by jurisdiction where 2013 Project data is available. 152

Figure 5.5: Estimated projects (reports/permits) conducted or filed in 2013 152

Figure 5.6: Survey Question 3 Responses 154

Figure 5.7: Survey respondent CRM familiarity by identification 155

Figure 5.8: Survey Question 4 Responses 156

Figure 5.9: Perceived engagement in CRM by region 157

Figure 5.10: Survey Question 5 Responses 158

Figure 5.11: Engagement satisfaction relative to familiarity of CRM identities 160

Figure 5.12: Engagement satisfaction relative to familiarity of government identities.. 160

Figure 5.13: Characterizations of Standard Engagement Practice by Satisfaction......... 162

Figure 5.14: Question 8 Responses.. 163

Figure 5.15: Identification distribution of uniqueness/regularity of best instances of engagement 164

Figure 5.16: CRM familiarity distribution of uniqueness/regularity of best instances of engagement 165

Figure 5.17: Identification distribution of Question 9 responses.................................. 167

Figure 5.18: Question 10 Responses.. 167

Figure 5.19: Identification distribution of goal achievement in Question 10................ 168

Figure 6.1: Engagement condition responses to Question 6.. 171

Figure 6.2: Referring to Regulation Conditions in Question 6 by region...................... 173

Figure 6.3: Question 6 developer capacity references by region.................................. 174

Figure 6.4: Question 6 community capacity references by region 175

Figure 6.5: Engagement condition responses to Question 7.. 176

Figure 6.6: Comparison of Questions 6 and 7 engagement condition responses 177

Figure 6.7: Engagement condition responses to Question 9.. 178

Figure 6.8: Relationship Conditions references in Question 9 180

Figure 6.9: Total interview regulation references by role... 182

Figure 6.10: Capacity responses in open-ended survey question 191

Figure 6.11: Interviews - Capacity references by Interviewees (DC: Developer Capacity; IC: Indigenous Community Capacity) ... 191

Figure 6.12: Relationship Condition references by open-ended survey questions ... 212

Figure 6.13: Interviews - Relationship Condition references by role ... 213

Figure 6.14: Interviews - Indigenous Community Capacity/Relationship Condition references by role ... 214

Figure 6.15: Average Condition references per interview by role ... 226

Figure 7.1: Engagement Capital responses to Question 6 ... 228

Figure 7.2: Instances of Question 6 Collective Capital references by region ... 229

Figure 7.3: Instances of Question 6 Economic Capital references by region ... 230

Figure 7.4: Instances of Engagement Capital responses to Question 7 ... 231

Figure 7.5: Comparison of Questions 6 and 7 instances of Engagement Capital in responses ... 232

Figure 7.6: Question 7 Instances of Embodied Capital references by region ... 233

Figure 7.7: Question 7 Instances of Collective Capital references by region ... 234

Figure 7.8: Question 7 Instances Economic Capital references by region ... 234

Figure 7.9: Instances of Engagement Capital responses to Question 9 ... 236

Figure 7.10: Collective Capital references in Question 9 ... 237

Figure 7.11: Embodied Capital responses by open-ended survey question ... 240

Figure 7.12: Interviews - Embodied Capital references by role ... 241

Figure 7.13: Objectified Capital responses by open-ended survey question ... 262

Figure 7.14: Interviews - Objectified Capital references by role 263

Figure 7.15: Collective Capital responses by open-ended survey question.................... 281

Figure 7.16: CAA Newsletter Indications of Elder involvement in archaeology 295

Figure 7.17: CAA Newsletter projects by Economic Capital transaction type 299

Figure 7.18: Economic Capital references in open-ended survey question responses ... 300

Figure 7.19: Question 6 Economic Capital references by self-identification 301

Figure 7.20: Question 7 Economic Capital references by self-identification 301

Figure 7.21: Question 9 Economic Capital references by self-identification 302

Figure 7.22: Interviews - Economic Capital references by vocation 303

Figure 8.1: Archaeology projects in Ontario (2008-2015). 325

List of Plates

Plate 1.1: Mooseskin boat on display at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, NWT 11

Plate 4.1: Yellowknife Round Table (From left: Tom Andrews, Carolyn King, Fred King, and Ingrid Kritsch).. 145

List of Appendices

Appendix I: Government Legislation, Regulations, Agreements, Policy Documents and Supreme Court of Canada Cases 387

Appendix II: Indigenous Community Website Review 392

Appendix III: Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) Newsletter Instances of Engagement 442

Appendix IV: Interview Questions Sample 510

Appendix V: Survey Organization Contact List 512

Appendix VI: Ethics Documentation 514

Appendix VII: Survey Recruitment Email 515

Appendix VIII: Survey Information Form 516

Appendix IX: Travel Information and Consent Form (Round Table) 518

Appendix X: In-Person and Telephone Interview Information and Consent Form 521

1 Introduction

There is something about archaeological survey, about anything which involves passing through kilometers of varying terrain, in the way a particular locale or route, a particular perspective can imprint itself upon the traveler's memory. These moments in time might reflect the significance of a certain place. One for me was looking down from a forestry road bridge over the Chilcotin River in Farwell Canyon at a member of the Toosey community basket-net fishing for sockeye salmon on the rocks below. They might also have no particular significance beyond the echoes of emotions felt: looking out from a two-year-old cut-block into a valley on a cloudy, misty day somewhere east of Clinton, British Columbia; or looking up at a tree-lined ridge while hiking a deactivated forestry road barely covered by a veil of new fallen snow on a cold fall morning in the Kootenays. Paths and places like these are embedded in our psyches, not only combating urban malaise but, because of the reason we are there, forming core components of how we conceive of ourselves as archaeologists. The memorable places we stand in and move through, and the memorable people who accompany us, come to encapsulate and represent entire periods of our lives. As archaeologists, there is the ever present consideration of the past as we experience and reflect on these moments. Who else looked at what I am looking at? Stood where I am standing? What were they thinking? Doing? Who were *they* with? What did they leave behind? Maybe even, who am I relative to this past?

In these moments and at these places we, as archaeologists, are often considering the ancient Indigenous peoples of Canada, or at least our imagined versions of them based on a continuum of practice. Sometimes alongside archaeologists, sometimes as archaeologists, but otherwise independently, the descendants of these ancient Indigenous peoples, encountering the same places, travelling the same paths, do not simply add a moment to their own individual memories, but participate in continuums of collective memory and land-use. Where and how these Indigenous and archaeological continuums intersect, how and why they are distinguishable and indistinguishable, represents the subject of engagement as considered in this dissertation.

Since the introduction of archaeology to North America, researchers have exploited, participated in, or been willfully ignorant of Indigenous continuums. The cataloguing or intentional disregard of individual and community memories and experiences in the pursuit and acquisition of the material past can often portray this accumulated Indigenous heritage as the background upon which the materiality-centric narrative of archaeology is written. Indigenous community and individual accounts often dismissed as too temporally or culturally displaced to have any relevance to the gaze of the archaeological interloper.

In this dissertation I conceive of archaeology as both invasive and purposeful. It is a discipline of limited service to non-specialists yet its practice is often situated within spaces of great significance. Not just the implied significance conveyed by the past but through the vehicle of cultural/heritage resource management and the creation of politically significant spaces in the present and of consequence to the future. Too focused on materiality and often espousing a misplaced objective positivism, archaeologists often miss, neglect or ignore the politically relevant spaces they occupy in the present. They conflate practice with purpose. Archaeology, in this worldview, ends up being characterized as having inherent value, whose practice is inherently good and worthwhile and self-evident.

> The ignorance and darkness that is in us, no more hinders nor confines the knowledge that is in others, than the blindness of a mole is an argument against the quick sightedness of an eagle. (Locke 1825: 80)

The institutions that maintain archaeology, the governments that regulate it, the people that practice it, all recognize something worthwhile in the motley collection of epistemologies, theories, methodologies, and even people that constitute contemporary archaeological practice. Within academic institutions, archaeology's worth might be found in its capacity to draw paying undergraduate and graduate students; or it might be in its contribution to the voracious appetite of Western knowledge consumption. To governments, archaeology might be a release valve meant to localize and mitigate

tensions within and across stakeholder communities; or it might just be another victim of infectious bureaucracies and an interested, if superficially invested, public. To the people that practice it, archaeology is an identity, albeit one wrapped in an arcane cloak of pop culture adventurism and an exclusive jargon (Holtorf 2005, 2007). But an identity nonetheless reinforced with an unshakeable belief that archaeological work is right and good. Inescapably, archaeology is also a means of making a living for the individuals who teach, regulate, practice, and even criticize it. It is a means of supporting themselves and their families.

This dissertation focuses on Indigenous engagement in Canadian commercial archaeology. The dissertation's scope is Canada as a whole, however individual provincial and territorial jurisdictions are variably represented across the studied datasets. The scale of variability of practice and identities across these jurisdictions means that the dissertation is not representative of each or any of these regions. The Canadian focus does, however, allow for inter-regional comparisons of engagement and the inference of certain trans-jurisdictional patterns that may exist across the spectrum of engagement practices represented in Canada. Despite limitations in national data and jurisdictional variation, this research will address a real void in scholarship by exploring and documenting this form of archaeological engagement across quite distinct forms of engagement across Canada.[1]

The use of the term Indigenous can evoke Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples and in the Canadian context might be seen as synonymous with the widely-used term Aboriginal. However, the term Indigenous represents more than just a reimagining of the term Aboriginal (see the United Nations non-definition[2]) and used here represents the pre-colonial/settler nations, societies, worldviews, traditions, and peoples as contiguous

---

[1] In other words, studying engagement in a single jurisdiction is likely a much more gratifying and achievably representative experience, but one with much more limited insight into the underlying social processes at play.

[2] http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf, accessed July 13, 2016.

with their self/collectively-defined descendant counterparts in the contemporary nation-state of Canada.

Engagement can mean many things. Indigenous engagement within the academic sector tends to reflect efforts of a public or community-based form of archaeology (Atalay 2014). In the commercial practice of archaeological management, engagement tends more to skirt notions of an obligation to notify, to solicit some kind of consent, and even formally consult as in quasi-formal nation to nation interactions.[3] This dissertation deploys the term engagement as formally meaning any instance where the practice, planning and purpose of archaeology is not exclusive to archaeologists and their immediate objective to "do" archaeology. Specifically, when contemporary Indigenous communities and/or individuals are present in any capacity in the archaeological enterprise. Presence can infer both physical participation as well as a dislocated authority over or influence on any archaeological project and its outcomes. Engagement in this sense is capable of being both government-mandated and not. It can also occur in any vein of archaeological practice (commercial, academic, avocational, government), although this dissertation prioritizes commercial practice for reasons described in Chapter 2. Informally, engagement also represents a continuum of interaction between "entities" (from one individual engaging with one individual; to several individuals meeting with several individuals; to individuals formally representing bigger entities like communities, companies, governments, etc.). These engagement instances all encompass the range of human interaction that occurs in any sphere where entities meet, grow knowledgeable of one another, form opinions towards one another, and negotiate immediate or proximate forms of outcome satisfactory or not to one or both entities. This broad definition of engagement provides me with the most inclusive analysis of interactions between archaeologists and Indigenous communities. Fertile ground in which to consider the following questions. Why does engagement happen? How does engagement happen?

---

[3] see Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of the basis for consultation

And, perhaps most importantly, how can we conceptualize engagement beyond individual acts of engaging?

In many ways, the travel metaphor I introduced above will permeate this discussion. The archaeological project necessitates travel in space, conveys a sense of travel in time, and even individual life travel through student, apprentice, expert, and all the implications that has for individual livelihood. Indigenous worldviews also feature travel narratives and "on-the-land" significance which explicates the relationship between land and culture. Research moves through a series of places, sometimes encountering roadblocks necessitating detours. Ideas surrounding movement and dislocation, dispersal and accumulation, are consistently deployed in my research and establish the process of engagement itself as constituting its own sort of journey. Perhaps "journeys" is more accurate here because there are multiple narratives: both grand engagement trajectories nationally and regionally, and particular engagement narratives between two individuals or groups.

When this research began it was headed in a different direction. I was intent on identifying and defining categories or types of engagement.[4] I established where I was, and where others were, along a continuum of engagement practice. A continuum premised in a series of historical/epistemological (Chapter 2) and jurisdictional (Chapter 3) coordinates. I also had a sense of where I wanted to go; specifically, to incorporate Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) cultural and social capitals into a consideration of the categories I was defining. My method of travel through this landscape was initially intended to undertake research within three modes: literature/document review, survey questionnaires and interviews. Eventually a fourth, community website review, and a fifth, the Yellowknife Round Table, were added.

---

[4] I reflect on this dead-end in Chapter 4.

Once I began receiving input from the questionnaires and thinking about the literature I was reviewing, this plan began to unravel. Comments by participants and my own questioning of what I was reading led me to believe that the aim to categorize was leading me nowhere. My imagined engagement categories, while interesting to me, were not going to be capable of representing the diversity I was encountering and that others were relating to me.

Fortunately, this happened early into research and I was able to reassess the route I needed to take. I realized that by categorizing instances of engagement, I was prohibitively compartmentalizing the hundreds of examples I had access to, artificially masking a diversity from the application of Bourdieu's concepts. Instead what became obvious to me was the need to create an analytical/interpretative framework capable of exploring this diversity beyond typological constraints, and allowing for a consideration of each instance independently. As I result, I collected 512 such examples from the literature and gathered reflections from dozens of survey participants. No longer bound by an attempt to establish an arbitrary typology, these datasets were open to comprehensive individualized application of my developing analytical framework.

Once I began interviews I had a better sense of the properties of my subject, the maelstroms and trickles of various symbolic capitals flowing through each instance of engagement. I also became more aware of the conditions contributing to the successes and failures of each instance and worked to also represent those elements in my research.

As the interviews progressed, the many and varied conditions and contexts of engagement became more apparent. To explore this diversity, I realized I needed to construct a framework to appreciate the many moving parts within and around these many individual instances, and to account for the immediate and more proximate effects of these instances. This framework allowed me to examine the spatial/temporal/ideological landscape composed of multiple jurisdictions and professions, identities, relationships and capacities. Each interviewee, uniquely situated and travelling their own path on this landscape, contributed successively to the representation of these conditions and articulation of this framework. They also

emphasized that the national-scale of research encompassed countless combinations of identity, regulatory and other elements, prohibiting any conception of this research as being somehow representative. Together, both these frameworks of "Conditions" and "Capitals" facilitated a comprehensive lens from which to interpret past and present engagement practice relative to the diversity of historical, jurisdictional and epistemological coordinates wherein these instances occur.

At its heart, this dissertation is not about explicitly providing answers; not about pre-emptively "charting" Indigenous engagement in archaeology; the legion of variables precludes a formulaic approach. It is about providing the means, or more appropriately, *a* means of navigating towards an understanding of the complexities and nuances of this overtly social process. Each scenario, each participant, each place, each element of engagement affects the specific temporal instance within which this social process occurs. Changes or substitutions to any of the specific elements of a specific instance of engagement may be enough to alter the purpose and outcome of that instance. What is important is that we arrive at a means of acknowledging and considering those particular parameters.

Central to acknowledging this diversity is recognizing that there is not any one way to engage with an Indigenous community in conducting archaeology. Indeed, some areas of the country have already altered engagement practice away from archaeological objectives to conform to community-specific and community-defined criteria (e.g. the Inuit-administered regions of Nunatsiavut, Inuvialuit and Nunavut). Trajectories of increasing diffusion of authority away from provincial and territorial governance actors to Indigenous communities do appear to be a broader trend evident in archaeological heritage management (see Chapter 3). Previously, archaeology's expert access to the past was predicated on its conforming to state processes of governance and oversight. As these powers shift, at least becoming more diffuse and open to accommodating some Indigenous control, archaeology, especially state-regulated resource management practices, will reform simply to service this broader decision-making landscape.

Exercising a little foresight, archaeologists could and should, in the present, adjust their practices and cultivate relationships across this more diverse spectrum accordingly. They should chart their own courses with full awareness that the narrative of the voyage beyond archaeologist-only decision making to one of much more participatory engagement will continue, with or without them, and that there is no one path to meaningful engagement. That some do not change is the reality of contested values at play over the archaeology across Canada now (see also Pokotylo and Mason 2010; Spurling 1986). However, this dissertation is far more focused on, and will emphasize much more, positive instances of engagement rather than resistance to engagement, since it is the former that clearly suggests trends from the present that will shape archaeological practice entirely in this country in the decades ahead.

Before I begin, it is important to understand the space I occupy as researcher in the nexus of this research. I am a 34-year-old, White male. My parents raised my brother and me on a rural property west of Prince George, British Columbia. We were a family of modest means, living, until I was 8, in a log cabin. My brother and I spent most of our time outdoors, digging holes, foraging for berries, chopping firewood, and exploring the landscape around us. Fairly early on I became interested in archaeology, in large part due to my great-aunt Carol Dent whom I later realized was an avocational archaeologist in her own right. By 2002, during second year university, I got my feet wet in an abbreviated cultural resource management field season with Norcan Consulting in Prince George. After graduating from the University of Victoria with my B.A. in 2004 I drifted away from archaeology and did a variety of other things. In 2007, after a move to Edmonton where my partner, Kerry, began pursuing her law degree, I fell back into CRM with Altamira Consulting. For three years I worked for Altamira, spending the summers surveying BC, Alberta and the Yukon and the winters cataloguing artifacts and writing reports. In 2010, Kerry and I moved to London, Ontario for her clerkship with the Superior Court of Ontario and I got on with Neal Ferris at the University of Western Ontario where I have been ever since pursuing first a masters, then a doctorate, and participating in the occasional CRM field season in Ontario, as finances necessitated.

I mention my early rural life not to imply that I have some unique insight into Indigenous "on-the-land" epistemologies. I do not. Neither have my experiences working with First Nations in BC and the Yukon[5] given me anymore than a suite of memories and an unsettling sense of missed opportunities, particularly in BC.

In this respect, it is my ignorance of things I felt I had to at least attempt to understand that became my biggest research asset. When on the ground doing CRM, you do not often have a sense of the bigger picture you are working within and certainly you do not have much time between working, eating and sleeping to sufficiently consider the systems which you are beholden to and a part of. My Master's degree on the history of heritage legislation in BC and Ontario (Dent 2012) became an attempt to understand a least some small part of these systems. My doctorate now seeks to comprehend this complex, multi-layered series of processes even more, however my desire to try and include Indigenous worldviews in this research has me revisiting old memories from my youth as I struggle to reconcile perceived parallels between Indigenous and Western epistemologies.

Two memories stand out most of all. As I mentioned, I spent most of my childhood in a rural area (Beaverly) west of the city of Prince George. We lived on the eastern heights of a river valley and often descended through the bush to swim in the river. For most of my childhood that river was called the Mud, no doubt named for its silty brown appearance. It was not until I was older that I realized the river also went by the Dakelh (Carrier) inspired name Chilako. I remember my grandfather, who with my grandmother lived next to us, using the word but for a long time I never associated Chilako with the river itself.

I also remember a conversation I had with him towards the end of our time in Beaverly, sometime in the late 1990s. We were in my grandparent's cabin having a discussion about original thought. As a teenager I was wont to believe that there were things I might

---

[5] Never Alberta for reasons that will become more apparent later.

contribute to the world as I grew older, that new ideas were possible they just needed someone to think them up. My grandfather responded to this notion by saying that more likely than as not every thought I will ever have has already been thought of by someone else at some point in the breadth of human existence.

My grandfather's words have stuck with me. I can see them in the layers of Western and Indigenous place names like the Mud and the Chilako. I can see them in the perseverance of archaeological paradigms and in what I believe to be certain artificial distinctions between archaeological and Indigenous worldviews. I realize now that it is not the wholescale originality of the words and ideas that matters, it is their novelty to differing perspectives and contexts. Meaning derived from theory, however original, is relative.

This realization is at the core of this dissertation's two functions. First, to unsettle inflexible, archaeologically-centric engagement practices by deconstructing and engaging with the Conditions/context and Capitals/properties of engagement as presented in the literature and by research participants. Second, to facilitate imaginative reconstructions of engagement practice using deconstructed elements of engagement, cognisant of the wider contexts within which these practices occur. In other words, I want to provide a framework capable of tailoring how archaeology and Indigenous worldviews engage customized to the context of each new instance of engagement.

Plate 1.1: Mooseskin boat on display at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, NWT

> I've read one account where one mooseskin boat held nine people, 21 dogs and all of their gear. So that's how much these would hold. The boats were used for summer transportation but when they would go back into the mountains for the fall after fishing in the valleys for the summer they'd go up with dog packs. They wouldn't use dog teams as much but they would have dog packs and they would walk up with their dog packs when there was still no snow. While they were up there if they needed a dog team they would collect the wood to make a sled and make their harnesses and all of that while they up there. It's a similar story for groups that used birchbark canoes in summer and dog sleds in winter. That's why archaeology is so interesting. In fall time, when the lakes were freezing, you would leave your birchbark canoe there and then you would wait for the snow to come and then make your sled. All summer long your dogs had been following you, running along the shore and you harness them up and off you continue on your journey. Live off the land in concert with the change of seasons and the availability of game and that canoe is left behind for an archaeologist to discover and marvel over a hundred years later. And then the next spring when it's time to make a birchbark canoe well you leave the sled there and while you wait for the river to break-up or the lake to break-up you build your birchbark canoe and continue your travels that summer. So there's a sled for an archaeologist to find. That's how archaeology grew over all those years.
>
> (Tom Andrews, Round Table)

2 Historical Background

When talking about the history of studying the archaeological past, particularly in a colonized locale, it is often the case that one would begin with the nascent archaeologies of early scholars. Men like Diamond Jenness, Frederic Putnam, Harlan I. Smith, and William J. Wintemburg would feature prominently and the narrative would progress through the exploits of other White men until a point in recent history when suddenly it appeared as though women and Indigenous and other communities began taking an interest in the archaeological profession. With few exceptions (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009; Claassen 1994), the archetypal historical figure seeking to catalogue and preserve the past has been a White male archaeologist.[6] Yet for over 10,000 years prior to the arrival of Europeans in North America, or for time immemorial, Indigenous communities have lived among, encountered, contributed to and incorporated millennia's worth of the sites and artifacts left by their ancestors. Ongoing processes of natural transformation alone suggest the uncovering and erosion of an untold number of these sites and artifacts before the creation of archaeology, of the English language, even before Western civilization began erecting those columns along the Mediterranean. What is now characterized as "the archaeological past" in North America did not simply appear with the arrival of settlers, nor was it invented by Western intellectual developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To contain a discussion of archaeology's past to the tiniest of temporal frames, that relating to the emergence and practice of the discipline, not only artificially constrains our temporal field of vision, it precludes the possibility of equally valid worldviews considering that same material past. It also conflates the material past as being the best, or most accurate, means of understanding ancient times, implicitly devaluing other ways of knowing and thinking about that past.

In beginning to discuss the history of Indigenous engagement in archaeology, one must first appreciate perspectives that predate the very practice of archaeology. I start with a

---

[6] See the cover of Gosden 2004.

continuum of Indigenous perspectives of the past. Acknowledging that perspective contextualizes my further discussion of the general history of archaeology in Canada as it is more conventionally considered, alongside a history of cultural resource management (CRM), that very distinct, commercial, and development and State-aligned form of archaeology birthed from the long history of practice now so dominating the forms of archaeology practiced world-wide. This chapter then comes full circle, considering the rise of Indigenous activism relating to heritage and the perceived successes and failures of incorporating the Indigenous perspective into archaeology. Finally, the roles of archaeologists and Indigenous peoples pertinent to this dissertation are defined alongside a brief characterization of the heritage paradigms and epistemologies they espouse.

2.1 Indigenous Perspectives of the Past

> Multivocality, however, does not by itself undermine scientific knowledge. For archaeologists, important to this idea is that not every social group seeks knowledge of past events that perfectly maps onto Cartesian notions of time and space. Among the Western Apache of Arizona for example, individuals often use narratives of the distant past to give distraught relatives and friends moral guidance and spiritual strength (Basso 1996); stories of historic place names and the decisions of ancient ancestors are, thus, not primarily intended to relate chronologies or tribal settlement patterns. Tracing traditional narratives perfectly onto the past as it concretely transpired may be a primary goal for many academic researchers; however, it is not always so for the native peoples they study (Silko 1996:32; Smith 1999:28).
>
> Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006: 150

Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2006: 149) open their discussion on Hopi and Zuni interpretations of the past with an acknowledgement that Indigenous perspectives are “still poorly understood,” particularly in how they relate to a politically-situated “contested past.” In other words, Indigenous histories (Echo-Hawk 1997) – as much as they might be called histories – are often evaluated in the context of various politically charged settings such as protests of encroaching development, land claims, or tied to

inquires or commissions such as the recently concluded Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada. These evaluations often situate Indigenous histories within or contrary to Western understandings of the past, including those drawn from archaeological and written sources. As the above quote relates, these traditional histories are not strictly chronological or geo-political in nature, and their interpretation exclusively within a chronological or geo-political framework obfuscates the wider societal functions these interpretations maintain within specific or wider Indigenous communities.

There are numerous and varied Indigenous peoples in North America with their own histories and origin narratives. Some of these speak of floods (Carlson 2010; Simpson 2011), many of migrations (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006; Copway 1850 [2014]; Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992; Simpson 2011), and still more of recent, personal experiences of colonialism (Simpson 2011). These narratives can be distinguished as occurring in either a mythical era or in recent time (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992; Kovach 2009; Miller 2011). In both categories, oral traditions concerning the "past" provide part of the important social fabric upon which many contemporary Indigenous societies operate. Lessons are conveyed (Basso 1996; Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992; Kovach 2009), jurisprudence maintained (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992; Miller 2011), inter-community relationships defined (Martin-Hill 2008) and community continuums of hierarchy and delegated responsibility persist (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992; Ray 2011). Place names and travel-ways are sustained and replicated through the performance and remembrance of these narratives and they in turn act as mnemonic devices for those very same narratives (Aporta 2005, 2009; Basso 1996; Eades 2015; Otelaar and Otelaar 2006; Whitridge 2004). Past and present in this sense is not only "cyclical" (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992: 23) but symbiotic; past knowledge directing and affirming present action via recreating/revising the past for the present.

The relationship between Indigenous peoples and their many pasts is largely premised on a flexible continuum of oral narratives, oral history(ies) and oral traditions, and the

proclivity of definitions thereof (Miller 2011: 26-27; see also Cohen 1989; Vansina 1965). Terminology used in this dissertation centers on oral histories and narrative (specific oral presentations relating to the past and/or present), and oral traditions/storytelling (a collective of oral accounts as well as the epistemological means by which past and present knowledge in preserved and communicated; Cruikshank 1994, 2005; Miller 2011).

Miller (2011) provides an excellent and, within this research context, relevant, account of these oral narratives, histories and traditions as “transformable” and capable of existing in other media. He rejects the notion of contamination (Henige 1982; Mason 2000) which claims that oral traditions assimilating knowledge acquired from non-traditional means, including archaeology and ethnohistory, become somehow less ‘authentic’ in the process. Rather this incorporation of academic and other sources exemplifies the traditional processes of maintaining oral histories in keeping them as viable as current knowledge might allow.[7] Where conflicts between oral accounts and scientific findings arise, Miller (2011) notes an appraisal of all available information is undertaken by oral historians. In this way oral histories undergo an analysis highlighting their capacity for re-interpretation in the face of contrary evidence or reinforcement when confronted with unconvincing or incomplete criticisms.

Just as oral narratives are mutable and subjected to analysis and revising at the moment of interpretation and telling, so too does the interpretation of the archaeological record change with new information, and the use of new technologies and methodologies. This continuously revising process does not diminish the accomplishments of past practitioners. Instead it reinforces lessons learned with revised narratives capable of informing contemporary archaeological understandings. In this manner oral traditions and archaeology both undergo similar processes of critical assessment and re-interpretation as

[7] As per Miller’s characterization of oral narratives/traditions/histories as congruent with judicial evidence tests.

new knowledge arises. The historical narrative of archaeology's development in Canada certainly reflects this capacity for revision.

2.2 Archaeology in Canada

Ahronson (2011), Hamilton (2010), Killian (1983), and Trigger (1985[2002]) identify the establishment of the Geological Survey of Canada and the intellectual movement from Scotland of Daniel Wilson and the ideas of James Young Simpson in the nineteenth century as key developments in early Canadian archaeology. Some of the first government regulations also came into effect during the Victorian era including the Indian Graves Ordinances (1865 and 1867) in the Colony of British Columbia (Apland 1993; Dent 2012). The early foundation for a professional archaeology took form in Ontario with the incorporation of the Canadian Institute and the efforts of its members including Daniel Wilson, Sandford Fleming and David Boyle (Hamilton 2010: 21). It was Boyle who curated the archaeological collections at the Canadian Institute's archaeological museum and eventually at the Ontario Provincial Museum – precursor to today's Royal Ontario Museum. He also compiled the Ontario government`s annual Archaeological Report chronicling projects, collections and practice in the province in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Killian 1983). Trigger (1985[2002]: 39) even called Boyle Canada's first "professional" anthropologist. His association with early non-professional archaeologists including George Laidlaw and Andrew Hunter (Boyle 1901; Hamilton 2010; Killian 1983), also laid the foundation for avocational archaeology in Ontario for over a century. On the Prairies (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba), early Canadian geologists including Henry Youle Hind, Joseph Tyrell and George Dawson recorded archaeological observations in the course of geological surveys during the mid-nineteenth century (Dyck 2009a). By 1879, the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba and the Geological Survey of Canada's Robert Bell began the first 'systematic' excavations of Manitoba mound sites (Dyck 2009a).

By the turn of the century, archaeology and the study of material culture in Canada was becoming more ubiquitous. The Jesup Expedition involved Harlan I. Smith surveying the Thompson River in British Columbia. By 1911 he was hired by Edward Sapir as head of the Geological Survey of Canada's archaeology division based at the National Museum (Dyck 2009b). Smith in turn hired William Wintemburg and Diamond Jenness (Browman and Williams 2013: 248), constituting both southern Ontario and Arctic archaeological expertise respectively. Smith also sent William Nickerson west to survey the Prairies later to be followed by Wintemburg (Dyck 2009b).

These earliest archaeological institutions, colonial ordinances and Canada's first archaeologists parallel the European procreation of codifying, curating and institutionalizing the past. The roots of a distinctly North American archaeology are therefore relatively shallow and superimposed over a much deeper Indigenous consideration of the past. The reflexivity required in acknowledging this superposition was not acknowledged until after the proliferation of academic archaeology in North America during the 1950s and 60s, and also not until after intellectual trends in archaeology had initially embraced positivism and claims to science; these trends actively precluded an openness towards deeper or other ways of knowing the past. However, what is considered next here is the fact that the history of archaeology in Canada in the latter part of the twentieth century becomes one not just of changing intellectual trends, but significantly of changing forms of practice and of the role of archaeology in Canadian society.

2.3 The Rise of CRM in Canada

Increasingly through the second half of the twentieth century, archaeology would be tied to broader societal trends. Notably, post-World War Two Canada was an economic juggernaut. High levels of private investment and a ready pool of labour in the form of returning soldiers contributed to several decades of rapid GDP growth (Green 2000; Inwood and Stengos 1991). Rapid population growth resulting from both the post-war

baby boom and increased immigration from the disrupted economies of Europe, together with a dramatic increase in the "export value of pulp and paper, iron ore, and non-ferrous metals (nickel, copper, zinc, etc.)" (Green 2000: 234), would result in significant land-altering development. Additionally, by 1947 Alberta's oil and natural gas deposits were discovered, to be followed by rapid development of the Alberta oil patch and its associated pipelines (Green 2000). New mines for minerals, vast tracts of forest for pulp, paper and timber, new housing developments and by the 1960s, mammoth hydro-electric projects (e.g. the W.A.C. Bennett and Hugh Keenleyside Dams) together with all the associated infrastructure required for this economic growth, would put intense pressure on the perceived integrity of Canada's archaeological record.

Arms-length provincial advisory boards composed of historians, architects and archaeologists emerged as a mechanism, first to memorialize, but eventually to identify and preserve historic sites and buildings. Manitoba's Historic Sites Advisory Board formed in 1946,[8] Ontario's in 1953, and by 1960 British Columbia had formed both an Archaeological Sites Advisory Board and a Historic Sites Advisory Board (Apland 1993; Dent 2012).

In Ontario and British Columbia these advisory boards came into being as components of significant pieces of heritage legislation. Conveniently sharing the same name, the Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Acts (AHSPA) (Ontario, R.S.O. 1953 c. 4; British Columbia, R.S.B.C. 1960 c. 15) included some of the first significant legislative measures that would later be adapted to the preservation of the archaeological record in the face of encroaching development. The fundamental impact of this early legislation was that it began drawing the disciplines of archaeology and history into nascent State formulations of the role of heritage memorialization in maintaining geo-political identities (Smith 2004, 2006).

---

[8] http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites/manitobaheritagecouncil.shtml, accessed Jan. 15, 2016

The measures emerging out of these acts became focal points of critical assessments of State management practices. In Ontario, a requirement to acquire archaeological permits administered from the advisory board only on designated sites, coupled with a perception that the administration of the act was leading to a “patchwork of inconsistent practices,” (Dent 2012: 31), contributed to growing dissatisfaction within the archaeological community (Dawson et al. 1971; Noble 1977; Savage 1972). The most celebrated preservation outcomes were only achieved when individual archaeologists were able to form meaningful relationships with individual developers enabling the conducting of so-called “rescue” or salvage archaeological projects (Emerson 1959; Knechtel 1960).

British Columbia’s Archaeological Sites Advisory Board (ASAB) operated under a somewhat more substantive piece of legislation than their Ontario counterparts. The BC AHSPA established the archaeological permitting system BC still operates under today as well a “polluter pays” structure whereby development threats to the archaeological record were the financial responsibility of the developer to mitigate (Apland 1993; Dent 2012; La Salle and Hutchings 2012). This transference of the financial burden of archaeological preservation in the face of development from governments and institutions to developers would have significant repercussions for the practice of archaeology. When the BC AHSPA was reintroduced in 1972 it extended “automatic protection to sites not yet designated by the government and situated on private lands (R.S.B.C. 1972 c. 4 s. 6)” (Dent 2012: 27) meaning that all archaeological sites in the province with the exception of those on reserve or federal lands were now, at least on paper, protected.

When the 1970s began, archaeologists in both Ontario and British Columbia believed that their current means of overseeing the preservation of the archaeological record were inadequate (Apland 1993; Dawson et al. 1971; Dent 2012; Noble 1977; Savage 1972). Calls went out for provincial governments to formally incorporate archaeology into the bureaucracy in an effort to give enforcement of heritage legislation some teeth, relieve some of the growing administration duties of the advisory boards and provide some guaranteed salvage/rescue field resources (Archaeological Sites Advisory Board Minutes May 1968; Dawson et al. 1971; Dent 2012; Duff 1961; Noble 1977; Savage 1972). In

1971, British Columbia appointed Bjorn Simonsen its first Provincial Archaeologist and by 1975 Ontario had its own provincial archaeological department largely drawn from a pre-existing group attached to the Ministry of Natural Resources (Ferris 1998). At the outset both of these nascent departments were as much field inventory, research and rescue oriented as they were administrative. But within two decades the weight of responsibility within the archaeological bureaucracy would shift dramatically with the emergence of private, for-profit archaeological consultants.

In the mid-1970s the first archaeological consulting firm in Ontario was created by Dean Knight and Peter Ramsden, and a decade later over a dozen private firms were working in Ontario (Fox 1986b). By 1984, the first consultants, Arcas Associates out of BC, appear on the instances of engagement listing from the CAA Newsletter (Appendix III). As the 1980s drew to a close more and more private consultants emerged, so many that by the 1990s government archaeologists in Ontario and British Columbia had almost entirely withdrawn from fieldwork in order to address the growing volume of permit requests and project reports, as well as an increasingly exclusive commercial practice (Dent 2012; Ferris 1998, 2007).

The recent past of archaeology in the rest of Canada saw a similar emergence of commercial archaeology during the 1970s, 80s and 90s. In the east, salvage/rescue archaeology was a feature of the Atlantic provinces by the 1970s and 1980s (Gilbert 2011; Ogilvie 1985; Turnbull 1977). In Quebec, “the privatization of archaeological activities started somewhere between 1979 and 1981” (Zorzin 2015: 798). In that province, previously public archaeological bodies, such as the NPO Société d’Archéologie et de Numismatique de Montréal, were dissolving in the 1990s to make way for private CRM activities (Zorzin 2015). On the Prairies, heritage acts passed in Alberta (1973), Manitoba (1974) and Saskatchewan (1975) instigated the proliferation of two new groups of archaeologists: the “regulators” (government officials), and the private archaeological consultants (Byrne 1977; Dyck 2001).

The impact of new legislation and the overt linking of archaeological conservation with the costs of regulated development activities triggered a massive rise in archaeological

practice across the country, as is readily reflected in the accumulated numbers of fieldwork undertakings permitted or licensed per annum (Figure 2.1).

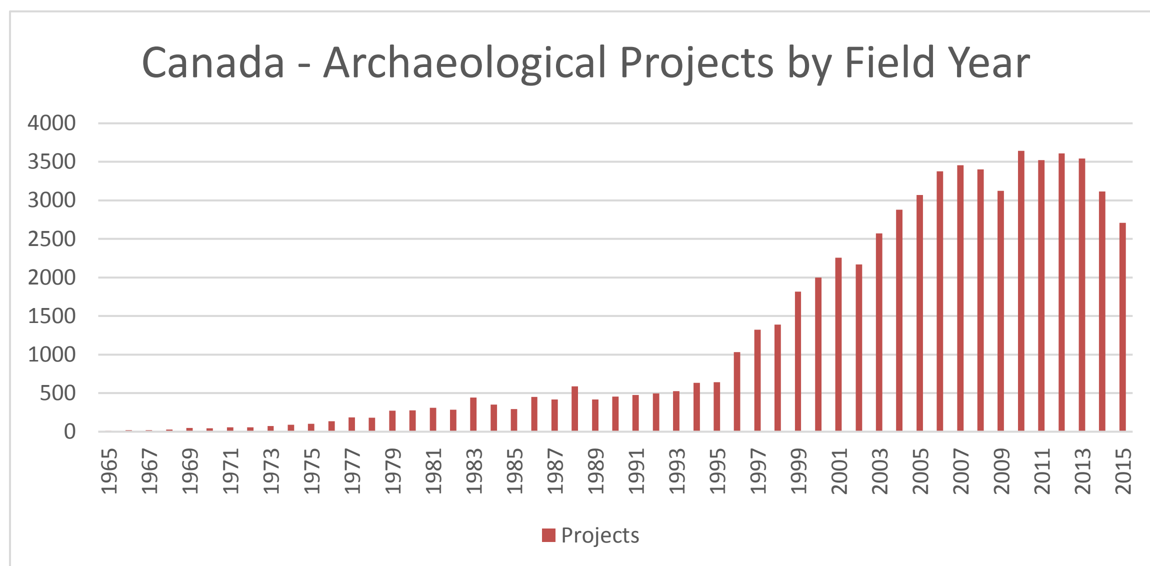


Figure 2.1: Compiled Archaeological Permits per Year in Canada (Developed from data collected by Dent and Beaudoin 2016). [9]

This explosion of for-profit archaeology, conventionally referred to as cultural resource management (e.g., Schiffer and Gumerman 1977) has been linked to the post-1980-81 American recession recovery and the resulting boom in the Canadian economy (La Salle and Hutchings 2012). Zorzin (2015: 798) also points out that the rise in commercial archaeology coincided "with the first wave of Canada's conversion of its economy to 'free enterprise' policies, which buried Keynesianism for good (Ernst 1992: 126–127)."

A perfect storm of increased government oversight (the relatively new archaeo-bureaucracies), strong legislative protections, and high resource demand meant many

---

[9] Note: variable reporting and available data across jurisdictions make this chart incomplete.

developers were looking for ways to address archeological resources in an efficient and, under the polluter pays model, cost-efficient way. With not nearly enough government archaeologists to meet field demand CRM firms thrived, contributing to a feedback loop wherein the more work CRM firms did the more review government archaeologists had back at the office leading to less field time, leading to more private CRM work.

Government archaeologists were also actively engaged in successfully advocating for broader application of archaeological conservation measures incorporated into resource and development legislation and approval processes (Dent 2012; Ferris 1998, 2003, 2007). For example, new provisions in the Ontario Planning Act (municipality-focused) and British Columbia forestry practices (Mason 2013) contributed to expansions of CRM practice in those areas. In the end, government archaeologists in British Columbia and Ontario had little to no field exposure over the course of a season. Eventually new archaeologists had to be hired by governments as even the capacity to approve projects and review reports suffered under the increased volume (Dent 2012).

In some parts of the country the expansion of CRM has had a less dramatic, but still substantive, effect on the fieldwork of government archaeologists. In Saskatchewan and in the relatively new office on Prince Edward Island (CAA Newsletter 2012) it is still not uncommon for government archaeologists to undertake a few select projects each year. In the Yukon and the Northwest Territories government archaeologists regularly conduct significant projects. However, the general trend is that across the country, private, for-profit archaeological firms thrive where and when demand for CRM has been created and tied to regulated development activities. The consequences of this private practice are debated elsewhere (Ferris 2007; Hutchings and La Salle 2015; La Salle and Hutchings 2012; Noble 1982; Zorzin 2015) but the diversity of contemporary heritage management practices across Canadian jurisdictions is worthy of consideration.

Notably absent in the preceding discussion has been a consideration of trends at the federal level, which significantly sets the Canadian history of CRM apart from the United States. In part, this reflects the fact that archaeological remains (including human remains) legislatively fall to the provinces and territories to manage as land based

resources (Ferris 2003). However, despite the precedent of all these provincial and territorial governance structures in Canada, there remains no comprehensive federal legislation addressing archaeology. Federal lands and projects currently adhere to a hodgepodge of policy and department guidelines, and even the principle of landowner rights of title (Bell 1992a, 1992b), with respect to archaeological resources. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Parks Canada and the Canadian Museum of History all have roles addressing these resources specific to their mandates. The Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (S.C. 2012, c. 19, s. 52) remains the only federal legislation with any application to archaeological practice requiring "environmental effects" such as "cultural heritage" to be "taken into account" (S.C. 2012, c. 19, s. 52, Section 5) by projects subjected to that Act. The lack of an explicit archaeological presence in previous versions of this legislation and at the federal level in general was most pronounced during the 1994 exchange in the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* triggered by David Burley's article "Never Ending Story: Historical Developments in Canadian Archaeology and the Quest for Federal Heritage Legislation."

The article is a fascinating moment in time chronicle of federal archaeological oversight and practice beginning with the Geological Survey of Canada and ending with the failed attempt by Canada to adopt an explicit federal archaeological statute in the early 1990s. Burley's review initiated a publicized discussion about the past, present and future roles of not only federal heritage governance but provincial and Indigenous governance as well. Eleven individuals provided solicited commentaries, ranging from qualified critiques of Burley's article (Dyck 1994; Herst 1994; Kelley 1994; Latta 1994), to qualified praise (Arnold 1994; Byrne 1994; Janes 1994; Snow 1994; Thomson 1994). Many also offered forecasts about the future (Arnold 1994; Byrne 1994; Carlson 1994; Janes 1994; Snow 1994; Trigger 1994). When postulating on the future of archaeological governance, Trigger, Byrne, Arnold, Snow, Janes and Carlson echoed aspects of Burley's argument about the need to develop an expanded role for Indigenous peoples in future heritage oversight and management schema for Canada. It is perhaps a telling insight into the struggles to make that so and to balance archaeologists' and Indigenous peoples' interests in the archaeological record in Canada that Burley's 1994 article remains, over

twenty years later, an accurate reflection of the current status of Federal governance when it comes to archaeology.

The issues Burley flagged in the 1990s with respect to archaeology at the Federal level have come to significantly shape archaeological practice at the provincial level. The different ways Indigenous communities currently participate in heritage management processes emphasize changing roles of archaeologists and Indigenous peoples with respect to archaeology.

2.4 Indigenous Activism and Cultural Resource Management

The collaborative underpinnings and multivocality implicit in much of contemporary participation of Indigenous people in archaeology did not suddenly begin in the 1990s with the emergence of Indigenous Archaeology and other community-based archaeologies as currently conceived of in the United States and Canada (Atalay 2006, 2012; Bruchac et al. 2010; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Nicholas 2010a; Silliman 2008; Swindler et al. 1997; Wobst 2005). In fact, various forms of collaboration and multivocality had long been present in some strands of archaeological discourse and practice. And while the nuances involved in this early period are deserving of more attention than can be provided here, important to recognize for the purposes of this dissertation is that there were significant multivocal processes at play before scholars and critics, such as Vine Deloria's (1969) critique of anthropology, facilitated a more overt reflexivity over what archaeology was, who owned that past, and who could speak to/for that past. These challenge perceptions that civil rights, social justice and Indigenous involvement in archaeology are relatively recent phenomena.

During the mid-to-late twentieth century Indigenous transnational institutions were emerging as a significant force in the colonial frame of Canadian and American politics

(Niezen 2003). In Canada, the National Indian Brotherhood formed and eventually morphed into the Assembly of First Nations during this period. In the United States, Indigenous organizations, most notably the American Indian Movement (AIM), were engaged in highly publicized disruptive protests (Alcatraz 1969, Bureau of Indian Affairs 1972) against U.S. "Indian policy" and perceived State violations of Native American/U.S. treaties. These AIM protests culminated in the violent and controversial 1973 occupation and stand-off at Wounded Knee in South Dakota (D'Arcus 2003; Marshall 1996). This form of disruptive activism would reverberate across North American Indigenous communities as a viable means of drawing attention to Indigenous issues and drawing concessions from transgressors on traditional territories.

Archaeology provided an ideal, sympathetic environment for these protests, particularly when they involved the exhumation or examination of human remains, as was the case during the AIM occupation of Colorado State University's physical anthropology lab in 1971 (McGuire 2008: 78). The presence of Indigenous human remains in institutions and on archaeological sites became a perennial source of conflict between archaeologists, developers, Indigenous peoples, and curators (see Ferris 2003 for an account of this period). American attempts to redress these early confrontations between Indigenous activists and archaeologists would eventually lead to legislative resolution in the form of the *Native American Graves and Repatriation Act* (NAGPRA) in 1990. The discourse facilitated by the development of this legislation both accelerated a reflexivity in archaeology with respect to other interests in the archaeological record, and gave rise to various forms of accommodation and collaboration by archaeologists with Indigenous communities and people, including the emergence of a distinct Indigenous Archaeology form of research and practice (e.g., Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009; McGuire 2008; Watkins 2000).

Canada was not exempt from these trends. The Tabor Hill Ossuaries (Churcher and Kenyon 1960; Fox 1986a), the Grimsby Site (Kenyon 1978; Fox 1986a), the Beckstead Site (Fox 1986a) and the Lucier Site (Fox 1986a) were several early Ontario spaces of contestation involving human remains with both positive and negative outcomes (see also

Warrick 2012). The Fort Qu'Appelle controversy in Saskatchewan saw First Nations and archaeologists facing off against government and developers over the discovery of a "Post-contact burial ground" (Dyck 2001; Spurling and Walker 1987). Institutional (museum and State) collections of human remains and other artifacts, and the absence of Indigenous voices in their care, management and decision making were also the subject of criticism and activism (Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museum Association 1994; Dyck 2001; Hanna 2003). This critique reached its peak during the 1988 'The Spirit Sings" exhibition of Indigenous artifacts at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary as part of the city's Olympic celebrations (Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museum Association 1994; Harrison and Trigger 1988). The Lubicon Lake First Nation's boycott of the exhibition triggered a "series of national discussions" pertaining to the relationship between First Nations and museums (Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museum Association 1994: 1). While these and other controversies facilitated heightened reflexivity in archaeology and engagement with First Nations, the absence of a centralized Federal role in archaeological governance in Canada has prevented the creation of a Canadian version of NAGPRA, and maintained varied heritage management processes adopted across provincial and territorial jurisdictions.

Concurrent to but independent from the rise of Indigenous activisms, the development of cultural resource management (CRM) in North America (Patterson 1999) explicitly located archaeological fieldwork and analysis within the regulatory and interventionist environment of State land use planning. Leaving aside the broader characterization of anthropology as a "handmaiden of colonialism" (Asad 1973), archaeology's role in CRM conspicuously aligned the discipline with State mechanisms designed to maintain what Smith (2006: 29) refers to as an *authorized heritage discourse*:

> The authorized heritage discourse (AHD) focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common [State-defined] identity based on the past.

Despite the potential for dominance by nationalist narratives of state formation and imperialist propaganda, the alignment between archaeology and the State has also proved to be fertile ground for Indigenous intervention.

The subversion of State controls of Indigenous communities by those same communities is a recurring theme in the late twentieth century Canadian context of Indigeneity and, especially, assertions of some form of sovereignty. The judiciary (Asch 2014; Bell and Paterson 2009; Niezen 2009), international institutions (Niezen 2003) and State-directed education policy (Niezen 2003; 2008) have all been and continue to be subjected to efforts by Indigenous communities to resist contemporary colonialism, paternalism and attempts at assimilation. Given these wider trends, the authorized construct of CRM by the State, and the role of archaeologists in this process, should not be discounted as capable of (perhaps even already) advancing Indigenous activisms. This is not because CRM-practitioners necessarily espouse the tenets of reflexivity inherent to paradigms like Indigenous Archaeology (see 2.5.2) but because the interaction of diverse values that play out over the archaeological heritage, or axes of praxis (Dent and Ferris 2012) – developer, government, archaeologist and community – provides a space of contestation whereby Indigenous participation is affirmed by direct or general association with the subject past. One has only to consider some of the most recent examples of localized Indigenous activism – Ipperwash (DeVries 2014; Hedican 2013; Linden 2007), Caledonia (Blatchford 2010; DeVries 2011; Keefer 2010), Marpole (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News 2012; Dent 2015; Sparrow et al. 2016) and Grace Islet (Benson 2014; Dent 2015) – to recognize the potential of CRM activity to manifest viable public protest (see also Ferris and Welch 2014, 2015). The consequences of such protests combined with legal decisions relating to the duty to consult and accommodate are slowly finding their way into provincial government policies requiring engagement with Indigenous communities in the conducting of archaeological CRM fieldwork (Dent 2012; Newman 2009; Ontario 2010; see also Chapter 3). Indigenous Archaeology, as a defined academic sub-discipline (see Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Nicholas 2010b), arguably then played little role in the establishment of CRM engagement practices. Instead pre-existing conceptualizations of Indigenous involvement in archaeology held by those in

bureaucratic positions of influence (Dent 2012; Fox 1986a; 1989) combined with Indigenous activism on sites such as Grimbsy and Caledonia, culminating in the formulation of community consultation policies in Canada.

2.5 The Contemporary Engagement Setting

2.5.1 The People

With CRM now representing 80-90% of the archaeological community and form of practice in Canada (La Salle and Hutchings 2012; Ferris 2007; Ontario 2016), this dissertation will focus largely on this overwhelming area of contemporary archaeological practice. Several archaeologist and Indigenous roles operate within this sphere of archaeological practice including archaeological consultants, supporting field and office staff, government reviewers or archaeobureaucrats (Dent 2012), Indigenous field monitors/participants, and Indigenous government officials. Each of these roles are occupied by individuals operating within a matrix of personal experiences, accreditations, identities and relationships which help shape their day-to-day responsibilities and expectations with respect to commercial archaeological practice as it has emerged in Canada. Important to recognize here is that not all these roles are exclusive (e.g., there are Indigenous archaeologists just as there are non-Indigenous people working as Indigenous community representatives).

Commercial/consulting archaeologists are the individuals marketing their own or a wider corporate expertise and ability that will allow their clients, such as land developers, to mitigate potential impacts of their development on the archaeological record as defined and protected by the regulatory heritage management regimes at the provincial and territorial levels. They are dependent on client-derived contracts and operate in a range of companies employing dozens or hundreds of individuals, to smaller shops consisting of only one or two practitioners.

Archaeological consultants are generally university trained (Altschul and Patterson 2010; Ferris 1998; Zorzin 2010) with various levels of education and experience corresponding with various levels of government-based accreditation for undertaking consulting activities. A Bachelor of Arts degree, for example, is enough for a field director or crew supervisor, but a Master's degree is generally required to actually hold a permit or manage the totality of a commercial archaeological project. Government-defined parameters related to amounts of field, lab and report writing experience are also necessary criteria that any individual's qualifications are measured against. As a result of their university education, and operating under varying degrees of government-enforced standardization of archaeological practice, these consulting archaeologists operate within a structured *habitus* of archaeological conventions (see Ferris 2007; Ferris and Welch 2014). John Thompson (in the Editor's Introduction to Bourdieu 1984 [2003]: 12) describes Bourdieu's concept of habitus as:

> A set of *dispositions* [emphasis in original] which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'.

Acquired through "training and learning," these dispositions "reflect the social conditions" where this training and learning occurred. Consulting/commercial archaeologists therefore retain the broader archaeological conventions they encounter during their university education and gradually develop specific consulting archaeological dispositions that reflect their particular understandings of how the archaeological world works in the course of their training and experiences as commercial archaeologists. Examples of these dispositions could include a perception of the inherent "good" of archaeology, the sanctity of the *in situ* (undisturbed) archaeological record (sites and artifacts), and an intellectual value, even superiority, inherent to archaeological interpretations of the past. Government archaeologists operate within a similar general academic archaeological habitus augmented by the particular government dispositions internalized in their role as reviewers and regulators.

Both government and commercial archaeologists also negotiate their roles as imposed by a sometimes polemic archaeological and professional set of conventions with the fact that these roles also constitute their livelihood, a vested interest that sustains their life beyond those roles (i.e., family, hobbies, basic needs, etc.).

Subject to their own socially and professionally-derived dispositions, Indigenous monitors/participants and Indigenous government officials act as liaisons between the commercial actors of CRM (land developer and commercial archaeologist), descendant colonial State authority embodied in provincial archaeological regulators, and the Indigenous communities these monitors represent. The monitor/participant role is generally filled by an Indigenous community member, sometimes an Elder or youth (see Stiegelbauer 1996), with varying amounts of previous archaeology or CRM-specific experience, in order to represent their community's interests and/or presence during fieldwork and the decision making that occurs at the field level. Indigenous government officials are the coordinators and managers overseeing the deployment of monitors/participants, as well as filling various other review, approval, or consultative roles. Additional responsibilities may include coordinating traditional knowledge input into and output from the CRM process and, where implemented, sustaining community-based heritage management regimes. These community practices are not exempt from their own polemic discourses, particularly when traditional Indigenous governments (pre-colonial - non-Indian Act), and elected Indigenous governments (colonial - Indian Act) find they are at odds with one another.[10]

---

[10] For example, the current state of the Six Nations of the Grand River/Haudenosaunee Confederacy exemplifies this potential tension as both elected and traditional governments maintain separate archaeological offices and monitoring personnel (Six Nations: Land Use Unit; Haudenosaunee Confederacy: Haudenosaunee Development Institute).

2.5.2 The Pathways, Paradigms and Epistemologies

For the purpose of this dissertation, it is important to understand the various conceptions of what is meant by doing 'archaeology' and coming to know that past; the doxa and the paradigmatic dispositions operating in background. This is an important exercise because at the intersection that is engagement, conventional archaeological ways of knowing can be presented as fixed and truth-bearing, as doxa. But conceptions of archaeology are more fluid, complimentary and contradictory, and divergent than that conventional posturing otherwise implies, regardless of how much archaeologists might assert to people beyond archaeology. It is, rather, a diversity of ways of knowing that intersect with a range of other ways of knowing at the point of engagement, moments which themselves also represent theoretically framed understandings of the past. As such, it is critical to the subsequent analyses of archaeology within engagement to get beneath those archaeologists' certainties, and understand the variable basis for knowledge making in archaeology and of the past.

2.5.2.1 Archaeological Paradigms

Conventional understanding of archaeological paradigms replicates archaeology's pattern of establishing linear, progressive representations of the past (O'Brien et al. 2005; see also VanPool and VanPool 2003): Culture History is followed by Processualism and then Post-Processualism. Rather than successive, these paradigms should be understood as operating in parallel in contemporary archaeology, each colouring the dispositions of individual archaeologists to varying degrees. Trigger's (1998; see also 2006) epistemological approach constitutes this more nuanced representation of archaeological paradigms as constructed within broader epistemologies of idealist, positivist, and realist discourses (Ayers 1936[1952], 1959; Creaven 2000; Ewing 1961; Goff 2013; Perry 1912; Putnam 2016; Singer 2005; Von Mises 1968; Wallace 2011). It is within Trigger's problematized approach to archaeological epistemology and the concept of an eclectic pragmatism (e.g., Preucel and Mrozowski 2010; Trigger 1991; Wylie 1989, 1993) that I represent the role of archaeological paradigms in contemporary CRM.

If archaeological paradigms could be characterized in linguistic terms, then Culture History represents the base language from which the various dialects/doxas of archaeology (CRM, academic and government) have emerged. It is the idealist vehicle through which interpretations in one dialect can be translated to another. What Culture History ostensibly suggests is that material culture and lived culture were and are parallel (Johnson 2010: 18):

> we translate present into past by collecting artefacts into groups, and naming those groups as archaeological cultures. We then make the equation between an archaeological culture and a human culture by making the assumption that artefacts are expressions of cultural ideas or norms.

In CRM, the predilection for using cultural historical classifications speaks to a strong conception of archaeology created through this kind of previous idealist precedent in Culture History. Created over decades of practice, cultural historical taxonomies are based on shared physical characteristics that withstand the critiques of generations of archaeologists and remain accepted regional and temporal paradigms; bounded means of delineating past peoples and cultures. As contemporary depositories are realizing in the assessment of legacy collections, archaeology's history is littered with discarded taxa-lexicology (Sustainable Archaeology 2011). Current cultural historical analysis could be better expressed as an idealist formulation of collective will and experience than as a positivist consolidation of patterns. In other words the maintenance of diagnostic classes of artifacts and the spectrums of physical properties within these capable of delineating cultural historical periods reflect degrees of archaeological consensus.

In pursuing a more explanatory interpretation of the past, critics of Culture History turned away from perceived subjective methodologies towards the methodologies of the natural sciences and a "New Archaeology" (Johnson 2010; O'Brien et al. 2005; Trigger 2006). The Processualist paradigm is firmly grounded in the positivist epistemology. Not only do adherents feel this interpretive approach can allow for studies that examine and catalogue the material culture of the past, but can also find patterns within and between

archaeological sites and artifacts and between different temporal, regional and cultural populations (Paynter 2005: 399):

> This orientation was formalized with the New Archaeology and its emphasis on hypothesis testing, formal modeling, and the statistical problems of sampling.

The net effect of establishing these patterns was the presumption of laws and theories that could be tested against the study of the past in order to reveal underlying and common cultural systems reflective of a time or group's cultural evolutionary development.

To CRM, Processualism (Smith 2004: 41):

> provided its rigorous methodological underpinnings (Redman 1991: 298; Hodder 1993; Murray 1993). The CRM approach took positivism as its starting point (Bintliff 1988; Byrne 1991, 1993; Carman 1993; Smith 1993), and accordingly processual theory provided CRM with the scientific principles and values to assess which aspects of the database to conserve and preserve and which to allow to be destroyed. Finally, it also provided CRM with intellectual authority through its association with archaeological 'science'.

Processualism in CRM is a methodological veneer overlaying a cultural historical idealism. For example, CRM relies heavily on predictive modelling (prediction of site location), a methodology formulated in the Processualist paradigm (Verhagen and Whitley 2011). The widespread use of archaeological potential modeling in CRM facilitates the focusing of field survey to areas of 'high potential.' These areas are determined through positivist hypotheses regarding the extent to which environmental variables including degree of slope, distance to water source, location of previously documented sites, and elevation act as predicators of where archaeological sites can be found. But in this way predictive modelling in CRM no longer espouses Processualist hypothesis testing and calibration, instead becoming an idealized, static tool justifying the need for CRM in development contexts, and imitating scientific authority.

Just as Processualism emerged from critiques of Culture History, so too did Post-Processualism emerge from critiques of Processualism. The emergence of Post-Processualism in the latter twentieth century, however, was less the programmatic critique New Archaeology began as, and more a range of diverse and not necessarily well aligned approaches to archaeology. These approaches shared a common objection to empirical and positivist approaches to archaeology, and the variable embracing of subjectivities and contextual variability in archaeological meaning-making (idealist/realist). Essentially, Post-Processualism is a largely postmodern inspired opening up of archaeological discourse to a variety of perspectives. Not only was there a significant and often hostile schism between proponents of Processualism and Post-Processualism over empiricism and the meaning of science in archaeology, but Post-Processualism also gave rise to a variety of what might be termed subaltern approaches, such as Marxist, feminist/gender, and Indigenous archaeologies (e.g., Johnson 2010). New methodologies including phenomenology and narrative-framed analysis represented emerging subjective, empathetic and qualitative means of accessing and explaining the past.

Post-Processualism, as a suite of miniature paradigms, possibly by virtue of its inclusion of subaltern perspectives, became a home for activists and social justice proponents within the academy. Drawing from decolonizing and activist scholarship (Alfred 1999, 2005; Deloria 1969; Smith 1999[2012]), postmodernist questioning of conventional archaeological authority may have fostered the beginning of a reconciliation between Indigenous and archaeological perspectives in the form of Indigenous Archaeology (Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Swindler et al. 1997).

In CRM, Post-Processualism might be perceived as only recently manifesting in the dispositions of practitioners. One reason for this delay could be attributed to the lag time between when Post-Processualism doxa began filtering through academia and when the first students composed of that doxa were positioned high enough within CRM to begin affecting practice. For the purposes of this dissertation Post-Processualism's partial relinquishing of the intellectual authority of archaeology manifests in CRM as the

engagement process itself and the varying degrees to which engagement is undertaken. However, as described in Chapter 2.4, engagement in CRM and Canadian archaeology predates the postmodern turn and Post-Processualism. With that in mind, Post-Processualism, as an academically-infused doxa, and historic engagement, as a practically realized exercise, should not be conflated, but instead appreciated for the multiplicity they represent. It is this multiplicity that informs the dispositions of archaeologists involved in contemporary CRM engagement.

This breadth of theory, as applicable and relevant to Indigenous engagement in archaeology, demonstrates the capacity of archaeological discourses to sustain multiple theoretical frameworks capable of existing in concert, cooperative or polemic, with one another. These multiple narratives within archaeology's intellectual heritage provide a richer understanding of not only of the discipline's past but also of the logics and realities of contemporary archaeology (Ferris et al. 2014; Preucel and Mrozowski 2010; Wylie 2002).

2.5.2.2 Indigenous Paradigms

It is difficult to characterize Indigenous participation in archaeology as a new phenomenon. The sections above introduced the history of Indigenous involvement in Canadian archaeology, arguing that for millennia the material past (what would become archaeology's 'record') was also subjected to those Indigenous communities' own experiences, traditions and understandings, long before the invention of archaeology.

Long before Latour (1987) formalized actor-network theory, the role of non-human actors in complex webs of relationships was already widely accepted in Indigenous North America. These non-human actors are the places, narratives and other organisms that occupy positions within multiple Indigenous worldviews from and through which power and knowledge flow. This contrasts sharply with conventional Western perspectives on the primacy of human agency:

> The Western world-view sees the essential and primary interactions as being those between human beings. To the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en, human beings

> are part of an interacting continuum which includes animals and spirits. Animals and fish are viewed as members of societies which have intelligence and power, and can influence the course of events in terms of their interrelationship with human beings. In Western society causality is viewed as direct and linear. That is to say, that an event has the ability to cause or produce another event as time moves forward. To the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en, time is not linear but cyclical. The events of the "past" are not simply history, but something that directly effects the present and the future.
>
> Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992: 23

Contemporary heritage studies often conform to the latter part of this statement as presented to the Supreme Court of British Columbia that heritage is not simply a relic but fundamental to how the present is created, negotiated, and lived – a social process (Smith 2006). The expressions of that heritage on the landscape interact with past and contemporary experiences of that landscape in ways that resemble the Western institutional continuum of the written word:

> Although many of them (my grandfather included) could barely read and write, they were more learned than the [written] records that the Abenaki called *akwikhigan* ("talking leaves"). These Native folks and their neighbors carried deep bodies of knowledge that walked with them as they moved around familiar landscapes. The non-Indian academics who wrote things down, who dug artifacts out of the ground, only capture disconnected pieces of the Indigenous past.
>
> Bruchac 2010: 70

> I believe we need intellectuals who can think within the conceptual meanings of the language, who are intrinsically connected to place and territory, who exist in the world as an embodiment of our ancient stories and traditions, and that illuminate mino bimaadiziwin [the good life] in all aspects of their lives.
>
> Simpson 2011: 31

Lewis (2010: 178-179) talks about the Mi'kmaq concept of *Mi'makik Teloltipnik L'nuk* ("How the People live in Mi'kmakik") and the continuums of people, land use and

knowledge situated in "thousands of years of history and existence on the land, in this place called Mi'kmakik" (179).

The particulars likely vary from community to community, but what Eades (2015) calls "place-memes" are a reoccurring facet across Indigenous worldviews as they pertain to engagement described in this dissertation:

> the idea of the place-meme occupies an intellectual terrain where cognitive science, geographical theories of place, and anthropological theories of knowledge transmission overlap… From a cognitive science perspective, the place-meme aligns with new theories of extended mind, non-dualistic and anti-Cartesian perspectives on how brains, bodies, and the world together constitute ever-evolving senses of mind.
>
> Eades 2015: 24-25

My own conception of *presence* as occasionally referred to in this dissertation is borne out of a similar framework, albeit one that emphasizes the actors in any given place, and a conception of the place itself as one of those actors. Essentially that humans and non-humans alike occupy instances of engagement in variant ways as constructed by the accumulation and validation of the cultural and social capitals or values those actors bring together at that moment of engagement. In other words, presence in any given situation is a product of present placement in and past movement through various social/natural networks.

2.5.3 Other Forces and Contemporary Summary

Contemporary archaeology reflects a much wider diversity of worldviews than just idealist principles, or a singular embracing of Indigenous, Descendant group and subaltern worldviews as framing practice. Archaeological practice and epistemology are messy, non-homogenous, fluid entities (McGuire 2007). As a discipline, archaeology appears proficient at preserving both the material past and its own discourse heritage. In

other words, many of the practices, values and motivations of "previous" archaeological paradigms are, to varying degrees, still operational in archaeology today. The continued prevalence of these past paradigms varies across individuals, institutions and areas of practice (CRM, academia, governance, etc.). These are not "past paradigms" at all but vibrant continuums of thought and practice.

The process of engagement in CRM represents the intersection of diverse sets of dispositions, arising from particular formations of Indigenous people, developers, government processes and archaeologists brought together through the vagaries of a particular development undertaking and the archaeological record encountered as a result of that project. The reasons for, manifestations and consequences of this often contested intersection between sets of conventions and values constitutes much of the subject matter of this dissertation.

3 The Many Ways of Regulating Indigenous Engagement in Archaeology

3.1 The Lay of the Engagement Landscape

Obviously, the relationships between the Canadian State, its provinces and territories, and Indigenous peoples are premised in much larger sets of circumstances than those present in historical and epistemological narratives of archaeology alone. Before exploring the jurisdictional diversity of Canadian archaeology I must first acknowledge broader narratives of consequence to all provincial and territorial jurisdictions that have emerged between Canada and the Indigenous peoples of northern North America. These broader narratives consolidate around sovereign states, rule of law, and the interpretation of treaty and constitutional rights held by First Nations,[11] understood to arise from the very colonial process of Canada's nation building. These narratives have given rise to Supreme Court of Canada interpretations of Crown fiduciary responsibilities to First Nations, including a "duty to consult" on governance decisions affecting "Aboriginal rights." This process has had tremendous consequences to why engagement in archaeology has emerged as a force of governance intent for archaeology in the twenty-first century.

3.1.1 In the beginning-ish…

The genesis of Indigenous/Canadian relations predates the very formation of the Canadian State. The British Crown began entering into treaties with Indigenous governments as early as 1701.[12] These treaties would come to represent the bedrock upon

---

[11] Also Inuit and Métis peoples.

[12] http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100032291/1100100032292, accessed June 23, 2016.

which future relationships between successive British colonial and, after 1867, Canadian governments would be situated, consciously or otherwise, with the Indigenous peoples and nations of northern North America. This history of treaty development is already well covered (Asch 1984, 1998, 2014; Blair 2008; Harris 2002; Johnson 2007; McLeod 2007; Miller 2009; Snow 2005; Treaty Seven Elders and Tribal Council et al. 1996; Wicken 2002). In effect, treaties often defined the terms through which Indigenous peoples would retain a cohesive identity, arguably synonymous with cultural and environmental integrity, while literally coming to terms with a burgeoning settler society (Asch 2014). Also of specific consequence to the contemporary setting is that where historic treaties were not negotiated, or perhaps more appropriately, who they were not negotiated with, constitutional understandings of the law implicit in earlier nation-to-nation treaty negotiations still apply and thus still govern the actions of the State.

This long history, as well as the implementation of the Indian Act, reserve system, residential schools, community and individual dislocation, and imposition of elected band councils have all shaped much of the dialogue involving Indigenous communities in the present day. But for present purposes I will focus more on the developments of immediate consequence to contemporary notions of consultation and engagement, which begins with Federal actions in the 1960s.

Started in the early 1960s, *A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada*, also known as the Hawthorn Report (Hawthorn 1967), was an attempt by government to understand the parameters of an issue that had not yet fully come to the fore:

> In 1963 “the Indian problem” was just beginning to take shape in Canadian society. A greater awareness among the public of the mere existence of First Nations peoples, a hitherto unknown minority, was a significant change. First Nations were beginning to express their disenchantment with government administration and their marginal position in society, but the Indian movement had yet to establish a national focus and an organizational base (Cardinal 1977: 182)
>
> Weaver 1993:76

According to Weaver (1993), the Hawthorn Report resulted from a frustration felt by senior officials within the Indian Branch[13] with respect to a lack of information detailing the effects their programs were having on Indigenous communities. This information deficit (Weaver 1993: 77) led to the report's commission in 1963. Involving dozens of social scientists, mostly anthropologists, the Hawthorn Report ultimately espoused a special charter of rights for Indigenous peoples, what became known as a "citizens plus" status (Weaver 1993: 78-79). It also underscored that the solution to these problems did not lie in any sort of enforced integration or assimilation (Hedican 2008; Weaver 1993):

> The prime assumption of the Report has been that it is imperative that Indians be enabled to make meaningful choices between desirable alternatives; that this should not happen at some time in the future as wisdom grows or as the situation improves, but operate now and continue with increasing range.
>
> Hawthorn 1967: 5

By the time of its release in 1967, the Hawthorn Report had already influenced Federal action, and notably the need to:

> revise the Indian Act… *within* [emphasis in original] the traditional policy framework of retaining special rights for First Nations; honouring the treaties, retaining the reserves, and establishing an Indian Claims Commission.
>
> Weaver 1993: 82

All of this was to change, however, with the rise of the Pierre Trudeau government in 1968, and the 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy.

The political logics behind the White Paper are complex (see Weaver 1993). Essentially, while the Hawthorn Report advocated for a continued, if calibrated, maintenance of the special rights of Indigenous peoples, the new Trudeau government questioned the need

---

[13] An early version of what is now Indigenous and Northern Affairs.

for any special Indigenous administration or status. Investigations into the legal and political consequences of removing the "citizens plus" status (abolishing the Indian Act, ending reserves, etc.) of Indigenous peoples led to the White Paper (Hedican 2008; Weaver 1993).

The potential impact of this policy shift was immediately recognized by Indigenous peoples, who accused the government of attempting "a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation" (Cardinal 1969:1, as quoted in Hedican 2008: 152). Although the White Paper's prescriptions never came to pass, the policy document together with the Hawthorn Report before it represents the opening framing for a series of events that reverberate in contemporary relations between the Canadian government and First Nations. [14] These reflexive explorations questioned the constitution and logic of a post-colonial Canada. And within a decade the ramifications of this thinking would be manifested in a constitution of a different kind.

3.1.2 The Constitution and the Court

Until the 1980s Canada, as a nation-state, was not the product of a Canadian document or piece of legislation; there was no exclusively Canadian version of the United States Constitution. When the country confederated in 1867, it was a conglomerate of geographically diverse former British colonies administratively unified by that colonial governance. Confederation of these colonies formally occurred as an act of the British Government in a piece of legislation known as the British North America Act (BNA Act). The BNA Act was, for all intents and purposes, Canada's constitution for over one hundred years. In 1982, as a last legacy of the Trudeau government, Canada succeeded in patriating a strictly Canadian constitution as an act of Parliament: the Constitution Act.

---

[14] Interestingly enough, the Hawthorn Report in particular also points to an early role anthropology would play in the formulation of federal Canadian policy.

Included in that act, largely as a result of Indigenous activism directed at its inclusion (Hanson n.d.), [15] was a section referencing Indigenous rights:

> **35.** (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.
>
> (2) In this Act, "aboriginal peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit, and Metis peoples of Canada.
>
> (3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "treaty rights" includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.
>
> (4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.
>
> Canada Constitution Act, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982* (UK) c.11

The merits of the section's inclusion in the Constitution have been debated elsewhere (e.g., Borrows 2003; Maracle 2003), but the consequences of this section have had undeniably far-reaching legal implications.

As early as 1973, the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) began a process of defining Indigenous rights and title both relative to and independent from the Canadian State. *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia* 1973 was the first SCC decision that recognized the pre-existence of "Aboriginal title" prior to colonization. [16] Inasmuch as this recognition was consequential, it mattered little to the Nisga'a plaintiff delegation as half of the court concluded that title, with reference to the Nisga'a, had already been extinguished (see Foster et al. 2007). Ultimately *Calder* was dismissed on a legal technicality, but the conclusion of the judges with respect to "Aboriginal title" and the

---

[15] http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/constitution-act-1982-section-35.html, accessed June 23, 2016.

[16] Note: Aboriginal title and Aboriginal rights are legal terms and are used here in quotations to reflect this.

nature of its extinguishment became cornerstones of Canadian jurisprudence. *Calder* pre-dated the 1982 Constitution Act and arguably contributed to the eventual content of s.35.[17]

Supreme Court of Canada decisions pertaining to Indigenous rights and title following the creation of s.35 would shape legal definitions of those rights and title that have, in turn, shaped relations between the State and Indigenous peoples today. *R. v. Guerin* 1984 established that the Canadian government had a fiduciary obligation to Indigenous peoples; that the Federal government was required to act in the best interests of Indigenous peoples when acting on their behalf (Salomons and Hanson n.d.;[18] Kulchyski 1994). *R. v. Sparrow* 1990 defined a process (legal test) whereby government actions could be judged to have infringed, justifiably or not, on “Aboriginal rights,” as recognized in s. 35 of the Constitution (Newman 2009). *R. v. Van der Peet* 1996 determined that while “Aboriginal rights” under s.35 included the catching of fish for sustenance per *Sparrow* (para. 72), it did not include the sale of said fish which, in this instance, was judged to fall outside of traditional practices (para. 93).

By 2004, the SCC had produced a number of decisions defining what constituted the Crown’s obligation towards “Aboriginal rights and title.” The most important SCC decision up to that time is known as the Delgamuukw decision, arising from *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* 1997 (Culhane 1998). This decision, which overturned a lower British Columbia Supreme Court ruling that had significantly constrained evidentiary support for establishing rights and title, affirmed “Aboriginal rights and title” as inalienable and the duty of the Crown to protect. Most significantly, the SCC explicitly indicated the onus was on the Crown to engage in “meaningful consultation” where decisions controlled by the State might infringe on these rights and title, establishing in

[17] Borrows (2003) in fact argues that had *Calder* been decided after the Constitution was patriated, that the judges would have come to different conclusions.

[18] http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/land-rights/guerin-case.html, accessed June 23, 2016.

law the concept of consultation as essential to the Crown's fiduciary obligations to Canada's First Nations.

While the Delgamuukw decision has been critiqued, notably for situating Indigenous rights and title as subordinate to Crown sovereignty (e.g., Borrows 1999), it nonetheless initiated a subsequent, continually revising process of detailing the extent and breadth of the Crown obligation to consult and engage. Central to furthering this process of consultation were a series of decisions around the *Haida Trilogy* of cases (Newman 2009: 10): *Haida Nation v. British Columbia* 2004, *Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. British Columbia* 2004, and *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada* 2005. These decisions are referred to by Newman (2009) as shaping the particulars of the Delgamuukw establishment of a Crown duty to consult. This duty, as described by Chief Justice McLaughlin in the *Haida* case "arises when the Crown has knowledge, real or constructive, of the potential existence of Aboriginal title and contemplates conduct that might adversely affect it" (para. 62, quoted in Newman 2009: 12). In other words, the Crown has an obligation to inform and to consider the responses from an Indigenous community should the Crown be making a decision that may affect those rights, for instance, to approve a timber license. *Haida* also clarified that this was an exclusive Crown duty that could not be extended to third parties such as private corporations (Newman 2009). *Taku River Tlingit First Nation* established that the Crown duty to consult could be met through a provincial environmental assessment which heard from and considered the Indigenous community's concerns. *Mikisew Cree* "extended duty to consult to treaty rights" in addition to "Aboriginal rights" (Newman 2009: 13). These three decisions articulated, according to Newman (2009: 14), "a new legal doctrine – indeed a new realm of Aboriginal law."

As these decisions filtered down through the recesses of provincial, territorial and federal authorities, and were interpreted and acted on by various Indigenous collectives, the duty to consult gradually became the duty to consult *and accommodate* (Newman 2009). This addition emphasized that the quality of consultation had to go beyond the simplest of notifications and was drawn from McLaughlin's reasoning in *Haida* (Newman 2009).

Additional nuances were also added to Canadian jurisprudence on the duty to consult. *Beckman v. Little Salmon/Carmacks First Nation* 2010 established that the duty to consult was not extinguished by modern treaties. Most recently, *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia* 2014 recognized unextinguished "Aboriginal title" to lands not covered by any treaty. In effect, the decision forces governments interested in conducting or facilitating activities (such as natural resource extraction) in areas not previously surrendered to first seek approval from the First Nation. Although capable of subverting that responsibility via the application of a legal test, the decision essentially turns the duty to consult into the *duty to consult, accommodate and petition* where "Aboriginal title" has not been formally extinguished through treaty and land surrenders.

It is subsequent to these legal decisions and s.35 of the Constitution Act that modern day Crown obligations to Indigenous peoples are shaped. Consultation, as a provincial Crown responsibility, is capable of being exercised under the environmental assessment process, which is one mechanism to meet this obligation within land development decision making. It is also worth noting that SCC decisions related to *Kitkatla Band v. British Columbia* 2002, and the aforementioned *Delgamuukw* and *Tsilhqot'in* cases, emphasized the important role heritage, including archaeology, is capable of playing at the highest levels of the Canadian judiciary.

The relationship between archaeology, land development processes such as environmental assessments, s.35 of the Canadian Constitution, and the Crown's duty to consult is not entirely clear in the present. As the following sections will elaborate certain jurisdictions include archaeology as part of the duty to consult explicitly, while others make no such reference. Within the archaeological profession itself I have repeatedly witnessed the conflation and confusion surrounding Indigenous engagement in archaeology and its relationship, or not, to the Crown duty to consult. This confusion is only exacerbated by jurisdictions such as British Columbia and the northern territories where engagement requirements in heritage governance predate relevant SCC cases. At the source of this confusion and, I would argue, at the heart of Indigenous engagement in

archaeology, is the question of whether or not heritage is an "Aboriginal right" under s.35. Justice Lebel, in writing the decision for *Kitkatla Band*, referred to this question:

> Heritage properties and sites may certainly, in some cases, turn out to be a key part of the collective identity of people. In some future case, it might very well happen that some component of the cultural heritage of a First Nation would go to the core of its identity in such a way that it would affect the federal power over native affairs and the applicability of provincial legislation. This appeal does not raise such issues… (para. 78)

It is important to note that *Kitkatla* was argued over whether the province could manage Indigenous archaeology, with the plaintiff arguing its obvious "Indian-ness" meant that under s.35 of the Constitution only the Federal government could manage archaeology. As reflected in Lebel's comments, that focus allowed the SCC to avoid discussing broader concepts of Indigenous heritage as a right, though clearly the court was hinting at the possibility. But while legal definitions of archaeology as "Aboriginal rights and title" have yet to be formally addressed, the implications of archaeology's association with Indigenous heritage has long been anticipated as requiring the Crown to actively consult, or even defer to, Indigenous peoples over archaeological management regimes and ownership of this material heritage (e.g., Bell 1992a; Ferris 2003; Klimko and Wright 2000; Little Bear 1988; Paterson 2009).

This lack of clarity but clear connection archaeology has as Indigenous heritage in Canada highlights the circumstances within which engagement as an archaeological process required or encouraged by government finds itself. Engagement by archaeologists is or is not part of the Crown's duty to consult, depending on the jurisdiction. Heritage, whatever form it takes, is not explicitly referenced as an Indigenous right under s.35 of the Constitution Act, but the potential for it to be so designated is certainly there. Indigenous engagement as part of archaeology is therefore not only a product of archaeologist and Indigenous peoples' activisms and identities, as reviewed in Chapter 2, but it could also easily be a reflection of a "better safe than sorry" mentality within government policy, should heritage ever be deemed to fall under s.35.

3.1.3 The Pre-Emptive Logic for Engagement

Engagement in archaeology is thus necessary not only for reasons internal to archaeological practice, not only because it is the right thing to do in working with the descendants of this archaeological heritage, but also because to not engage risks upsetting heritage governance and environmental assessment should the Crown or SCC ever decide that heritage is, indeed, an "Aboriginal right." In the interests of full disclosure, based on everything I talk about in this dissertation, should that question ever come before the SCC I think there will be no alternative but to recognize heritage as an "Aboriginal right" under s. 35 (see also Bell 1992a; Ferris 2003).

3.1.4 Canadian Heritage Jurisdictions

Any study of Indigenous engagement in Canada with respect to the practice of archaeology, both inside and outside of the academy, must recognize that all is not equal within these national boundaries. As previously noted, the lack of a federal role in archaeological management and the notion that archaeology constitutes a land resource and is thus under provincial jurisdiction under the constitution, means that each province, each territory, even settled land claim regions, operate under varying sets of legislation, regulation and policy. These jurisdictions create a patchwork of archaeological governance extending from coast to coast to coast.

This section will summarize the jurisdictional processes for heritage and engagement presently occupying the Canadian landscape. These jurisdictional analyses will establish the legal and regulatory landscapes upon which subsequent discussions on engagement will occur, and highlight the character of the State as intervener in matters of heritage preservation and conservation.

The role of the State in heritage matters will on the surface appear disjointed. This heterogeneity is a reflection of varying jurisdictions and actors adapting to the regional circumstances they operate within. While the processes are sometimes different and the

people unique, the State-desired outcome remains consistent across jurisdictions: that is the management of heritage, who is qualified to undertake archaeological activity, a State interest in ensuring the conservation or preservation of archaeological heritage, and some indication of the obligations of practitioners regarding the reporting and findings of their activities. All with the aim of ensuring the minimal amount of conflict achievable (external and internal to the State apparatus) while still allowing development or research to proceed in most cases. I will attempt a semblance of consistency in reporting the details of archaeological management and engagement practices across jurisdictions, though note that variation will still emerge, and that, for some jurisdictions, some elements of archaeological management or engagement will not be present to discuss. Please also note that, where possible, I have added emphases (**bold**) when distinctions between jurisdictions are consequential to note.

3.2 Newfoundland and Labrador

3.2.1 Governance Context

The Province of Newfoundland and Labrador can easily be characterized as consisting of two distinct jurisdictions with regards to heritage management and Indigenous engagement. The Historic Resources Act RSNL 1990 c.H-4 covers archaeological management for the island of Newfoundland and non-Inuit portions of Labrador, and requires people undertaking archaeological activities in the province to apply for a permit from the province's Provincial Archaeology Office (HRA 1990 c.H-4 8a). Although there are no specific educational or experiential criteria about who can hold an archaeological permit, the applicant is required to be an archaeologist or a graduate student working with an archaeologist.[19] The HRA also has no Indigenous engagement requirements. The

[19] http://www.btcrd.gov.nl.ca/faq/resources_for_Archaeologists.html, accessed July 19, 2016.

Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act S.C. 2005, c. 27 accounts for the remaining sections of Labrador.

3.2.2 Authority

With the exception of the Nunatsiavut Government in Labrador, all formally (legislatively) designated heritage authority in Newfoundland and Labrador rests with the provincial government. Resulting from the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement signed in 2005, the Inuit Nunatsiavut Government gained significant authority with respect to heritage management on Inuit Lands and general settlement areas. The overarching powers of the Nunatsiavut Government in creating laws governing heritage are described in s.15.3 of the Land Claims Agreement. Division of heritage authority between the Inuit, the province and the federal government is also described in s.15.5.

3.2.3 Communication

3.2.3.1 Notification

Outside of Nunatsiavut there are no specific notification requirements on the part of applicants to do archaeological fieldwork other than secure permission from the provincial government. With respect to projects occurring inside Nunatsiavut, the province must:

> 15.6.6 Upon receipt of an application for a permit to conduct Archaeological Activity outside Labrador Inuit Lands and the Inuit Communities, the Permitting Authority **shall** forward a copy of the application as soon as practicable to the Nunatsiavut Government.

3.2.3.2 Consultation

Once again there are no specific consultation requirements outside of Nunatsiavut. Proposed projects inside of Nunatsiavut **must** undergo a process of consultation:

> 15.6.7 Prior to issuing a permit to conduct Archaeological Activity outside Labrador Inuit Lands and the Inuit Communities, the Permitting Authority **shall** [emphasis added] consult the Nunatsiavut Government about the permit application, whether or not a permit should be issued and, if so, the terms and conditions to be attached to it. Nothing in this section derogates from the requirements of section 15.6.13.

3.2.3.3 Reporting

While permitted archaeologists have an obligation to report their activities to the province, no reporting to Indigenous communities is specifically required by the province for work conducted outside of Nunatsiavut. Inside Nunatsiavut, archaeologists are **required** to report to communities before and after fieldwork:

> 15.6.13(f) prior to conducting the Archaeological Activity, attend at a location specified by the Nunatsiavut Government in the Inuit Community closest to the site of the Archaeological Activity, to explain and discuss the activities to be carried out;
>
> (g) upon completion of the Archaeological Activity, attend at a location specified by the Nunatsiavut Government in the Inuit Community closest to the site of the Archaeological Activity, to explain and discuss the activities completed and to provide an opportunity for residents of the Inuit Community to examine any Archaeological Material that has been removed;

3.2.4 Participation

Outside of Nunatsiavut there are no requirements referencing any form of Indigenous participation in archaeology. Inside of Nunatsiavut archaeologists are **required** to:

> 15.6.13 (d) encourage Inuit participation in the Archaeological Activity;

3.2.5 Disposition

3.2.5.1 Sites

Generally, archaeological sites are deemed under the Act to be protected regardless of where or by whom they are found (HRA s. 10). Inside Nunatsiavut archaeologists **must**:

> 15.6.13(h) avoid any disturbance of a site known to contain human remains or a site of religious or spiritual significance to Inuit unless explicitly authorized to do so;

3.2.5.2 Artifacts

Outside of Nunatsiavut, artifacts under statute are considered to be Crown property regardless of who has possession (HRA s.11). Archaeological projects under permit are required to deliver all archaeological objects found to the province (HRA s.8c). Inside Nunatsiavut:

> 15.11.2 The title to all Archaeological Material found in Labrador Inuit Lands after the Effective Date is vested in the Nunatsiavut Government.
>
> 15.11.4 The title to and management of all Archaeological Material found on lands under the control and administration of Canada after the Effective Date is vested jointly in the Nunatsiavut Government and Canada.

3.2.5.3 Human Remains

Under the Act's definitions human remains are considered archaeological objects and have no special consideration. There are no formal (legislative or policy process) requirements to notify Indigenous communities in the event of human remains discoveries in the province. In Nunatsiavut, archaeologists are **required** to:

> 15.6.13(i) stop excavation immediately and advise the appropriate Permitting Authority if human remains are discovered during the Archaeological Activity and the Permit Holder is not explicitly authorized to disturb human remains;

A process is then initiated to determine whether the individual is Inuit, not Inuit or undetermined (Land Claims Agreement 15.7.2):

> 15.7.5 If a Permitting Authority acting under section 15.7.2 determines that human remains removed from an Archaeological Site are Inuit, it **shall** [emphasis added] transfer possession of them to the Nunatsiavut Government unless, after Consulting the Nunatsiavut Government, they are returned to the Archaeological Site from which they came.

If the individual is determined to be either not Inuit or undetermined a negotiated outcome is undertaken.

3.3 Nova Scotia

3.3.1 Governance Context

The principal heritage statute in Nova Scotia is the Special Places Protection Act RS c.438, 2010, which requires people undertaking archaeological activities in the province to apply for a permit from the province. Permit applicants must demonstrate an explicit combination of education and experience to be approved to hold a permit (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014a, 2014b). The Act prohibits any other “explorations… for the purposes of seeking heritage objects” (SPP c.438 s.8.1).

The Act is silent on Indigenous engagement, however the Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage has imposed such a requirement in its Archaeological Research (Category B) Guidelines and Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment (Category C) Guidelines. As well, the department highlights the importance of community engagement on their webpage: point five of the prescribed permit application steps states “If this project has the potential to impact Mi’kmaq cultural resources Archaeologists are **encouraged** to engage the Mi’kmaq as part of project planning and

implementation".[20] Most archaeological engagement is subject to archaeologist/government negotiation as opposed to strict edicts requiring Indigenous involvement.

3.3.2 Authority

With a one exception (see below), authority respecting the Indigenous engagement process and heritage management rests entirely with the Nova Scotia provincial government.

3.3.3 Communication

3.3.3.1 Notification

In the Archaeological Research (Category B) guidelines, section 8, sub-sections f and l, a permit applicant must indicate if they have contacted the Mi'kmaq/KMKNO about their proposed project. If not the applicant must "outline why it is not necessary to engage the Mi'kmaq in this project." (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014a: 5). This requirement is mirrored by a similarly worded section 8 ss. h in the Resource Impact Assessment (Category C) guidelines (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014b: 8).

3.3.3.2 Consultation

Both Category B and C Guidelines also make reference to the Crown's duty to consult (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014a: 16; 2014b: 23), and the potential for the province to delegate "procedural aspects of consultation" (2014a:

---

[20] http://cch.novascotia.ca/exploring-our-past/special-places/archaeology-permits-and-guidelines, accessed January 13, 2015.

16; 2014b: 23) to third parties, implying that archaeological engagement might be construed as initiating/fulfilling the duty-to-consult prerogative. This explicit identifying of archaeology as related to the Crown's duties to consult and accommodate is unique to Nova Scotia. However, there is no explicit process through which archaeology is thought to achieve consultation, let alone accommodation. This is all notwithstanding the direction from *Haida* ruling that the Crown's duty to consult cannot be delegated to third parties.

3.3.3.3 Reporting

While permitted archaeologists have an obligation to report their activities to the province, there are no specific reporting requirements related to Indigenous engagement in Nova Scotia.

3.3.4 Disposition

3.3.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected regardless of designation and are capable of being designated on "any land within the Province" including "land covered with water" (SPP s.7.1). There are no Indigenous engagement requirements specific to site preservation and alteration in Nova Scotia.

3.3.4.2 Artifacts

Artifacts recovered from archaeological research in Nova Scotia become the property of the province:

> Under the provisions of the Act [R.S., C. 438, s. 11], collections recovered under the authority of a Heritage Research Permit (Archaeology) become the property of the Province, and may be assigned by the Minister to the Museum or to any other public institution. (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014a: 14)

Depositing collections in "Native" institutions is possible through a formal loan agreement with the Nova Scotia Museum (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014a: 14). Another area of possible engagement with respect to artifacts is:

> In the case of collections from Native sites, disposition **may** be subject to consultation with, and approval by, the Micmac Association of Cultural Studies or other responsible Native organization (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014a: 15).

3.3.4.3 Human Remains

The Archaeological Research (Category B) and Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment (Category C) Guidelines address the discovery of human remains. The guidelines establish a requirement that when "there is reason to believe that the remains may be of Native origin, the chief of the Mi'kmaq band nearest to the project location must also be informed immediately and consulted on appropriate action." (Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014a: 17; 2014b: 23).

3.3.5 Customization

One area of provincial jurisdiction adopts a different engagement strategy than the rest of the province: the Debert Lands in central Nova Scotia. The lands are the subject to Schedule 3: Standards for Archaeological Impact Assessment and Reporting in Debert and Belmont, Nova Scotia; *Debert Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment Regulations* (N.S. Reg. 129/2008). The regulation and the resulting archaeological guidelines affect "the soil within any portion" of the described boundaries of this region (Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008: 1). This regulation arises from a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) developed between the Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage (circa 2008) and the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs.

The MOU and the affiliated archaeological standards (Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008: 1):

> provide for a joint Province of Nova Scotia – Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia input and recommendation process for the issuance of heritage research for Category C archaeological impact assessments on the Debert lands.

The distinguishing of these lands from the rest of the province occur as a result of the prevalence of well-known Paleoindian sites and artifacts in the region.

Specific engagement processes relating to the Debert Lands include (Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008: 1):

> Any archaeologist directing an archaeological impact assessment on the specified Debert lands will be **required** to take a one-day orientation workshop offered by the Heritage Division of the Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage and the Confederacy of mainland Mi'kmaq.

Policies also govern archaeological field decision making (Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008: 4):

> The field archaeologist may propose to mechanically remove deep, modern fill that is demonstrated through employing these testing standards not to contain Mi'kmaq heritage archaeological resources. This step would be undertaken in order to facilitate efficient testing of soils below the modern fill. The archaeologist will contact the Manager, Special Places Program who **will** [emphasis added] follow the process outlined in Appendix 3 of these Standards to involve the designated representative of the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs.

Importantly, the Debert archaeological guidelines are the only policy document to refer to resources as "Mi'kmaq heritage archaeological resources" (Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage 2008: 4, 8), denoting a specific community ownership of archaeological materials not so designated in other parts of Nova Scotia. Despite this

recognition there is no explicit differentiation between the disposition of artifacts from the Debert Lands and those from the rest of Nova Scotia, suggesting that this recognition of Mi'kmaq ownership is purely symbolic.

3.4 Prince Edward Island

3.4.1 Governance Context

Prince Edward Island (PEI) enjoys a fairly robust set of heritage legislation as found in the Archaeology Act c. A17.1 2009, Ancient Burial Grounds Act c. A-11 1988, and Heritage Places Protection Act c. H3.1 1992. These statutes tend to reflect general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada. These statutes, however, are not expanded upon by explicit heritage policies, guidelines or permit requirements, which according to the PEI archaeology website are "currently being developed."[21] The Archaeology Act also includes significant Indigenous engagement requirements.

3.4.2 Authority

Authority with respect to the governance of heritage rests with PEI's government and the Minister responsible for heritage.

---

[21] http://www.gov.pe.ca/aboriginalaffairs/archaeology, accessed June 17, 2015, reaffirmed August 17, 2016

3.4.3 Communication

3.4.3.1 Consultation

The AA includes substantive sections with respect to Indigenous engagement in archaeology specifically *consultation* around securing a permit to do archaeological fieldwork:

> S.10 (1) An application for an archaeological permit under subsection 7(1) of the Act shall be in Form 9, as set out in the Schedule to these regulations, and include the following information…
>
> > (d) where an archaeological site is likely to be of significance to the aboriginal community, information in respect of any consultations that have taken place with the aboriginal community.
>
> S. 10 (4) Where the Minister is satisfied that an application for an archaeological permit involves an archaeological site that is, or is likely to be, of significance to the aboriginal community, the Minister **shall** refuse to issue the archaeological permit unless the Minister is satisfied that appropriate consultations have taken place with such aboriginal groups as the Minister considers appropriate. (EC141/09)

There does not appear to be any explicit definition on what constitutes adequate consultation. Given that the judgment on the quality of consultation rests entirely with the Minister, or more likely, the ministry's heritage staff, it is likely that certain unwritten rules or "ghost standards" (Ferris 1998) exist with respect to the province evaluating this process on a case-by-case basis.

3.4.3.2 Reporting

While permitted archaeologists have an obligation to report their activities to the province, there are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to reporting in Prince Edward Island.

3.4.4 Disposition

3.4.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected regardless of land title or formal designation (AA s.9). There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to site disposition in PEI.

3.4.4.2 Artifacts

Artifacts under statute are considered Crown property (AA s.11). There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to artifact disposition in PEI.

3.4.4.3 Human Remains

The AABG (C. A11) vests the Province with the responsibility to protect ancient burial grounds. Indigenous engagement appears in the AA (c. A17.1) in reference to the discovery and disposition of human remains:

> S. 14 (5) The Minister may enter into agreements or develop protocols with the aboriginal community to
>
> > (a) ensure that deference is shown to traditional Mi'kmaq approaches for the handling of human remains, where the Minister believes such human remains are of Mi'kmaq ancestry; and
> >
> > (b) provide, notwithstanding subsection (1), for the title and right of possession of human remains shown to be of Mi'kmaq ancestry to be vested with the aboriginal community. 2006, c.2, s.14.

3.5 New Brunswick

3.5.1 Governance Context

The principal New Brunswick statute governing heritage and archaeology is the Heritage Conservation Act, SNB 2009, c.H-4.05. In general, the HCA reflects general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada. The provincial

Archaeological Services office, New Brunswick's provincial archaeological bureaucracy, is either responsible for or operates under several legislated requirements contained in the HCA. Notably, the Act encourages government engagement with Indigenous communities rather than engagement occurring outside of government processes.

3.5.2 Authority

Although sole authority for heritage management does rest with the provincial government, there are certain areas where some authority is recognized as deriving from Indigenous communities. The HCA, for instance, explicitly confirms what remains implicit or operational at best under other heritage governance bodies with respect to "aboriginal and treaty rights":

> 93 This Act, or an agreement entered under the authority of this Act, does not abrogate or derogate from the aboriginal or treaty rights of a First Nation or of any aboriginal peoples.

Also present is the capability of the Minister to enter into agreements with First Nations with respect to the province's heritage governance:

> 7(2) The Minister may enter into agreements with a duly mandated governing body of one or more First Nations with respect to the identification, conservation and protection of places and objects that represent the cultural heritage of the aboriginal peoples of the Province, including agreements respecting the communication of any discovery of those places and objects, the transfer of ownership of those objects and the designation of those places as provincial heritage places or local historic places.

3.5.3 Communication

3.5.3.1 Reporting

While permitted archaeologists have an obligation to report their activities to the province, there are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to reporting in New Brunswick.

3.5.4 Disposition

3.5.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected regardless of land title or formal designation (HCA s.11). There are no specific Indigenous engagement provisions with respect to site disposition. However, together with property owners, First Nations governments are capable of recommending heritage designation under the Heritage Conservation Act in unincorporated areas of the province:

> 45(1) The Minister **may** designate a place located in an unincorporated area as a local historic place if
>
> (a) The owner of the property agrees, and
> (b) The designation of the place receives support from
>   (i) A local society or organization concerned with heritage conservation.
>   (ii) The relevant local service district advisory committee.
>   (iii) A duly mandated governing body of one or more First Nations, or the regional service committee for the relevant region.

3.5.4.2 Artifacts

Archaeological objects found in the Province are Crown property (HCA s.11) with the provincial museum acting as official repository (HCA s.13). Unlike other provinces, New Brunswick explicitly recognizes Indigenous title to "aboriginal" artifacts:

> 5(3) An archaeological object or burial object for which the property has vested in the Crown under subsection (1) **shall** be held in trust by the Crown for the aboriginal peoples of the Province if
>
> (a) it is in the possession of the Minister, and
>
> (b) it is identified by the Minister as being of aboriginal origin

3.5.4.3 Human Remains

New Brunswick is purported to have a *Protocol for Accidental Discovery of Human Remains* which is said to include references to First Nations, however this document could not be located for this dissertation.[22] Otherwise, there are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements with respect to human remains in New Brunswick in either the HCA or any cemeteries-related legislation.

3.5.5 Customization

The Ministerial power under the HCA to enter into agreements with First Nations has facilitated a supplementary agreement noted on the Archaeological Services website in reference to the Maliseet Advisory Committee on Archaeology (MACA).[23] Created after the encounter of a community-significant archaeological site during a highway realignment in 1996:

> MACA is an officially recognized committee set up between Maliseet Chiefs and the Province of New Brunswick to exchange information and views on

---

[22] http://www.pc.gc.ca/docs/r/pfa-fap/sec7/decouv_discov3.aspx, accessed July 18, 2016; http://www.sissonpartnership.com/i/seiar/4-Other-Documents/03-Sisson_heritage_mitigation_plan_July2014.pdf, accessed July 18, 2016.

[23] http://www2.gnb.ca/content/gnb/en/departments/thc/heritage/content/archaeology/FirstNationEngagement.html, accessed Jan. 14, 2015.

archaeology and other cultural heritage matters of mutual interest. Each Maliseet First Nation Government appoints a representative and an alternate to the Committee. The Provincial Government is represented by a member and an alternate from Archaeological Services, Heritage Branch, Department of Tourism, Heritage and Culture.

3.6 Quebec

3.6.1 Governance Context

The principal heritage legislation in Quebec is the Cultural Heritage Act 2011 c.21. In general, the CHA reflects general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada.

Any provincial obligation to engage with Indigenous communities is present only in particular circumstances related to report review and administration, and the responsibilities afforded municipalities and other forms of local government under the CHA.

3.6.2 Authority

Sole authority for heritage governance related to engagement in Quebec rests with the provincial government with three exceptions. First, the now familiar Ministerial authority to enter into agreements specifically refers to Indigenous peoples:

> s.78 – The Minister may
>
> > (7) enter into agreements for the purposes of the administration of this Act with any person, including a local municipality, a regional county municipality, a metropolitan community **or a Native community represented by its band council**, in order to develop knowledge of cultural heritage and protect, transmit or enhance that heritage;

The other two exceptions are products of the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (Cree-Naskapi (of Quebec) Act, S.C. 1984, c. 18; Kativik Act, R.S.Q., c. V-6.1). Two Indigenous peoples (the Inuit and the James Bay Cree) of the province were given nominal self-government under certain circumstances as part of the Agreement. Although neither heritage nor archaeology is explicitly mentioned in the agreement, the division of powers made it necessary for contemporary heritage legislation to explicitly account for authority in these regions.

3.6.3 Communication

3.6.3.1 Consultation

In Quebec, municipal governments (which include Indigenous communities in the north, as defined above) are given the ability to curtail "perceived or real" impacts to properties that may have heritage value for a period of 30 days (s.148). Such an action triggers ministerial engagement with local Indigenous communities:

> Simultaneously with notification of prior notice or service of an order, the council of the municipality must send a copy of the prior notice or order to the Minister who will carry out any consultations with a Native community required in order for the council to take the community's concerns into account. The council must review the order to that end, if need be.

3.6.3.2 Reporting

Reports are produced annually by Quebec archaeological permit holders (s.72); these reports remain confidential for periods of time determined by the Minister and bounded by legislation (s.73). However, Quebec has the authority during the confidentiality period to "disclose all or part of the report" (s.73) "to a Native community that may be concerned with the results of the archaeological research" (s.73 (2)).

3.6.4 Disposition

3.6.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected under the act regardless of land or formal designation. There are no specific Indigenous engagement provisions with respect to site disposition in Quebec.

3.6.4.2 Artifacts

Artifacts under statute are not considered within the CHA. The Federal government indicates the following about artifact disposition in Quebec:[24]

> finds belong to the Crown on land that has been public land at any time since 1972; on land that has been private, finds are co-owned by the landowner and finder

There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to artifact disposition in Quebec.

3.6.4.3 Human Remains

The CHA does not have any provisions concerning found human remains related to archaeology, neither does the Province's Burial Act (I-11) nor its Cemetery Companies Act (C-40). Quebec's Act Respecting the Determination of the Causes and Circumstances of Death (R-0.2) also includes no explicit consideration of human remains related to archaeology. There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to human remains in Quebec.

---

[24] http://www.pc.gc.ca/docs/r/pfa-fap/res-abs.aspx, accessed July 19, 2016

3.6.5 Customization

As noted above, the character of the Kativik and Cree-Naskapi agreements mean these Indigenous communities represent sub-provincial, pseudo-municipal jurisdictions, which potentially means they can address heritage matters somewhat like other municipalities in the province.

3.7 Ontario

3.7.1 Governance Context

The Ontario Heritage Act (R.S.O. 1990, c. O.18) is the principal heritage statute in Ontario. The OHA reflects general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada, though in Ontario applicants to undertake fieldwork are licensed to do so, and do not apply for formal permits for undertakings.

Indigenous engagement in the Ontario context arises from several pieces of legislation and a host of supporting policy documents.

The OHA does not explicitly require Indigenous engagement in archaeological activities, however it has come to enable such activities through the mechanism of formal terms and conditions the Minister imposes on licenses held by archaeologists in Ontario. Both the *Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists* (Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011) and *Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Technical Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario* (Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2010) are prescriptive documents which require licensed consultant (commercial not academic) archaeologists to adhere to certain standards and guidelines related to practice. Explicit within these documents are standards (requirements) and guidelines (not required but encouraged best practices) outlining engagement with Indigenous communities in the province. The *Standards and Guidelines* (S&Gs) also set a tone with respect to Indigenous engagement in the document's prelude:

> Archaeology in Ontario is particularly relevant to Aboriginal communities because it can help to document Aboriginal histories and peoples and to identify sacred sites and ancestral remains. Engaging Aboriginal communities in archaeology adds to the understanding of a project and enriches the archaeological record. The process demonstrates respect for Aboriginal heritage, recognizes Aboriginal peoples' connection to the land, and allows everyone to benefit from their knowledge. (7)

Paralleling requirements emerging out of heritage policy documents are provincially-mandated engagement requirements directed at the municipal planning processes. Derived from the Planning Act (R.S.O. 1990, c. P.13), the Provincial Policy Statement (PPS) (2014) includes engagement requirements related to archaeological resources.

3.7.2 Authority

Sole authority for archaeological management under the OHA rests with the province, although conservation of archaeology is also specifically identified in a number of land use development legislation, including the Planning Act and Environmental Assessment Act.

No explicit requirement for Indigenous engagement is reflected in the OHA, however, a quasi-authority for Indigenous engagement/consultation is enabled for municipalities under the PPS 2014:

> 2.6.5 Planning authorities **shall consider** the interests of Aboriginal communities in conserving cultural heritage and archaeological resources.

The possibility that this is a municipal-level manifestation of the duty to consult is an issue the province has struggled with, since its municipal planning process under the Planning Act clearly allows Crown responsibilities and decision making in planning to be

addressed by municipalities, while falling short of formally transferring that provincial authority.

3.7.3 Communication

3.7.3.1 Consultation

There are no legislated requirements for Indigenous consultation in Ontario.

Within the S&Gs and Technical Bulletin, both require a variety of engagement processes. Engagement is contained in a guideline as early as the preliminary project assessment (Stage 1):[25]

> 1. The Background Study may also include research information from the following sources as available and relevant to the project:
>
> > Aboriginal communities, for information on possible traditional use areas and sacred and other sites on or around the property. (Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011 s.1.1: 14)

Stage 2 (survey) shovel pit survey strategies guidelines **suggest** the following (s. 1.4.1: 20):

> 1. When making recommendations to exempt from further assessment areas that meet the criteria for low archaeological potential, the consultant archaeologist may wish to engage with Aboriginal communities to ensure there are no unaddressed Aboriginal cultural heritage interests.

---

[25] In the Ontario S&G, the process of archaeological site management is formally broken down into four stages: Stage 1 (background study), Stage 2 (property assessment), Stage 3 (site assessment), Stage 4 (site preservation or removal through excavation).

Stage 2 recommendations also make reference to engaging Indigenous communities in determining the need for further work in the form of a Stage 3 excavation (s. 2.2: 40):

> 1. The consultant archaeologist **may** engage with relevant Aboriginal communities to determine their interest (general or site-specific) in the Aboriginal archaeological resources found during Stage 2 and to ensure there are no unaddressed Aboriginal archaeological interests connected with the land surveyed or sites identified.

Significant and mandatory community engagement does not begin until Stage 3 site assessments and subsequent formulation of Stage 4 mitigation plans. The first requirement relating to community engagement addresses historical documentation (s. 3.1: 46):

> 1. Research the following information sources when available and relevant to the archaeological site:
>   a. features or information identifying an archaeological site as sacred to Aboriginal communities
>   b. individuals or communities with oral or written information about the archaeological site (e.g., Aboriginal communities, the proponent, professional and avocational archaeologists, local residents)

Towards the end of a Stage 3 excavation assessment, archaeologists **must** address and engage with communities when an Aboriginal archaeological site:

> is known to have or appears to have sacred or spiritual importance, or is associated with traditional land uses or geographic features of cultural heritage interest, or is the subject of Aboriginal oral histories. (s. 3.5: 57)

With regards to Indigenous communities this value can be reflected in "oral histories of a community, Aboriginal community, or specific group or family" (60); if the site "has intrinsic value to a particular community, Aboriginal community or group" (61); or, "is associated with a traditional recurring event in the community, Aboriginal community or group" (61).

These requirements culminate in the formation of Stage 4 mitigation strategies in both standards and guidelines (s. 3.5: 62-63):

> (Standard) 1. Aboriginal communities **must** be engaged when formulating Stage 4 mitigation strategies for the following types of Aboriginal archaeological sites:
>
> a. rare Aboriginal archaeological sites
>
> b. sites identified as sacred or known to contain human remains
>
> c. Woodland Aboriginal sites
>
> d. Aboriginal archaeological sites where topsoil stripping is being contemplated
>
> e. undisturbed Aboriginal sites
>
> f. sites previously identified as being of interest to an Aboriginal community (62-63)
>
> (Guideline) 1. When formulating Stage 4 mitigation strategies for Aboriginal archaeological sites of cultural heritage value or interest other than those identified in the standards above, the consultant archaeologist **may** choose to review the recommendations with the relevant, interested Aboriginal community or communities.

The Technical Bulletin (Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2010) references all of the engagement standards and guidelines present in the S&Gs and then goes further in explicating what the forms and processes that engagement could or should resemble. What is missing from both documents are explicit instructions on how to achieve these suggestions and requirements for engagement, with the province implying in the Technical Bulletin that contexts will be variable. As such, evaluating whether this formal term and condition of a consulting archaeologist's license has been met is presumably up to provincial staff to determine.

3.7.3.2 Reporting

The OHA explicitly requires reporting of fieldwork to be submitted to the Province within a defined period of time after work has been completed. These reports are part of a

provincial registry, of which some content is deemed publicly accessible, while other information is treated as confidential, including the reporting of site locations.

The S&Gs also detail the necessary reporting requirements related to any Indigenous engagement, which will include (s.7.6.2 131):

> (Standards) 1. Documentation of the engagement process **must** outline and give reasons for:
>
> > a. who was engaged and why
> >
> > b. how they were engaged
> >
> > c. when they were engaged
> >
> > d. strategies used to incorporate input into the field work
> >
> > e. the process for reporting results of engagement to the community
>
> 2. Any information the Aboriginal community identifies as private or sensitive (e.g., information related to burials, secret or sacred sites, personal information) is not to be included in the project report. Sensitive information must be provided separately with other supplementary documentation.
>
> (Guideline) 1. The documentation of the engagement arising from the specific project may be augmented by documentation of broader engagement undertaken with an Aboriginal community in relation to classes of projects or types of sites (e.g., an Aboriginal community may have previously expressed no interest in engaging regarding a particular type of archaeological site such as Archaic lithic scatters). (131)

The Technical Bulletin also includes reference to reporting information back to Indigenous communities as part of the engagement process (Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2010 s.3.4: 11). Although this section does not detail a compulsory process:

> All parties should agree to a clear and transparent process for reporting back to the Aboriginal community before, during and after the archaeological fieldwork process. This is part of engagement and may go beyond mailing the archaeological project report to the community.

3.7.4 Participation

Although there are no specific engagement requirements relating to participation, the Technical Bulletin does refer to one engagement strategy involving working "with Aboriginal monitors in the archaeological fieldwork" (Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2010 s.3.3: 11). These monitors typically are Indigenous community members who are embedded within a field crew and represent and voice the interests and concerns of their communities in the field.

3.7.5 Disposition

3.7.5.1 Sites

Known archaeological sites are protected under the OHA from other than licensed impacts. The only specific requirement related to the disposition of sites as part of an Indigenous engagement process is that already discussed with respect to Stage 4 strategies.

3.7.5.2 Artifacts

Under the OHA artifacts recovered under license are held by the licensee in trust for the people of Ontario, and the Minister has the power to direct any artifacts from the licensee to the province or public institution, which has not been defined further. There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to the disposition of artifacts in Ontario, though the Technical Bulletin does suggest including any concerns communities have with respect to collection disposition in archaeological reporting; however, this is neither required nor is there any requirement that any reported community concerns be addressed.

3.7.5.3 Human Remains

The OHA explicitly exempts human remains and grave goods from being subject to that Act. Instead, human remains and grave goods fall under the Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act (S.O. 2002 c.33). The Act details a series of engagement processes related to found human remains beginning with a declaration from the Cemeteries Registrar on whether the site is an "aboriginal peoples burial ground; a burial ground; or an irregular burial site" (s.98). Once declared, negotiations begin into developing a "site disposition agreement" (s.99) determined by the landowner and a representative of the deceased. Under O. Reg. 30/11, s. 145 (1):

> "representative", when used in connection with a person whose remains are interred, means,
>
> (b) in the case of an aboriginal peoples burial ground,
>
> (i) the nearest First Nations Government, or
>
> (ii) another community of aboriginal peoples that is willing to act as a representative and whose members have a close cultural affinity to the interred person;

Under the Act and O. Reg. 30/11, the role of archaeology is in service to the Cemeteries Registrar with respect to the identification of remains and in to service to the site disposition agreement with respect to any exhumation and reburial requests. The O. Reg. specifically forbids any other archaeological study of human remains without consent:

> 179. Unless a representative of a person whose remains are interred in a burial ground or an aboriginal peoples burial ground consents, no person shall,
>
> (a) remove the remains or associated artifacts from the site; or
>
> (b) conduct scientific analysis of the remains or associated artifacts.

3.8 Manitoba

3.8.1 Governance Context

Manitoba's Heritage Resources Act 1985 (C.C.S.M. c. H39.1) is the main heritage statute of government archaeological management in the province. The HRA reflects general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada. The Act does not speak to Indigenous engagement.

3.8.2 Authority

Heritage authority in Manitoba is articulated to the minister in charge of heritage through the HRA.

3.8.3 Communication

3.8.3.1 Reporting

While permitted archaeologists have an obligation to report their activities to the province under the terms of their permit, there are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to reporting in Manitoba.

3.8.4 Disposition

3.8.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected when designated or when identified as having the potential to be designated as a heritage site under the Act (s. 12). The discovery of archaeological objects or human remains is required to be communicated to

the Province, ostensibly extending protection to undesignated archaeological sites as well (HRA s.46). There are no specific Indigenous engagement provisions with respect to site disposition in Manitoba.

3.8.4.2 Artifacts

Artifacts under statute are considered Crown property regardless of where they are found, however archaeological objects found on private lands are placed in the custody of the landowner. There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to artifact disposition in Manitoba.

3.8.4.3 Human Remains

Human remains discovered after May 3rd, 1967 regardless of current ownership are the property of the Crown (HRA S.45). In its document, *Provisions Regarding Found Human Remains* (Manitoba Heritage Resources Brach n.d.), the Manitoba government makes two references to Indigenous engagement. The first states that consultation with a First Nation "takes place before exhumation or removal of human remains or associated grave goods" (2). The second instance relates to reburial:

> Reburial of human remains when a First Nation [individual] is involved is arranged by the Aboriginal Liaison Officer of the Historic Resources Branch in conjunction with the community. Reburial in all other cases will be handled only by personnel designated by the Historic Resources Branch. (2)

3.8.5 Customization

There is some indication that in particular instances the terms and conditions required of developers as part of licensing under the Environment Act 1987 (C.C.S.M. c. E125) have been used to require heritage management and Indigenous engagement related to heritage. Notably, under the Environment Act developers are required to apply for a license from the provincial government. This provision has allowed the provincial government to insert requirements for cultural and heritage "protection plans" into the

licenses for certain projects. Examples of this practice can be found in the *Agreement for a Protocol for the Protection of Heritage Resources and Aboriginal Human Remains Related to the Wuskwatim Generating Project* (Manitoba and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation 2006) and Manitoba Hydro's Bipole III Transmission Project (2013).

These protection plans have included, in the Bipole III project, the creation of an Indigenous "community liaison" position, while the Wuskwatim Project agreement includes a procedure for the ultimate disposition of artifacts arising from that project, and a procedure negotiating the identification and subsequent reinterment of human remains discovered during that project.

It is unclear what factors lead to the inclusion of these requirements under some licenses (Manitoba 2012; Manitoba and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation 2006) and not others (e.g., Keeysak Hydropower Limited Partnership 2012). Apart from accessing the Environmental Approvals Branch methodologies, a systematic review of such licenses would have to be undertaken in order to provide some semblance of an answer.

The presence of an Aboriginal Liaison Officer in the Historic Resources Branch is also an element unique to Manitoba. First occupied by Kevin Brownlee in 1998 (Brownlee 2010), the role is not well-defined apart from acting as a "bridge between the Aboriginal communities" and archaeologists (Piquemal and Nickels 2002).[26]

---

[26] http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/of-cities-and-other-things/aboriginals-and-archaeologists-is-collaboration-possible/, accessed July 19, 2016.

3.9 Saskatchewan

3.9.1 Governance Context

The Heritage Property Act (S.S. 1980 c. H-2.2) is the principal statute governing heritage management in Saskatchewan. The HPA reflects general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada. The HPA only directly speaks to Indigenous engagement in section 65, with respect to human remains.

Broader consultation between Indigenous communities, developers and various levels of government are addressed under the *Government of Saskatchewan First Nation and Métis Consultation Policy Framework* (Saskatchewan 2010). However, heritage resource management is absent from this document.

3.9.2 Authority

The HPA provides the minister responsible for heritage authority over archaeological management in the province. While there is no specific authority articulated in the Act with respect to Indigenous consultation, it is worth noting that general authority given the Minister under the Act to enter into agreements has been used to allow the province to strike a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Center, the Meewasin Valley Authority, and the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation (dated June 10, 2000). This MOU pertains to the creation of a Central Burial Site where reinterment of individuals or burial objects of unknown origin is conducted in partnership with Saskatchewan First Nations.

3.9.3 Communication

3.9.3.1 Reporting

While permitted archaeologists have an obligation to report their activities to the province (HPA s.67 (3)), there are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to reporting in Saskatchewan.

3.9.4 Disposition

3.9.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected when designated as a Provincial Heritage Property (HPA s.39). Protection is also extended to “any pictograph, petroglyph, human skeletal material, burial object, burial place or mound, boulder effigy or medicine wheel” regardless of designation (HPA s.64). Limited protection applies to other undesignated sites in that findings of an archaeological nature are required to be reported to the Province within 15 days, however there are no requirements to halt any land-disturbing work associated with that discovery (HPA s.71). There are no specific Indigenous engagement provisions with respect to site disposition in Saskatchewan.

3.9.4.2 Artifacts

Artifacts under statute after November 28, 1980, are the property of the Crown. There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to artifact disposition in Saskatchewan.

3.9.4.3 Human Remains

Section 65 of the Heritage Property Act contains a provision for addressing human remains, including a constrained requirement for Indigenous engagement:

> 65 (3) All excavated or naturally exposed Amerindian skeletal material post-dating 1700 A.D. **is** to be made available to the Indian Band Council nearest the discovery site for disposition following scientific examination or any use for research or educational purposes that the minister shall decide.

Notably this provision only applies to remains postdating 1700 A.D., and engagement is envisioned only after scientific research and education. Remains predating 1700 A.D. are addressed in s.65.2:

> (2) All excavated or naturally exposed human skeletal material shown to predate 1700 A.D. **is** to be forwarded to the minister for reinterment following scientific examination or any use for research or educational purposes that the minister shall decide.

The Archaeological Burial Management Policy (Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Parks 2010: 8) also establishes a process for some form of community consultation for affiliated First Nations burials and Métis and "non-aboriginal" burials. The Policy appears to consciously redress constraints in HPA s.65. First, the policy appears to remove the distinction between pre- and post-1700 A.D., referring instead to "archaeological burials" as often predating "A.D. 1900" (Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Parks 2010: 1). Second, the Policy requires that:

> Once a burial's age or cultural affiliation has been determined, all appropriate interest groups **will** be immediately advised of the discovery of an archaeological burial and consulted regarding the options for (in situ) burial preservation or removal and relocation (5).

Third, the Policy requires that:

> An application to the Minister, from any person or agency, to remove an archaeological burial for purely scientific research purposes, or to undertake any destructive analyses of human skeletal remains from an archaeological burial, **shall** contain a clear written endorsement from an appropriate interest group. The Minister, in reviewing an application for scientific research, **may** consult with one or more interest groups and other stakeholders (7).

Lastly, the Policy requires the involvement of the appropriate Indigenous governments and institutions (including Métis) with respect to the final disposition of remains.

3.9.5 Customization

The Central Burial Site developed in the MOU described above represents a fairly prominent and unique characteristic of Saskatchewan's heritage engagement regime. No other customized approaches to heritage management or Indigenous engagement have been identified for Saskatchewan.

3.10 Alberta

3.10.1 Governance Context

Alberta's Historical Resources Act (R.S.A. 2000 c. H-9) is the principal heritage management statute for the province, and reflects general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada. The HRA contains no explicit reference to consultation or engagement with Indigenous communities, though there is a reference to consultation regarding traditional land use in the Aboriginal Heritage Section Information Bulletin (Aboriginal Heritage Section, Historic Resource Management 2013).

3.10.2 Authority

The Minister responsible for heritage has authority under to HRA to manage archaeology in Alberta.

3.10.3 Communication

3.10.3.1 Consultation

As noted above, consultation requirements in Alberta arise from provincial authority under the HRA, and are detailed in an Information Bulletin put out by the Alberta Aboriginal Consultation Office (2014). This bulletin details particular steps to follow when traditional use sites have been identified as part of the heritage assessment process under the HRA:

> As part of the HRA regulatory process, when a known traditional use site of an historic resource nature has the potential to be adversely affected by a development project, either consultation with the respective First Nation or avoidance of the site may be required (Aboriginal Consultation Office 2014: 4).

These traditional use sites "include but are not limited to burial sites/burial grounds, historical and ceremonial/sacred sites" (Aboriginal Consultation Office 2014: 4; Aboriginal Heritage Section, Historic Resource Management 2013: 1). The consultation process is undertaken by the province and reflects a complex system of consultation and accommodation (see Aboriginal Consultation Office 2014 for the complete process).

3.10.3.2 Reporting

While permitted archaeologists have an obligation to report their activities to the province (HRA s.30.4), there are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to reporting in Alberta.

3.10.4 Disposition

3.10.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected under both designated and undesignated circumstances (HRA s.31, s.34). There are no specific Indigenous engagement provisions with respect to site disposition in Alberta.

3.10.4.2 Artifacts

Artifacts under statute are considered property of the Crown (HRA s. 32). Presumably exercising authority premised in s.32.3 of the Act related to artifact disposition, the Royal Alberta Museum is the designated repository of archaeological objects.[27] There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements related to artifact disposition in Alberta.

3.10.4.3 Human Remains

Under the Act's Archaeological and Paleontological Research Permit Regulation (A. Reg. 254/2002) in the event of found human remains:

> 12(1) No permit holder shall disturb or excavate human remains unless the permit holder first obtains the written authorization of the Director of Vital Statistics and the Minister and attaches those authorizations to the permit.
>
> (2) A permit holder who does not have the authorizations required by subsection (1) and discovers human remains in the course of conducting activities under the permit must take all measures necessary to protect the remains from further disturbance and must cease excavating in the immediate vicinity of the remains until the permit holder obtains the authorizations.

---

[27] http://culture.alberta.ca/heritage-and-museums/programs-and-services/archaeological-survey/archaeological-research-permit-management-system/, accessed July 19, 2016.

With burial sites/grounds included in the examples of a traditional land use site the requisite engagement processes mentioned above would be also be undertaken in the case of human remains discovery.

3.11 British Columbia

3.11.1 Governance Context

British Columbia's Heritage Conservation Act R.S.B.C. 1996 c.187 is the principal statute with respect to heritage governance in the Province, and reflects most general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada. The HCA is notable and distinct from most other jurisdictions for its significant consultation provisions, which are also augmented by other heritage policy documents and sometimes even subsumed by particular MOUs and modern treaties.[28] Notably, two heritage MOUs (Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group 2007; Treaty 8 First Nations 2010); four implemented or ratified treaties (Nisga'a Final Agreement 1999, Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement 2007, Maa-nulth First Nations Final Agreement 2009, Tla'amin Final Agreement 2011); [29] and one protocol (Haida Gwaii: Kunst'aa guu-Kunst'aayah Reconciliation Protocol 2009) all contain significant heritage management sections or clauses.

---

[28] British Columbia was largely ignored by the historical treaty process.

[29] As of writing the implementation of the Yale First Nation Final Agreement had been suspended by the community and the Lheidli T'enneh First Nation Final Agreement had been defeated during a community ballot.

The Archaeology Branch also maintains several policies referencing engagement including the *Heritage Permits Policy*[30] and the *Found Human Remains Policy*.[31]

3.11.2 Authority

While the HCA assigns authority for heritage to the provincial government, Section 4 of the HCA allows the province to enter into substantive, authority-sharing agreements with First Nations:

> 4 (1) The Province may enter into a formal agreement with a first nation with respect to the conservation and protection of heritage sites and heritage objects that represent the cultural heritage of the aboriginal people who are represented by that first nation.

These same powers are also explicitly assigned to the minister responsible for heritage in s.20:

> **20** (1) To further the objects of this Act, the minister **may** do one or more of the following:
>
> > (b) enter into agreements with a person, organization, local government, first nation or the government of Canada or of a province;

As a result of the contemporary treaty negotiations, British Columbia contains several distinct heritage jurisdictions where significant heritage management authority is wielded by Indigenous governments. The Haida Gwaii: Kunst'aa guu-Kunst'aayah Reconciliation Protocol established the Haida Gwaii Management Council which is supported in a "technical capacity" by the Solutions Table in Haida Gwaii (2009: 11). The Council has a "responsibility" (2009:11) to heritage resource conservation subject to negotiated

---

[30] http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/policies/heritage_permits.htm, accessed January 23, 2015.

[31] http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/policies/found_human_remains.htm, accessed January 23, 2015.

agreement between the Council and other Protocol signatories (Province of BC and the Haida Nation). Specific responsibilities include the development of "policies and standards for the identification and conservation of heritage sites" (2009: 11).

Modern BC treaties, with the exception of the Nisga'a Final Agreement 1999, also establish significant law-making authority with respect to heritage (Maa-nulth First Nations Final Agreement 2009: c.21.2.0; Tla'amin Final Agreement 2011: c.14.4; Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement 2007: c.14.2). The Nisga'a Final Agreement, the earliest modern treaty in BC, instead refers to the development of Nisga'a heritage management processes which will replace current BC government processes (1999: c.17.36-c.17.39).

3.11.3 Communication

3.11.3.1 Notification

The BC Archaeology Branch's *Heritage Permit Policy* requires government notification of First Nations with respect to permit applications:

> complete Applications **are** referred by the Manager to First Nations asserting traditional interest in the proposed study area, with a request for comment, preferably in writing, within a reasonable time, usually 15-30 days.

The Archaeology Branch's most recent Bulletin (#25), released March 2016, also requires that where Heritage Inspection (survey) Permits do not identify particular areas of survey in the application, that once those areas are known government-identified First Nations must be given at least 30 days to comment on these specific areas. The Bulletin refers to "blanket permits" (Bulletin 25) which, for example, can cover assessments of a particular client's operations in a particular Forest District for a field season.

3.11.3.2 Consultation

The BC Heritage Permit Policy makes two references to possible consultation as part of the permit application process:

> written comments that identify concerns over the study methodology **are** referred by the Manager to the applicant for response;
>
> the Manager makes a decision as to permit issuance, or makes a recommendation to the Director, Archaeology Branch, with respect to issuance, **based on** the review comments provided by both the Project Officer and First Nation(s).

MOUs also reference further consultation outcomes when Treaty 8 or the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group First Nations identify a potential "Aboriginal" or treaty right infringement via the above permit application notification and commenting process:

> Where the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group or Hul'qumi'num member First Nations identify a potential infringement of an aboriginal right as a result of proposed activities in a section 12 or section 14 permit application in Hul'qumi'num tumuhw, the Archaeology Branch **will** either further engage in a consultation and accommodation process or will identify and advise the appropriate Crown agency responsible for this process (s.6.6).
>
> Where the Treaty 8 First Nations identify a potential adverse impact on a Treaty Right as a result of proposed activities in a permit application in the MOU zones, the Archaeology Branch **will** either further engage in a consultation and accommodation process or will identify and advise the appropriate Crown agency responsible for this process. This undertaking does not apply to section 12 permit applications with respect to oil and gas activities (s. 7.6).

There is also a plethora of other consultation requirements too involved to detail here derived from the modern treaties.

3.11.3.3 Reporting

Archaeologists are required to report their field activities to the province, which maintains a remotely accessible Provincial Archaeological Report Library and remote access to archaeological data (site forms and site location information). First Nations are one of the designated user-groups of these information platforms.[32]

3.11.4 Disposition

3.11.4.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected regardless of land title or formal designation, although the BC government has identified these protections as only applying to archaeological sites dated to before 1846 (HCA s.13). Burials, rock art and rock carvings are protected regardless of age.

Site disposition Indigenous engagement requirements appear only in conjunction with sub-provincial heritage jurisdictions such as the modern treaties and the Haida Protocol. These requirements either reflect the development of new classes of cultural sites: Monumental Cedar: Haida (Council of the Haida Nation 2013), Maa-nulth (2009: c.21.3); and Cypress: Maa-nulth (2009: c.21.3) – or the preservation of specific sites/areas – Maa-nulth: Stopper Islands (c.21.4) and Diana Island (c.21.5); Tsawwassen: Beach Grove Parcels (2007: c.14.9).

3.11.4.2 Artifacts

Artifacts under statute are not considered Crown property. Section 19 of the Act describes ownership as being held by both institutions and private individuals. Archaeological materials collected under permit must be deposited in a “secure

[32] https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/first_nations/index.htm, accessed June 28, 2016

repository" identified in the permit application.[33] There are no specific Indigenous engagement requirements in the HCA related to artifact disposition in British Columbia.

Modern treaties contain explicit reference to the disposition of artifacts (Maa-nulth 20.1; Nisga'a c.17.1-17.35; Tla'amin c.14.10-14.23; Tsawwassen c.14.11-14.17). These sections address the ownership of artifacts both previously found and yet to be discovered and the processes of repatriation of collections housed in provincial and federal institutions.

3.11.4.3 Human Remains

While there are no specific legislative requirements for engagement related to human remains contained in the Heritage Conservation Act, the Archaeology Branch does enforce the *Found Human Remains Policy*. This policy mandates the **attempted** involvement of First Nations with human remains discoveries after they are examined by the Coroner's Office and identified by the Branch:

> if remains are determined to be of aboriginal ancestry, the branch **will** attempt to contact the relevant First Nation(s). (s.1)

The Branch also mandates that the analysis made in identifying the remains:

> be limited to basic recording and in-field observations until consultation between the branch and appropriate cultural group(s) has been concluded. (s.1)

Section 2 of the Policy goes on to require that the remains be handled "respecting… the wishes of the [affiliated] cultural group(s)" where "feasible" if these wishes are laid out in the original permit. If not, the permit-holder/field director is responsible for **attempting** to contact that group to acquire that information.

---

[33] https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/policies/heritage_permits.htm, accessed July 19, 2016.

The modern treaties also require and detail processes of repatriating associated human remains found before and after treaty implementation (Maa-nulth c.20.5; Nisga'a: c.17.43; Tla'amin: c.14.24-14.27; Tsawwassen: c.14.26-14.28).

3.11.5 Customization

The presence of the various treaty and non-treaty agreements with particular heritage management attributes are discussed at length above. All of these documents create several unique sub-provincial heritage jurisdictions in British Columbia. The development of these sub-provincial jurisdictions will only expand as more First Nations negotiate final treaty agreements with Canada.

3.12 Yukon

3.12.1 Governance Context

The principal statute governing heritage management in the Yukon is the Historic Resources Act (RSY 2002 c.109), and reflects general archaeological management and conservation trends noted across Canada. The HRA also includes specific requirements for Indigenous engagement, as does the Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement with the Council for Yukon First Nations 1993. Governance is overseen by two boards with Historic Resources Act (HRA)-mandated First Nations membership: the Yukon Heritage Resources Board (s.4) and the Yukon Historic Resources Appeal Board (s.5). Associated regulations and provincial heritage policy documents – *Yukon Heritage Resource Operational Policy* (2010); *Guidelines Respecting the Discovery of Human Remains and First Nation Burial Sites in the Yukon* (1999) – include additional engagement requirements.

3.12.2 Authority

Authority over heritage oscillates between the territorial government and different First Nations in a variety of settings. Section 73 of the HRA describes ministerial powers relating to the entering into of agreements specific to heritage concerns:

> If the Minister believes that there are historic objects or human remains on or under any land, and that they are likely to be damaged or destroyed because of any activity that is being, or is proposed to be, carried out on or under the land, the Minister may make an agreement with a Yukon First Nation or the owner of the land or the person undertaking the activity about searching for, and the excavation, investigation, examination, preservation, and removal of historic objects or human remains found on or under the land.

It is unclear the extent to which these agreements have been applied to First Nations given the existence of the Umbrella Final Agreement. This agreement extends significant authority to Yukon First Nations, essentially devolving Yukon heritage management oversight on settlement lands to individual First Nations:

> 13.3.1 Each Yukon First Nation shall own and manage Moveable Heritage Resources and non-Moveable Heritage Resources and Non-Public Records, other than records which are the private property of any Person, found on its Settlement Land and on those Beds of waterbodies owned by that Yukon First Nation.

On non-settlement lands the Agreement also creates (together with the HRA) the Yukon Heritage Resources Board and the Yukon Historic Resources Appeal Board. Half of both boards are to include individuals “chosen from people nominated by governing bodies of Yukon First Nations or by the coordinating body for Yukon’s First Nations” (HRA s.4.2; s.5.1).

3.12.3 Communication

3.12.3.1 Notification

Under the *Yukon Heritage Resource Operational Policy* (2010: 2):

> Archaeological consultants are required to communicate with affected First Nations prior to undertaking field research.

3.12.3.2 Consultation

The Umbrella Agreement contains a host of consultation measures with respect to aspects of heritage management in the Yukon. While too extensive to detail here, the involvement of Yukon First Nations on both of the oversight boards as well as First Nations being the sole heritage management authorities on their settlement lands reflects a holistic requirement for Indigenous consultation and approval in all aspects of heritage management.

3.12.3.3 Reporting

O.I.C. 2003/73 regulation stipulates that copies of permit reports be sent to "any party entitled to receive one by virtue of a land claims settlement agreement" (s.11 (1a)).

3.12.4 Participation

Chapter 13.12 of the Umbrella Agreement stipulates that:

> 1 Economic opportunities, including training, employment and contract opportunities for Yukon Indian People at Designated Heritage Sites and other facilities related to Heritage Resources, **shall** be considered in Yukon First Nation Final Agreements.

Although referencing any subsequent individualized Final Agreements, the implication of this section of the Umbrella Agreement is that Indigenous community members should be included on archaeological field crews and in other heritage-related capacities. This corresponds to the *Yukon Heritage Resource Operational Policy* (2010: 2) which states that: "Heritage assessments ideally are undertaken in cooperation with affected First Nations".

3.12.5 Disposition

3.12.5.1 Sites

Site disposition on settlement lands is the responsibility of individual First Nations under the Umbrella Agreement and as indicated in the HRA:

> 15 (4) If the site is on settlement land, the Minister **may not** designate the site as a historic site without the written consent of the governing body of the Yukon First Nation which governs the settlement land.

Outside of settlement lands defined under the Umbrella Agreement:

> UFA 13.8.1 Ownership and management of Heritage Sites in a Yukon First Nation's Traditional Territory shall be addressed in that Yukon First Nation Final Agreement. Examples of heritage sites that have been identified in First Nation Final Agreements: Fort Selkirk, Forty Mile, Rampart House, Lansing Post, Tagish Post, Canyon City, Lapierre House, Tr'ochëk.

3.12.5.2 Artifacts

Artifact disposition is considered in the Umbrella Agreement and recognizes the First Nations' ownership of artifacts (moveable heritage resources). The Yukon government

also recognizes the need to build the infrastructure for Yukon First Nations given this expanded heritage management responsibility:

> 13.4.3 Government [Canada, Yukon or both], where practicable, shall assist Yukon First Nations to develop programs, staff and facilities to enable the repatriation of Moveable and Documentary Heritage Resources relating to the culture and history of Yukon Indian People which have been removed from the Yukon, or are retained at present in the Yukon, where this is consistent with the maintenance of the integrity of national or territorial collections.

3.12.5.3 Human Remains

On settlement lands human remains are the sole responsibility of the associated First Nation. The HRA references Indigenous human remains found outside settlement lands:

> (2) If the site where the human remains are found is not on settlement land, but is a burial site of Indian people, then the Yukon First Nation to whose traditional territory the site pertains is entitled to take over the ownership and right of possession of the human remains and, if the site is on public lands, then it shall be managed jointly by the Government of the Yukon and Yukon First Nation to whose traditional territory the site pertains.

The *Guidelines Respecting the Discovery of Human Remains and First Nation Burial Sites in the Yukon* (1999) outlines an extensive engagement process respecting the discovery of human remains. This process details notification, research/investigation, disposition, reporting, and arbitration requirements that are too substantive to summarize here.

3.12.6 Customization

The Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement means that each First Nation's settlement lands constitutes a sub-territorial heritage jurisdiction.

3.13 Northwest Territories

3.13.1 Governance Context

The Archaeological Sites Act (S.N.W.T. 2014 c.9) replaced the archaeological sections of the Northwest Territories Act (R.S.C., 1985, c.N-27) following its repeal and conversion into the Northwest Territories Act (SC 2014, c.2, s.2). The Archaeological Sites Act (ASA) contains nothing in the way of archaeological requirements relating to permits or protections, serving primarily as an administrative document enabling the Archaeological Sites Regulations (NWT Reg. 024-2014), which itself details processes consistent with general archaeological governance processes identified in the rest of Canada.

The Northwest Territories' heritage engagement requirements are found within a combination of regulations, policies and agreements. Notably, the bulk of the Northwest Territories (NWT) mainland falls under the Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations (SOR/98-429) engagement requirements which are supplemented by the requirements contained in modern Gwich'in and Dene/ Métis treaties (Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Agreement 1992; Sahtu Dene and Métis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement 1993; Tłįchǫ Land Claims and Self-Government Agreement 2003).

The Northwest Territories Inuit mainland and the Artic islands (the Inuvialuit Settlement Region) as constituted by the Inuvialuit Final Agreement 2005 governs archaeological survey under Territorial Land Use Regulations and the Inuvialuit Lands Administration Rules and Procedures. Important to note, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement has no heritage section and makes no reference to either heritage or archaeological resources. Additional engagement references are also made in territorial policy documents: *Archaeological*

Permit Requirements (2014); *Heritage Services Policy* (Northwest Territories 1993); *Culture and Heritage Strategic Framework* (Northwest Territories 2015).

3.13.2 Authority

Heritage authority rests largely in the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC) and the associated ministry. First Nation agreements all stipulate in some way that these First Nations are responsible for managing heritage resources located within their territories (Gwich'in: s.25.1.6; Sahtu/Métis: s.26.2.4; Tłįchǫ: s.17.2.4). In Inuvialuit, essentially any heritage-related interaction in that region could be characterized as Indigenous engagement since the government itself is an Inuit institution. The PWNHC and the territorial government appear to have no explicit authority in the heritage governance of Inuvaluit.

3.13.3 Communication

3.13.3.1 Notification

Under the Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations (SOR/98-429):

> 12. Where, in the course of a land-use operation, a suspected historical or archaeological site or burial ground is discovered,
>
> > (b) the Board or inspector shall notify any affected first nation, the Tlicho Government if the operation is taking place in the part of Monfwi Gogha De Niitlee that is in the Northwest Territories, and the department of the Government of the Northwest Territories responsible therefor of the location of the site or burial ground and consult them regarding the nature of the materials, structures or artifacts and any further actions to be taken.

3.13.3.2 Consultation

Consultation requirements aside from those specified in the Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations (SOR/98-429: s.12) related to heritage management are located in each of the NWT's modern treaties. These consultation requirements are extensive and largely involve the review and approval of permit applications (general land use and archaeological), as well the requirements of those archaeological permits, both inside and outside of First Nations treaty territories (Gwich'in: s.25.1.7, s.25.1.9; Sahtu/Métis: s.26.2.5, 26.2.6; Tłı̨chǫ: s.17.2.6-17.2.8).

3.13.3.3 Reporting

Archaeologists are required to report their field activities to the territory (NWT Reg. 024-2014 s.12).

The PWNHC Archaeological Permit Requirements (2014: 1) also state that:

> 4. Permit holders are **required** to communicate the aims and findings of their research with local communities.[34]

The permit requirements for projects on treaty lands (Gwich'in: s.25.1.9; Sahtu/Métis: s.26.2.6; Tłı̨chǫ: s.17.2.8) also include a stipulation requiring "submission of a technical and a non-technical report on the work completed". The Sahtu/Métis (26.2.8) and Tłı̨chǫ (s.17.3.6) agreements also stipulate that additional consultations with these groups be undertaken when the territorial government "prepares public information material… to ensure that appropriate recognition is given to the culture and history" of these First Nations.

[34] "local communities" in the Northwest Territories can be read as synonymous with Indigenous communities.

3.13.4 Participation

The Gwich'in (s.25.1.10) and Tłįchǫ (s.17.3.5) treaties include sections on participation which are virtually identical and represented by the Gwich'in quote here:

> The Gwich'in shall have preference in being hired at public sites, museums, heritage resource projects, archaeological works and similar public facilities and projects in the settlement area related to Gwich'in heritage resources, in a manner to be set out in the protected area agreement or, where there is no protected area agreement, in the management or work plans for the public sites, museums, projects, facilities and works referred to in this chapter. The Gwich'in Tribal Council shall be consulted in the development of such plans.

Although participation requirements are not present for the remainder of the NWT, the *Heritage Services Policy* (1993) does emphasize the promotion of "community-based initiatives to preserve, portray and promote the heritage of the Northwest Territories" (1993: 1).

3.13.5 Disposition

3.13.5.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected regardless of land title or formal designation (NWT Reg. 024-2014 s.4-5).

Site disposition requirements related to engagement aside from those specified in the Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations (SOR/98-429: s.12) are contained within the permit consultation sections of the NWT's modern treaties (Gwich'in: s.25.1.9; Sahtu/Métis: s.26.2.6; Tłįchǫ: s.17.2.8). All three examples require the specification of "plans and methods for site protection and/or restoration". The Sahtu/Métis agreement (s.26.4) also requires the establishment of a joint working group which:

> shall consider and make recommendations to the appropriate Minister or government agency and to the Sahtu Tribal Council with respect to the following Sahtu heritage places and sites: [list follows]

3.13.5.2 Artifacts

Although not explicitly designated as Crown property, the possession of archaeological materials found in the NWT is determined by the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (NWT Reg. 024-2014 s.3) which is also the designated repository of materials found under permit (NWT Reg. 024-2014 s.13).

Artifact disposition engagement requirements aside from those specified in the Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations (SOR/98-429: s.12) also emerge exclusively from the modern Dene/Gwich'in treaties. All these treaties require: reporting on the disposition of artifacts (Gwich'in: s.25.1.9; Sahtu/Métis: s.26.2.6; Tłı̨chǫ: s.17.2.8); the repatriation of artifacts (Gwich'in: s.25.1.11; Sahtu/Métis: s.26.2.7; Tłı̨chǫ: s.17.3.1); and the negotiated curation of collections in both Indigenous and other institutions (Gwich'in: s.25.1.11; Sahtu/Métis: s.26.2.7; Tłı̨chǫ: s.17.3.1).

3.13.5.3 Human Remains

Human remains disposition is also referenced in the aforementioned Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations (SOR/98-429: s.12). Apart from this overarching requirement each of the Dene/Gwich'in modern treaties includes some reference to human remains disposition. The Gwich'in treaty makes no separate reference to human remains apart from including burial sites in the blanket term "Gwich'in heritage resources" (s.25.1.1). The Sahtu/Métis makes no explicit reference to human remains. The Tłı̨chǫ agreement is the only modern treaty to explicitly reference the repatriation of human remains (s.17.3.4):

> At the request of the Tłı̨chǫ Government, government shall

(a) deliver any human remains and associated grave goods that were found in Tłı̨chǫ burial sites in the Northwest Territories and subsequently removed from the Northwest Territories and are still held by government to the Tłı̨chǫ Government in accordance with applicable legislation and government policies; and

(b) use reasonable efforts to facilitate the Tłı̨chǫ Government's access to Tłı̨chǫ artifacts and human remains of Tłı̨chǫ ancestry that are held in other public and private collections.

3.13.6 Customization

The modern treaties in the NWT create a series of sub-territorial heritage jurisdictions. A component of the heritage sections of these treaties that has not been explored in the above framework are processes surrounding the preservation and recognition of Indigenous places names. The Gwich'in: (s.25.1.12), Sahtu/Métis: (s.26.3), and the Tłı̨chǫ (s.17.5) agreements all detail processes intended to retain these place names both internally to the community and externally, to the territory at large.

3.14 Nunavut

3.14.1 Governance Context

The Nunavut Act (S.C. 1993, c.28) and the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement 1993 created this new territory out of the Northwest Territories. Although there is no specific heritage legislation, Nunavut instituted the Nunavut Archaeological Palaeontological Sites Regulations 2001 (SOR/2001-220) which is the primary mechanism by which archaeological management and heritage engagement is required in the territory. Additional engagement requirements are found in the original Nunavut Land Claims

Agreement 1993, the *Human Remains Policy* (Culture, Language, Elders and Youth n.d.) and the *Guidelines for Applicants and Holders of Nunavut Territory Archaeology and Palaeontology Permits* (Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, Stenton 2003) hereafter referred to as the Guidelines.

3.14.2 Authority

The Nunavut territorial government is the primary heritage management authority in territory. The extent of the territory's authority can be conceived of as affecting two distinct land title areas in Nunavut. The first area encompasses lands constituting the Crown and private title areas. The second area encompasses Inuit Owned Lands, a distinct title category, which are designated in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1993: Article 17). Under s.21.2.1 of the Agreement:

> Except where otherwise provided in the Agreement persons other than Inuit may not enter, cross or remain on Inuit Owned Lands without the consent of the DIO [Designated (regional) Inuit Organization].

This section seemingly precludes any non-Inuit archaeologist from working on Inuit Owned Lands without permission, foreseeably requiring significant, consent-based consultation prior to archaeological fieldwork.

The Agreement also requires Inuit participation in the crafting of policy and legislation relating to heritage in Part 3 of Article 33:

> 33.3.1 The [Inuit Heritage] Trust shall be invited to participate in developing government policy and legislation on archaeology in the Nunavut Settlement Area.

The Inuit Heritage Trust is a DIO-appointed agency responsible for (s.33.4.3):

> supporting, encouraging, and facilitating the conservation, maintenance, restoration and display of archaeological sites and specimens in the Nunavut Settlement Area, in addition to any other functions set out in the Agreement.

3.14.3 Communication

3.14.3.1 Notification

The Guidelines (2003: 6) details the following notification process:

> 6.2 The Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth translates applications into Inuktitut, and the original application and the Inuktitut copy are forwarded to the Inuit Heritage Trust for review. The Inuit Heritage Trust coordinates the community review of permit applications. The Government of Nunavut may also forward copies of the application to other organizations for their comments.

3.14.3.2 Consultation

The Agreement includes a broad vision of Inuit consultation with respect to heritage management in s.33.2.2:

> The archaeological record of the Nunavut Settlement Area is of spiritual, cultural, religious and educational importance to Inuit. Accordingly, the identification, protection and conservation of archaeological sites and specimens and the interpretation of the archaeological record is of primary importance to Inuit and their involvement is both desirable and necessary.

Specific archaeological consultations are also required within the Guidelines. Both Class 1 (6.1.1) and Class 2 (6.1.2) permit applications require “confirmation of consultation with land owners and affected communities” (4). The exact parameters of this consultation are not defined.

3.14.3.3 Reporting

The Guidelines require that an archaeological permit holder "write and submit to the Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth a non-technical summary for use in public education programs…" (6). Class 1 and Class 2 permit holders must also submit copies of archaeological reports to the Inuit Heritage Trust (SOR/2001-220: s.14).

3.14.4 Participation

Part 6 of the Agreement requires that "preferential treatment" be given to "qualified Inuit contractors" where government agencies receive tenders for archaeological contracts (33.6.1a) and that "all contractors give preferential treatment to qualified Inuit" as employees (33.6.1b).

3.14.5 Disposition

3.14.5.1 Sites

Archaeological sites are deemed to be protected regardless of land title or formal designation (SOR/2001-220: 4-5). Broad engagement with respect to site disposition is required by the Land Claims Agreement (33.2).

3.14.5.2 Artifacts

Part 7 (s.33.7.1) of the Agreement establishes joint ownership of archaeological specimens acquired from public lands (with the exception of public records, private property and Parks Canada lands) between the government and the Inuit Heritage Trust.

Class 2 permit applications are also required to indicate that artifacts will be deposited with a "curation repository designated by the Inuit Heritage Trust" when those artifacts are collected from Inuit Owned Lands (SOR/2001-220: s.9.1.f.i).

3.14.5.3 Human Remains

Nunavut's *Human Remains Policy* (n.d.) contains the only reference to human remains engagement policy in Nunavut's heritage governance framework. The Policy dictates that the province's Chief Archaeologist "consult with the Inuit Heritage Trust" in the context of human remains (s.6.d). The Policy (s.7) also indicates that:

> The excavation of human remains will be permitted only under exceptional circumstances. Consultation with community and Land Claim authorities will be conducted before excavation or collection of human remains will be permitted.

3.14.6 Customization

Nunavut represents a territorial heritage regime but with many of the attributes of a sub-territorial/provincial jurisdiction given its origins in a modern treaty.

3.15 Patterns of Archaeological Governance

As revealed through this governance review, there is a plethora of legislative, regulatory and policy directions towards the management of archaeology and the practice of Indigenous engagement across jurisdictions in Canada. Some aspects are fairly common across jurisdictions, such as policy and agreement-based customization compensating for inflexible legislation, and the role of permits/licenses in governing who can and cannot conduct archaeology and the qualifications needed to do so. Others, such as the ownership of artifacts (private or Crown; Indigenous disposition or not) are diverse and reflect provincial, territorial or even sub-jurisdiction particulars. General trends, and the implications of these trends, are discussed below.

The spectrum of heritage governance authorities in Canada is likely one of the most consistent elements listed here. Each province and territory maintains some form of heritage bureaucracy overseen by a ministry and minister responsible for culture/heritage/archaeology. Some jurisdictions have apportioned various amounts of heritage governance authority to others in sub-jurisdictional contexts.

Treaties and MOUs provided the most used means of divesting aspects of heritage governance to Indigenous communities and creating sub-provincial/territorial heritage jurisdictions. In all but one of the treaties signed since the 1980s (Inuvialuit Final Agreement), heritage management was an identified component of a larger suite of authority transfers. Each heritage chapter of these negotiated treaties emphasized how disconnected contemporary provincial/territorial heritage legislation is from the heritage goals of Indigenous peoples. The place heritage occupies in the pantheon of Indigenous rights and responsibilities defined by modern treaties reinforces the likelihood that the SCC will eventually include Indigenous heritage as an “Aboriginal” and treaty right.

In terms of engagement processes all three elements of communication (notification, consultation and reporting) are substantively present in the North (Yukon, NWT, Nunavut), Nunatsiavut (Labrador), and, to a lesser extent, in British Columbia, and, to a much lesser extent, in Ontario. Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the rest of Newfoundland have no real engagement communication requirements whatsoever. The remaining provinces have limited Indigenous notification and consultation requirements, typically arising from sub-jurisdictional agreements or tied to burial discoveries, but lack Indigenous reporting requirements.

All jurisdictions require some reporting of archaeological activities back to the government, however the degree to which these reports are made accessible outside of the government is variable and, I believe, speaks to the perceived value of archaeology by government. Ideally, if there is a government-recognized public or intellectual service inherent to archaeological practice, then archaeological findings would reasonably be made accessible to non-government/non-CRM institutions and individuals. But this is not the case for several jurisdictions.

The most significant engagement communication regimes correlate with regions that have negotiated contemporary (post-1980s) treaties (the North, Nunatsiavut and British Columbia). With the exception of Newfoundland, these engagement communication requirements are comprehensive both on and off treaty lands. Essentially, communication requirements pertaining to heritage are significant parts of treaty heritage chapters, or have the most potential to be significant; however, even outside of these treaty areas these jurisdictions exhibit relatively greater engagement communication requirements than other regions. The strength of the communication requirements is as much a product of their often explicit directions regarding what constitutes notification, consultation and reporting. In jurisdictions such as Nova Scotia and Ontario, where consultation requirements do exist (and, in Nova Scotia, is conflated with the duty to consult), it is tempered by a failure to define what actually constitutes consultation.

Nowhere are these processes of relative communication engagement more striking than in the reporting element of the communication suite. The North and Nunatsiavut are the only regions to explicitly require reporting of archaeological outcomes to Indigenous communities. Although not a requirement, British Columbia directly provides these reports to Indigenous communities through access to their online report database. All other regions have no such dissemination engagement requirement and no mechanism through which communities and other stakeholders can easily access these outcomes, though several make some limited efforts at making that reporting publicly available, or in the case of Quebec have the capacity to release confidential information explicitly to First Nations.

Outside of the Territories, jurisdictions contain only sporadic instances where Indigenous participation in archaeology should or may be required. The NWT and Nunavut are the only jurisdictions in the country to explicitly require “preference” to be given to Indigenous peoples with respect to the hiring of crews and staff for projects and institutions that involve their heritage. These examples implicitly prioritize the economic benefits of participation.

The disposition of sites, artifacts and, most of all, humans remains represents a confluence of questions and contestations over ownership and authority, and in part variations seen across jurisdictions are a product of the age of defining statutes, reflecting changing State understandings of what the archaeological record is over time: from heritage curiosity, to State owned heritage, to a more complex and contested heritage. Engagement related to the disposition of sites and artifacts, when it is raised, appears largely dependent on heritage agreements that go beyond legislation and policy standards (Nunatsiavut; BC treaties, protocol and MOUs; Yukon; NWT; Nunavut). Provincial standards, when they do reference Indigenous interests in the disposition of sites and artifacts, often qualify the responsibilities of government and others with respect to those interests as non-mandatory (Nova Scotia) or symbolic (New Brunswick). Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, PEI, and the rest of Newfoundland make no reference at all to engagement requirements related to site or artifact disposition.

The disposition of human remains, however, is an entirely different subject. Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut all explicitly detail processes of Indigenous consultation and participation in decision making in the context of found human remains, in statute or regulation, or in more policy-based documents that circumvent legislative constraints to do so, as in the case of Saskatchewan. PEI has no explicit processes but does explicitly enable the government to negotiate agreements with Indigenous communities that would implement such protocols. The remainder of Newfoundland, Quebec and Alberta either have no human remains engagement requirements or their requirements are so narrow as to make them insubstantial.[35]

What all aspects of communication, disposition and participation demonstrate is the growing willingness of governments to create some kind of overt recognition of

---

[35] New Brunswick is not mentioned here due to the inaccessibility of its human remains policy.

Indigenous communities and First Nations as needing to participate in some dimensions of archaeological practice.

Customization is an increasingly common characteristic of heritage governance in the Canadian State. Contemporary treaties and their redistributions of heritage management authority and their co-management aspirations all contribute to a growing subset of intra-provincial/intra-territorial heritage regimes capable of charting their own paths with respect to archaeological management and engagement. It remains to be seen whether these new regimes will resemble the provincial/territorial models of heritage governance writ large or if they will become something different, though clearly differing priorities than those reflected in general jurisdictional formations of archaeological management are present in these regimes.

The ideological tension between State and Indigenous-sought governance outcomes reflects the broader contested space heritage occupies in Canadian discourse. The governance structures described above appear to increasingly seek to moderate this contested discourse as archaeological heritage and are re-imagined in updated statutes, or in policies, guidelines and agreements designed to work around statutory limitations, such as in Saskatchewan, Ontario or Nova Scotia. Customizations are tailored to the heritage governance circumstances in each jurisdiction. At this point in time there is no nation-scale, Canadian imperative to engage Indigenous communities as part of the archaeological process.

4 Trails and Means of Travel: Datasets, Data Gathering and Methodology

Having now outlined the conceptual, legal and political landscapes upon which the day-to-day of engagement practice occurs, in this chapter I will present the process and framework used in this dissertation for my exploration of engagement processes. Before delving into the details, however, I think it would be worth reviewing a few key concepts which are foundational to everything that follows.

4.1 Conceptual Places and Travelers

In Chapter One I briefly introduced engagement as meaning any instance where the practice, planning and purpose of archaeology is not exclusive to archaeologists, and, within that broader definition, specifically when Indigenous communities or individuals are present in any capacity. Government bureaucrats and developers in other spheres beyond heritage management however these spheres only feature in this dissertation in conjunction with the CRM subject matter. Presence can infer both physical participation as well as a dislocated authority over or influence on the decision-making of any archaeological project and its outcomes.

To expand on this focus further, for the purposes of this dissertation an “instance of engagement” constitutes the interaction of an archaeological role in the engagement (company, individual, institution, etc.), with an Indigenous role in the engagement (individual, government, institution, etc.), bounded within a field season, and tied to a specific archaeological project (Figure 4.1). These boundaries are set in my analytical approach to the data partly as a result of the ways in which engagement is reported on,

which itself reflects the seasonally compartmentalized nature of archaeological work.[36] Suffice it to say it appears that enough changes occur in long, multi-year projects to allow for distinguishing specific field season instances.

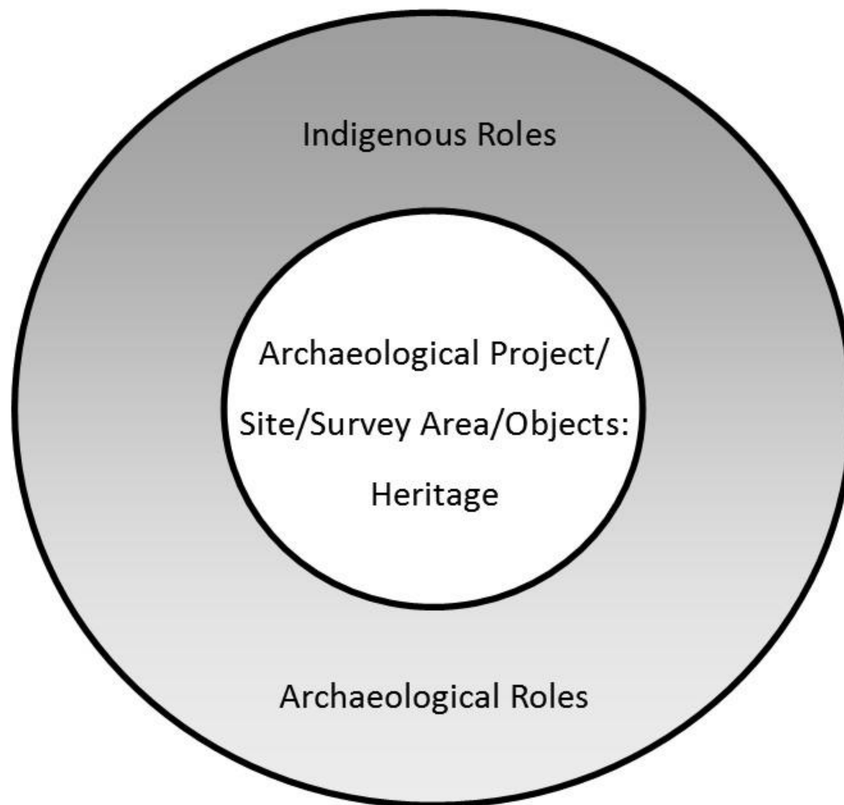


Figure 4.1: The Instance of Engagement – Indigenous and Archaeological Roles Intersecting during a Heritage Project

As for the "roles" played in engagement, the term "Archaeological" encompasses the individuals occupying the commercial- academic- government- professional half of this engagement. This includes the managing archaeologists, office/lab staff, field crews and even government officials schooled and trained in the archaeological profession's

---

[36] Although the cessation of fieldwork in winter is not standard practice in all parts of Canada.

dispositions and conventions - the archaeological habitus and *doxa* (Bourdieu 1972[1977]; see also Ferris 2007; Ferris and Welch 2014). If Habitus constitutes the unconscious parameters by which individuals act and react, then doxa represents the conscious but unchallenged societal norms to which individuals enculturated within a particular habitus adhere unquestioningly. For example, that what archaeologists do is inherently "good" is a disposition held by archaeologists that, as part of the larger doxa archaeologists operate in, is accepted beneath questioning. Likewise, within an archaeological habitus, "looting is bad" is part of the archaeologist's doxa that has been a repeated element of every first year archaeology course I have ever been involved with. When archaeologists are faced with charges of heritage destruction and looting by Descendant communities, these charges challenge their doxic framing of the world, and can lead to either an orthodox rejection of that criticisms, or heterodox accommodation of those different worldviews (e.g., Thomas 2000). For present purposes, individuals entangled within an archaeological habitus and occupying the 'professional' side are referred to simply as archaeologists for the remainder of this dissertation.

Indigenous roles are held by the individuals from Indigenous communities, either as representative of the community or not, that operate within instances of engagement. They are the field monitors and participants providing a community presence within and on archaeological projects, they are the council representatives, as well as the Lands and Resources and Heritage office staff at Nation/Band and Tribal level governments. Individuals from this side of instances of engagement operate from within their own habitus and doxa - products of their personal experiences and the tenets of the societies to which they are a part. In this dissertation the distinction between communities as collectives and community members as individuals is considered on a case-by-case basis. When referencing engagement practice generally, archaeologists are often characterized as engaging with communities as opposed to individuals. This language reflects the notion of a duty to consult prerogative wherein the engager is the archaeologist and the "engagee" is the community. But functionally, engagement occurs between two individuals who are representatives/proxies for the collectives to which they are affiliated

(archaeological company/government/institution; Indigenous community/government/institution).

This representative/proxy role speaks to the fact that instances of engagement do not occur in a vacuum, and are in effect products of wider contexts. The definition and consideration of this context alongside the theorization of processes inherent to the instance of engagement itself represents the outline of an analytic framework capable of speaking to both. Characterizing engagement in this way provides two realms of analysis: the inner and the outer; the moment and the setting; the instance and the context.

Figure 4.2: Engagement Context and Engagement Instance

4.2 The Analytical Framework: A Vehicle for Understanding Engagement

The analysis and interpretation of the data collected during this research was conducted within an analytical framework capable of representing both engagement contexts and engagement instances in a comprehensive and nuanced way. While there are other frameworks that have attempted the assessment and evaluation of collaboration in

archaeology (e.g., Connaughton et al 2014; McGuire 2008; see also Hogg 2014) I feel that the framework proposed here allows me to more effectively consider engagement contexts and instances across the diversity of Canadian practice.

This proposed analytical framework consists of two parts reflecting the binary established above between the engagement context and the engagement instance. The first part, addressing the engagement instance, is an applied form of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural and social capitals (Bourdieu 1986; 1984[2003]). The second part, representing the engagement context, is a customized thematic set of what I label here as Engagement Conditions.

4.2.1 The Engagement Instance: Bourdieu's Cultural and Social Capital Marketplace

In the 1980s, Pierre Bourdieu developed an economics analogy to the distribution of power in social interaction and relations, and the supposed attribution and accumulation of various non-monetary, socially constructed assets, or "capitals." These capitals are variously exchanged and come to have value within a symbolic marketplace where transactions between individuals and communities are based on investments of labour, time and pre-existing understandings of value (Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu 1984 [2003]):

> the structure and distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices. (Bourdieu 1986: 242)

In Bourdieu's constructed marketplace, Economic Capital is merely that form of capital representing hard currency, credit, property and other tangible and real forms of monetized assets (Bourdieu 1986: 241). But alongside Economic Capital Bourdieu argued for the existence of cultural and social capitals. Cultural capitals included

embodied (experiences and skills), objectified (artwork, artifacts, heirlooms, etc.) and institutionalized (university degrees and other certifications) assets of recognized value. Social capital represented the collective or accumulated cultural capitals held by individuals affiliated with a community or association and capable of being deployed by a designated proxy.

Application of these forms of capital to fields of heritage study, such as archaeology, have been limited. Nicholas and Hollowell (2007) make passing reference to Bourdieu's symbolic capitals, while Throsby (1999, 2002) and Jeannotte (2004) undertake a more in-depth analysis of cultural capital as it pertains to tangible/intangible heritage and cultural policy respectively, but neither references archaeology nor makes any substantive consideration of Indigenous communities. To better apply these forms of symbolic capital to instances of archaeological engagement, I define them more specifically below.

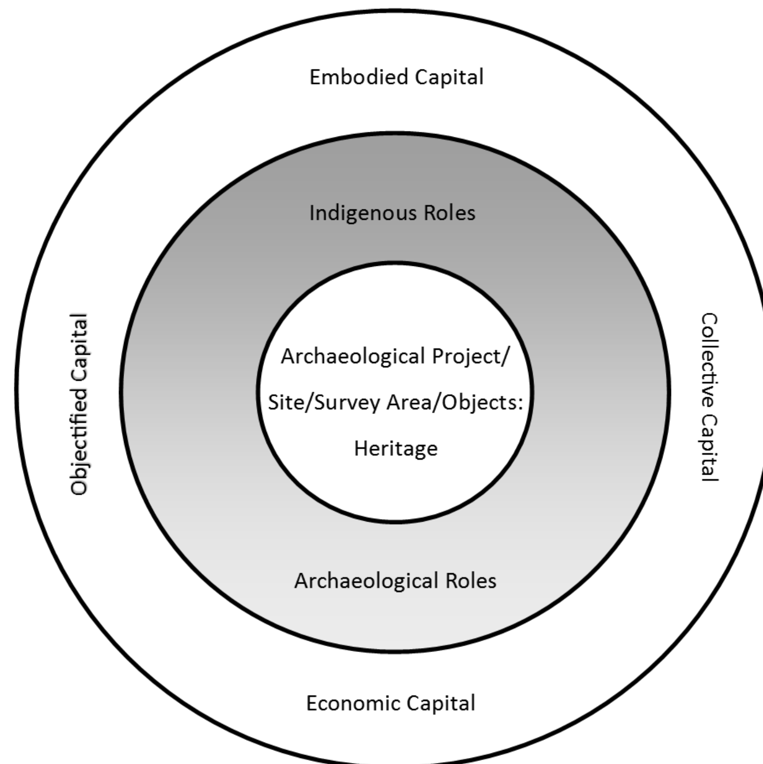


Figure 4.3: Engagement Capitals and Engagement Instances

4.2.1.1 Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's cultural capital was the more nuanced of his capital concepts. The concept reflected aspects of habitus in that cultural capital could be unacknowledged and subconscious (Embodied Capital). It could also represent certain elements of doxa in that particular capital elements might be unquestioned within certain social settings – for example the importance of a degree (institutionalized capital) as a government requirement for conducting/supervising archaeological projects. Together with habitus and doxa, Bourdieu's capital concepts and the structuring of the world through a series of subjective, intangible, value-set transactions formulate a dynamic system of understanding the social world that individuals with imperfect sets of knowledge move through. Any social interaction, any acquisition of information or experience, any imbuing of social power by collective or symbolic value within objects, constitutes a cultural (or social) capital transaction. Individuals acquire knowledge and skills through their lived experiences, accumulating a reservoir of information and training. Objects are invested with all manner of associative symbolism (artistic, contextual, and biographical) making them reflect more than the simple sum of their material parts and function. Institutions enculture a social standing which is shared by those who are recognized by those institutions (e.g., the Ivy League graduate). Embodied, objectified and institutionalized respectively, these examples represent *states* (forms of existence) of cultural capital.

4.2.1.1.1 The Embodied State

The embodied state of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986: 245-246) represents the accumulation of experience, training and education within an individual. Each internalized experience, each new piece of retained knowledge, positively contributes to an individual's acquired Embodied Capital. Jeannotte (2004: 4) defined Embodied Capital as "the system of lasting dispositions that form an individual's character and guide his or her actions and tastes". Dispositions are the properties inherent to and structuring an individual's conscious actions (decision-making) and unconscious

reactions. In other words, an individual is 'disposed' to do something in that their accumulation of training and experience directs them to that course of action, either consciously or unconsciously. Think about the difference between a novice driver and veteran. A novice driver does not have the depth of experience of the veteran and could easily be placed in unfamiliar driving situations (roundabouts, freeway merging, etc.). Whereas the veteran when resolving these situations might not even be consciously aware of any decision-making process. The difference between the novice and the veteran driver is an expression of Embodied Capital accumulation. Embodied Capital also represents an individual's identity as internally constructed and externally projected and perceived (e.g. Goffman 1959).

Pertaining to archaeology, Embodied Capital includes many elements embodied within an individual, perhaps best thought of as informal or practical knowledge in addition to formal or institutional knowledge acquired through training and education. Informal knowledge can be acquired in one of two ways: firstly, through new experiences and the retention of corresponding knowledge; and secondly, through transmission between individuals. Bourdieu (1986: 249) theorized that Embodied Capital was capable of being transmitted to, or inherited by, one individual from another. Examples of Embodied Capital relevant to archaeology would include: experience working in and familiarity with particular regions; experience working on certain categories of sites; practical familiarity with different types of artifacts; so-called "bushcraft" skills including orienteering, animal sign identification, plant identification, and hazard avoidance; and, skills related to navigating social and government-processes in achieving desired outcomes. These examples are in addition to the realized skills and methodology developed by archaeologists through both institutional training and practical experience. Consider the following example:

Darryl and his crew set out early from the hotel. He knew that if they left at a certain time they would arrive at their destination without encountering much in the way of forestry road traffic. The first trucks into the bush would only start loading by the time the crew arrived on site. Knowing the blind corners and hills on the narrow road into the

proposed cut block was one thing but avoiding tree-laden trucks coming the other way was another thing entirely. It didn't help that the radio band for that particular road was unmarked and it was only by chance encounter with one driver that he learned what it was. As planned his calling of "empty pick-up" at various kilometre markings was answered only with other "empty" calls. Traffic was only flowing one way at the moment.

I can attest that a version of the above narrative plays out fairly often in the natural resource-rich backcountry of various provinces. University training does not prepare you for nor likely even acknowledges the risks of just getting to an archaeological site or conducting surveys in different parts of the country. In the narrative, Darryl's experience of the area and encounters with the people working there constitutes an embodied asset. As such he is capable of relating these experiences to new crew members whose Embodied Capitals might consist primarily of unrealized formal instruction and training; more of value in the classroom than Darryl's experiential value of logging roads.

Although not explicitly referenced by Bourdieu, I also take Embodied Capital to encompass an individual's capacity for and skill at establishing, operating within and maintaining relationships. With each new interpersonal interaction, the value of that Embodied Capital to those particular relationships would change. In other words, as person A interacts with person B, A's Embodied Capital particular to that relationship should increase or decrease with each subsequent experience (as would B's in relation to A). This is of course dependent on both A and B's capacity to reflect on those interactions and tailor their part in subsequent engagements accordingly. Embodied Capital in this sense simply represents the possession by an individual of interpersonal skills and experiences relevant to (and thus of value within) a particular interaction. The means with which these skills and experiences are deployed, and deployed effectively, are entirely dependent on the relative goals (short/long term), or absence thereof, of participants and collectives in any given interaction.

These interpersonal skills and experiences can also be applied beyond the individual relationships within which they are forged. In other words, person A could apply interpersonal skills acquired with person B to conversations with person C; however, the appropriateness and efficacy of this extension would be a reflection on person A's capacity to recognize the merit of such a deployment, and person C's willingness to recognize those skills as of value in that context.

The constitution of the embodied state of cultural capital in the experiences and identities of individuals as they relate to each other and the world around them lies at the heart of Indigenous engagement in CRM. In terms of my analytical approach to the data accumulated for this study (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, literature reviewed, etc.), I sought out instances where Embodied Capital references were raised, and I then flagged or coded these instances as either passive (acquisition) or active (transmission). Passive references reflected instances in data I analysed within the Canadian Archaeological Association's newsletter where engagement is mentioned but without any evidence of Embodied Capital. Active instances were present in all datasets, and reflected occasions of engagement where information and/or training was consciously exchanged or acquired. Coded Embodied Capital references were sorted to reflect archaeological and Indigenous roles.

4.2.1.1.2 The Objectified State

Cultural capital in an objectified state is represented by the symbolic value attributed to material objects and media (Bourdieu 1986: 246-247). According to Bourdieu, this form of cultural capital is embedded within objects by the creator, which is transferred or enhanced by a proxy with a recognized social license to hold or enhance this value attribution; this process also reinforces the proxy's own Embodied Capital. Jeannotte (2004: 4) defined Objectified Capital as "the means of cultural expression, such as painting, writing, and dance that are symbolically transmissible to others". For example, the art historian (proxy) identifies a rare painting by a noted artist (creator); the distinguished social theorist (creator) writes a treatise on social inequalities which is held

up as model for government by a politician (proxy). Objectified Capital represents the transcription of other capitals (economic and embodied) into and onto particular objects which are capable of acting as mediums for these other capitals. The painting constitutes a concentration of economic value as well as the potential for delivering experiential value to observers (e.g., experiencing the Mona Lisa or the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel); the treatise provides knowledge to its readers (Embodied Capital).

Archaeology, as a discipline wholly invested in the material world, is ripe for the application of the Objectified Capital concept. Archaeologists act as knowledge creators in their ascription of particular values (taxonomic, technical, and educational) on material objects of the past, while also act as proxies, purporting to identify the intent of the original material creators of these same objects. When this past is affiliated with Indigenous communities, tensions can arise between the creator's descendants (specific or generalized) and the self-affirming archaeologist-as-proxy in "knowing" the creator's purpose of an artifact's (or even a place's) Objectified Capital.

When I apply this concept to the operation and practice of CRM, that objectified cultural capital is present in those same cultural resources that give cultural resource management its moniker. Sites and artifacts are acquired both economically – via the expenditure of Economic Capital on their collection and documentation; and culturally – via the Embodied Capital of the archaeologist role acting as creator as well as proxy. The tension with Indigenous communities and other Descendant groups who might also have an Embodied Capital related to a specific place or object exemplifies Bourdieu's (1986: 247) characterization of objectified cultural capital:

> [Objectified Capital] exists as symbolically and materially active, effective capital only insofar as it is appropriated by agents and invested as a weapon and a stake in the struggles which go on in the fields of cultural production (the artistic field, the scientific field, etc.) and, beyond them, in the field of the social classes – struggles in which the agents wield strengths and obtain profits proportionate to their mastery of this objectified capital, and therefore to the extent of their embodied capital.

Archaeological sites and artifacts, under these conditions, are capable of being more than just realized Economic Capital output from commercial CRM processes and for largely intellectual archaeological purposes. The objects and the places (sites) they came from are more than the value ascribed to them by developers and, inherently by government processes, which is only seen as optimized by the removal of those objects and erasure of the heritage value of the place, in order to be replaced by perceived, higher-value developments.

Archaeological sites and artifacts are *cultural capital* resources capable of realization beyond archaeologically-ascribed realms of value, be it development-, government-, Indigenous- or other ascribed realms of value (Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu 1984 [2003]). Consequently, it could be argued that the Objectified Capitals of most archaeological collections are currently unrealized given their condition as inaccessible and understudied, sitting in boxes on a shelf without acknowledgement. From a strictly contemporary CRM perspective these artifacts, and the sites from which they originated, have the most Objectified Capital prior to their excavation. Their presence, as a perceived obstacle to development, necessitates the expenditure of Economic Capital in their definition and removal. The subsequent process of survey and excavation also creates a contested space wherein communities leverage their stated Objectified Capital to participate and address this and other spheres of contestation, which from an outside perspective might appear only tangentially related to heritage sites and materials.

In terms of my analytical approach to the data accumulated for this study (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, literature reviewed, etc.), I sought out instances where Objectified Capital were raised, and coded when material values were ascribed as part of the engagement process, though I avoided associating Objectified Capital references related to attributions of an artifact's or place's cultural historical time period (per Chapter 4) by an archaeologist. Examples of Objectified Capital references include: traditional use site identification; negotiated artifact disposition; heritage park creation; and, perhaps most notably, human remains and burials. Coded Objectified Capital

references in the interviews were distinguished between archaeological and Indigenous roles.

4.2.1.1.3 The Institutionalized State

The conferring of academic and other formally obtained qualifications - a degree or certificate, a license or a permit - conveying a collectively identified and recognizable cultural competence and, by extension, a measure of cultural capital, constitutes institutionalized capital (Bourdieu 1986: 247-248). To Bourdieu, the academy provides the loci for the comparative valuation and conversion of cultural capital into Economic Capital. In Jeannotte's (2004: 4) words institutionalized capitals are "the academic qualifications that establish the value of the holder of a given qualification". The successive acquisition of presumably more valuable degrees (bachelor's – master's – doctorate) can be converted into Economic Capital via the corresponding compensation awarded those degrees when entering employment, though Bourdieu cautions that this conversion rate is effected by scarcity: too many graduates in a particular area and their degrees receive less compensation outside of academia (Bourdieu 1986: 248). Institutionalized capital also becomes emblematic of the particular doxa to which associated individuals subscribe. A bachelor's degree in archaeology, for example, infers the enculturation of those archaeological dispositions particular to the level of study (e.g., an unproblematized appreciation of archaeology's 'good').

In CRM, an example of the institutionalized state of capital is expressed in the qualifications expected of permit applicants or license holders, which tend to variously integrate formal academic qualifications with experiential or apprentice-like periods of practice within the field of archaeology generally, and CRM specifically. Thresholds relating to these accumulated capitals are established and conferred through provincial/territorial regulations or policies that confer to the individuals who surpass

these thresholds greater value, and presumably thus deserving of higher compensation (e.g., British Columbia;[37] Ontario).[38]

Other institutionalized capitals also manifest during the engagement process. Developers and government officials will have varying certifications representing particular authorities or qualifications (e.g., registered foresters, municipal planners, etc.). Indigenous conferring of institutionalized capital also appears with respect to Elders, traditional knowledge keepers and oral historians. These Indigenous institutions problematize distinctions between institutionalized and social capitals as will be discussed subsequently.

4.2.1.2 Social Capital/Collective Capital

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.
>
> Bourdieu 1986: 248

Following from Bourdieu, social capital is the sum total of all capitals possessed by a network or collective of individuals. Each individual's cultural capital pooled in the collective is not realised as part of the collective's social capital until leveraged or mobilized by an agent or proxy from that collective network (Bourdieu 1986: 249). For example, archaeologists in a CRM firm participating in an instance of engagement on

---

[37] http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/policies/heritage_permits.htm, accessed March 25, 2014

[38] http://www.mtc.gov.on.ca/en/archaeology/archaeology_licensing.shtml, accessed March 25, 2014

behalf of their company hold institutional capital from their alma maters, social capital from their memberships in professional organizations and from the companies with which they are employed and Embodied Capital from their recognized expertise and knowledge of the archaeology that is the focus of the engagement, and even their previous relationships with the community members they are engaging with. Indigenous community members gain institutional and social capitals from their affiliation, from their formal roles inside (First Nation, clan, society) their communities, and Embodied Capital from their particular expertise and knowledge of the archaeologists, the archaeology, and the heritage management process that has created an instance of engagement.

Adequately defining particular networks and the various institutional states of cultural capital these networks leverage in a particular instance of engagement as social capital proved problematic through the course of this research. Too much time was being spent trying to apply categorization to very fluid and blurred distinctions. As such, an alternative means of characterizing social capital, and the qualitative network of cultural capitals being leveraged in an engagement instance became necessary. For present purposes, then, I adopted the term *Collective Capital*.[39]

Distinguishing the cultural capital inherent in differing networks of social capital, and the institutional states of the cultural capital wielded by individual agents within networks, created a false dichotomy between the underlying collectives, the individuals in those collectives, and their associated doxa/conventions. Archaeologists with their academic certification are in effect social agents for the wider archaeological community, as recognized by that community through the cultural capital ascribed to those certifications

---

[39] Notably, as stated in the embodied and objectified sections previously, there are also instances where distinctions between states of cultural capital and other elements break down. Is it appropriate for human remains, for example, to be construed as having exclusively Objectified Capital? Can places embody skills and experiences as more than just a medium? These questions pre-empted any attempt at strict delineation between Engagement Capitals within this framework.

by the archaeological community. As well, these qualifications are then leveraged into State certifications (permits, licenses, etc.), resulting in archaeologists also wielding cultural capital as designated social agents or even proxies for the State itself, especially when serving as agents on behalf of clients who are addressing State conservation requirements imposed on development undertakings. In CRM then, archaeological conventions/doxa and broader State-based conventions/doxa create the regimented framework within which this form of archaeological practice is maintained and governed.

Indigenous cultural and social capitals, and especially the institutionalized states of cultural capital, were even more indistinguishable. Where is the line between an Elder's institutional cultural capital as a teacher and mentor, and their access to social capital as an agent within a community and as so designated by that community? To what extent are Elders cultural/social capital constructs? Does an Indigenous community's designation/recognition of Elders obliterate the distinction between institutionalized and social capitals? I believe this is the case. Even attempting to unravel institutional from social capital and into distinct threads forces a severance that is not only unnecessary but typifies the trajectories of problematic taxonomic classification of Indigenous knowledge expressed so well by Marie Battiste (2002).

As I have already stated, in my mind there is no superiority of one epistemology over the other with respect to the consideration of what I am characterizing as symbolic capitals. Yes, I am using Bourdieu's framework, not because it is superior, but because it is familiar to me and congruent with the certainly colonial language of CRM and academia. Even using this lens, the parallel interpretations of these same elements of experience, skills and embedded value from Indigenous scholarship are of tremendous value (Battiste 2002: 11):

> The taxonomic studies, however, did not generate any generally accepted definition of Indigenous knowledge. Many attempts were made, but most were confusing (or at least led to confusing applications) since not only did they cast too wide a net, incorporating into the definition concepts that would not be considered part of Eurocentric knowledge, such as beliefs and value systems, but they also failed to recognize **the holistic nature of Indigenous knowledge, which defies categorization** [emphasis mine]. Indigenous knowledge is an

> adaptable, dynamic system based on skills, abilities, and problem-solving techniques that change over time depending on environmental conditions making the taxonomic approach difficult to justify.

The accumulated cultural capital of individuals within networks of social capital are similarly variously valued and leveraged differently depending on the broader social context institutions/associations/collectives are being valued within.

The term *Collective Capital* thus encompasses both the variable and multiple networks agents operate from in leveraging social capitals, while also integrating credentials as institutional states of cultural capital, all in order to acknowledge the various sets of doxa/dispositions agents embody within these networks. Collective Capital thus removes the need to enforce a fixed categorization between collectively held, ascribed and invested capitals.[40] The resulting holistic is much more adaptive to the examples collected here without denying the independent existence of the overlapping but distinct networks social capital originates from, with Collective Capital encompassing any affiliation-related capital whether it be from an institution, a professional organization, a society, a government, even a family, and the complimentary and contradictory elements between these. Collective Capital also manifests when doxa or conventions related to these social constructs are presented (i.e., when traditional knowledge is conveyed or archaeological methodologies are explicated or taught). Collective Capital is in essence the kernel of our social networks imbued with whatever associative power, knowledge and authority these social connections enable.

In terms of my analytical approach to the data accumulated for this study (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, literature reviewed, etc.), I sought out instances where Collective Capital were referenced. Using the notion of a Collective Capital, rather than

---

[40] Many of these incongruous examples included elements of Indigenous traditional knowledge, education and governance.

distinguishing differing networks and institutional capital references, resolved some the irreconcilable coding problems I encountered during my initial analysis. Collective Capital, as a concept, allowed me to move past questions of arbitrary difference in the references flagged in the data without dismissing them. Coding of Collective Capital references were distinguished between archaeological and Indigenous roles. In considering the coded responses found in interviews, the resulting interpretation highlighted the roles of both archaeological and Indigenous Collective Capitals in the engagement process as potentially both confrontational and cooperative.

4.2.1.3 Economic Capital

The final capital within this interpretative framework is less a consequence of Bourdieu's Cultural and Social Marketplace as it is of CRM archaeology's commercial nature. Economic Capital represents the money: the profits, expenses, billing, wages, economic motivations and expenditures related to engagement. Economic Capital manifests in the monetary valuations of fees for services rendered by archaeologists and community members in their various roles. This payment originates from developers mostly but also from archaeologists and Indigenous communities depending on the nature of the archaeological project.

In terms of my analytical approach to the data accumulated for this study (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, literature reviewed, etc.), I sought out instances where Economic Capital were raised. Instances were coded when reference to monies changing hands in the course of the engagement process (employment, project funding, etc.) were made, or if funds were deployed in the creation of an archaeological outcome beyond the project itself (book, signs, park, etc.). Coded Economic Capital references were also distinguished between archaeological and Indigenous roles. In the ensuing interpretation of these analyses and the coded responses a number of topics emerged, including the relationship between money and power, and the translation of archaeological and

Indigenous expertise into Economic Capital and the consequences this has on engagement.

4.2.2 Context: Representing Engagement Conditions

The second part of the analytical framework developed here was not fully conceptualized at the outset of this research. It eventually manifested over the course of reviewing the survey responses and interviews as recognition of the need to account for the matrix of forces, networks and conventions within which instances of engagement occurred.

When defining the reasons for, factors contributing to or detracting from engagement, the surveys and interviews often referenced one of the following elements: regulation, community and developer capacities, and archaeologist/developer/community relationships. I felt the best way to account for these *Engagement Conditions*, as the term I use here, was to create an analytical framework for taking into account these conditions alongside the already established capital framework detailed above. Collectively, these frameworks provided me with the means of considering the context of engagement alongside the instance within my analysis.

The concept of Engagement Conditions is synonymous with environmental conditions in that their effects are not limited to a single instance of engagement but capable of affecting a broad array of instances. In effect, this suite of Engagement Conditions, defined here as *regulation*, *capacity* and *relationships*, affect all instances of engagement. Change the community or the archaeologist involved, or change the provincial setting, and the conditions will adjust accordingly, and quite often predictably. For example, move from British Columbia to Alberta and see the resulting decrease in exposure to Indigenous communities in the course of fieldwork as a result of the *regulation* condition. Together these conditions constitute an environment within which instances of engagement occur.

Each of the Engagement Conditions were evident within the datasets analysed for this research to varying degrees.[41] The qualitative characteristics of each condition are reviewed below.

4.2.2.1 Regulation

Regulation as an Engagement Condition employed here simply encompasses all of the legal jurisprudence, legislation, associated regulations and policies administered by the specific State within whose jurisdiction particular instances of engagement occurred.

In terms of my analytical approach, I sought out instances where regulation, as an Engagement Condition, were raised by research participants. During the analysis of these results, a two-part question emerged premised partly in the distribution of survey responses and in the breadth of required engagement in regulation: Does engagement regulation emerge to reflect pre-existing practices or does engagement regulation create these practices? The interview responses help to provide a nuanced answer to this question, reflecting on the capacity for regulation to be wielded as both a cudgel and a shield in either pushing for or curtailing engagement practices.

4.2.2.2 Capacity

Capacity, as an Engagement Condition, refers to the ability (power, means) of Indigenous communities and developers to initiate, respond, organize, and accomplish engagement and realize engagement outcomes as part of the archaeological project.[42] Capacity within

---

[41] Only the CAA Newsletter was exempted from the consideration of conditions due to the near-universal absence of contextual engagement information in the reporting on archaeological projects.

[42] CRM firms could also be construed as having capacity, however the contract nature of CRM means that this capacity is largely synonymous with developer capacity. Where CRM firms might have some

Indigenous communities can include archaeological expertise (formally and informally acquired) per Connaughton et al. (2014), however it is the organizational deployment of this expertise that more accurately represents the capacity of a community to engage in archaeology. In other words, does the community have the infrastructure and people to meaningfully respond to engagement requests (or actively seek them out)? To what extent are they able to define and ultimately participate in the archaeological project and its outcomes? Archaeological expertise (Embodied Capital) can be an important component of this capacity alongside other important skillsets including personnel and budget administration, logistics and regulatory awareness.[43] The scale of a community's capacity to participate has an enormous effect on the efficacy, even the occurrence, of Indigenous engagement in archaeological projects regardless of regulation and/or proponent willingness to engage.

Capacity as a condition of engagement also applies to the CRM archaeologist through their client, referred to here as *Developer Capacity*. Developer Capacity is often a reflection of planning, budgets, adherence to permitting and regulatory requirements, and a sometimes imperceptible combination of risk management and corporate altruism. As a condition of engagement, developer capacity can have a significant effect on the presence and the quality of community engagement. This is largely because, notwithstanding attempts to convince proponents otherwise, consulting archaeologists often ultimately defer to the wishes of their client (Connaughton et al. 2014).

In terms of applying this condition to my analysis of the data gathered on engagement, Indigenous Community and Developer Capacities were separately coded in the datasets whenever these were evident. Examples included references to community government

---

independent capacity this is likely a reflection of a disposition towards or away from engagement regardless of cost or benefit.

[43] It might be worthwhile to consider Indigenous capacity to engage as a mirror image of the very CRM firms they are often engaging with. Community archaeology departments, like consulting archaeology firms, often manage field crews, evaluate archaeological potential, incorporate GIS mapping, negotiate with proponents and governments, and report on their activities.

offices and officials involved in heritage management as well as developer programmes aimed at fostering community engagement initiatives. Alternatively, instances where developers actively tried to curtail engagement and when a lack of community staff or infrastructure existed were also identified. Coded capacity references were also distinguished between archaeological and Indigenous roles. A specific question about community capacities was added to the semi-structured set of interview questions, though this did not artificially introduce community capacity as a topic, as in all but one interview, the topic was referred to prior to asking this question.

Shortly after interpretation of the capacity condition began I felt that I was missing an important piece of the Indigenous community capacity puzzle. Specifically, I had no sense of the extent to which Indigenous communities maintained these infrastructures. I therefore undertook the community website survey (Appendix II) cataloguing any instance of an archaeological/heritage departments or Lands/Resources/Consultation/etc. offices. Once this information was collated, the analysis of the capacity condition progressed in a much more meaningful way.

4.2.2.3 Relationships

Relationships also emerged after the survey's responses were completed as a condition of engagement that needed to be accounted for in analysis. Relationships imply just that, they represent the state, at any given time, of interpersonal relations between individuals, between collectives and between individuals and collectives. The positive or negative state of a relationship between individuals/collectives, as well as the individuals who constitute that instance of engagement, can have significant consequences to the engagement process.

In terms of my analytical approach, I sought out instances where Relationships, as an Engagement Condition, were raised by research participants. These references identified the interpersonal (as well as inter-community) effects and narratives which defined

instances of engagement, which could include examples of long-term partnerships between archaeologists and community members; community-preferred archaeological companies; and, familiarity with mutual heritage management processes. After defining the parameters of Relationships as a condition of engagement I further distinguished two relationship themes: familiarity and maintenance. Familiarity refers to the depth of Relationships while maintenance refers to the trajectories of and investments in Relationships.

4.2.3 The Composite Framework

Taken as a composite whole the analytical framework proposed here represents a comprehensive means of discerning and interpreting critical elements of engagement instances along with the contexts these instances occur within.

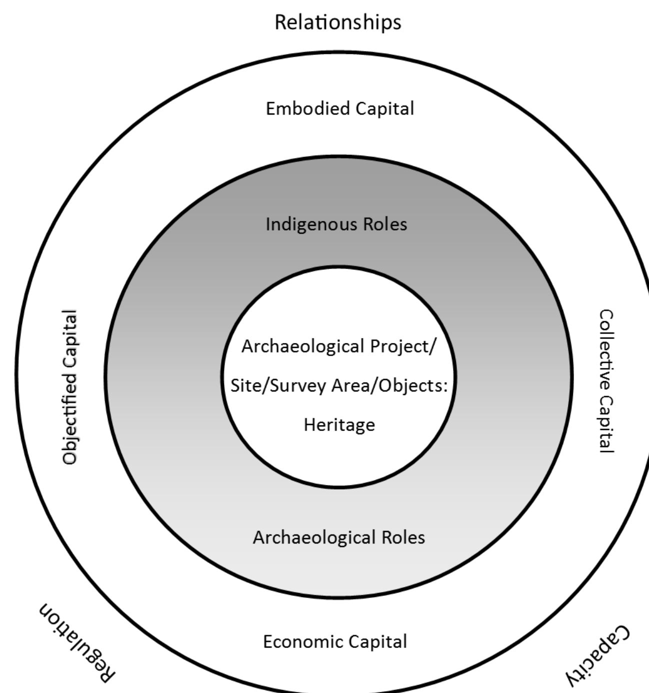


Figure 4.4: Engagement Conditions and Capitals Analytical Framework

This composite framework is not a perfect means of analysing engagement between CRM archaeologists and Indigenous people. For example, it skirts the monetization of ideas and objects that are not necessarily meant to be characterized in such a capitalistic way. In other words, the framework implies all of the baggage related to capitalistic tendencies (e.g., for-profit exploitation, power and income inequality, and unsustainability) and applies this baggage to objects and concepts which might be considered sacred, or akin to sacred, in both archaeological and Indigenous doxa (e.g., human remains, archaeology's preservation tenets, etc.).

Bourdieu's symbolic capital perspective is simply another way of framing social process. It is an interpretative construct of a complex range of social interactions and engagements of which most participants would have some awareness. However, the framework allows me, as a researcher, to displace my perspective in order to see new dimensions of the engagement process. Therefore, the economic language of "capitals" used here should be understood as having a metaphorical overtone, a heuristic means of understanding these concepts and the relative valuing of them within instances of engagement. I am neither advocating for any sort of economic accounting of a person's experiences (that happens already), nor I am suggesting the same for artifacts and places (see Peacock and Rizzo 1994 for examples of cultural economics).

4.3 Datasets and Data-Gathering Methodologies

To examine and discuss the nature(s) of Indigenous engagement across Canada's provincial and territorial jurisdictions five distinct datasets were compiled and employed: literature review, survey questionnaires, interviews, a community website review, and finally an augmentative interpretative event: a round table in Yellowknife, NWT. None of these datasets were intended to, nor did they, provide me with a comprehensive or some kind of statistically representative sample either of the diversity of views of individuals participating in archaeology across Canada, or of every individual instance of Indigenous engagement. This was not necessary to explore the processes of engagement across

Canada, and neither would such a complete inventory have been possible, given limited access to field reports, limited data on the collectivity of individuals associated with archaeology, and the limited tracking of archaeological work conducted in Canada.

Hard decisions also had to be made with respect to which datasets were open to cross-jurisdictional comparison, and consisting of a reasonable amount of data capable of being analysed for this research. For example, archaeological reports submitted to government in compliance with license and permit requirements I judged to be too problematic to include as a relevant dataset for two reasons. First, archaeological reports held by government are largely inaccessible, with only one province (British Columbia) maintaining an online database. Second, there are no, to my knowledge, engagement tags/categories and/or engagement metrics maintained by any government with respect to these reports. In other words, even had I gained access to these reports from across the country, there would be no way of knowing which or even how many reports for any given year would include an engagement component, assuming this activity was formally detailed in the report, and not in secondary documentation.[44]

Federal archaeological practice is also not explored in this research, notwithstanding the occasional Parks Canada/Archaeology Survey of Canada reference in the engagement listing from the CAA Newsletter. Reasons for the exclusion include a lack of federal archaeology legislation (Burley 1994), little in the way of federal reporting on the archaeological reporting done on their behalf or related to engagement, and, with the exception of one former Parks Canada individual, a complete absence of federal participants in both the survey and interviews.

---

[44] The implications of this mass of "gray-literature" residing in hard to access locales and in harder to interpret fashions extends beyond my research and affects the practice of archaeology as a whole. Archaeologists either want or are required to account for past archaeological work on any given parcel of land. Without easy access to the reports held by government, this accounting can be a frustrating and unfulfilling experience.

Conscious early of these limitations, the research conducted for this dissertation was designed around accessing a diversity of individual perspectives on and individual instances of Indigenous engagement in archaeology.

The original intent of this research was to identify classifications or categories of engagement into which different instances could be put according to like properties; in effect to type qualitatively differing forms of engagement. The thinking was that, somehow in the examination of the accessible breadth of Canadian experiences relating to Indigenous engagement in archaeology, particular types or forms of engagement would emerge. This definition of types could then be distilled into a more generalized, broadly applicable set of processes for undertaking successful engagement instances anywhere in the country.[45] However, not long into my research it became apparent that the real end result of this effort would have been the creation of a kind of arbitrary typology of engagement I imposed on the full diversity of instances I documented. What was needed, instead, was a means of conceptualizing the elemental processes of engagement in all its context-specific variations.

4.3.1 Literature Review

As mentioned above, limitations with regards to the accessibility of data narrowed the resources available to this dissertation. To understand the Canadian landscape as it pertains to Indigenous engagement in archaeology, I sought a means of collating broad trends in engagement. As noted above, the collections of archaeological fieldwork final reports held by provincial and territorial governments was not a viable option. As such, I turned to reviewing archaeological association newsletters and periodicals that focused on reporting general archaeological activities year to year. Specifically, I turned to the Canadian Archaeological Association's newsletter.

---

[45] Hence the focus on positive experiences in the survey.

In 1972 the Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #4 introduced a new section to the organization's membership. Entitled "Current Research," it chronicled fieldwork as submitted by Canadian archaeologists and represented a snapshot summary of projects conducted in 1972. By 1977, the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) had retired the Bulletin and replaced it with a journal, and also started putting out a newsletter by 1982 two times a year, which retained annual fieldwork summaries throughout its fairly consistent run. As the Newsletter aged the fieldwork section came to represent the bulk of either the Spring or the Fall issues, sometimes both. Arranged by province and collated by regional editors, these summaries ranged from detailed, pages-long, accounts of single archaeological projects to sentence-long summaries of the field seasons of entire consulting companies, or summaries of archaeological activities in a given province. Throughout their runs, both the Bulletin and the Newsletter featured not only the sites and artifacts representing decades of archaeological work in Canada, but the individuals who carried out this fieldwork. It was therefore not uncommon for archaeologists who submitted these summaries to discuss the presence and even the manner of cooperation between archaeologists and Indigenous communities. Between the 1972 Bulletin and the most recent 2014 Newsletter the fieldwork sections contains references to 512 projects wherein an Indigenous community played some part (see Appendix III).

It should be cautioned, however, that these fieldwork sections were not consistent, year to year or jurisdiction to jurisdiction. In some instances, representatives from a provincial agency would report a summary of activities in the province for that given year, while other jurisdictions had individual summaries of one or two projects carried out by an individual archaeologist. And, as a solicited section of the newsletter, many CAA members simply chose not to submit summaries, while for areas of the country where CAA membership was notably under-represented (in particular Ontario and Quebec), annual fieldwork activities were also rather notoriously under-represented. Nonetheless, as a geographically diverse and temporally consistent form of accessing broad trends in Canadian archaeology through this period, the newsletter is an invaluable dataset to review.

The spectrum of engagement contained within the hundreds of examples documented in the Newsletter speaks to the breadth of Indigenous involvement in archaeology both in terms of quantity and quality. In some cases, these instances are characterized by the writer in the most limited of ways: an archaeologist “worked with” a community or “worked for” a community. In others the language provides a bit more substance: the field crew “included” community members or was “composed of” community members. Still others detail at length community-operated field schools, community information and outreach meetings, and collaborative partnerships between archaeologists from communities, institutions and private consulting.[46]

4.3.2 Community Website Review

In an attempt to get an understanding of capacity across First Nations, and more generally to get a clearer sense of the depth and breadth of Indigenous communities within the confines of Canada, I undertook a systematic review of Canadian Indigenous community websites, looking for heritage managament departments, or other functional departments tied to management-mandated responsibilities such as Lands, Resources, Consultation, etc. when these departments exhibited more than just an internal-reserve focus. While these latter departments do not specifically imply a capacity to undertake archaeological engagement, their presence was felt to at least speak to a broader administrative capacity on the part of the community to interact with governments and development proponents within and beyond community territories. As well, I did not attempt to explore deeply into council and community administrative structure, to determine if particular

---

[46] In the face of this collection of experience as manifested in text I could not help but be humbled to have been in the company of some of the individuals whose memories extended to many of the projects I was reading about. This feeling reinforced the research design of this dissertation as including comments and conversations with individuals whose lived experiences I was reading about, the Embodied Capitals when considered in this dissertation’s interpretative framework. In many ways the importance of experience lies at the very heart of how archaeologists and Indigenous communities relate and perhaps see the source and purpose of that experience differently.

individuals otherwise unassigned might address consultation, heritage management, burial discoveries, etc., and recognise that engagement can arise from a wide range of contexts within the community.

Where multiple management structures were in place (such as between the Traditional and Elected Councils for the Six Nations of the Grand River), each instance was counted separately. I should also emphasize that some communities did not have any website.

Simply realizing how many Indigenous community governments (First Nations, Inuit and Metis) exist in Canada was a singular task. Provincial and national organizations and registries such as the British Columbia Assembly of First Nations, the Chiefs of Ontario and Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada were relied on heavily. Recognizing this dependence, there are undoubtedly a number of communities missing from this compilation. Ultimately, I was able to collect information on 638 Inuit communities, Metis organizations and First Nations (see Appendix II).

4.3.3 Survey Questionnaires

It is often acknowledged that archaeologists involved in cultural resource management do not have the time or incentive to consider their role in wider society in a scholarly manner and subsequently publish their thoughts on the same (e.g., Ferris 1998; Williamson 2010). There are of course exceptions that are relevant to the Canadian context, both from commercial (Connaughton et al. 2014; Klassen et al. 2009; Lyons 2013; Martindale and Lyons 2014; Williamson 2010) and government CRM-related individuals (Apland 1993; Byrne 1977; Ferris 1998, 2002), but meaningful examination of Canadian archaeology cannot rely on these exceptions alone and must access the “silent” majority of Canadian archaeologists participating in cultural resource management as opposed to a more “vocal” subset of graduate students, academics and a handful of current practitioners.

Of course, there is currently no reliable means of determining what the total demographic is for archaeologists operating in varying capacities (CRM, academic and government of

all levels) in Canada. Occasionally numbers emerge referencing particular jurisdictions. La Salle and Hutchings (2012), using BC Association of Professional Archaeologist membership numbers and BC Archaeology Branch estimates, suggest there were over 300 CRM archaeologists in that province. Zorzin (2010) found 306 archaeologists in his survey of Quebec practice. Ontario (2016) reported 435 licenses in that province of which 263 had field-directed projects in 2015. The Ontario Archaeological Society's active membership in 2016 is reported to be 606 (Ferris pers. comm. 2016), and a survey of its members in 2014 suggested 48% of the organization self-ascribed as CRM practitioners (Brooks 2014:7). Nevertheless, a holistic picture of the number of archaeologists across Canada, as relevant to this dissertation, remains elusive.

Input pertaining to Indigenous involvement in archaeology would also have to be sought directly from Indigenous communities and individuals themselves. While I documented 638 Indigenous communities in Canada, and over 50 heritage departments, and the 2011 census reports over 1.4 million Indigenous people in the country,[47] there is no way to assess the degree to which archaeology and heritage is an active interest across these numbers; at least active enough to actively participate in this research.

In order to attract as many participants as possible from such a regionally and diverse study group, an online questionnaire was chosen as the most accessible means convenient to respondents to generate input. The online survey hosting website *Survey Monkey* was selected based on reliability, security and for providing a host of analytical tools for processing responses. There are, of course, several well-articulated limitations to questionnaires (e.g., Harkness 2012; Weller 2015), but for my research I needed a means to reach out broadly to a diverse group well beyond any network of contacts I could leverage, as well as generate data that could then be mined deeper for individuals willing to participate in one on one interviews.

---

[47] https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/99-011-x2011001-eng.cfm

In order to solicit participation in these questionnaires, I needed a means to facilitate as wide a distribution of the questionnaire as possible. As such, I chose to send an email (see Appendix VII) to each provincial and territorial government's archaeology department, each provincial archaeological association, the Canadian Archaeological Association, and each supra-national Indigenous organization (national and regional) asking them to distribute a link to the survey among their membership (see Appendix V). Certain organizations and individuals responded back in the affirmative (e.g., Canadian Archaeological Association, Saskatchewan Archaeological Society) while most did not respond at all.

Each general solicitation - Indigenous, archaeological, and provincial/territorial government - was provided with a slightly altered version of the survey link so as to track intake from each of these sources, although all respondents were able to maintain anonymity, unless they identified themselves for the purposes of following up directly for one on one interviews. As such, I am confident that certain groups distributed the link to their members, given the link-associated responses received, however it was impossible to know which particular organization the participant was responding from, or to specify here without transgressing on anonymity.

In the end, 78 surveys responses were initiated online, though only 54 of these were completed and submitted. Of the 54 respondents, 78% used the archaeological-specific link to the questionnaire, 18% used the governmental-specific link, and 4% used the Indigenous-specific link. There is no way to identify what the possible 100% response rate number for each of this categories could have ideally been, based on the approach I adopted for solicitation. However, given that the questionnaires invited both metric-based responses and written responses, my own sense of the ideal response rate I could have readily been able to process and analyse ranged between 200 and 250 responses, so the 54 responses, at 20-25% of what I expected I could manage at a maximum, proved to be a workable dataset generated for this research, though not the only source I would turn to.

By any measure, response rates can only be considered a sampling of the population of individuals participating in engagement instances across Canada. Certainly a relatively

low participation rate considering what the totality of that population could be may be attributed to my reliance on other organizations to circulate my solicitation, the nature of the subject matter, or more general dislike of questionnaires. However, assessing the scale of feedback at this point, I believe the survey distribution method was effective at accessing individuals of various backgrounds (academic, CRM, Indigenous, government) connected with archaeological associations. Likewise, seven of 13 provincial/territorial regions showed evidence of distributing information about the questionnaire. I was not successful reaching Indigenous respondents with only two organizations showing evidence of distribution among their members. This failure may reflect my reliance on the wrong means of reaching individuals involved in engagement, and also the lack of relationship between myself and Indigenous organizations and communities across the country, and ineffectiveness of emails as a means of introduction and initiation of a relationship in these communities. Some limited attempts were made to follow-up via phone calls with Indigenous organizations, however these had no perceptible effect on participation.

Once collected, the survey responses were initially subjected to distributive quantitative analyses provided for in Survey Monkey (see Chapter 5). Open-ended questions were qualitatively coded based on the analytical framework discussed earlier. This analysis provided me, when compared to the quantitative results from the questionnaire, with a primarily geographic/jurisdiction spectrum of engagement related to responses across each of the open-ended questions. Role-based results also emerged with respect to certain questions however the survey question format allowing for multiple identities (e.g., CRM and academic or government and Indigenous) limited the utility of distributive patterns. Although the geography/jurisdiction defining question also allowed for multiple responses, the subsequent open-ended questions to which the framework was applied generally made clear which jurisdiction(s) these answers pertained to. For example, a respondent who works in both BC and Alberta, when answering a question about standard practice, distinguished between practices in both provinces.

4.3.4 Interviews

Beginning in Spring 2015, follow-up interviews with willing questionnaire respondents were conducted. By the Fall, 12 interviews had been conducted either over the phone or in-person.

Initial interviewees were selected from the pool of 23 interested survey respondents based on a number of criteria. Wherever possible a diverse set of occupations and/or outlooks as characterized in the survey responses were sought for subsequent interviews. Indications of unfamiliarity with archaeological regulatory processes, in other words an absence of particular Embodied Capitals, were used to exempt particular respondents from further interviews. Thirteen of 23 survey participants who indicated a willingness to participate further were contacted based on an informal selection matrix I used to inform that selection. I considered survey respondent roles (CRM, government, Indigenous) in engagement, familiarity with the subject matter (Embodied Capital), and a diversity of attitudes towards engagement practice as conveyed through the survey responses. Jurisdiction was also considered, albeit limited to ensuring the interviewees were not all coming from a single province. Of the 13 individuals selected, ten responded with nine interviews with survey respondents ultimately completed for this research.

Although not yet fully worked through at the time of interviewee selection, responses that appeared to explore aspects of capacity and relationship Engagement Conditions I was developing as part of my research framework tended to also influence my selection for follow up interviews. Given this selection emphasis on more than simply geographic criteria, combined with low particpation rates for some regions, certain areas of the country were not represented in the interview stage of research. Specifically, no interviews were conducted with individuals in Atlantic Canada, Quebec and Manitoba due relatively low levels of survey participation.

An additional three interviews were augmented to the nine questionnaire respondents after my analytical framework became more defined. These interviews exclusively sought out individuals in Indigenous communities familiar with engagement with

archaeology, in order to broaden the voices and perspectives I was able to engage with during the interview stage. While these individuals would not necessarily have been familiar with the context and focus of my research that others would have gained from participating in the questionnaire, I do not feel the quality of the data they contributed was at variance enough to warrant identifying them seperately from the other nine interviews.

Interview length generally ranged between 30 mins and 1.5 hours depending on the momentum of conversation, and was framed around a semi-structured (Bernard 2006) set of questions (see Appendix IV). These questions were calibrated between interviews based on a number of factors, including profession and, in the cases of interviewed survey respondents, answers gathered from those surveys. These calibrations typically involved changing the perspectives of questions to suit the interviewee. For example, where a CRM archaeologist was asked how many projects they were involved in annually, a government archaeologist was asked how many projects they reviewed annually. Only one question was added to the suite of interview topics after I had completed the first interview, and that question related to the importance of Indigenous community capacities with respect to engagement. Following the semi-structured nature of the interviews, follow-up questions were occassionally asked to further explore certain subjects. Other questions were not asked if the topics they addressed had already been explored during the course of previous conversation.

All interviewees were asked to review the associated information and consent form developed for this research (Appendix IX and X). Four of 12 participants chose to waive their anonimity and therefore their names appear next to their contributions. Attributions in writing were sent to these attributors prior to completion of this dissertation to provide an opportunity to ensure accuracy as well as confidence on the part of the attributor that their comments are being properly characterized. Three individuals requested superficial changes related to clarity. Individuals who maintined their anonymity are quoted entirely from the original interview. Anonymous contributors were assigned a sequential code consisting of six numbers. All interviewees also independently made themselves

available for any follow-up questions or clarifications. All interviews were transcribed in their entirety wherever the quality of recording allowed. The resulting digital files together with their audio counterparts were secured behind Safehouse™ encryption.

In terms of the representation of interviewees, individuals identified as CRM practitioners consisted of five of 12 of the interviews. Six interviews were evenly split between government and Indigenous employees. The remaining interviewee, Bill Fox, was not categorized by role due to the breadth of his experiences in multiple regions and multiple roles.

Clearly, the 12 interviews cannot be taken as at all representative of specific communities or professions involved in engagement, or even of the overall population of questionairre respondents. This was not my intent. I recognize that regional variations in engagement processes, and certainly the degree to which engagement is routinely carried out across the country, will change attitudes and experiences towards engagement, so the lack of regional representation necessarily over-emphasizes areas of the country explored in the interviews. Likewise, in seeking to explore the diversity of engagement practices reflected by respondents, and in seeking respondents who could speak to the broad conditions of engagement I was seeking to explore, I ended up selecting individuals who could speak to multiple instances of relatively constructive engagements. This also skews the content of the interviews, since negative or aborted instances of engagement invite a differing consideration of the process and views of the interviewees, but provided me access to respondents who could speak more fulsomely to the core premise of this research, namely that engagement is a growing and increasingly regular and required dimension of archaeological practice in Canada. As such, I felt that the interview selection method was a qualified success. I was able to access a diversity of perspectives which provided a wealth of data for the Analytical Framework.

Analysis of the transcribed interviews included coding for various elements of the analytical framework developed for the purpose. Coding was assigned to particular narratives, examples and statements that represented independent instances of capitals or conditions. In this way, the density of coding of the interviews reflected the relative

complexity and/or breadth of the conversation we had. Different questions solicited different densities of coded responses from different interviewees. A sentence long list of different interviewee experiences, for example, might contain several codings, while a paragraph long narrative of a single experience may contain one or two codings.

The resulting coded transcriptions were subjected to a distributive analysis establishing the total numbers of Engagement Condition/context and Engagement Capital/property references per attributed role in the process of engagement (CRM, government and Indigenous employee). The average number of references per interview by role was also recorded.

4.3.5 Yellowknife Round Table

From the beginning of the research design process for this dissertation I wanted to facilitate a conversation between individuals from different regions and backgrounds about heritage management. When Tom Andrews, Territorial Archaeologist for the Northwest Territories, indicated his willingness to be interviewed for this research, I asked about the possibility of bringing this conversation to the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife. Tom readily agreed and suggested a potential participant from the Northwest Territories. I set about confirming someone from Ontario to accompany me north. The nature of the proposed conversation coalesced around different Indigenous perspectives talking about heritage relative to their communities. I immediately thought of Carolyn King, former chief of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation and well known heritage advocate. I first met Carolyn at the Six Nations Archaeological Round Table in 2011. At that meeting and over the course of subsequent encounters I came to recognize Carolyn as a knowledgeable and pragmatic participant in heritage discussions. When I approached her with this research proposal, Carolyn (who was not formally interviewed) agreed.

The round table covered two days. The first day was spent with Tom Andrews at the PWNHC and around Yellowknife. Voice recorder in hand, and with the permission of the group, I gathered almost 3 hours of conversation related specifically to differing perspectives on heritage. The unstructured nature of these conversations meant they were not comparable to the interviews with their succession of similar questions. Instead conversation developed spontaneously in front of different exhibits at the PWNHC, travelling around Yellowknife in Tom's car, and over lunch.

The following day, we sat down for the formal part of the round table. Tom, Carolyn, and myself were joined by Ingrid Kritsch, the founding Executive Director of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI) and its current Research Director, and Frederick King, Carolyn's husband. Over 2 hours of discussion covered a host of heritage topics, facilitated by a trove of PWNHC and GSCI maps, brochures and books (Plate 4.1).

Plate 4.1: Yellowknife Round Table (From left: Tom Andrews, Carolyn King, Fred King, and Ingrid Kritsch)

I did have an information primer which I distributed to participants, intending that this document assist in starting the conversation and, if necessary, keep it going, however this document proved unnecessary.

After the indoor portion of the round table, Tom took Carolyn, Fred and I up the Ingraham Trail (Highway 4) for a more “out on the land” experience. Another 37 minutes of discussion were recorded during that trip.

Different quotes from these spontaneous conversations and from the formal round table will be interspersed in the analysis and interpretation sections of this dissertation, each attributed to their speaker since everyone waived anonymity.

I undertook this roundtable because this trip to Yellowknife and the conversations that resulted between four people of different backgrounds was a manifestation of what I originally wanted this dissertation to be capable of doing: to displace people’s preconceptions of the functions and roles of heritage by sharing what is successfully accomplished elsewhere. To this end the Yellowknife trip was a success. Not only with respect to the dissertation itself but to my own Embodied Capital.

4.4 Methodology Summary

Indigenous engagement in Canadian archaeology operates differently due to a number of distinguishing factors. Differing jurisidictions, forms of archaeological discourse, and participants present a multitude of variables and thousands of examples from decades of fieldwork. There can be no exhaustive and complete narration of all engagement conducted in Canadian archaeology over these decades, nor even from the past year. Current reporting, accessibility and the sheer volumes involved prohibit any such attempt. As such the data collection and data analysis methodologies employed here will only ever be imperfect. There are regional and role biases in the data. I have endeavoured to acknowledge these biases wherever I could without compromising participant anonymity. I have and will continue to reinforce that this research should not be upheld as representative of any region or role, or comprehensive of the totality of engagement experiences occurring across Canada. This research hints at possible representativeness and suggests possible correlations as presented in the data outlined in this chapter.

5 Travelers: Engagement Questionnaire Responses

The 54 responses I received from the questionnaire survey on engagement were compiled and open-ended answers to Questions 6, 7, 9, and 12 were coded. Responses to the other questions allowed me to align coded responses to regional and professional identifications, and generally categorize groups of individuals and their responses. For the purposes of understanding how each participant constructed their responses, codes were applied to each question as a whole as opposed to specific comments within those questions. Specific comments were considered when assessing the distribution of condition and capital coded responses across jurisdictions. For example, Respondent Zero indicated they work in BC and Alberta. When describing standard practice in Question 6 they talked about the unique regulatory situation in each province. This response received a single regulation condition coding; however, when considering regulation coding regionally, both Alberta and BC would be quantified as having a coded response. This results in inflated totals when compared to the specific question totals.

The questionnaire itself was designed to be brief, and consisted of twelve questions relating to identification, familiarity, satisfaction, examples, goals and interests in participating further in the study. Questions 1 through 5, 8 and 10 provided quantitative data on the respondents and their impressions of their own engagement experiences. Questions 6, 7, 9 and 12 were open-ended text responses. Question 11 referred to further possible study participation. In order to maintain as much anonymity as possible either the regional or the self-identification distribution of responses, but not both, will be characterized with references to the results of each question. This avoids exposing the anonymity of participants in particular areas with low populations. Although this format means a loss of comparative data between regional and identification distributions I felt that it would be inappropriate to risk the identities of participants to achieve this information. Later when the open-ended survey questions are subjected to the capital and

condition analytical framework detailed in Chapter 5 it was possible to bring these distributions into conversation with one another without affecting anonymity.

5.1 Survey Question 1

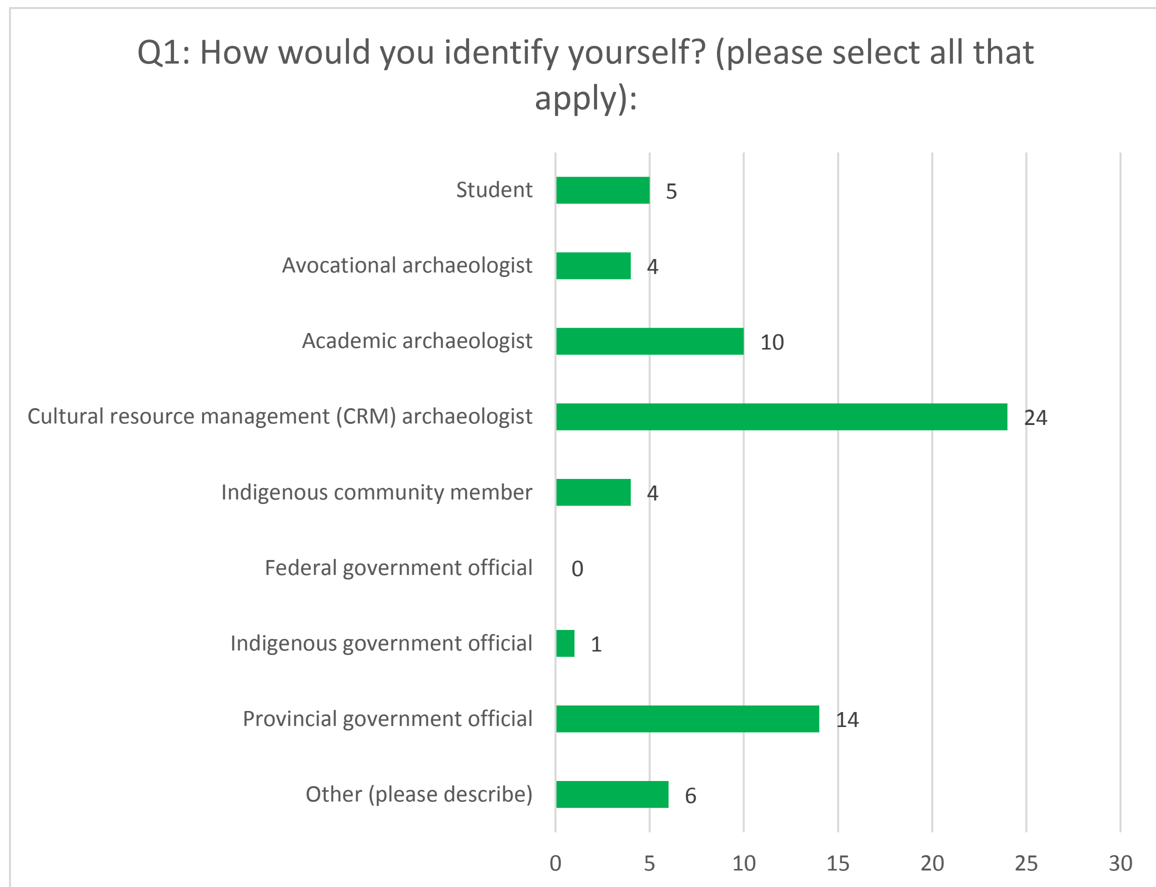


Figure 5.1: Survey Question 1 Responses

Question 1 asked respondents to self-identify based on a selection of choices in addition to an "other" option. Responses submitted in the "other" category included: former occupations (2); non-profit organization (1); specific Indigenous community (1); avocational archaeologist/historian (1); and, researcher/contractor (1). Recognizing the

identities of those involved in archaeology can transcend a single category, or do so over their lifetime, respondents were able to choose any and all of the identifiers they felt applied to them and add any as desired via the other category. For the purposes of assessing subsequent question and analysis distribution across identities, the "former" occupation responses in the 'other' category were added to the pre-established categories. Where possible the remaining 'others' were classified by questionnaire specific identifications.[48] Only one individual listed one identification (non-profit) in the other category with no corresponding equivalent in the pre-established categories and so is identified as 'other'.

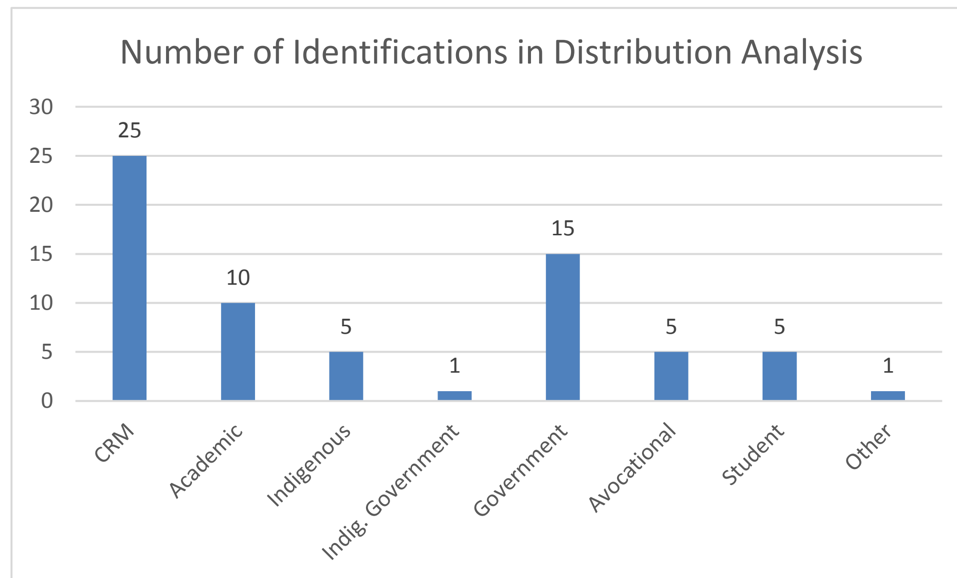


Figure 5.2: Survey identifications represented in subsequent distribution analyses

The absolute number of participants remains 54, though the total number of identifications reflected in Figure 6.2 is now 67. Of that total, 40 (15 government, 25

---

[48] Specifically: Indigenous community became Indigenous community member; a researcher/contractor had also identified as Indigenous community member; and an avocational archaeologist/historian became avocational archaeologist alone.

CRM) identifications directly relate to archaeological management, 15 (10 academic, 5 student) identifications relate to academic archaeology, and 5 are associated with Indigenous communities/individuals.

It should be noted that no respondent identified as a federal government official. Possible reasons for this absence include: the decimation of Parks Canada archaeological departments in 2012, and the absence of a federal jurisdictional category in Question 2. Whatever the case, federal instances of engagement do not feature in the quantitative analyses associated with the survey. Therefore, the government category in Figure 6.2 represents territorial and provincial officials only.

5.2 Survey Question 2

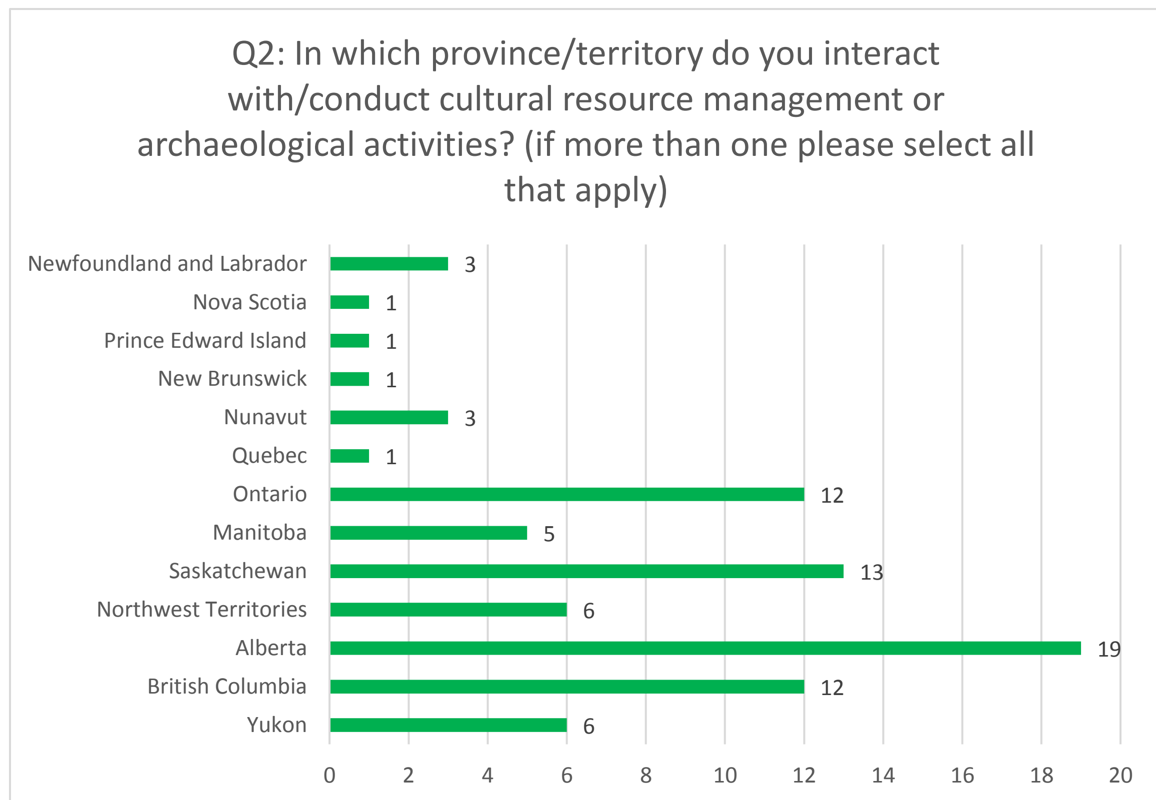


Figure 5.3: Survey Question 2 Responses

Question 2 asked respondents in which province or territory they interacted with or conduct cultural resource management or other archaeological activities. In total 83 jurisdictional identifications were collected. As presented in Figure 6.2, the experiences of respondents were concentrated in the west (British Columbia; Alberta; Saskatchewan; 44), and central Canada (Ontario; Manitoba; 17), while the north (Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut; 15) appears disproportionately large given the smaller populations for that part of the country. There was much more limited participation from Quebec and the Atlantic provinces (New Brunswick; Nova Scotia; Prince Edward Island; Newfoundland and Labrador; 10). Potential reasons for this distribution might include: the absence of French language versions of the survey; and the absence of archeological societies in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. It is also worth noting that consultant company staff often work across provincial jurisdictions in the west, which would tend to inflate western representation in the responses, something that is much rarer in provinces like Ontario.

Recognizing the porosity of borders in archaeology, respondents were able to select each and every region they are or have been involved in. Respondents who indicated experience in multiple regions often contextualized written responses to subsequent questions as occurring within a specific province or territory. This attribution allowed these statements to be specifically assigned to those regions in subsequent analyses.

In an attempt to better understand the representativeness of jurisdictions in the survey responses, I compared the percent of representation in the survey responses to the number of archaeological projects undertaken in 2013 (Figures 5.4, 5.5, Table 5-1). The Archaeologist's Almanac[49] data (Dent and Beaudoin 2016) of annual provincial archaeological project/reports from the most recent year (2013) with the broadest regional data availability (nine jurisdictions) was used for this purpose.

---

[49] http://almanarch.blogspot.ca/, accessed June 28, 2016

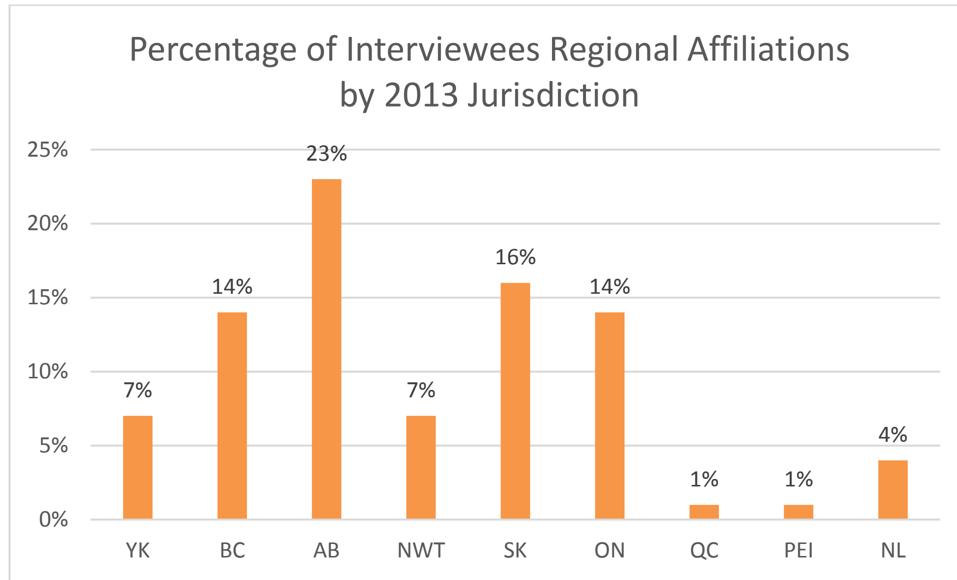


Figure 5.4: Interviewee regional affiliations by jurisdiction where 2013 Project data is available.

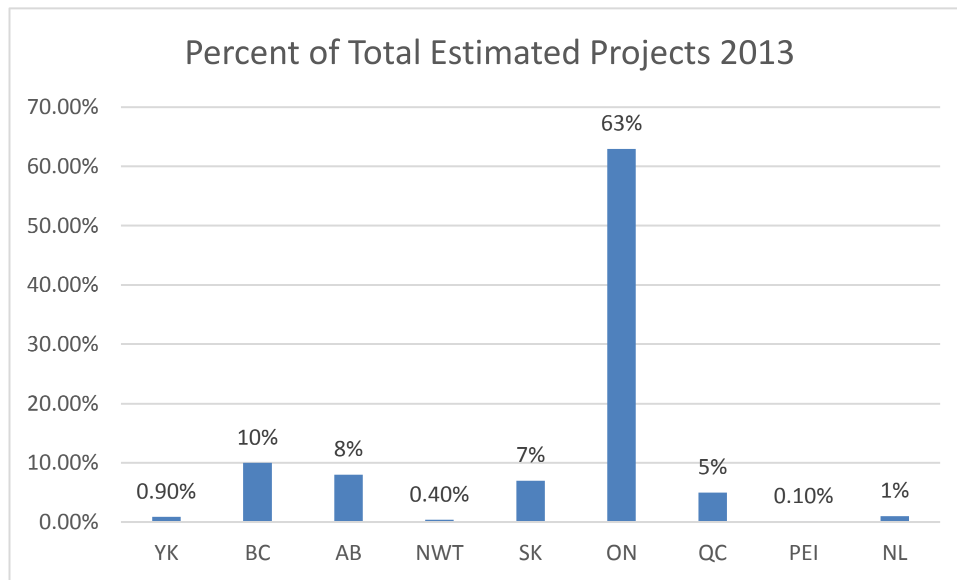


Figure 5.5: Estimated projects (reports/permits) conducted or filed in 2013

Table 5-1: Jurisdictions Identifications in Surveys and 2013 Project totals by percent

Jurisdiction	YK	BC	AB	NWT	SK	ON	QC	PEI	NL
% in Survey	7	14	23	7	16	14	1	1	4
% in Projects	0.9	10	8	0.4	7	67	5	0.1	1

Comparing these two datasets suggests that only British Columbia is represented in survey responses generally similar to the percent of archaeological projects undertaken in that province in 2013. While most remaining provinces are generally over-represented in the survey identifications, Quebec, and most notably Ontario, are under-represented. Again, the under-representation of Quebec may be due to language limitations, but the Ontario under-representation is troubling, given that two thirds of all archaeological projects in 2013 were occurring in that province. This under-representation may be due to several factors, including the limited Ontario membership in the CAA, the lack of effective contact of practitioners through the OAS, and the possibility that despite being contacted that the Ontario Association of Professional Archaeologists, an organization more tailored to the CRM community, may not have distributed the questionnaire. Other factors likely also came into play, but are beyond the scope of this research to discern (e.g., known differences in how provinces define projects/permits). What this pattern does reflect, however, is that the data I have to work with will tend to under-emphasize contexts and experiences occurring in Ontario. It also demonstrates the folly of attempting to come to any sort of representational conclusions, particularly in areas with low participant-project ratios.

5.3 Survey Question 3

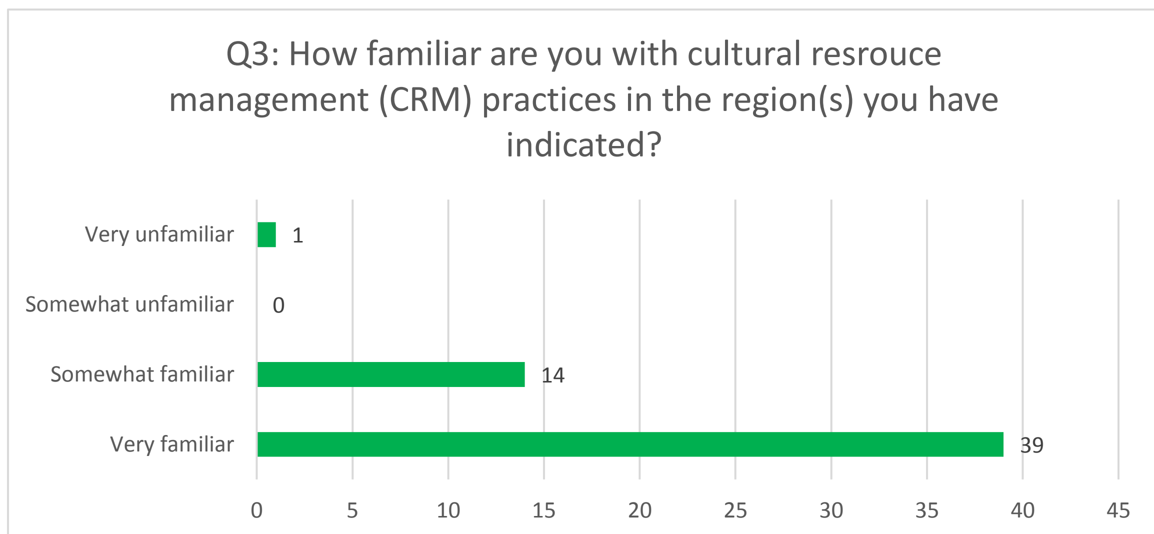


Figure 5.6: Survey Question 3 Responses

Question 3 asked respondents to self-assess their familiarity with cultural resource management practices within the region(s) they had previously identified in Question 2. All but one respondent indicated they were very or somewhat familiar with these practices. The intent of this question was to contextualize the respondents' answers with respect to how knowledgeable they felt with regards to CRM practice. Based on the previously quantified identities, the breakdown of familiarity was as follows:

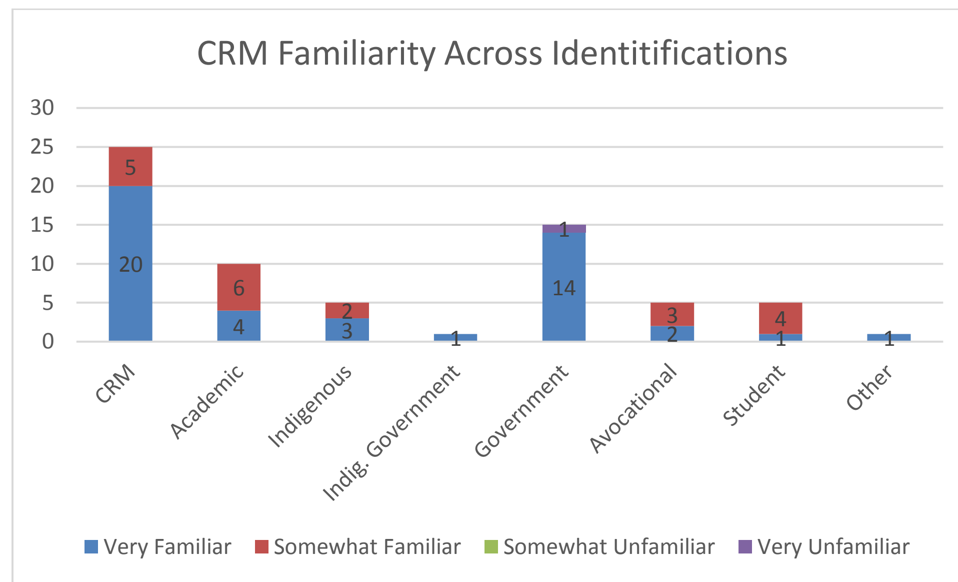


Figure 5.7: Survey respondent CRM familiarity by identification

Respondents identifying as government and CRM unsurprisingly demonstrate a high degree of familiarity with CRM practices. Students, avocationals, academics and Indigenous individuals demonstrate a mixed response with all respondents either very or somewhat familiar with CRM practices. Only one individual professed to being very unfamiliar with CRM practice despite being a self-described government official. These responses indicate that CRM practice is, at the very least, thought to be familiar to a wide spectrum of survey respondents. One caveat to this suggestion is that those unfamiliar with CRM might have been unlikely to have continued on with this survey further, which may at least partially help explain some of the 24 incomplete survey responses initiated.

5.4 Survey Question 4

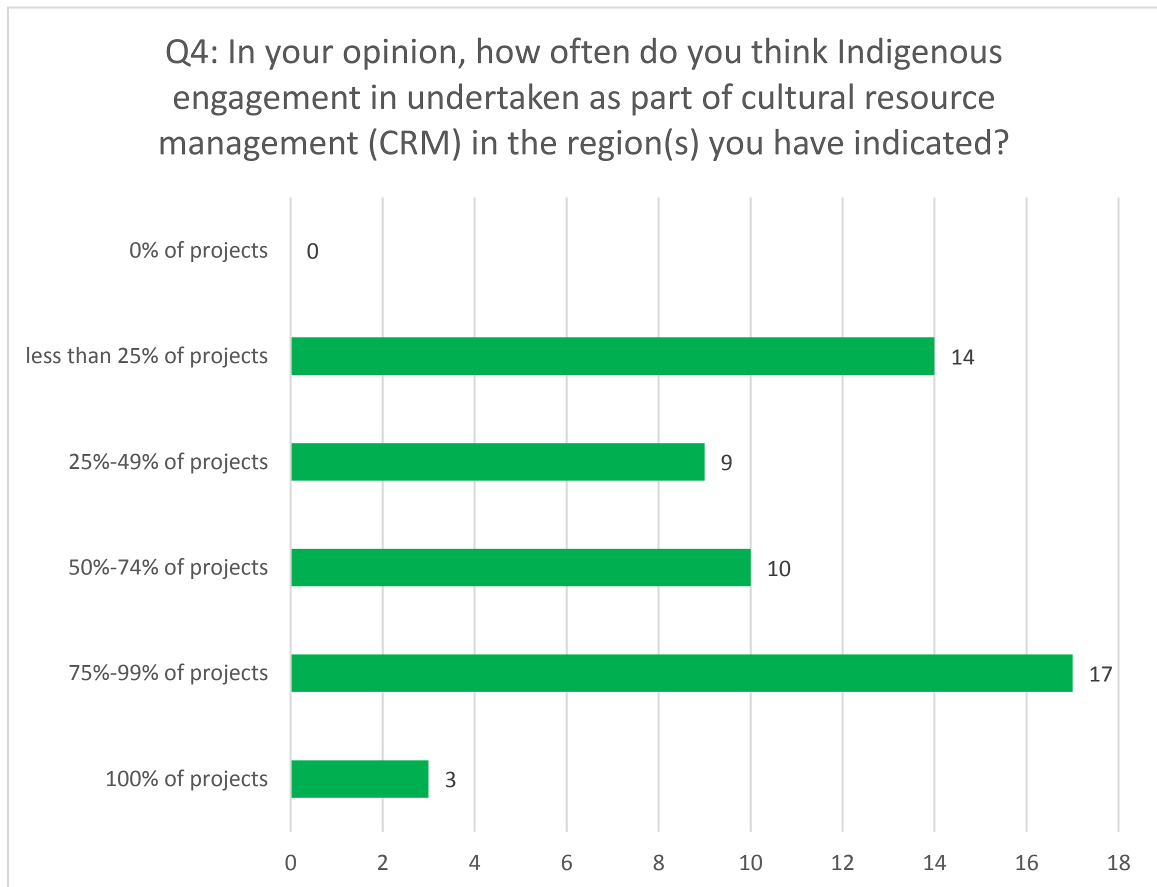


Figure 5.8: Survey Question 4 Responses

Question 4 asked respondents to estimate the percentage of Indigenous involvement on cultural resource management projects in the region(s) they identified as having experience in. Note that this question asked their impression of the practice broadly, not based on their own personal experiences. This particular question varied significantly by region:

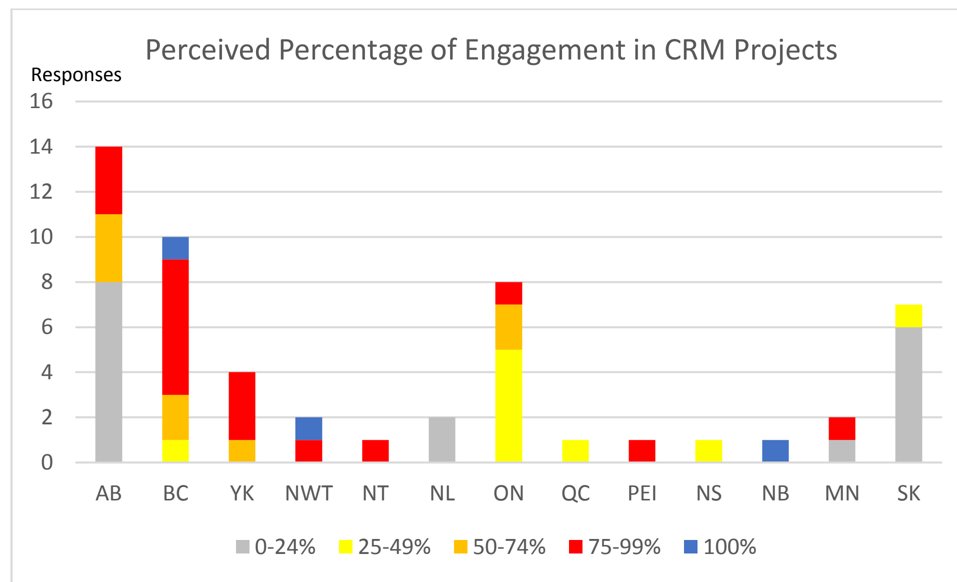


Figure 5.9: Perceived engagement in CRM by region

Impressionistically, the distribution between jurisdictions in Figure 5.9 is similar to the impression I have of engagement regulation practices cross-jurisdictionally, and summarized in Chapter 3. Alberta, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland respondents generally perceive very little engagement. Interestingly, three respondents from Alberta did feel a great deal of engagement does occur. I can say without affecting anonymity that this appears to be dichotomy between archaeologists on the one hand who see little to no engagement happening and Indigenous people who report a large percentage. Essentially, engagement is happening but it is not the archaeologists who are engaging in Alberta, it is the provincial government.

It is also worth noting that, with the exception of one respondent from BC, all respondents felt that, in jurisdictions with comprehensive Indigenous engagement heritage policies and/or significant contemporary treaties (BC, Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut), engagement occurred the majority of the time. As well, one of the two responses specifically referring to Newfoundland and Labrador noted differences between the Island and Nunatsiavut Labrador. The lack of perceived engagement in the

province is presumably the result of a high number of projects being conducted outside of Nunatsiavut. A quick review of projects from 2013 (Newfoundland and Labrador 2014: 4) confirms that only four of an estimated 37 projects occurred in the Inuit territory.

Interestingly, the majority of respondents from Ontario felt engagement was only happening some of the time. Responses from Ontario could be representative of that province's relatively new engagement requirements, only three years old at the time of the survey. Certainly the distribution of that province is unique compared to the other provinces and could reflect a relatively nascent engagement experience, though the limited responses from Ontario relative to the scale of activity happening in the province may be biasing these impressions.

5.5 Survey Question 5

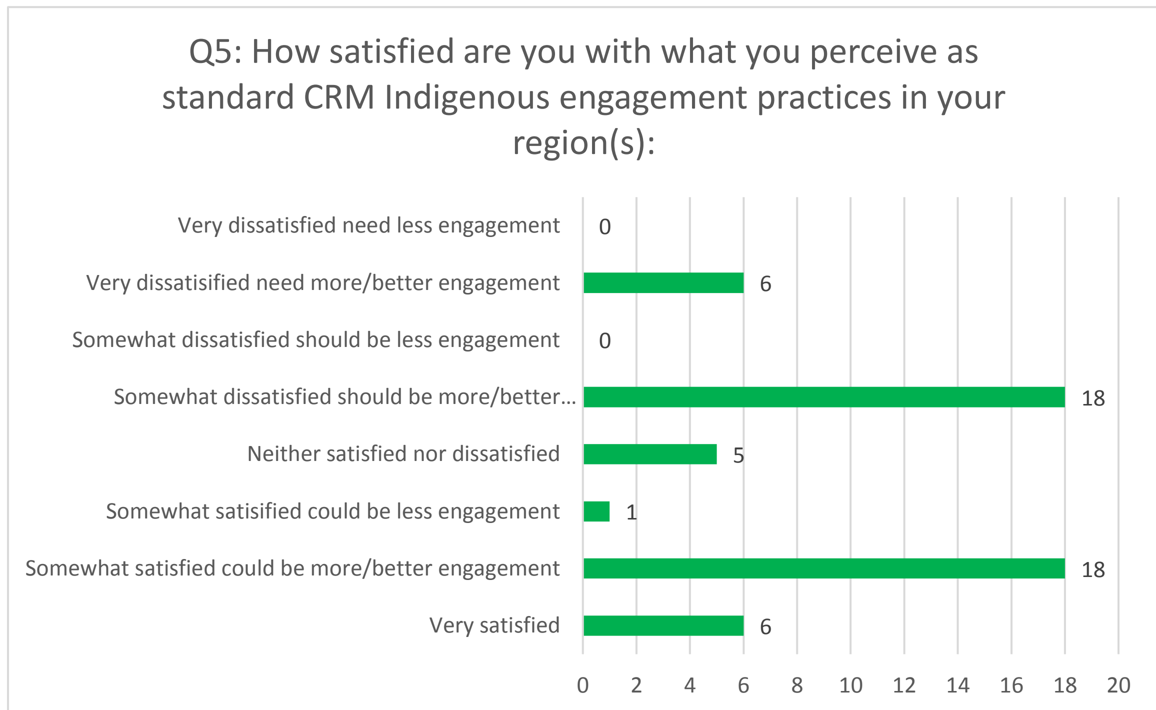


Figure 5.10: Survey Question 5 Responses

Question 5 asked respondents to reflect on their satisfaction with standard engagement practices in their region(s). Participants could indicate their level of satisfaction in addition to whether more or less engagement was required. Overall, 42 respondents (78%) were either somewhat satisfied or dissatisifed or very dissatisified with the process, and wanting better or more engagement. Another 11 respondents (20%) were either neutral or very satisifed with the process. Only one respondent indicated a preference for less engagement. These results underscore that the repondents to this questionnaire largely reflect individuals supportive of the aims of engagement in archaeology, and from that general perspective, the vast majority felt more could be done to achieve this aim.

The responses to this question exhibited some regional- and identification-based variance. With the anonymity restrictions detailed above I present the identification-based distribution of CRM individuals and provincial/territorial government officials relative to their familiarities with CRM practice as recorded in Question 3:

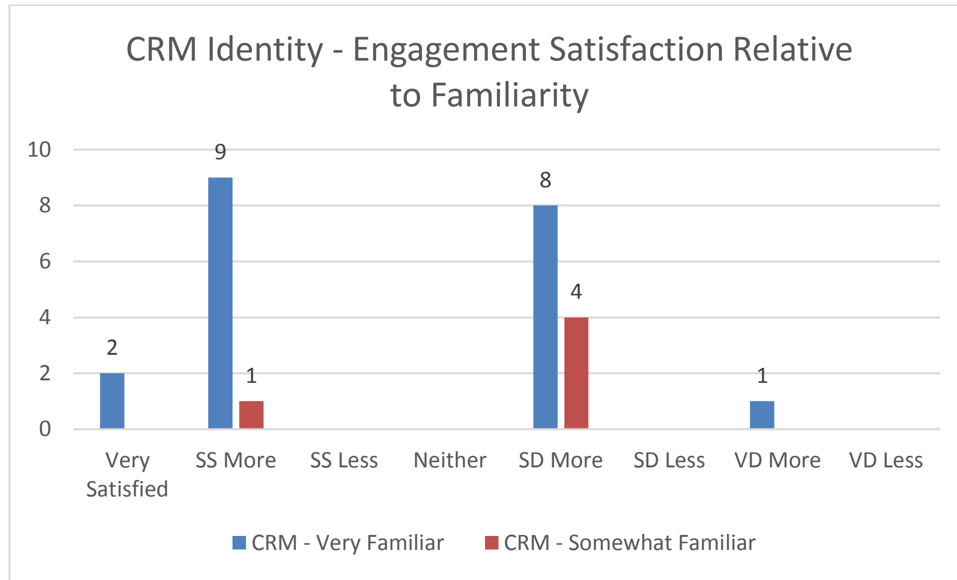


Figure 5.11: Engagement satisfaction relative to familiarity of CRM identities

SS = somewhat satisfied;

SD = somewhat dissatisfied; VD = very dissatisfied;

More = should be more/better engagement;

Less = should be less engagement

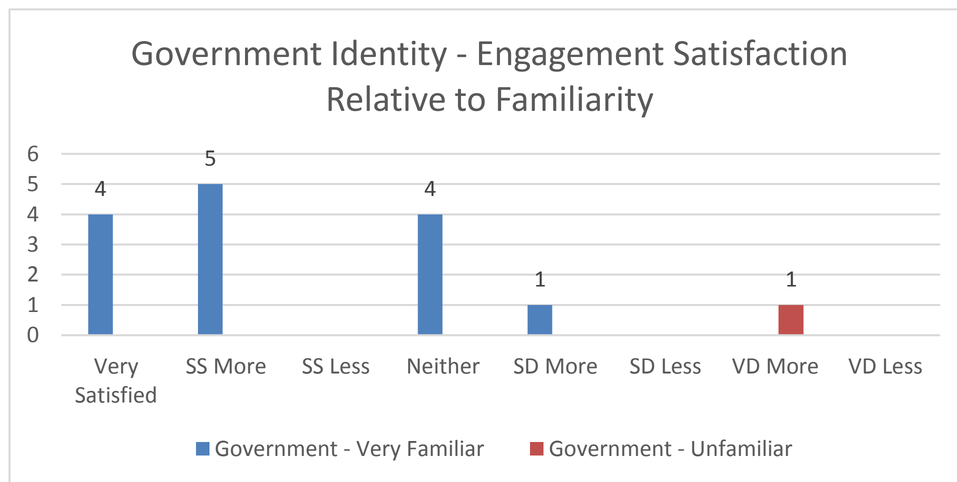


Figure 5.12: Engagement satisfaction relative to familiarity of government identities

It is worth noting that 4 of the 5 respondents who expressed neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction were government officials (27% of all government responses), perhaps seeking to articulate an impartiality towards the process. Of those government officials who expressed an opinion, 9 of 11 (82%) were very or somewhat satisfied with the process, and one of the respondents who were dissatisfied also acknowledged an unfamiliarity with the process. Comparing that to CRM practitioners, the pattern is quite different. No CRM-identified respondent felt neutral to the process, and a slight majority (13 of 25 or 52%) were dissatisfied.

5.6 Survey Question 6: In your own words, briefly describe standard CRM Indigenous engagement in your region(s)

Question 6 asked respondents to describe standard CRM Indi

genous engagement as and where they were familiar with it. In all, 46 of 54 respondents did so. Responses to this question ranged from one word answers (e.g., “lacking”) to comprehensive accounts of regulatory regimes and informalized practices.[50] In my analysis of the responses I was able to characterize 32 (70%) responses as using neutral language to describe standard engagement practices, while three respondents (6%) used positive, affirming language to describe standard practice, and 11 (24%) used negative, critical language. Predictably, the positive and negative responses largely corresponded to levels of satisfaction previously identified (Figure 5.13).

---

[50] Apart from the characterizations of neutrality, four of 46 question respondents were not included in the subsequent Chapter 6 Framework Analysis as a result of their answers lacking discernable content.

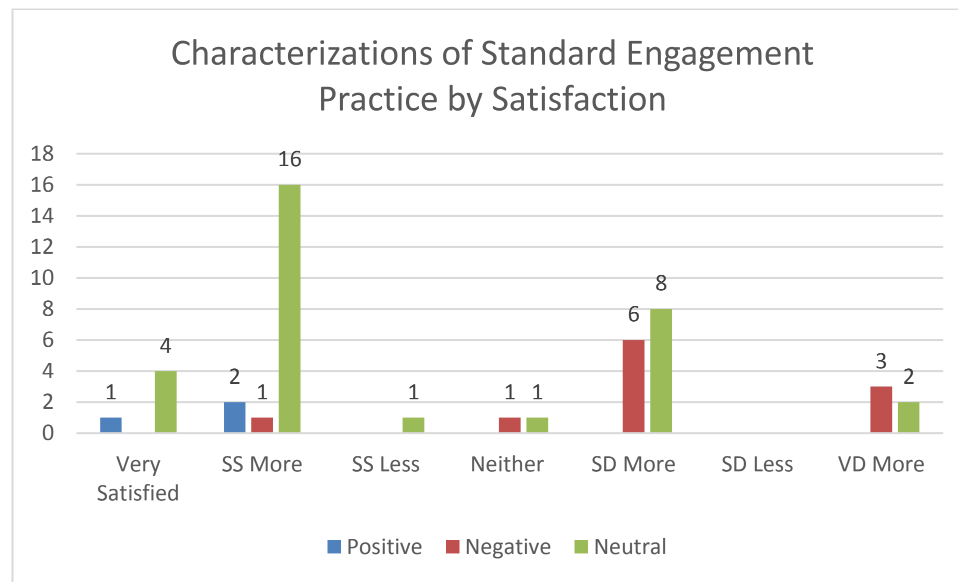


Figure 5.13: Characterizations of Standard Engagement Practice by Satisfaction

5.7 Survey Question 7: Please tell us about the most rewarding or best instance of CRM Indigenous engagement from your own experience:

Question 7 sought unique insight from the respondents by asking them to share their best or most rewarding instance of engagement. In all, 41 (76% of respondents were willing to do so. Again, answers were open-ended and therefore were unique to each participant. Of the 41 answers, five explicitly stated they had no positive experiences of Indigenous engagement in CRM. Of these five, three had identified themselves as CRM practitioners (one as a novice), all of whom were somewhat dissatisfied with engagement practice. The remaining two consisted of an academic and an avocational who both indicated they were very dissatisfied with engagement practices in their regions. In all cases the respondents indicated that their dissatisfaction was based on their limited engagement, and they

believed that there should be more/better engagement practices. This indicates that the absence of a best experience is not due to a distaste for the process of engagement itself.

The remaining answers provided a plethora of examples ranging from good or ideal processes of engagement to individual rewarding instances, 35 of which dealt specifically or generally with CRM while one response indicated that the experience was not CRM related. That response was excluded from the subsequent analyses.

5.8 Survey Question 8

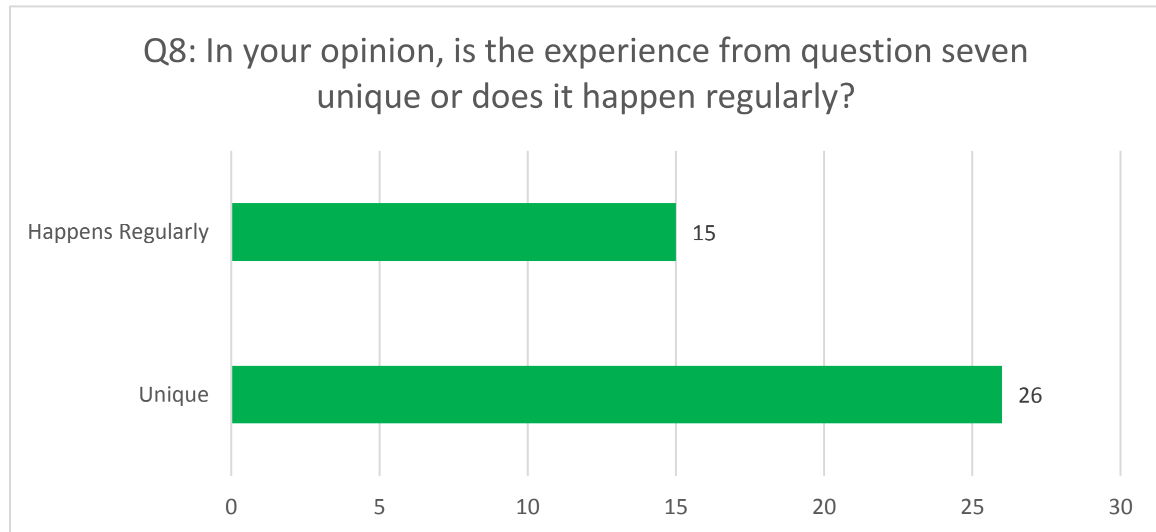


Figure 5.14: Question 8 Responses

Question 8 followed up on Question 7 assessing how often the situation described in the previous question tended to occur. Fourty-one of 54 respondents answered the question with 26 indicated that the most rewarding instances of engagement were unique in their experience. The remaining 15 indicated that their best example of engagement happened regularly. However, despite sharing the same number of respondents as Question 7, the actual respondents who answered Question 8 were not all of the same ones who answered

Question 7. Four of the respondents who answered Question 7 did not answer Question 8 including two of the respondents who indicated that they had no such experience. Four additional respondents answered Question 8 without having answered Question 7 (two unique; two happens regularly). While it is possible these answers are referring to internally constructed best instances, without knowing their answers to Question 7 I could not include these four responses in the subsequent data.

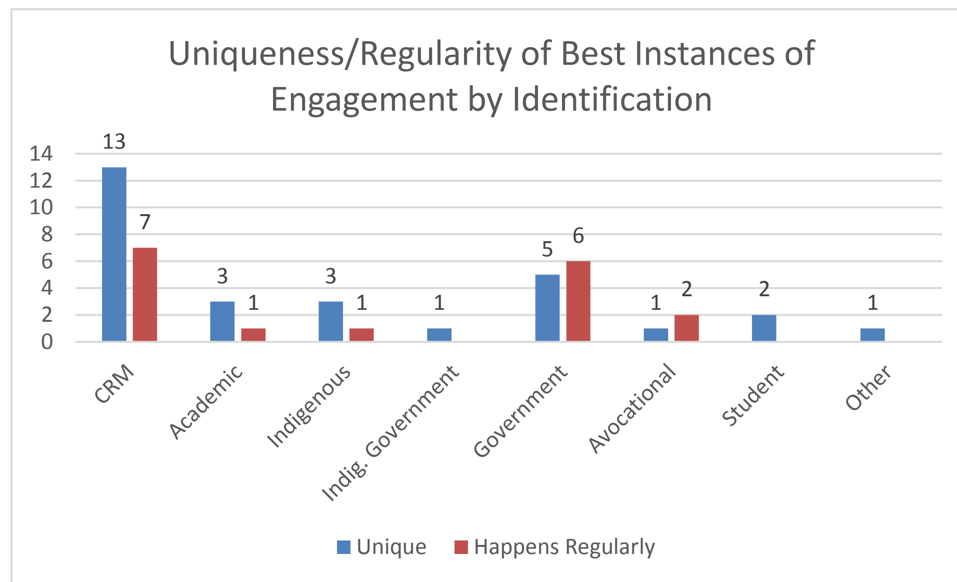


Figure 5.15: Identification distribution of uniqueness/regularity of best instances of engagement

The identification distribution of Question 8 suggests that best or most rewarding instances of engagement are, for the most part, considered to to be fairly unique, particularly with respect to CRM. This is not surprising given CRM's often beholden nature to an array of clients each with their own predelictions towards Indigenous involvement in archaeology. Essentially, development proponents encourage or discourage engagement to varying degrees. Consultant archaeologists, under contract to these developers, become subsumed by their client's diverse motivations which in-turn contributes to a variety of developer-guided engagement instances.

When considering these responses relative to the respondent's familiarity with CRM, all of the respondents who noted these instances occur regularly also are respondents very familiar with the process.

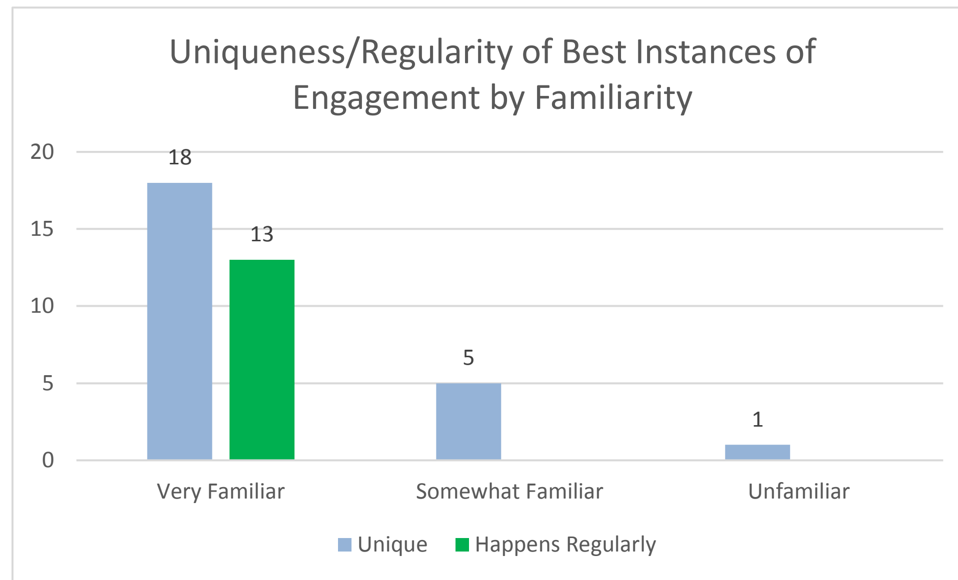


Figure 5.16: CRM familiarity distribution of uniqueness/regularity of best instances of engagement

This distribution could be indicative of two factors. First, the somewhat familiar/unfamiliar respondents may not have enough experience with CRM to have recognized any sort of engagement patterns. Second, respondents who might be considered on the periphery of CRM (academics, avocational, students) may perceive CRM engagement as a consistently poor exercise. My analysis of these six responses indicated neither of these factors accounted for the breadth of identities, the roles and knowledge these respondents displayed of CRM in previous questions, or for their geographic distribution. It appears that these respondents were concentrated in provinces where engagement requirements were either minimal or non-existent. This could indicate that the most rewarding engagement experiences in these provinces are, or are perceived to be, unique because engagement itself is rare.

5.9 Question 9: What are your personal goals when participating in Indigenous engagement in archaeology?

Question 9 asked respondents to identify their personal goals when participating in Indigenous engagement. A total of 45 respondents (83%) chose to answer this question, with two of the 45 explicitly stating that they had no such goals. These two respondents were CRM identified, both very familiar with CRM, and one was somewhat dissatisified with standard process and the other somewhat satisified. Both indicated there could be more and better engagement. This particular question did not reference CRM archaeology explicitly and therefore was not confined to strictly CRM responses - although it is possible some respondents read CRM into the question given its predominance in the rest of the survey.

The 43 remaining answers ran the gamut between general and specific identifications and descriptions. The original intent behind Question 9 was to identify particular personal motivations behind engagement and compare these with the outcomes established in Questions 6 and 7. The goal-oriented nature of this question precluded sufficient regional assignment in the responses; in other words, I could not know if certain goals applied to certain jurisdictions when respondents had indicated multiple regions in Question 2. Therefore identification distribution was selected as the best means of representing this data in subsequent framework analysis (see Chapters 6 and 7).

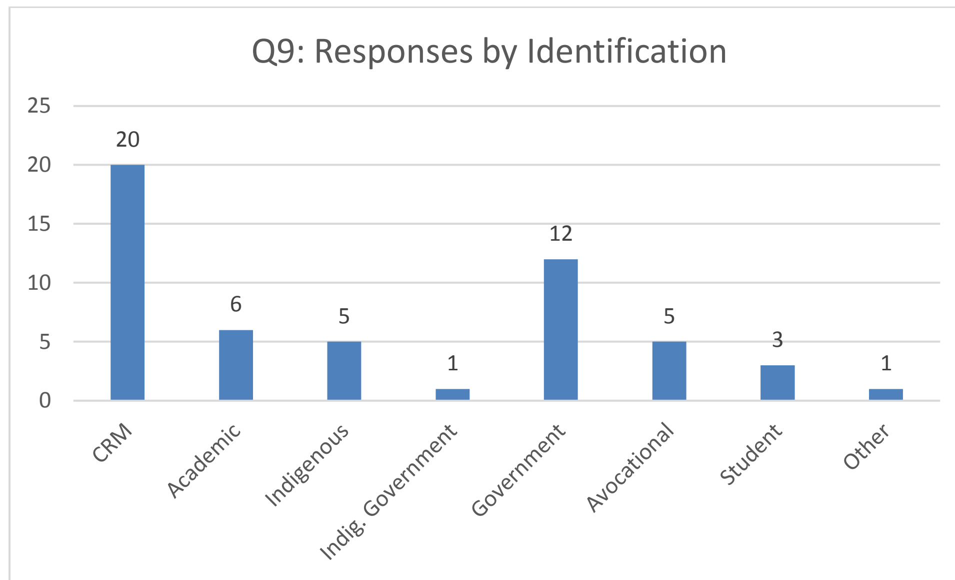


Figure 5.17: Identification distribution of Question 9 responses

5.10 Survey Question 10

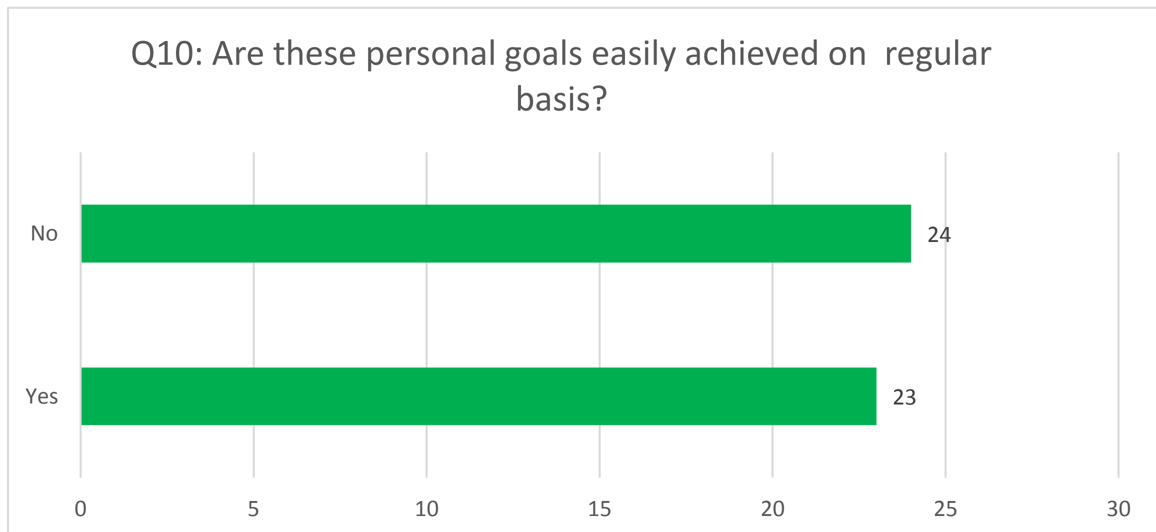


Figure 5.18: Question 10 Responses

Question 10 contextualized the answers from Question 9 in terms of how often personal goals were met in the course of Indigenous engagement. In all, 47 of 54 respondents answered this question, two more than had provided open-ended written responses for Question 9. The additional two respondents (one academic said no; one CRM/Academic said yes) were two of the four respondents who answered Question 8 without having answered Question 7.

The answers indicate a fairly even split with a slight majority of respondents indicating that their personal goals are not being met on a regular basis.

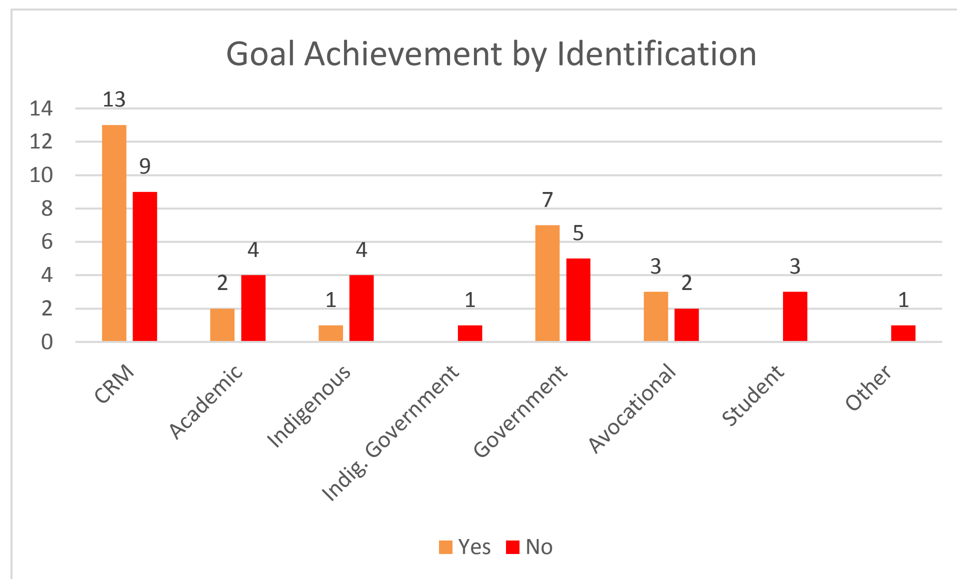


Figure 5.19: Identification distribution of goal achievement in Question 10

Identification distribution of responses to Question 10 indicates that goals are perceived as being regularly achieved in CRM, government and, marginally, by avocationals. Students, academics and Indigenous respondents did not perceive their goals as regularly achieved. Although there is not enough data to say so conclusively, what this dichotomy may suggest is that the engagement goals of CRM and government respondents are fundamentally not the same as Indigenous government officials and community

members. My analysis in Chapters 6 and 7, will provide a better sense of how this dissonance manifests in engagement practices.

5.11 Survey Question 12: If you have anything additional you would like to say with regards to cultural resource management, archaeology, and/or Indigenous engagement, please do so below.

The last question of the questionnaire (following Question 11, which asked if a respondent would be willing to follow up with an interview), provided respondents space to comment on anything related to the subject or the survey. In all 20 respondents (37%) took the opportunity to add something. Their comments ranged from statements about this research project to characterizations of the state of Indigenous engagement, to concerns about their anonymity. Question 12's solicitation of further comments likely provided an opportunity for respondents to reflect on their own perceptions of engagement as well as on the intent of survey as a whole. Relevant response content from this question is discussed in subsequent chapters.

6 Analysis and Interpretation Part I: Engagement Conditions

As part of the Engagement Analytical Framework developed for this research, all relevant datasets (CAA Newsletter review, Questionnaire responses, Interviews and Round Table), were analysed for instances referencing Engagement Conditions and Engagement Capitals. This Chapter reviews Engagement Conditions, which includes Regulation, Capacity (Developer/Indigenous Community) and Relationships. After reviewing the representation of these Conditions in Questionnaire responses, I provide a review of each Condition category across datasets. Intersections and resonance between particular Engagement Conditions and Capitals are also discussed when relevant.

6.1 Survey Engagement Conditions Analysis

Each of the four open-ended responses to the questionnaire data presented in Chapter 5 was analysed against the Conditions Analytical Framework introduced in Chapter 4. The resulting analysis with respect to each question is summarized below. Details from these responses and my analysis will also be incorporated into analysis of interviews and a consideration of Engagement Conditions further in this Chapter.

6.1.1 Survey Question 6: Engagement Conditions

> Indigenous communities and governments are provided opportunities to review all archaeological permit applications. Which communities and/or governments is determined by law, primarily through land claim legislation and, in areas where no land claims exist, by long-standing procedure.
>
> Survey Question 6 Response (#18: Government)

> Engagement also occurs in some areas as a result of specific First Nations being very activist, and insisting to the proponent that they be involved in the process. In these cases, engagement is generally proponent-led, rather than government directed or regulated, and is therefore voluntary.
>
> Survey Question 6 Response (#4: CRM)

> Capacity or lack thereof often dictates how much engagement there will be… Many [First Nations] are prioritizing land use and expression of land rights or sovereignty as a cultural resource issue.
>
> Survey Question 6 Response (#16: Government)

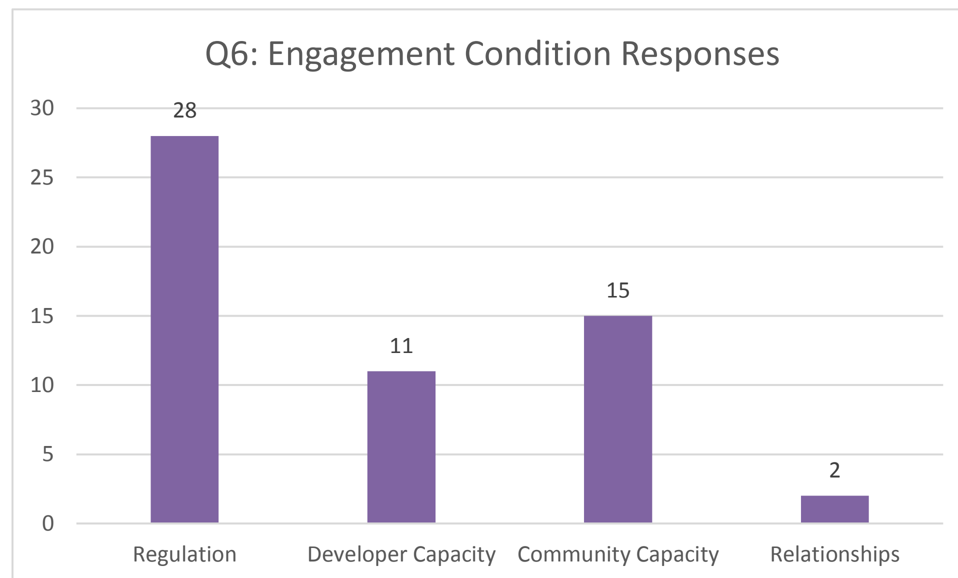


Figure 6.1: Engagement condition responses to Question 6

As reviewed in Chapter 5, Question 6 of the survey asked respondents to describe standard CRM-Indigenous engagement in the part(s) of the country they were familiar with. These open-ended responses tended to focus on two Conditions: Regulation and Capacity (developer/community). The focus on these two Conditions within responses

describing standard practices reflects the emphasis on “rules” shaping standard practices, and capacity as the pre-eminent dimension of “doing” engagement.

Responses largely centered on the requirements, or lack thereof, arising from heritage governance to engage Indigenous communities (Regulation Condition). Just under 61% of the respondents who spoke to this question included references to a government-mandated requirement to work with Indigenous communities as integral to the standard engagement process. Interestingly (Figure 6.2), respondents from provinces and territories where engagement requirements exist, such as Ontario, British Columbia, Northwest Territories, etc., – predominantly mention regulations as consequential to standard engagement practice, while for jurisdictions that do not have more robust engagement requirements (Alberta, Saskatchewan), regulation is only brought up to point out that absence. Clearly, regardless of particular regulatory structure, engagement, in the minds of the survey respondents, happens when there is government regulation making it happen, and does not occur in the absence of that regulation.

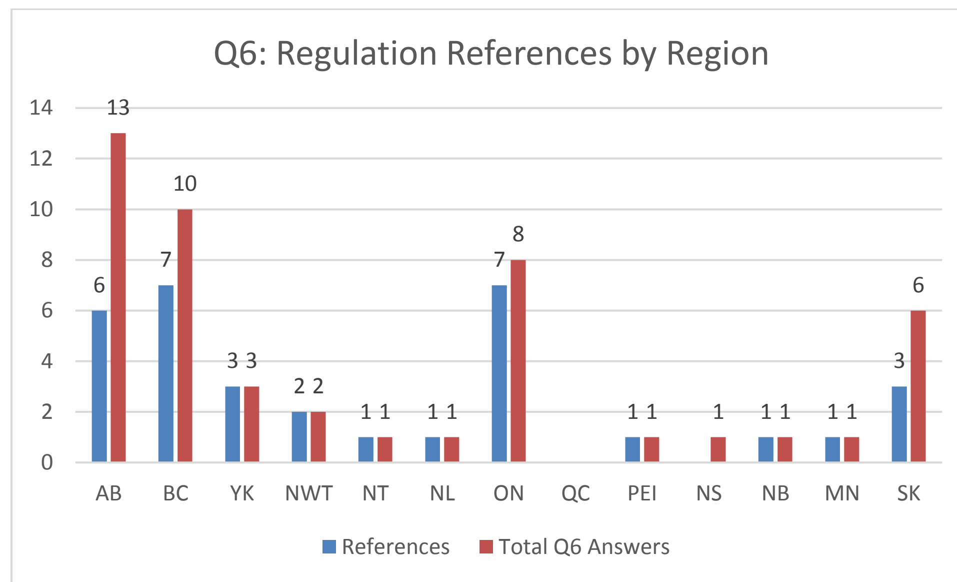


Figure 6.2: Referring to Regulation Conditions in Question 6 by region[51]

Just under a quarter of all responses included references to Developer Capacity as an Engagement Condition, which tended to reflect development proponents' willingness to engage, responses with the highest reference-to-region ratios occurring in Alberta and Saskatchewan:

[51] Note: multiple jurisdictions/identities reflected in respondents' answers mean chart totals will vary from overall respondent numbers. Condition/capital references are only identified with jurisdictions in answers from multiple-jurisdiction participants when the association is explicit (i.e., an Alberta, BC, Saskatchewan respondent who describes standard practice in all three provinces but only refers to Regulation in BC).

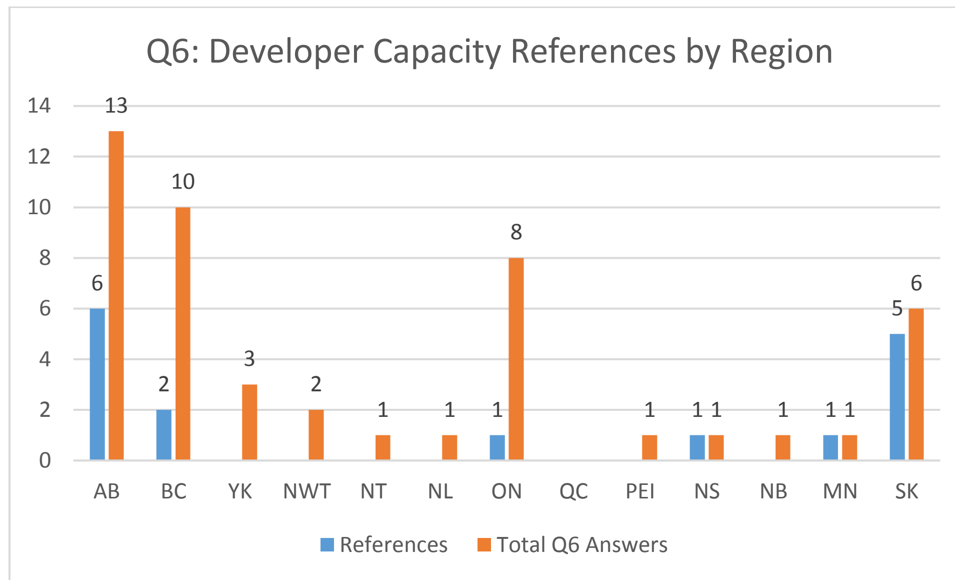


Figure 6.3: Question 6 developer capacity references by region[52]

It is worth noting here that Alberta and Saskatchewan, which included a lack of reference to Regulation Conditions, includes the most references to Developer Capacity. This suggests that, in the absence of regulations imposed by government, engagement tends to reflect the willingness (capacity) of proponents to engage.

The final Engagement Condition respondents mentioned in Question 6 of the survey with some regularity (33%) was Indigenous Capacity. Responses here refer to heritage management capabilities and capacity present within Indigenous communities to undertake engagement. I should note that, beyond respondents identifying multiple regions affecting the total count of Condition references by category, in one case the answer to Question 6 was not clear enough to determine which jurisdiction it applied to,

---

[52] Note: multiple jurisdictions/identities reflected in respondents' answers mean chart totals will vary from overall respondent numbers.

and thus this response was removed from the regional distribution of community capacity presented in Figure 6.4 below.

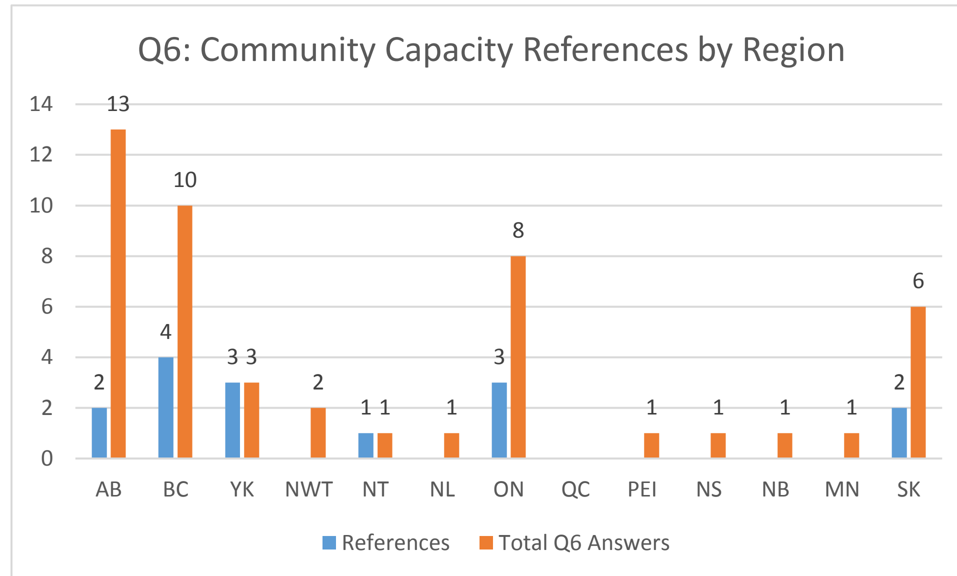


Figure 6.4: Question 6 community capacity references by region[53]

Indigenous Capacity Condition references were fairly dispersed across jurisdictions relative to the concentration of the Developer Capacity references. It is worth noting that all three Yukon responses noted this Condition, which likely reflects the prominent role Yukon First Nations have played in heritage management following the signing of the Umbrella Final Agreement.

The relatively high presence of Regulation and Capacity Conditions in the survey responses to Question 6 reflect how much these Conditions shape respondents' understanding of how engagement is or is not "supposed" to work across Canadian jurisdictions.

---

[53] Note: multiple jurisdictions/identities reflected in respondents' answers mean chart totals will vary from overall respondent numbers.

6.1.2 Survey Question 7: Engagement Conditions

> The local First Nation provided logistics, expertise and personnel to support the work and took on a leadership role in working with other affected First Nations.
>
> Survey Question 7 Response (#30: Government)

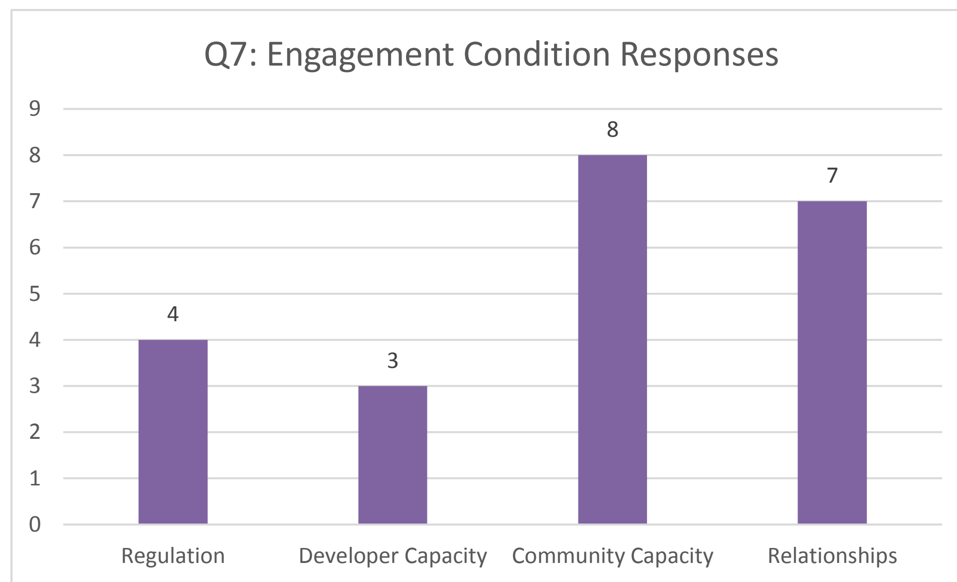


Figure 6.5: Engagement condition responses to Question 7

Question 7 of the survey sought to transition the respondent from considering generalized notions of engagement practice in a region to the respondents own particular and personal instances, and in particular their own “most rewarding or best instance” participating in engagement. The intent here was explicitly to get a sense of what respondents felt were examples of positive engagement. This also meant that, in speaking about an instance of engagement relative to an individual’s experience would lead to a reduction in references to Engagement Conditions (context) in favour of Engagement Capitals (properties of instances). This proved to be the case (see Chapter 7 for a discussion of Engagement Capitals related to Question 7).

In terms of Engagement Conditions, Question 7 (Number of references = 24) generated a significantly reduced number of references compared to Question 6 (Number of references = 62).

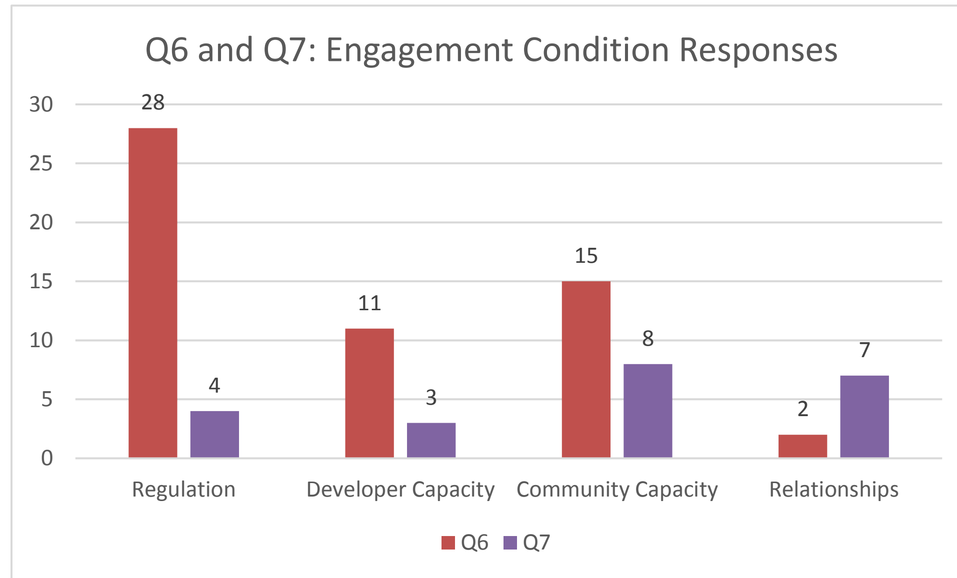


Figure 6.6: Comparison of Questions 6 and 7 engagement condition responses

6.1.3 Survey Question 9: Engagement Conditions

> Building respectful relationships with First Nations and recognition and inclusion of their unique perspectives and concerns when considering cultural resources and impacts of development projects.
>
> Survey Question 9 Response (#20: Government)

> My personal goal is to attempt to meet people's expectations while conducting my job in a transparent and impartial way.
>
> Survey Question 9 Response (#16: Government)

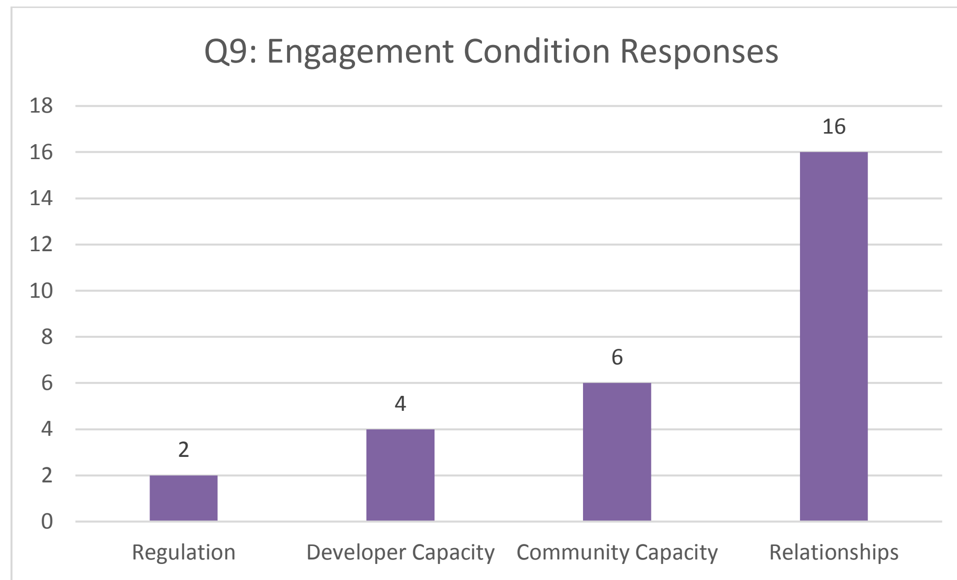


Figure 6.7: Engagement condition responses to Question 9

The next open-ended question of the survey was number 9, which asked respondents to state their personal goals when participating in instances of Indigenous engagement in archaeology.

The four instances referencing a Developer Capacity Condition were framed within the context of individual agency. One CRM respondent identified bringing value to their client as one goal of engagement. Another wrote about working with developers and balancing their interests with others, a goal shared by the third respondent, a government official. The last respondent, an Indigenous community member, connected increasing Developer Capacity as the means of establishing a host of community-centric heritage programs. These responses suggest that Developer Capacity Conditions have the potential to be shaped by personal goals when approaching engagement, but that such change is a product of negotiation whereby developers are encouraged, in their best interests, to adopt effective engagement strategies.

Indigenous Capacity Conditions referred to by respondents exhibit an even greater sense of individual agency than the Developer Capacity responses. Two of the six responses

vaguely write about building capacity in Indigenous communities (one government respondent; one other/non-defined respondent). One student's goal refers to building not just capacity but establishing Indigenous control over their heritage. The CRM responses either discuss building capacity in order to provide either more Indigenous community input into CRM processes (one) or tailoring archaeological outcomes (two) for better use by the community (i.e., using archaeological findings in the community). Noticeably absent from these responses is the same inference to negotiation present in the Developer Capacity responses. The implication is that Indigenous Capacity goals are perceived as 'unquestionably' in the best interests of Indigenous communities and that there is no need to convince them of this in the same way developers must be convinced of the merits of engagement.

Two instances of the Regulation Condition were recorded (from one government official and one Indigenous community member). Both referred to the duties of the Crown with respect to Indigenous rights and treaties, and the ongoing need to ensure archaeologists and others respect these rights as well.

In terms of exploring the goals of respondents as represented by the Analytical Framework, the relationship condition was far and away the most prevalent of the Condition references in Question 9 (Figure 6.34). The number of responses enabled a more nuanced picture of identification distribution relative to previous conditions present in Question 9:

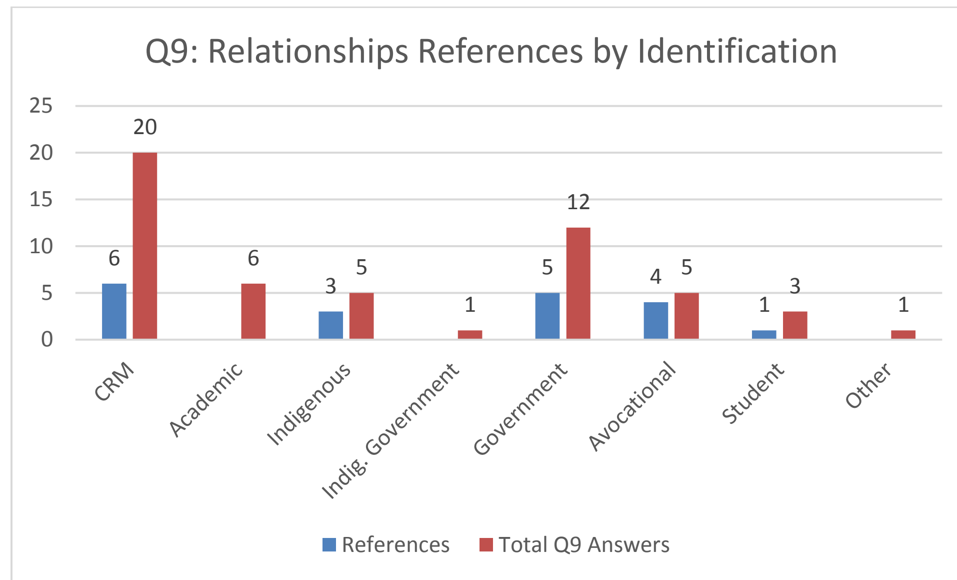


Figure 6.8: Relationship Conditions references in Question 9[54]

References in the replies either infer or directly speak to different qualities of Relationship Conditions. For example, five responses (four CRM; one Indigenous community member) speak to the establishing and maintenance of communication. Four more responses (two CRM; one avocational; and one multiple identification) speak to the need for respect when communicating. One Indigenous/student and two government responses add elements of negotiation and mediation to communication and respect. Finally, two government and two avocational responses write about the need to establish meaningful and comprehensive relationships.

[54] Note: multiple jurisdictions/identities reflected in respondents' answers mean chart totals will vary from overall respondent numbers.

6.2 Identifying and Evaluating Engagement Conditions

The questionnaire responses helped give a sense of the range of Engagement Conditions respondents flagged in discussing engagement, whether their experiences were as Indigenous or archaeological roles within instances of engagement. The Engagement Analytical Framework was applied broadly to all datasets addressing engagement to more fully consider the importance of these Engagement Conditions, in both shaping the engagement experience, and in defining Conditions that are crucial to successful engagement.

6.2.1 Regulation Conditions

Regulation as an Engagement Condition includes instances referring to heritage, environmental assessment and land claims settlement acts; legislative regulations; and, policies, referring to the body of explicit governance intent created within the bureaucracy. Reference to Regulation Conditions can also include directives and requirements imposed by Indigenous or municipal governments as it pertains to heritage management that these governments are responsible for, including: municipal archaeological management plans (Williamson 2010) and Indigenous heritage regimes such as the Solutions Table in Haida Gwaii and the various final settlement agreements in the North (Council for Yukon Indians 1993; Gwich'in 1993; Inuvialuit 1984; Nunatsiavut 2005; Nunavut 1999; Sahtu Dene and Metis 1993; Tłı̨chǫ 2005).

6.2.1.1 Regulation Conditions – Analysis

The distribution of identified and coded Regulation references in the surveys and interviews emphasizes the role Regulation, as an Engagement Condition, plays in defining the specific jurisdictional environment CRM and Indigenous engagement operate within across Canada.

As first confirmed in Chapter 3 and then noted in Chapter 5, survey respondents with familiarity of jurisdictions that more formally require archaeological engagement with Indigenous communities through regulation or other imposed condition on practice tended to also note that engagement occurred more frequently in those jurisdictions.

Within the interviews conducted for this research, I was able to identify and code many references to Regulation Conditions. The raw numbers of instances recorded, when broken down by interviewee role (CRM, Government, Indigenous) was 53, with CRM having the highest total of instances, not surprising given that more CRM archaeologists were interviewed (Figure 6.9). CRM archaeologists averaged 5 references to Regulation Conditions per interviewee, while Government interviewees averaged 5.3 instances, and Indigenous interviewees averaged 4 instances. It is not surprising that Government officials tended to refer to Regulation conditions more, though it is also important to emphasize that these datasets should not be construed as representative of entire engagement roles.

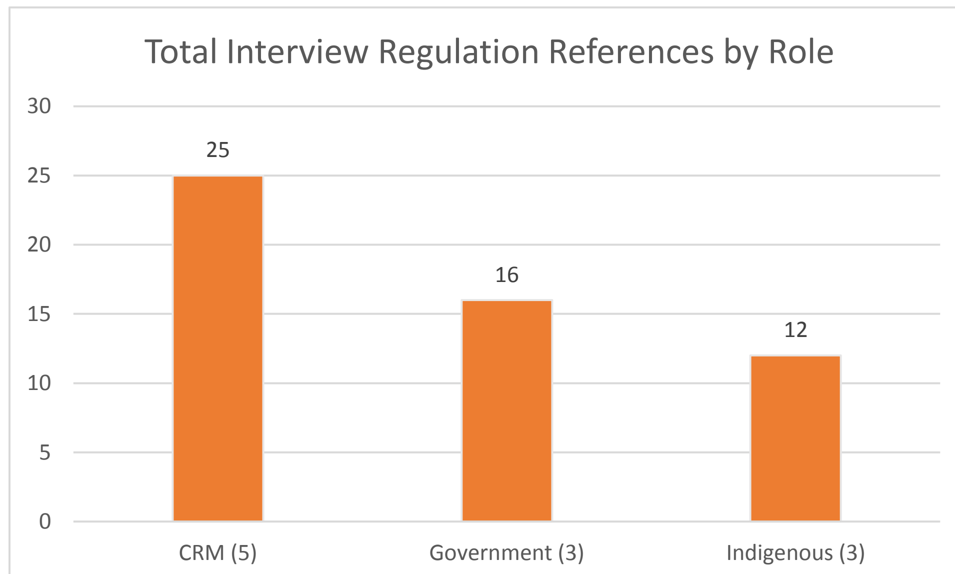


Figure 6.9: Total interview regulation references by role

6.2.1.2 Regulation as Reflection

Indigenous engagement requirements, as they relate to archaeology, were not present in early provincial heritage legislation. The segregation in the southern provinces between heritage management and Descendent Community in terms of heritage regulation only began formally breaking down in the 1990s and 2000s (Chapter 2). Prior to this, engagement largely depended on other Conditions (Capacity and Relationships). Essentially, when early engagement happened it was not because any State body required that it happen.

For example, of the instances of engagement reported in the CAA Newsletter prior to 1990, 83% (25 out of 30) occurred in regions with relatively strong contemporary engagement requirements (see Appendix III). Taken alone this would seem to indicate that formal Indigenous engagement requirements (i.e., Regulation Conditions) are not necessary precursors to engagement practices, but instead reflective of certain pre-existing realities. The histories of heritage management in British Columbia and Ontario (Dent 2012; DeVries 2014; Nicholas 2006) appear to support the assertion that engagement widely occurs because regulation required it, however the historical context afforded by the CAA Newsletter complicates that assertion by implying regulation was also aided by an already existing continuum of interaction between archaeologists and Indigenous communities in these jurisdictions. This does not negate the notion that for widespread engagement instances to occur an imposed regulatory set of requirements are needed, but does suggest an established willingness and precedent facilitates a regulatory framework emerging.

In British Columbia, the notion of including Indigenous representatives in the heritage management process dates back to the early and mid-1970s (Dent 2012: 51; Mitchell 1975). This early recognition is contemporaneous with the first reported instances of engagement in British Columbia from the CAA Newsletter. In 1972 and 1973 the Archaeological Survey of Canada conducted projects involving the Gitando (Lax Kw'alaams) and Metlakatla communities, and the North Coast District Council of the

Union of BC Indian Chiefs. All three of these projects involved forms of engagement that would not be uncommon today, including seeking Indigenous approval (North Coast District Council), education and outreach (Metlakatla) and referring to traditional land use information (Gitando - Lax Kw'alaams). Despite these early examples of engagement and attempts at inclusion, Indigenous participation in BC heritage regulation was not formally recognized until the 1992 First Nations Heritage Symposium, held during the drafting of the now current Heritage Conservation Act (R.S.B.C. 1996 c.187) (Dent 2012; Lane 1993).

In Ontario, *Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Technical Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario* (2010) was not released until 2011, however some of the perceived reasons for developing this policy of heritage engagement are found in confrontations such as Ipperwash (1995) and Caledonia (2006), and efforts following these confrontations to address Indigenous concerns (DeVries 2014; Ferris and Welch 2014). As well, Cemeteries Act requirements for archaeologists on behalf of landowners to determine the disposition of discovered human remains in consultation with nearest First Nations, practices dating back to the 1980s and formalized in the 1990s, also laid important groundwork for broader engagement practices (Carruthers 1999; Fox 1988, 2014). Comparatively positive experiences such as the Niagara Reinforcement Project in 2005 could also be pointed to as contributing to an environment of increasing coordination between Indigenous communities and archaeologists, particularly those conducting CRM. In Ontario, heritage regulation not only attempted to address some of the instigating factors of crises like Caledonia and Ipperwash, but also to formalize processes of engagement which had already developed, and seek to insert engagement within regularized stages of CRM projects.

That relatively nascent engagement environment developed for limited areas of the South can be contrasted with more of a continuum of engagement in the North. Notably, in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and subsequently in Nunavut, heritage regulations requiring engagement did not emerge in an environment of increasing Indigenous participation in heritage management. Rather, as expressed by both interviewees and

survey participants familiar with the North, engagement regulation was simply a reflection of a longstanding tradition of collaboration between archaeologists and communities, something “seamless” and “natural” (Bill Fox, Interview). As such, regulation in the North was more of a formalization of long-standing processes: “I mean we were already working very closely with the First Nations anyway” (011321). The need for this formalization, if people were doing it already, I suggest, can be found in two underlying reasons.

First, in the range of final settlement agreements signed between Indigenous, federal and territorial governments, and consistent with the State oversight role of heritage management as an expression of sovereignty. These final agreements address the means within which the State role would become more concentrated within Indigenous systems of governance. Chapter 13 of the Umbrella Final Agreement in the Yukon, and the Inuvialuit Lands Administration Rules and Procedures, both represent formalized engagement mechanisms occurring as a result of negotiated settlements. The Solutions Table in Haida Gwaii, while not a settlement agreement, similarly created a system of engagement and oversight within heritage management that significantly amplified the role of the Haida Nation (Jo Brunsden, Interview). It is highly likely that these models of broadened Indigenous sovereignty including increased oversight of heritage will continue to emerge as relationships between the Canadian State and Indigenous nations advance, and formal recognition of Indigenous sovereignty over unsurrendered territory occur.

The second reason for this formalization is hinted at in the *Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations* (SOR/98-429), a core aspect of heritage policy in the Northwest Territories today (Tom Andrews, Interview). The expansion of mostly resource development and infrastructure in the North required the formalization of heritage engagement so that pipelines, mines and other projects consulted and accommodated Indigenous concerns with respect to heritage. In this instance and in others, engagement is mandated and overseen by territorial and provincial governments in order to curb development impacts conducted without Indigenous input. This provincial and territorial enforcement could be

seen as a transitional state between no engagement and formalized Indigenous governance and oversight.

Protocols and regulations requiring engagement appear to have as much to do with conscious State intervention and as they do with pre-existing, on-the-ground networks and their associated histories between archaeologists, developers and communities. In this manner Regulation as an Engagement Condition could be seen as a calcification of other Condition-facilitated engagement practices being subsumed and converted into State machinations of compliance and control, otherwise known as governmentality (Foucault 1991; Smith 2004).

6.2.1.3 Regulation as Imperative

Once engagement requirements became formalized as part of the heritage governance regime in places such as British Columbia and Ontario,[55] the Regulation Condition of engagement became an inducement for previously resistant developers and archaeologists to interact with Indigenous communities. In British Columbia, a system of referral letters and permit notifications apprise an Indigenous community of any impending development:

> So let's just say there's going to be a mine happening. So I'll get a referral letter from the ministry of energy and mines here and they will say so-and-so has this proposed mine and this is going to be infringing on your aboriginal rights you have X amount of days to respond… That's how you know who the proponent is and their contact information so usually I will call the proponent right away and ask him or her what this project entails and get some more details about the project.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

[55] Jurisdictions where this history of heritage governance has been chronicled (e.g., Apland 1993; Dent 2012; DeVries 2014; Ferris 2002, 2007; La Salle and Hutchings 2012; Noble 1982).

These archaeological notifications facilitated a greater connection between Indigenous communities and developers, whereas previously communities would have had to rely on their own members, a network of sympathetic locals, or a developer's own outreach to make them at least aware of these planned encroachments. In a traditional territory covering thousands of square kilometers it is quite likely that many developments were ultimately completed without an Indigenous community's awareness and input. This made archaeological engagement the early warning and broader vehicle for Indigenous community awareness and interaction with development projects planned within their traditional territory. However, even with notifications and referrals, unless the community had the capacity to respond meaningfully to these notifications, the net result, that of a lack of Indigenous community input, remained the same.

Regulation Conditions can also have a dampening effect on engagement by creating provincially enforced minimums as opposed to professionally developed best practices. In British Columbia, this was reflected in interviews: "the government has said very clearly that [the client's] only obligation is to notify so under our permits we have to notify" (011121).

Pushing proponents to go beyond any provincial minimum requirement can be difficult and can often involve coordination between archaeologists and communities:

> Archaeology can be a really great backdoor into almost any project just because archaeologists generally know that they need to notify the First Nation when they are doing work and that lets us know that there is a project happening, that there is a proponent to talk to. So sometimes that's the way it goes, the archaeologist reaches out to us and says "okay I'm doing work here" and then we take it from there and say "who's the proponent?" Then we go talk to the proponent.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

Once connected, communities and archaeologists themselves deploy or at least invoke a number of Regulatory Conditions to encourage developer engagement and consultation:

> [The Indigenous community] anyways is focused on the Duty to Consult and this idea that it falls on the proponent, the one that's doing the development, and less so, well not at all, on the archaeologist. Obviously archaeologists have [regulated] responsibilities to engage… and perhaps their moral guidelines, but really our focus is on making sure the proponents understand their Duty to Consult and that they facilitate that.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

> I could make a comment on the 30th day of your permit application about lots and lots of stuff that the branch would have to look at and then they have to… [J: You have mechanisms to make life difficult] …and they're legitimate too. I'm probably one of the only people that can read an arch application permit and really pick it apart if I really want to.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

> The one [Indigenous community] manager was a cagey guy who was trying to collect a whole lot of archaeological survey data to create a record of known sites in the region so that when industry starts up there and regulatory processes come in to action there will be a lot of triggers for historical resources that will force additional work, which is smart.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

Knowledge of Regulation Conditions that both create engagement and help widen the engagement discussion to encompass a broader range of community concerns are facilitated by both archaeologist and Indigenous roles in engagement instances.

6.2.1.4 Regulation Condition Summary

Regulation Conditions as a catalyst for Indigenous engagement in heritage management has consistently been a focal point for commentary and criticism (Budhwa 2005; De Paoli 1999; Dent 2012; DeVries 2014; Ferris 2003; Ferris and Welch 2014; Hammond 2009; King 2008; Klassen et al. 2009; Lane 1993; McGuire 2008; Nicholas 2006). This catalyst results from a recognition of regulation as facilitating a large scale involvement of Indigenous communities in the day to day practices of heritage management and, more

variably, over decision making in heritage management. If an individual or collective goal is to increase, in scale and quality, occurrences of engagement, then the adoption of a provincial requirement to engage will make that happen.

Court decisions, the actions of legislatures and the interpretation of those actions by bureaucratic departments, all play roles in the development and maintenance of systematic Indigenous engagement in heritage management. That Regulation is a Condition of engagement as characterized in this dissertation is a straightforward conclusion and reinforced by its overwhelming presence in Survey Question 6 responses describing standard practice. Regulation does not, however, occur in a vacuum. Indigenous engagement in heritage management is affected by a variety of other conditions that are equally important. For instance, government can require engagement but without corresponding capacities to conduct and facilitate that engagement, regulation alone is a *zhilaohu* or "paper tiger," fearsome in theory but meaningless in reality.

6.2.2 Capacity Conditions

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of Capacity (developer/Indigenous community) Conditions in shaping the form and effectiveness of Indigenous engagement in heritage management. The subject emerged repeatedly, often before questions regarding the Conditions could be asked during interviews. They are a pervasive but often academically overlooked dimension of engagement, particularly with respect to CRM. The term 'capacity' is also ripe for multiple interpretations, ranging from references to the possibility for capacity-building as facilitating Indigenous community access to and authority over heritage resources (Klassen 2013; Markey 2010; Supernant and Warrick 2014: 583) to more narrow conceptions of capacity-building as increasing archaeological expertise within an Indigenous community (Connaughton et al. 2014: 549-551). Therefore, it is important to explicitly define the Capacity Condition as it pertains to this dissertation. Capacity as used here refers to the ability (power, means) of

Indigenous communities and developers, to initiate, respond, organize, meet the demand for and accomplish engagement, and achieve engagement outcomes as part of the archaeological project. Each of the two categories of Capacity, Developer and Indigenous Community, will be reviewed in detail with specific references to their occurrences in the survey and interviews.

6.2.2.1 Developer Capacity Conditions– Analysis

Developer Capacity Conditions refers to the extent to which proponents of land developments are both able and willing to incorporate particular forms of Indigenous engagement within the CRM process they are meeting as requirements of particular development projects. This capacity is very important in jurisdictions where provincial heritage requirements mandate minimal or no involvement of Indigenous communities in heritage management, as was reviewed in Chapter 5, for example in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In most of BC, permit notifications are the only engagement requirement, while in Ontario engagement requirements are only mandatory at the end of Stage 3 (initial mitigation/excavation) assessment. However, developers often determine it is in their best interests to go above and beyond these minimal requirements for a variety of reasons reviewed below.

In the survey responses Developer Capacity featured 19 times across all four of the open-ended questions (Figure 6.10). In the interviews conducted for this study, references to Development Capacity were fairly evenly distributed across interviewee roles, though average number of references were slightly higher from identified government interviewees (Figure 6.11).

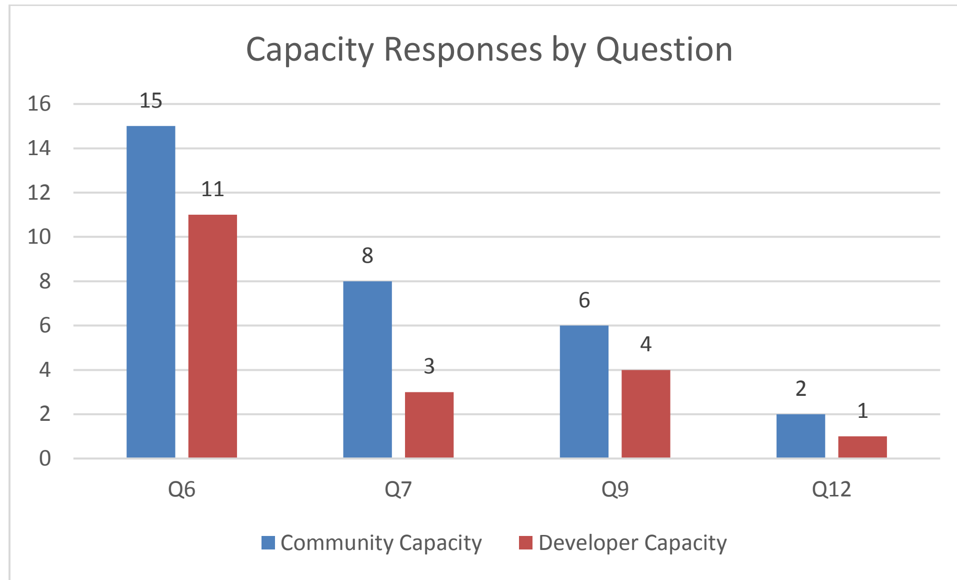


Figure 6.10: Capacity responses in open-ended survey question

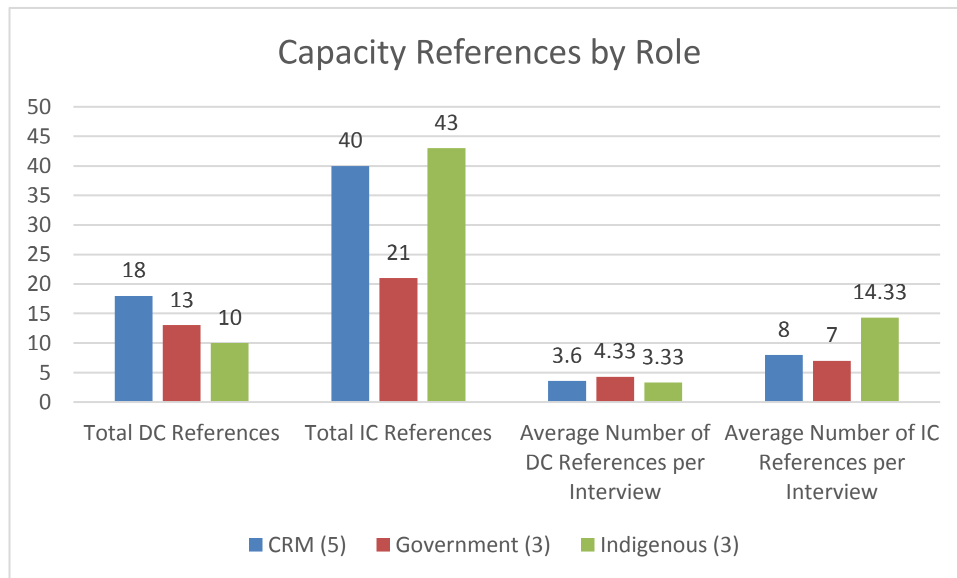


Figure 6.11: Interviews - Capacity references by Interviewees (DC: Developer Capacity; IC: Indigenous Community Capacity)

In the interviews, discussions about Developer Capacity Conditions coalesced around degrees of Indigenous access to development processes. If CRM is the only, or one of a limited number of mechanisms whereby particular Indigenous communities can project influence onto these processes, then CRM becomes more important to both developers and communities than simply just heritage management, though for different reasons. CRM, and by perceived extension Indigenous heritage, in effect adopts a symbolic function whereby developers can focus and potentially restrict Indigenous community outreach and consultation to a relatively small element of the development process, one that is rarely of consequence to the much larger development outcome.

6.2.2.2 Developer Capacity – Interpretation

> I very often think it's a goodwill building exercise in terms of 'hey look we're providing employment' and 'hey look we're engaged with you' and 'hey look we're engaged with you on an issue of culture, aren't we enlightened, forward-looking people who appreciate you and your past' you know? And that may be a little bit cynical but at the end of the day that kind of goodwill building is important to the sustainability of their enterprises as far as these communities are holding increasing degrees of say so over these processes… I think that's a lot of what's motivating the client companies [.] I don't necessarily think there's a lot of purity in it. At the same time I think there's a lot of pragmatic 'let's make sure that the folks who may be able to slow or staunch the rate of development are getting some idea of what we can offer them' and I think sometimes that choice of putting people in archaeology crews again it's one that seems like a no-brainer 'look it's culture they will love that'. Sometimes it's not the most well-thought-out choice and that's a better reflection on the sort of facile quality to some of these attempts to engage communities.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

It may be "a little bit cynical way" of framing the following discourse but the above quote provides an important commentary on the motivations behind Developer Capacity as an Engagement Condition. Essentially, despite the optics of developer altruism, developer-directed engagement is often a self-interested exercise. This self-interest can be considered in terms of corporate social responsibility (McWilliams and Siegel 2000; Kotler and Lee 2005) and notions about a positive corporate social image equating to

increased profit margins (Kotler and Lee 2005). Within the Canadian context pertaining to resource and land development proponents, corporate social responsibility is more likely a welcome by-product of involving Indigenous communities than it is the primary objective as one CRM-identified interviewee notes for their development clients:

> I think one of the things that has been of value is that it's something that we're doing that provides additional value to our clients in terms of better community engagement and public relations. I think the benefit is fairly limited so far because our success has been limited in these programs but it is something that our customers are benefiting from so it's something that they like us doing and so it's something that we benefit from.
>
> Interviewee: 021124

Given the responses from the surveys and interviews, and while no developers were directly interviewed for this study, the impression of the developer's role in engagement instances by people who contributed to this study is that it is less than purely altruistic. Rather, the apparent primary objective of developers, would seem to be the maintenance of positive relationships with Indigenous communities who could have some measure of impact on determining whether a particular project goes ahead, or at least interrupt and delay at real cost the completion of the project.

Interventions by Indigenous communities might involve invoking the legal system (e.g., *Tsilhqot'in Nation* 2014), using the bureaucracy by tying up a permit approval, or airing grievances through a public consultation process. Both legal and public approaches were employed in relation to the proposed Northern Gateway pipeline project during its 2012 National Energy Board hearings, and in pursuing the recent finding of the Federal Court of Appeal (*Gitxaala Nation v. Canada* 2016 FCA 187).

Extra-legally, Indigenous communities, or particular elements of a community, can delay and even cause the suspension of projects through occupations and blockades. Grassy

Narrows (Da Silva 2010), Sun Peaks (Drapeau 2010), Caledonia, and Oka[56] are notable instances where members of Indigenous communities have responded to impending and undesired developer encroachment. Ipperwash, and Gustafsen Lake (Shrubsole 2011) also resonate as examples of Indigenous occupation, drawing significant public attention as violent stand-offs between State authority and Indigenous activism over, at least in part, concerns for cultural heritage. Less publicized but perhaps more relevant to developers are the peaceful blockades of access roads, rail lines and bridges across remote areas of Canada's boreal forests (e.g., Blomley 1996; Smith and Sterritt 2010; Wilkes and Ibrahim 2013). However, even these peaceful blockades (e.g., the Unist'ot'en Camp)[57] garner more attention with the advent of social media and an online activism that serves public outreach, support and education functions (Freeman 2010a). These activisms can be thought of as contemporary echoes of AIM and other Indigenous group occupations in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s.

In light of this tradition of formal and informal expressions on counter-power to proposed development, many large developers have arrived at the conclusion that from a basic risk management perspective it is cheaper and a better business model to incorporate an inclusive approach to Indigenous communities – in effect to co-opt external challenges into being a part of the development process itself. Besides financially significant partnerships such as Impact-Benefit Agreements (IBAs) (see Gogal et al. 2005; also Fidler and Hitch 2007), including Indigenous engagement and decision-making around heritage management can be a relatively low-cost measure to build goodwill and minimize cultural heritage as a potential flashpoint.

Where provincial requirements for Indigenous community engagement in heritage management are not present (Saskatchewan), or limited in scope (Alberta), developer-initiated strategies of risk management can propel engagement well beyond legislated

---

[56] http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPISCONTENTSE1EP17CH2PA2LE.html, accessed July 22, 2016

[57] http://unistoten.camp/, accessed July 22, 2016

minimums. Often these developer-led efforts reflect broader processes of relationship-building and maintenance, within which heritage management is capable of playing a role. This role can be meaningful but it is also prone to being superficial: “again it’s one that seems like a no-brainer ‘look it’s culture they will love that’” (011122).

> We have a lot of protesters and they have protested archaeology sites before particularly when human remains are involved. So there is that aspect of [activism] where it can kind of take things down a bit knowing that we are out there talking to them [proponents] about what the problems are as opposed to [them] just doing it on their own. If there was no consultation process or if there was no fieldwork person from the band than I think it would probably be a lot more chaotic than it is now.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

Engaging with Indigenous communities in heritage management beyond simple notification can take a number of forms although, from the perspective of most study participants, the seemingly preferred way is the participation of Indigenous community members during survey and excavation. Participants, or monitors, accompany archaeologists in their fieldwork, physically placing the community on site and in the decision-making occurring on the ground in the CRM process, and seeing directly that the archaeology being done is consistent with community expectations. Important to note here is that the wages and related expenses of these community participants are usually covered by the proponent either directly to the community, or indirectly through the contracted archaeological firm. The rates at which Indigenous participants bill out can also be determined by the community and are intended to cover much of the operating costs of a community archaeology/heritage office:

> And so the costs of First Nations consultations, of having people on projects, is starting to get really high in some cases more than having the archaeologists out, and so a lot of the clients are looking at that and going “holy cow, this is getting too much”. And so they’re starting to say only for archaeology that’s it.
>
> Interviewee: 011121

When confronted with these costs proponents need to realize that they are contributing to an Indigenous community's infrastructure and capacity, facilitating more efficient and meaningful engagement.

While Developer Capacities tend to focus on, and be limited to, heritage management in the South, in the North Developer Capacity is much broader:

> In the old days, one of the first ins for a big mining project would be to hire an archaeologist and do those traditional land use studies and archaeology studies and show that that was important. So the archaeologist was kind of that first contact and I think that has changed now. I think now companies are much more sophisticated and the first thing they do is meet up with the community, the chief and Council and work on an impact benefit agreement which is the whole shebang: it's economic development, it is training, it has other benefits for the community and the archaeology becomes… of course that's a component of it because they have to do assessments and whatever. **Nowadays everybody knows that the archaeologist doesn't really play a role in that bigger development anymore** [emphasis added].
>
> Interviewee: 011321

Where once archaeology might have been one of the only areas where a developer would engage with an Indigenous community, and by which a community might gain some access and insight into the development processes occurring on their traditional territories, in the North archaeology is a more limited, heritage-specific process. This is the product of the contemporary treaties and broadened Indigenous governance in the North. CRM's importance in wider Developer Capacities can therefore be seen as somewhat inverted to broader Indigenous power and authority over the broader development process. In the Canadian South, CRM's role is artificially inflated in the absence of other contemporary treaty-framed Indigenous community/development control/approval mechanisms. As such Developer Capacity for engagement and consultation writ large tends to be concentrated into heritage management, given the immediate and in some cases regulated association between archaeology and contemporary Indigenous communities.

6.2.2.3 Indigenous Community Capacity – Analysis

Indigenous Community Capacity Conditions encompasses an Indigenous community's or corresponding Indigenous regional government's heritage oversight-related capacity to engage and engage effectively. Capacity can rest with a single individual formally assigned to serve in a liaison capacity on behalf of a Council or Treaty administrative body, to one or more people responsible for this task within a resources, consultation or land management office, to a stand-alone Archaeology, Heritage or Traditional Use department. But capacity can also consist more informally of community members engaged directly or indirectly in any given situation.

As a Condition of Indigenous engagement in CRM, Indigenous community Capacity Conditions emerged repeatedly and frequently in the survey responses and during interviews; notably, during the interviews individuals who identified themselves as having an Indigenous role in engagement, Indigenous Capacity Conditions were raised more frequently than seen for other respondents (see Figures 6.10 and 6.11). This emphasis underscores the importance and awareness of Capacity Conditions to interviewees.

6.2.2.4 Indigenous Community Capacity – Interpretation

> Oh it's very important. One of things people don't realize is that there's a huge workload that Native communities face, and this is part of the big joke about sending a 500-page report to a First Nation community: #1 there's not a great capacity... I guess people don't realize how busy these communities are and the relatively limited number of individuals available. We're just talking straight man and woman power here, to engage with government and the private sector in consultation processes. Not to mention capacity in terms of knowledge, training, etc. It's a big, big issue, and that capacity has to be built. I mean you have the Brandy Georges which is great and there are other First Nations individuals involved in archaeology now more and more, thank heavens. **I think this information, this knowledge, this capacity to evaluate and to understand and to bring back to a broader spectrum of the community, it's a very daunting task** [emphasis added].
>
> Bill Fox, Interview

Only one interviewee (Tom Andrews) did not emphasize the importance of Indigenous Community Capacity to cultural resource management:

> Many elders are not interested in the business of CRM except for the opportunities it provides for engaging youth and elders in a bush setting. Communities are already locked in to the development scenario through the environmental process and don't see archaeology as an entry point.
>
> Tom Andrews, Revised Interview

Basically, the experience in the Northwest Territories could be characterized as, where and when the regulatory apparatus is strong enough and Indigenous community participation so engrained in heritage management processes, active oversight on the part of communities becomes unnecessary.

Jo Brunsden's characterization of the heritage management environment on Haida Gwaii under the Solutions Table exemplifies this difference, as evidenced in this exchange:

> Josh: So your experiences working in different areas of the province, contrast that to working in Haida Gwaii. How important is the capacity of the community to respond or address CRM?
>
> Jo: I think it's almost built-in, I think it's almost there before the development starts. I think everybody's aware that because back in the 80s where there were huge protests and they shut down the logging and it was Guujaaw. I think because of that everyone realized that it is important and it is here and everyone does have to deal with it. So I think it's there before anyone even starts, does that make sense? Does that answer your question?
>
> Josh: It answers another question that's even better. With this one I'm more thinking having someone in the band office or working in the lands department that can pick up the phone and arrange someone to go with you or can refer you to someone. How important is having someone like that on the bands that you're working with. Haida Gwaii obviously having a pretty substantial office versus other communities that don't have anyone?
>
> Jo: I generally don't go through the office anymore simply because the only request that has been made and I don't think it can be an official mandatory thing, but the request is that I work with a Haida person who has their CFI [Cultural Feature Identification] ticket. So they have the RISC [Resources Information

> Standards Committee] training, all the Haida engineers that I do the forestry work with have their CFI tickets. Especially at Taan, the Haida owned logging company, they are all Haida and they have their CFI ticket so I just go out with them with the engineers. It works out perfectly so they know exactly how to get to the block they know the shortcuts they know "oh there's a bear den over here" you know that kind of [thing]. It is great.
>
> Josh: So the relationship has almost progressed to a point where that central coordination is no longer needed, they can just kind of depend on you to get the right person out with you.
>
> Jo: Yeah usually I'm texting but yeah there have been times where I'm stuck without someone. You know I'm just texting the chief of Skidegate the night before and he's finding me a dude, picking up some random person at 7 o'clock the next morning but it works.
>
> Josh: That's an interesting trajectory because some bands where you might not have anybody in the band office (Jo: You have no choice) or Indigenous governments who might not have anybody working with CRM to get participants then you'd have ones that do have people that do that, and then you have with what you're experiencing where everybody, you have a whole swath of people that you can work with (Jo: Exactly) and you don't have to coordinate.

Jo's experiences on Haida Gwaii contrast with her experiences elsewhere in British Columbia:

> I've worked in other communities before where we'll call the band office a few weeks before we're going to show up in an area, it's not an area we're super familiar with, the band does their best to get assistants… So often we get people who, in other places in BC, are completely inexperienced, show up for work in the bush wearing hiking boots and jeans and its "no you need cork boots and a safety vest". We do to try and obviously tell them that beforehand. And then who have no idea about archaeology, no idea about heritage, no idea about local information: even which road to go down.

A dedicated heritage coordinator is a fairly rare presence in Indigenous community governance. A survey of Indigenous community websites combined with information gathered from interviews revealed only 19 of some 203 British Columbia First Nations communities with such staff positions (Table 6-1):

Table 6-1: Individual British Columbia Indigenous Communities with Heritage Offices

First Nation	Heritage Department/Staff Position/CRM Firm
Acho Dene Koe First Nation	Traditional Land Use
Bonaparte Indian Band	Cultural Heritage
Canim Lake Band	Natural Resources
Carcross/Tagish First Nation	Heritage, Lands and Natural Resources
Champagne and Aishihik First Nations	Language, Culture and Heritage
Gitxaala Nation	Gitxaala Environmental Monitoring
Katzie First Nation	Katzie Development Corporation
'Namgis First Nation	Cultural Researcher and CMT Survey Team
Neskonlith Indian Band	Archaeology Coordinator
Simpcw First Nation/ North Thompson Indian Band	Referrals and Archaeology Coordinator
Skeetchestn Indian Band	Skeetchestn Cultural Resource Management
Sliammon (Tla’amin) First Nation	Culture Department; Collaborative Projects with Simon Fraser University
Tahltan Indian Band	THREAT (Referrals and Heritage)
Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc	Natural Resources (Senior Archaeologist and GIS Technician)
Tl'azt'en Nation	Traditional Land Use
Upper Nicola Indian Band	Cultural Heritage Resources

First Nation	Heritage Department/Staff Position/CRM Firm
Whispering Pines/ Clinton Indian Band	General Finance/Forestry/Archaeology
Williams Lake Indian Band	Archaeology Coordinator
As'in'i'wa'chi Ni'yaw Nation (Kelly Lake Cree Nation)	Cultural Resource Management Headman

The Stó:lō Nation and the Haida Nation also have heritage departments or protocols in place that oversee multiple communities. Although checking websites offers only limited consideration of Indigenous Capacity (for example, 36 of 203 communities do not have an accessible website), it does confirm a relatively sizable portion of Indigenous communities have formalized and structural capacity to engage with archaeologists. No doubt additional, formalized capacities exist buried within other departments and among individuals who have some capacity to engage on behalf of their community (see also Markey 2010; Mason 2013; Zacharias and Pokotylo 1997).

Nationally, my review of community websites revealed 53 heritage designated offices of some kind (see Table 6-2). Interestingly, in the south, BC and Alberta exhibit the most formally recognized capacity, despite the two jurisdictions have very different regulatory frameworks for engagement (see Appendix II). Overall, this kind of formalized capacity is relatively limited in the south, where nationally 6% of communities have such offices. This stands in stark contrast to the north, where 55.6% of communities have such offices.

I want to underscore the limited interpretive strength of a website review here, however. For example, the interviews alone identified three additional archaeology positions within communities that, in two of the cases, were not listed on their websites and in the third, the Indigenous community had no website (those three are included in Table 6-2). There will be certainly more hidden capacity in Lands and Consultation departments, and

among general staff of Council or Treaty offices, and there are clearly shared capacities among communities, and third parties that provide that support.[58]

Table 6-2: Indigenous Community Formal Heritage Depts. by Region

Province/Territory	Heritage Dept.	Total Communities Surveyed	Percent with Heritage Depts.
British Columbia	19	203	9.4%
Alberta	5	47	10.6%
Saskatchewan	1	71	0.1%
Manitoba	1	61	0.1%
Ontario	5	133	3.7%
Quebec	5	56	8.9%
New Brunswick	0	15	0%
Prince Edward Island	0	3	0%
Nova Scotia	0	13	0%
Newfoundland and Labrador	2	6	33%
Nunavut	1 (Territorial)	1	100%
Northwest Territories	6	11	54.5%
Yukon	11	18	61.1%
Totals	53	638	8.3%

[58] For example, the Ontario number of 5 masks many communities in the south that regularly provide monitors for archaeological projects.

That being said even this cursory review does corroborate concerns raised in the interviews about the extent of Indigenous community capacity, particularly in provinces like Saskatchewan and British Columbia:

> A bit of a classic Saskatchewan conundrum, a lot of goodwill but not a lot of financial resources, not a lot of capacity to support what everybody wants to see happen there. It's a very interesting problem in Saskatchewan. …the goodwill thing is one of the things I really miss about the province, it's got a great footing for the development of these things. They're kind of unfortunately about a decade behind in certain respects, or more than that I guess, it's that problem of trying to make it happen trying to bring it into action.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

As well, whether a community has a heritage or lands or Consultation department is also not an indicator of adequate capacity:

> The Lands Departments, some just don't have the capacity to deal with the volume of oil and gas that comes up every year. Having someone answer your email or listen to your instructions about meeting place "please let your participant know that they have to bring xyz because you are going to be in camp for two days" and they show up like "oh I am supposed to be going to camp?"
>
> Interviewee: 011121

As the above quote alludes to, even communities that do maintain some infrastructure designed to manage CRM and other development-related referrals can be overwhelmed with the sheer volume of developer and archaeologist requests and correspondence:

> so we are probably talking about at any given time up to 20 to 25 proponents some of them very small… doing a tiny housing development or extremely large, doing pipelines right across Ontario and some of these projects have multiple proponents that we get engaged on so there's a lot going on all the time and unfortunately we don't always have the resources and the capacity to deal with them, so we're swamped.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

With respect to this particular community, the archaeological office has had to prioritize CRM-related engagement over academic-related engagement:

> I do know one archaeologist who has been quite open with us. Who does some of his own research archaeology as well as CRM and he uses that income to supplement his own research archaeology, and he’s said he will let us know when he is doing those research projects however that hasn’t happened yet and to be honest we are stretched very thin we don’t have a lot of resources and we have certain expectations of course on the proponent of how to facilitate our involvement and I’m not sure that always academic archaeology would have that budgeted for.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

These statements highlight a structural capacity deficit whereby Indigenous communities are forced to prioritize certain kinds of engagement with select projects, turning down others for lack of resources. Archaeology as a means of knowing the past through research may take a backseat to archaeology as a means of exercising Indigenous community influence over and deriving information from the development process, especially if developer-driven engagement opportunities offer financial support to address capacity deficits.

> And certainly in Saskatchewan the story we were hearing a lot is you call the band office and you don’t ever really get a reply because I mean sometimes their answering machine is full. So I mean even the capacity to handle sort of the most front and center things … the question of traditional land use studies and things of that nature, it may be lacking and for us to jump in there and say “hey by the way wouldn’t you love to see some archaeology, we need six people by Thursday” it’s just sort of packing it on and that’s a major issue.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

According to interviewees, some proponents are very proactive in addressing what is perceived as a lack-of-capacity problem detrimental to their engagement efforts:

> In Alberta there's been some effort by corporate entities to try and help pour money into capacity building. To try and train people in these positions to allow greater stability on the band's end in terms of offering regulatory responses.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

> [Developer funding] happens a lot, we do negotiate for capacity building on some projects. It depends, sometimes part of that negotiation is constraints on how that [funding] can be used.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

It should be stressed that an absence of Indigenous community capacity goes beyond simply an inability to engage with developers; it limits a community's ability to explore, contextualize, and even criticize the value of archaeology with respect to that Indigenous community's particular sets of goals and aspirations. Some communities find political value in archaeology:

> they have this young land-use manager, actually "had" him, he is no longer permanent with the band though he does some consulting with them, he was like "you know this is a political tool in the sense that we get dots on the map that reflect past land-use that's valuable to us in the future". That was one of the most sort of economically politically sort of strategy I've seen that is explicitly discussed. In a lot of cases people aren't necessarily thinking in quite those terms.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

Others might be more interested in the scientific component archaeology attaches to their heritage:

> We benefit by the reports that they generate to us. As you well know it's very expensive getting radiocarbon dates and DNA analysis done so we actually built a very good database of what our people are looking like and the different sites… You know we would've never got information on all these different burial sites and the DNA analyses and the isotope analysis and the radiocarbon dates without the consultant doing that work.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

While still more communities deploy archaeology as a component of wide ranging heritage management and education programs:

> Young people today grow up in town. All the Elders that I worked with were born and raised on the land so they still made these things when they were young people. That's the life that they lived, you know. There was a move into communities in the Northwest Territories in the 1950s, linked to federal transfer payments; Baby Bonus and all those things. To get the Baby Bonus you had to have your kid registered in school, so everyone moved into town and kids started growing up in communities rather than being out on the land. Today they just don't have the same interest of being out on the land. It's a hard life. It's not as easy as going to the store to get a sandwich in the morning and a cup of coffee. You have to make your living out on the land and it's tough… that's why I think Elders saw me as a partner but also as a recorder: I was a kind of recording device for them. I was able to work with them to record knowledge for the next generation who might discover it in an archive instead of through the traditional pedagogy of being out on the land with their own Elders.
>
> Tom Andrews, Round Table

> The Elders… in the community [Arctic Red River/Tsiigehtchic] were so excited by us coming to them and asking them for this knowledge and putting it on the maps because they recognized that it was being lost very quickly - that the young people weren't going out on the land as much. You had TV to be entertained so people weren't visiting as much anymore, telling stories. So they said to us during the summer, and it was a six-week contract, "you've got to come back!"
>
> Ingrid Kritsch, Round Table

> [Begins by opening large map of the Northwest Territories covered by lines] These are the traditional trails of the Dene… This is work that I did the 1980s working for the Dene Nation on land claims. All of these trails were collected from 600 individuals as a way of proving Dene land use and occupancy for their comprehensive land claim.
>
> Tom Andrews, Round Table

> We try and get out on the land as much as we can. We do our initial research on maps, 1:50,000 scale maps, in the community with the Elders, tape record everything and they mark on the maps the names of the places, the trails that they follow, grave sites that they know about, camps... Places where they made mooseskin boats because the Gwich'in also made mooseskin boats… or fish traps in earlier days for catching fish, caribou fences for trapping caribou. So all these wonderful technologies that people still have an oral history about, we wanted to record all of that… The project started because of archaeology that was carried out in the early nineties in the Gwich'in area [through the Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan (NOGAP) Archaeology Project] and the archaeologist wanted to understand more about traditional use on the land. So he contracted my partner Alestine Andre, who is Gwich'in, and myself to record the traditional use of the area he was working in.
>
> Ingrid Kritsch, Round Table

As these Northern examples demonstrate, under the appropriate conditions, Indigenous communities are able to redefine what contemporary heritage management means through direct engagement with archaeologists (see also Kritsch and Andre 1997). Indigenous community heritage capacities can tack away from a constricted form of sovereignty expression and community presence within CRM archaeology towards a community-idealized, community-centric use of archaeologists.

In Alberta capacity resolves differently. Indigenous communities there are involved with development through the coordination of the Aboriginal Consultation Office, with only very limited requirements for Indigenous community engagement during CRM. As a result, the province sees a relatively high concentration of Indigenous community Lands and Consultation departments but few specifically heritage offices (see Appendix II). Saskatchewan, with neither provincial requirements/means for broad Indigenous

participation in development processes, nor specific heritage engagement regulation, sees relatively less Indigenous community capacity of any kind invested in either formal offices for lands-related issues or heritage. Consequently, anyone interested in undertaking some form of meaningful heritage or broader engagement strategy could not do so through formalized capacities created by such offices in communities. It would be inaccurate and paternalistic, however, to entirely attribute the limits of formal capacity to a failure on the part of governments or other sectors to arbitrarily build that capacity within communities.

Individual Indigenous communities, as with any other community, are subject to their own idiosyncrasies, political priorities, and staffing capabilities confronting them at any given time, of which archaeology is probably not high on that list:

> Some of these people don’t even have a designated person in the office at all and that’s rough, that’s a difficult thing. You know there has been lots coming at them right now, whole new emphasis on the duty to consult thing providing information and knowledge and an apparatus for developers to do that and collect appropriate data on land use and so on and so forth. So they got a million people knocking down their door and they may not have… stable staffing. They may have a political scenario where they see a lot of change in the chief and Council and with it attendant changes in who’s manning these offices.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

Lacking the necessary skills in an Indigenous community in terms of capably fulfilling the perceived role of heritage coordinator was also highlighted:

> …some First Nations feel that heritage offices need to speak the language and they should know their culture and then they struggle with the government end of things in the environmental review. They don’t have that, you know how to work the webpage, input on the site. And you know some decide to hire their expertise from outside and they do very well and some of them keep it in house and then struggle with the other stuff. I don’t know it’s pretty differing.
>
> Interviewee: 011321

> I am probably one of the only ones like it around here that has that capacity and it's because there's myself and then there's another First Nations archaeologist that I've hired as well and she is also my GIS analyst and I'm also a linguist. So we have quite the little mix going on in our office. And if we can have it, you can't just have somebody with no education step into my shoes and expect things to flow. You have to have someone who has had university education and that has a degree, but more importantly also possesses the field skills involved as well. I mean anybody can write great stuff like academics but to actually get out there and do great fieldwork and have that all combined to have all the knowledge… I honestly can say that if I dropped dead tomorrow we would be at a zero, loss, just like "oh my God now what do I do". And I'm actually getting my daughter she just graduated this year and so did her friend, so I have them both working for me and my daughter is going into geology and her friend is going into archaeology. So I'm trying to pass off the education part and get some younger people involved because like I said you can't just step into my shoes and just think "here I am" and expect it to run smoothly… Even just how you talk to your clients. I mean some proponents you have to shake your head at them and point fingers at forestry companies and stuff. It takes a well-rounded person to do the job.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

As much as institutions and individuals outside of an Indigenous community might have a role to play in the development of capacity within that community, there needs to be a corresponding internal recognition of a benefit or purpose, a reason for that capacity to exist and to be maintained:

> I think everyone has to be involved there, that the reason it's working for us here… is because it's community driven. It's because they've set up the system and that made it easy to work with them, that they have the capacity there. It would be possible for it to be a little more directed from the outside but I think it would be challenging.
>
> Interviewee: 021124

One possible contributing factor towards the creation of heritage offices within Indigenous communities is their self-sustaining potential to bring in capital (of all forms):

> It is bringing in money; we are a money-maker not a spender. It's really low overhead. You build some screens you buy some shovels. You get a printer and some paper (set up the computer). It's low overhead.
>
> Interviewee: Carrie Dan

The degree to which knowledge flows between engagement participants can also depend on Capacity:

> Its capacity, we just don't really have the means of communicating the knowledge within the community well to the archaeologists right now.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

Capacity is not only a critical part of a community's ability to participate in archaeology specifically and wider heritage and development engagement processes generally, but it is an important nexus through which archaeologists can or cannot access a variety of Indigenous community expertise and personnel. When asked how important Indigenous community capacity was, interviewees responded: "Oh it's very important." (Bill Fox); "It's everything. It's 100%" (Carrie Dan); "Oh for sure it's huge." (021125); "Huge. Huge." (011121); "…it is certainly the most important thing." (011221); "Oh it's huge." (011321).

As important as Indigenous community capacity was consistently acknowledged to be, there was a sense that building capacity lay largely outside of CRM archaeology's realm of influence. Indeed, when asked for the advice interviewees would give an archaeologist seeking to engage an Indigenous community for the first time, despite the stated importance of capacity, participants overwhelmingly referenced dimensions of the final Engagement Condition: Relationships.

6.2.3 Relationship Conditions

> I think it depends on your relationship if you're brand-new obviously you're going to be on your toes around them and they're going to be on your toes around you but there's a couple of communities that I've been working with for five years and I have a pretty good idea where I stand with them and they have a good idea where they stand with me but it's all about developing and fostering those relationships. If I have a crew that goes out and they make a mistake that the band doesn't like, it is going to adversely affect my relationship with them. I am going to have to, well we're going to have to work to bring that relationship back to a good state.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

From the perspective of the agency of individuals participating in instances of engagement, both Regulation and Capacity Conditions are beyond significant alteration. When archaeologists do make efforts to change regulation there is no guaranteeing a favourable result and change often comes about slowly and in concert with other policy and regulatory agendas (Apland 1993; Burley 1994; Dent 2012; Ferris 2002, 2007). Capacity-building needs to be recognized formally by communities and developers for efforts to be made, and requires at least one or more sets of actors working together, sometimes over long periods (e.g., Nicholas and the Simon Fraser University-Secwepemc Cultural Education Society field school) to achieve meaningful and lasting outcomes. The final Engagement Condition that of relationship building and maintenance, is very much in the realm of individual ability and influence.

Inevitably, when the interactions between governments, developers, Indigenous communities and CRM archaeology are concentrated into two or more individual proxies operating in close proximity, often involving strenuous activity over long periods of time, it should be no surprise that the wider implications of the relationships between those individuals, and who they represent, come to be embodied within the personal relationships those individuals develop. Before fieldwork even begins and well after it is over, at every point of contact between these proxies, relationships not only affect broader outcomes but are subject to constant renegotiation.

6.2.3.1 Relationship Conditions – Analysis

The relevance of creating and maintaining relationships between archaeologists and Indigenous individuals and collectives expressed itself in the questionnaire survey primarily in the responses to Questions 7 and 9:

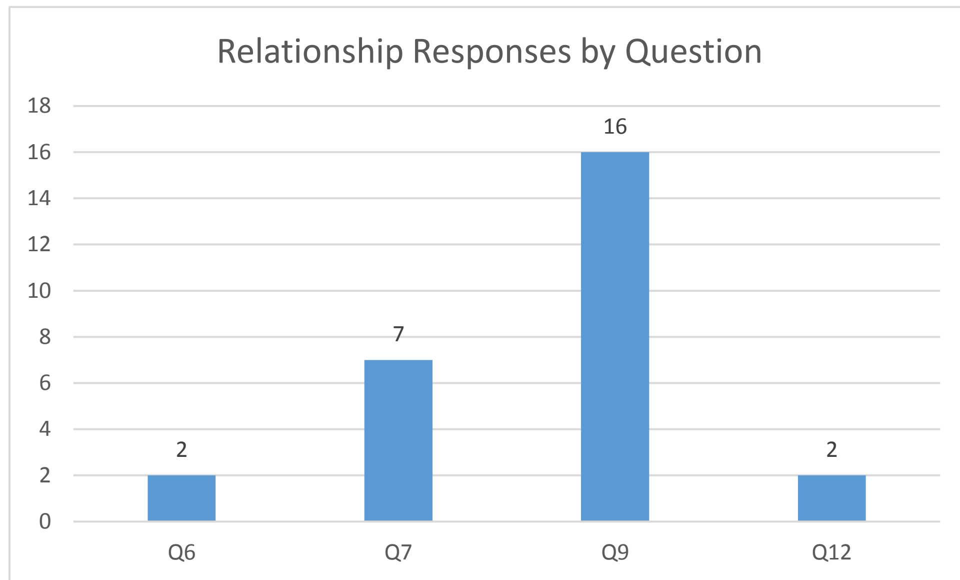


Figure 6.12: Relationship Condition references by open-ended survey questions

Additionally, in the interviews conducted for this research the relative importance of relationships to engagement in CRM archaeology was made significant:

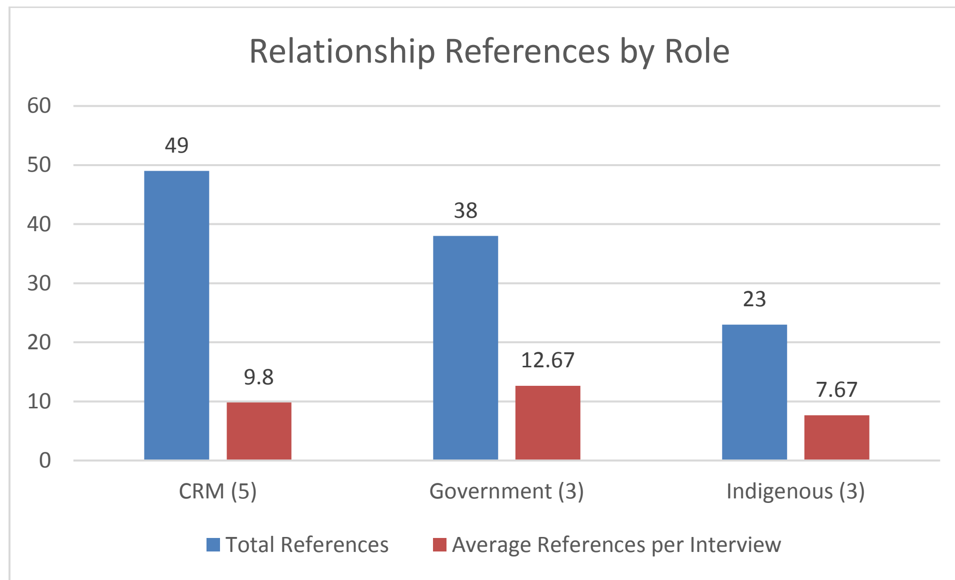


Figure 6.13: Interviews - Relationship Condition references by role

Interestingly, the highest average frequency of Relationship references occurred among government interviewees, and was a little less than twice as common than among Indigenous interviewees. This is the inverse to the average references in interviews seen for Indigenous Community Capacity Conditions:

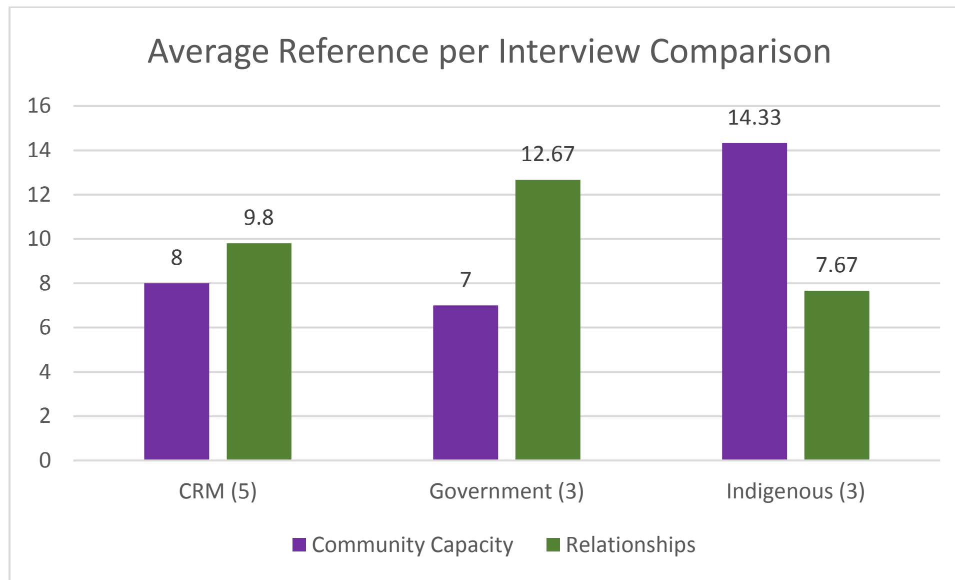


Figure 6.14: Interviews - Indigenous Community Capacity/Relationship Condition references by role

A brief quantitative glance at the data implies that relationships are more significant to government interviewees than they are to Indigenous interviewees, however the qualitative interpretation of the interviews suggests a more nuanced answer.

6.2.3.2 Relationship Conditions – Interpretation: What is a relationship?

The self-evident dictionary answer to this question is: "the way in which two or more people, groups, countries, etc., talk to, behave toward, and deal with each other."[59] The dictionary definition of a relationship certainly applies to the circumstances surrounding Indigenous engagement in archaeology but falls short of providing both necessary nuance and appropriate context. While still very much about how two or more entities behave towards and deal with each other, a consideration of Engagement Relationship

---

[59] Merriam-Webster http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/relationship, accessed January 12, 2016

Conditions requires incorporating ideas about familiarity, maintenance and collective benefits. Collective benefits, alludes to Cultural Capitals (see Chapter 7), but familiarity and maintenance encompass the mutual understanding required to realize collective benefits from engagement in archaeology, particularly because these elements determine degrees of access. To archaeologists and Indigenous community members involved in instances of engagement, access includes not only contact with each other's communities and individuals but also to spheres of knowledge, particular sites and even to contract opportunities (see also Davis 2010).

6.2.3.3 Relationship – Interpretation: Familiarity

> …I joke with people about oh well it's important to do relationship building, and I say "oh no we are way past that relationship we are in family counseling right now."
>
> Interviewee: 011321

> You can't walk into a community cold and say I'm an archaeologist and I'm here to help you.
>
> Bill Fox, Interview

In terms of Indigenous engagement in CRM, Relationships entail connections between individuals, between individuals and collectives, and between collectives. Many of these relationships are predicated on a degree of familiarity. Familiarity, used here, represents substantive knowledge different interacting parties have about one another enabling the development of reliable opinions, predictions and dependencies held towards one another. Developing each of these elements can influence either overall positive or negative dimensions of Relationship Conditions.

Opinions allow for the mediation of biases and stereotypes and the distinction of individuals from any collective constructs. They also represent how individuals portray other parties:

> …I think that [Company A] was about the only one that had a lot of respect for the First Nations out in the crew. The other companies don't treat you very well actually. [Company B] is pretty bad…
>
> Interviewee: 011223

Company A, a mid-sized archaeological consulting firm, was very well spoken of during this conversation. The manner in which Company A approaches First Nations and coordinates with them on the ground has fostered positive opinions among at least some of the communities they work with. Conceivably, Company A and associated First Nations communities also enjoy a certain degree of predictability when it comes to future instances of engagement.

The predictability component of existing familiarity can be incredibly important to all parties involved in CRM and Indigenous engagement in archaeology. As relationships grow individuals and collectives can develop fairly reliable predictions about the course of any given interaction. These predictions enable consistent field season planning:

> You don't get an archaeological firm involved until the AIA process we do it all here. I have preferred archaeological consultants that I've worked with and they will just pull blanket permits for me for the whole area.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

> It makes it easier on our end just because we don't have the capacity to track down and keep on top of every single proponent who is doing work in the territories. So if you've kept that relationship with us and we have a good relationship with you when it comes time to sit down and do business that makes the process a lot easier, everyone knows each other everyone knows what to expect. We might be more willing to work with you whereas when there is not a good relationship…sometimes going to the negotiation table is a very stressful process.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

Familiarity also allows reliable predictions as to how certain individuals will react to one another both inside and outside of the field, enabling CRM and Indigenous community-based managers to plan field crews accordingly:

> …occasionally you'll get you know somebody who comes back, who just finds himself a good fit with a particular crew who has got a good relationship with the client company. They often kind of managed these hiring programs but sometimes it can be directed by us the CRM contractor and the band. So you see the relationships being built. You see the people come back over a couple years. By and large I've only worked with the same people for one season or one project.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

> How people were getting sent out, who went to what companies because you would get say "I prefer not to work for this company" and they wouldn't send you to them if you didn't like how they operated and stuff.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

> One of my favorite guys to work with he actually has a degree in anthropology/ archaeology. He has worked for Parks Canada down in the park. He's a smart guy it's great being able to work with someone that I can just say "okay you're taking notes today I'm just digging holes", you know it's amazing.
>
> Jo Brunsden, Interview

The cultivation of relationships between individuals and collectives can have enormous implications to a discipline where outcomes have the potential to change with each shovel in the ground. Indeed, it is not uncommon for familiarity to progress to the point of relationships fostering dependencies between parties as they become more comfortable working with one another:

> The best advice [new archaeologists] could get is that they should come and meet with me before any project starts and get my input into the project right from the get-go. Really make me part of that project and I'm not there to slow them down or anything like that in their process but I have knowledge that they would never ever think of and I want to make sure that those things are going to be addressed

> properly. I think that's why I have such a good working relationship with these guys that I work with because they do come to me and they want to hear my input because the last thing that they want is for them to be out there doing something and then I show up and go "what are you doing?". They want to make sure that it is done right and I honestly think that. There's one firm in specific if I'm not happy… they've even fired some of their own staff because I've just said "this person can't be out here they're just not qualified they're missing stuff". And I'm not their employee and they have let people go just because they want to make sure that they are doing it right.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

> Sometimes First Nations have the ability to make or break your relationship with your own client. If they have a protest that you're doing bad archaeology, then your client is not going to want to work with you anymore. So community relations are huge.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

> …there have been times where I'm stuck without someone. You know I'm just texting the chief of Skidegate the night before and he's finding me a dude, picking up some random person at 7 o'clock the next morning but it works.
>
> Jo Brunsden, Interview

The importance of familiarity becomes even more apparent when it is substantively absent. Turnover at the band administration level, for instance, can lead to new individuals taking up coordinating positions, potentially resetting relationships:

> When we're ready to do some work we can contact him and we can get someone out, whereas with other First Nations that can be challenging and if they have high turnover in that consultation office or industrial development, industrial relations whatever they call that office. If there's high turnover in that role it can be very hard for that First Nation to have the capacity to provide assistance in this way or even engage in this way.
>
> Interviewee: 021124

The so-called “parachuting” of archaeologists into unfamiliar regions can also exacerbate the absence of relationships:

> …and that is a problem with parachuting in people from Alberta or wherever where the First Nations don’t have a relationship with them. And they are like “who are these people? Why would we tell them anything? Why would we work with them?” …Yeah the relationships are key but otherwise someone parachuted in I would still say the same thing, go visit them and make sure you have connected with people.
>
> Interviewee: 011321

In fact, the absence of familiarity can go beyond affecting the relationship between one party and another and contribute to a broad, province-wide disposition of disconnection:

> …no I think we definitely don’t know where each other stands and I think a lot of that comes down to the fact that there’s never really been that engagement between the two sides I mean we’ve gone out to some bands in the province and we’ve worked with them but there’s not that wider tradition of working with each other and that back-and-forth relationship. So I really don’t think that unless we go out and we build those relationships we’re never going to have that, mutual respect between the two sides.
>
> Interviewee: 011326

Still, relationships built through ongoing familiarity can exist outside, even contrary to the spirit, of regulatory structures. As Chapter 5 and the survey responses indicated, regions like Alberta and Saskatchewan can exemplify the importance of relationships when and where jurisdictions do not explicitly require engagement. The key is that not only must relationships be built through a process of mutual familiarization; they must be maintained as well.

6.2.3.4 Relationship – Interpretation: Maintenance

It should be apparent by now that many of the attributes and processes of Relationships as an Engagement Condition are fairly ubiquitous with relationships anywhere. The

nuances lie in the reasons for and outcomes of these relationships. That is not to say archaeologists and Indigenous individuals have not formed, or cannot form, genuine friendships that transcend material benefits to either party. Only that these friendships are often formed within the context of the material/knowledge/consent transaction that is Indigenous engagement in CRM. Regardless, the importance of developing and maintaining significant relationships as opposed to short-term opportunistic ones is a critical dimension of Relationship Conditions.[60]

It will always be more difficult for individuals to maintain relationships with one another when the collectives they might be a part of are mutually hostile or distrustful. That is not to say these relationships are not worth building, only to underscore that once built both sides, but CRM archaeologists particularly given that they represent the instigating side (on behalf of their clients) of engagement, must make an effort to maintain these relationships. Through maintenance the initial familiarization stages of the relationship can develop into something more durable.

Maintenance of relationships in the interviews concentrated around questions posed to CRM professionals. Something along the lines of "Do you maintain a relationship with communities? Even when you're not working directly with them?" Similar questions were also asked of Indigenous community members. The general consensus was that the degree of maintenance varies on a community-by-community, company-by-company, even individual-by-individual basis.

> I know management for sure does approach these First Nations and they definitely keep a pulse on them, talk to them. How are they doing? What's going on? If we're not seeing the First Nation very often it is most likely because our clients

---

[60] From my own experience it was not irregular for an archaeological consulting firm to consider and invest in a particular relationship only when there is a corresponding project. There was a sort of awkwardness of communication between a company with a spotty reputation among certain Indigenous communities when conversing with those same communities. This awkwardness lessened with time and individual familiarity but the ramifications of it were significant. As an introvert, placing yourself in awkward even hostile social situations is not an easy thing. Looking back, I realize that had I maintained contact year-over-year with the people from the communities I worked with outside of strictly fieldwork that those uncomfortable situations would have diminished with each successive field year.

> aren't working there which means someone else's client is working there. For sure it's another kind of business avenue if you take them out for lunch, say you take out an Elder for lunch or something then you'll get some business knowledge and you'll also be keeping that relationship fresh and not letting it degrade any.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

> My preferred archaeologists that I work with yeah. When they have nothing going on but they're passing through town they'll stop in and we will just go for lunch. We have a good, I guess, inside and outside of work relationship you know we go for beers, whatever.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

When asked if her "preferred archaeologists" engaged with her outside of work because they were preferred, or was the fact that they engaged with her outside of work that made them preferred, Carrie responded:

> I think they do it because they like me because I'm pretty funny… Because they like the entertainment, there's always some story that I can tell about what's going on.

Carrie's characterization of her relationship with her preferred archaeologists highlights the capacity for these relationships to develop into a broader form: when interactions become both personally and professionally rewarding. In that sense what I previously characterized as a burden of engagement-originated relationships, that of a perceived material opportunism, can actually contribute to a more meaningful and significant relationship when coupled with a genuine and mutual affection. The more contact between individuals without any significant conflicts, the more opportunity to engender these lasting relationships.

Proximity, as a vehicle for contact, can therefore have a huge impact on relationship maintenance. Take for example Jo Brunsden's position as the only consulting archaeologist on Haida Gwaii:

> When I first moved here there was a definite change in attitude from a couple of people. You know people who've given me a hard time in the past, been reports in my file and what they hear the crew say. You know stuff like that and then now they see me in the grocery store with my kids and it's a totally different story.

> …I'm the only archaeologist on the islands so I'm under a lot of scrutiny which is good and obviously I have relationships with people who, I mean personal and professional, with people who are involved heavily with [CRM]. You know whether it's playing hockey with the chief's son or working with someone I'm playing on the softball team with and playing against half of Skidegate, that kind of thing.

Asked if the long-term relationships emerging from living on the islands made her job easier, Jo responded:

> Definitely. One of my favorite guys to work with he actually has a degree in anthropology/archaeology and has worked for Parks Canada down in the park. He's a smart guy…. But his dad is also one of the hereditary chiefs of Skidegate, so it's kind of nice that there's… I feel like I do have that little bit of pull in the background as well if I put that guy's name in a report or if I say that now I'll be working with him. It's kind of just that little bit more trustworthy, you know what I mean?

Jo's placement in the community also effects wider perceptions of archaeology as a discipline:

> I mean with the community as a whole I think everyone's happy about it. I was excavating just outside the high school not that long ago there were loads of people coming and chatting and really interested in what we're doing. You know it was kind of neat. And then of course you get the flipside, sometimes it's in their backyard when they want to build a house and they kind of get upset with me.

The benefits of being situated within the Indigenous community one is engaging with were not expressed by Jo alone. Bill Fox recalled his time on Vancouver Island at Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and his "steady relationship" with the First Nations in and around Ucluelet, Tofino, Bamfield and Port Renfrew. This contrasts with his recounting of a passed chance to live with an Algonquin community near Grand Lake Victoria and subsequent regrets surrounding "fleeting" involvements with Indigenous communities suggesting that the "productivity of the relationships has been diminished as a result".

Alternatively, relationships that last for decades can have a profound impact on those involved:

> The NWT is a small place; it's like a community. John B. was best man at my wedding. We have different kinds of relationships here. This is where we live. People here are not only our neighbours they are friends and, in some ways, they become our family. I was adopted by Harry Simpson, a Tłı̨chǫ man. He and I used to teach the science camp for years and one year he started introducing me as his son to the students and it was as simple as that. So it is a very different world here compared to down south.
>
> Tom Andrews, Interview

Depending on the networks relationship participants are a part of, these profound effects can also extend to broader collectives:

> John B. … looked at Trails of our Ancestors [Zoe 2007] as a beginning and how important it was for building a nation and how important it was to their land claims. So this is his own reflection of all that work and how archaeology and trails fit into it. So to the Tłı̨chǫ, it happened and I think it was just a timing thing… Harry said "you got to learn the place names" that happened in '82, we started our work in 1990, and they started negotiating their land claim in '92 and John took the key role in that so as we were working through this John was you know starting to think about and we would talk about all this stuff when we were out in the canoe for 8 weeks and things like that.
>
> Tom Andrews, Interview

As important as physical interaction is to the productivity of relationships between archaeologists and Indigenous community members, social media platforms also offer a means of maintaining a version of proximity. As one Indigenous community member put it: "Yeah I'm still friends with pretty much everybody I worked with. Facebook, LinkedIn all that" (011223).

It is, however, important to recognize that the effect of Relationships on engagement is as much dependent on fundamental personality traits and personal sense of identity as it is on maintaining contact. In other words, who an individual might be as a person, their unique quirks and styles, are as relevant to human interaction as the need for that interaction to take place. One interviewee summed this up as "basically rule number one is don't be a dick" (021125):

> …I mean it's all personality and it's all different people with different personalities and different ways of working out in the field. If I have a crew member that comes out and starts talking down to an [assistant] let's say I'll most likely just take them aside and explain to them that they're being a dick. It's just human interaction right? So just say you plain don't talk down to them. Be engaging. Listen is a major one, listen to what they're saying, think about what they're saying, take their advice; they've usually got some good advice.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

It is easy to lose sight of interpersonal qualities as capable of affecting the process and outcomes of engagement in CRM. Put colloquially, some people will just rub other people the wrong way and that is not something that can necessarily be overcome as easily as it can be avoided.

Ultimately relationships built through familiarity and maintained through lasting communication and proximity are reflections of the relationships those individuals create in the process of engagement, which in turn shapes their identities. Tech savvy youth and others so-inclined might readily accept a relationship passively or actively maintained through social media platforms. Others might not, placing more value on face-to-face interactions and a perception of effort on the part of one party or another in maintaining

that relationship. In either case, perceiving and coming to terms (or not) with the identities of both individual archaeologists and Indigenous individuals plays an enormous role in the trajectory of these relationships:

> I think a solid partnership is based in that awareness of "this is what you do, this is what I do", sort of respect what each other brings. It's positive, you are both wanting to do this project you both see good stuff coming out of it and are pleased with how things are unfolding. So partnership needs to be maintained and tended all the time you sort of have to keep working at it. I find that certainly clarity and understanding what each other is doing and respect for each other is a big part of it.
>
> Interviewee: 011321

6.3 Summary: Engagement Conditions/Market Conditions

Relationships, Capacity, and Regulation are all contextual Conditions shaping all instances of engagement. They are the Conditional setting upon which the processes of engagement play out. These Conditions instigate, influence and define the nature and practice of Indigenous engagement in CRM. Conditional effects are also variably felt and represented as significant as alluded to by their prevalence in particular interview contexts:

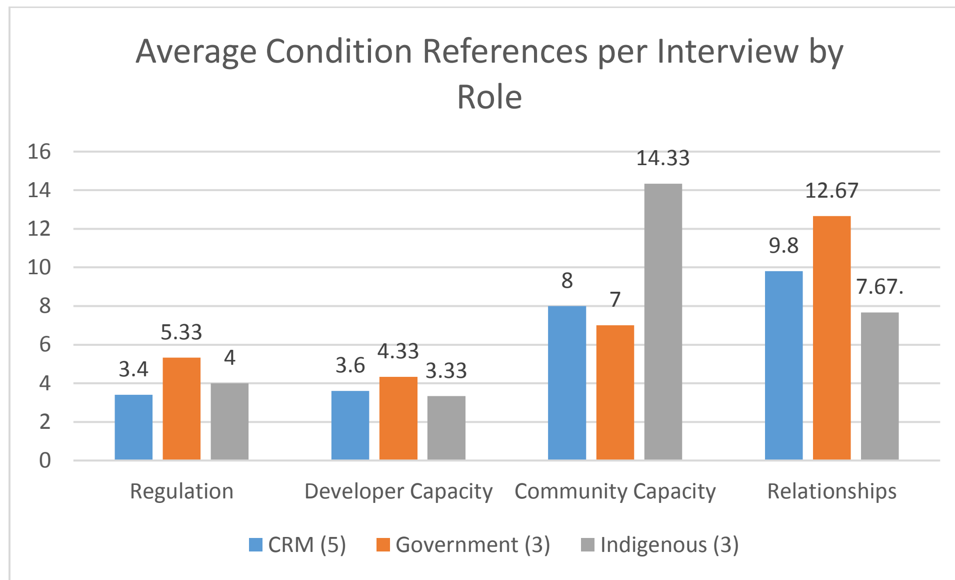


Figure 6.15: Average Condition references per interview by role

Engagement Conditions are also capable of being influenced and defined by the very same instances that these Conditions govern. These Conditions do not, however, represent the actual processes of engagement in CRM, the instances themselves. As previously introduced, these processes are better characterized within a Cultural Capital Analytical Framework. Within this framework, Engagement Conditions affect the symbolic marketplace Capital values are realized within. As such they initiate, obstruct, channel and negotiate the flows of Cultural Capital that constitute the instance of engagement.

7 Analysis and Interpretation Part II: Engagement as a Cultural Capital Marketplace

As part of the Engagement Analytical Framework, all relevant datasets (CAA Newsletter review, Questionnaire responses, Interviews and Round Table), were analysed for instances referencing Engagement Conditions and Engagement Capitals. This Chapter reviews Engagement Capitals, which includes Embodied, Objectified, Collective and Economic. After reviewing the representation of these Capitals in the Questionnaire responses, I provide a review of each Capital category across all datasets. Intersections and resonance between particular Engagement Conditions and Capitals are also discussed when relevant.

7.1 Survey Engagement Capitals Analysis

Each of the four open-ended responses to the questionnaire data presented in Chapter 5 was subjected to the Capital Analytical Framework introduced in Chapter 4. The resulting analysis with respect to each question is summarized below and comparative data across all four questions also feature in subsequent individual Capital analyses.

7.1.1 Survey Question 6: Engagement Capitals

> Often, Aboriginal Groups are invited to send representatives to participate in Fieldwork. This presents an additional opportunity for consultation, as the assessment is conducted. Most aboriginal groups are provided copies of reports for work conducted within their area.
>
> Survey Question 6 Response (#19: Government)

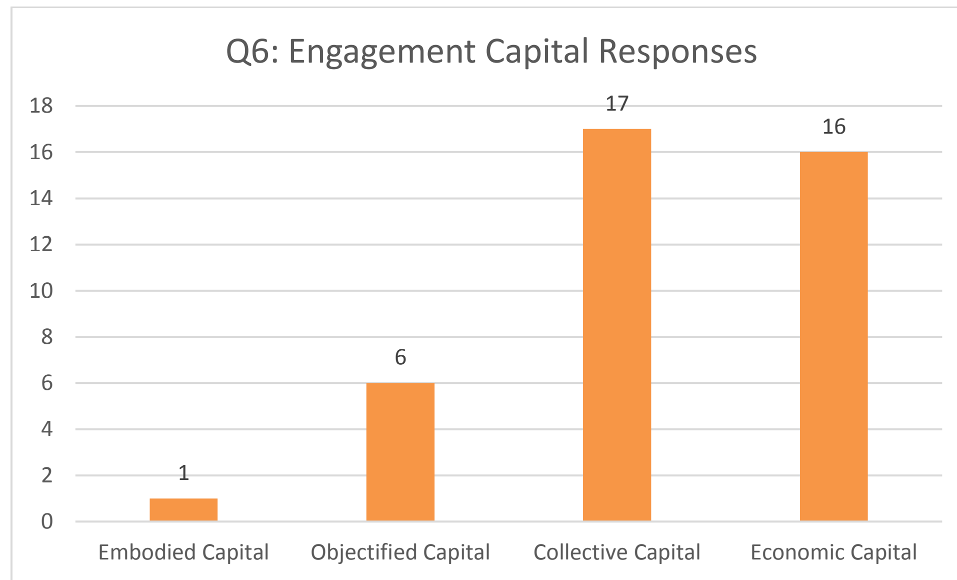


Figure 7.1: Engagement Capital responses to Question 6

Question 6 of the survey, asking respondents to describe standard CRM-Indigenous engagement, had comparatively limited Capital references in responses, compared to Questions 7 and 9. Only two, Economic and Collective Capitals, featured with frequency. Objectified Capital responses referred mostly to Traditional Land Use (TLU) engagement requirements in Alberta (4 of 6). Collective Capital references also referred to these four TLU references. The remaining Collective Capital references reflected explicit social/institutionalized elements of engagement, including designated community representatives and expressions of Indigenous community power/authority. The geographic distribution of Collective Capital references in Question 6 (which included one reference which could not be tied to a region) does not appear overly concentrated or minimal in any one region with the potential exception of the Yukon:

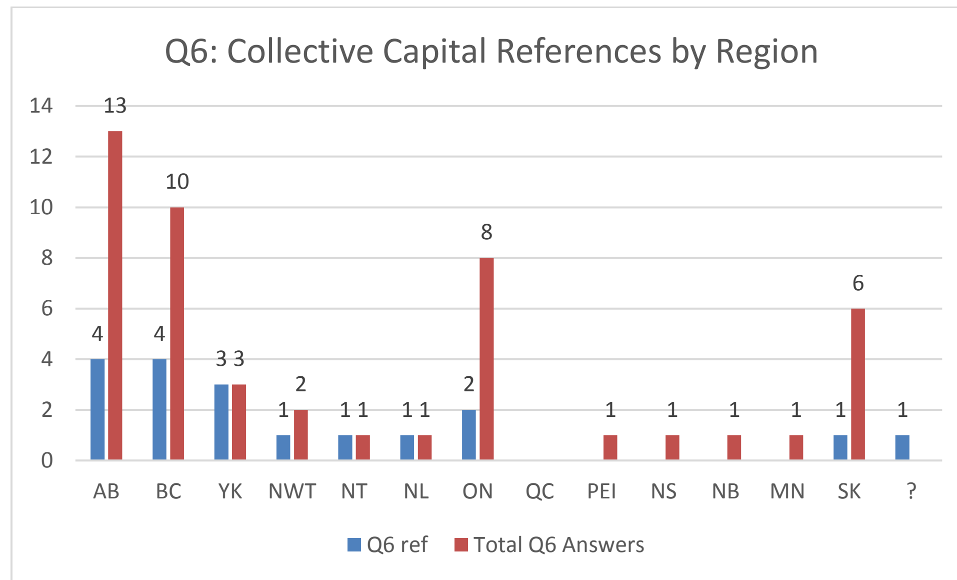


Figure 7.2: Instances of Question 6 Collective Capital references by region[61]

The final engagement capital represented in Question 6, the Economic Capital, is a straightforward representation of "standard practice" in particular regions to employ a community liaison/monitor/participant or other supporting crew members (e.g., bear monitors), or a comment on the lack and project budget-related minimalizing of such requirements:

[61] Note: multiple jurisdictions/identities reflected in respondents' answers in this and other question responses mean chart totals will vary from overall respondent numbers. Capital references are only identified with jurisdictions in answers from multiple-jurisdiction participants when the association is explicit (i.e., an Alberta, BC, Saskatchewan respondent who describes standard practice in all three provinces but only refers to Regulation in BC).

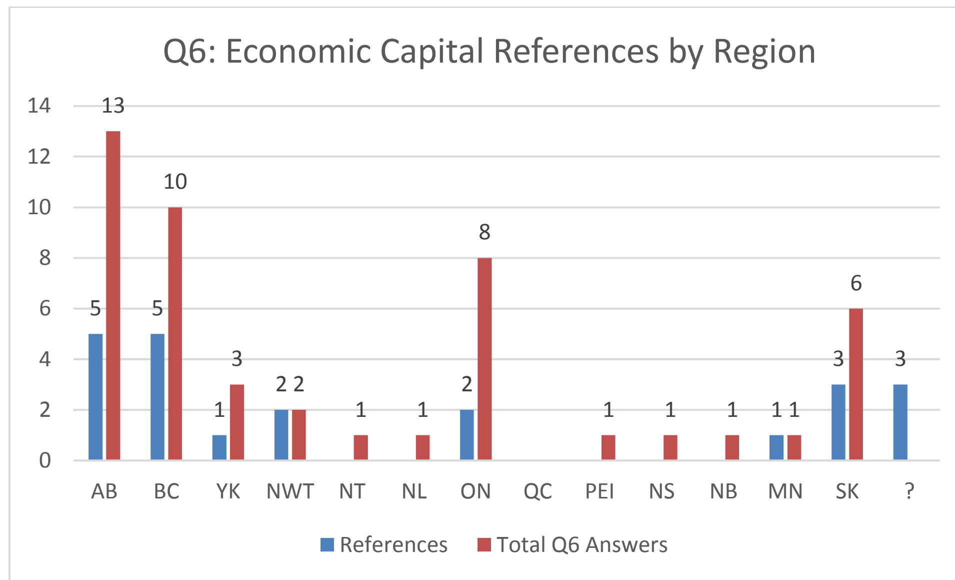


Figure 7.3: Instances of Question 6 Economic Capital references by region

7.1.2 Survey Question 7: Engagement Capitals

> Consultation in this case was intended not just to identify community concerns, but to involve community feedback in the design and scope of the project.
>
> Survey Question 7 Response (#12: Student)

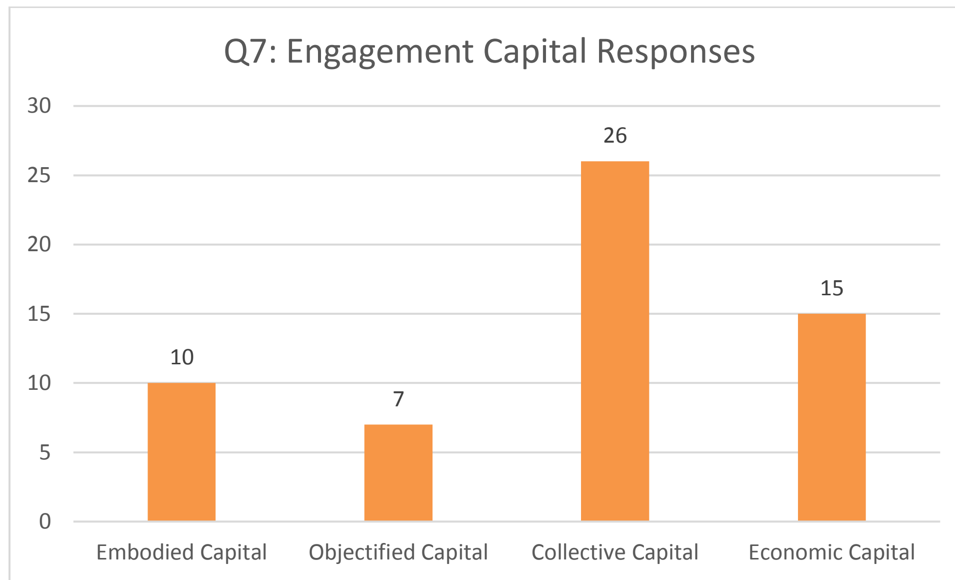


Figure 7.4: Instances of Engagement Capital responses to Question 7

Question 7 of the survey shifted the respondent from generalized notions of how engagement works, to considering their own rewarding experiences of engagement. Given the emphasis on specific instances in Question 7 rather than the more general context Question 6 explored, I anticipated being able to identify and code more references to Capitals in Question 7 responses. While not a stark difference, references to Embodied and Collective Capitals were more common in Question 7 responses.

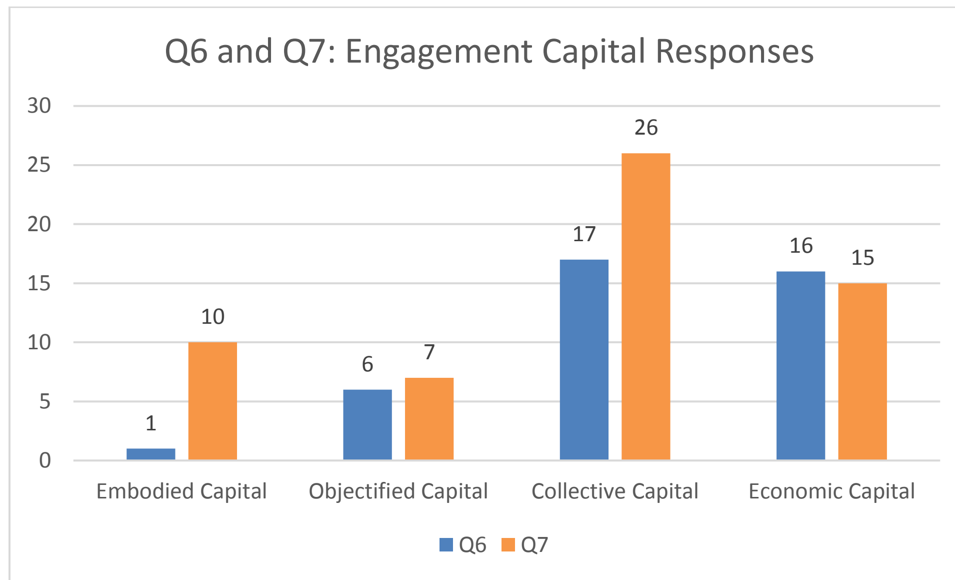


Figure 7.5: Comparison of Questions 6 and 7 instances of Engagement Capital in responses

As with Question 6, Objectified Capital references are comparatively underrepresented. Embodied Capital references tended to concentrate in responses from BC and Alberta, and include two descriptions of Indigenous community site visits; two examples of motivated participants; a perceived public appreciation for archaeology; an Elder sharing stories; and, an example of youth training. Only two respondents indicating Embodied Capital presence in Alberta also worked elsewhere.

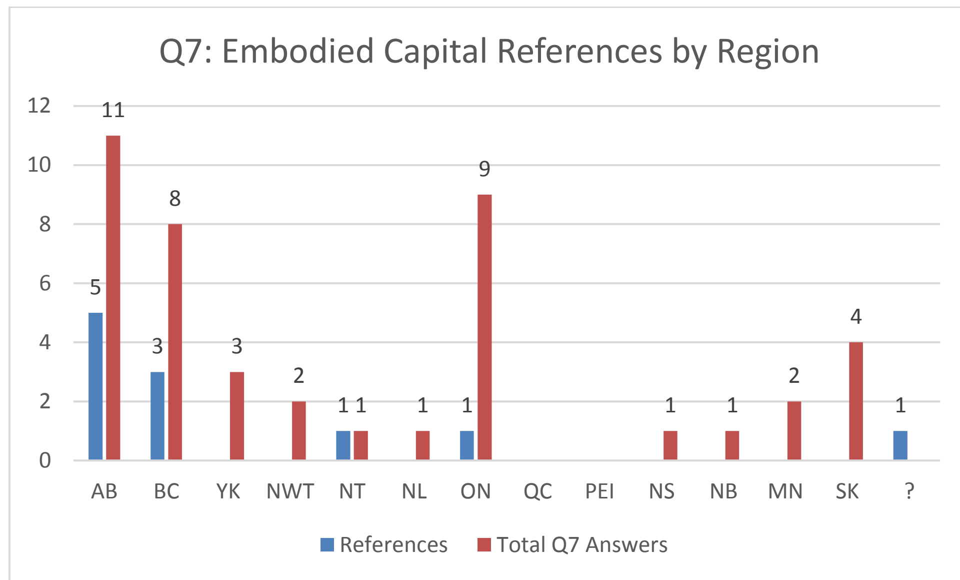


Figure 7.6: Question 7 Instances of Embodied Capital references by region

Instances of both Collective and Economic Capitals in Question 7 responses exhibit broad distributions across the country (two of the Collective Capital references could not be situated):

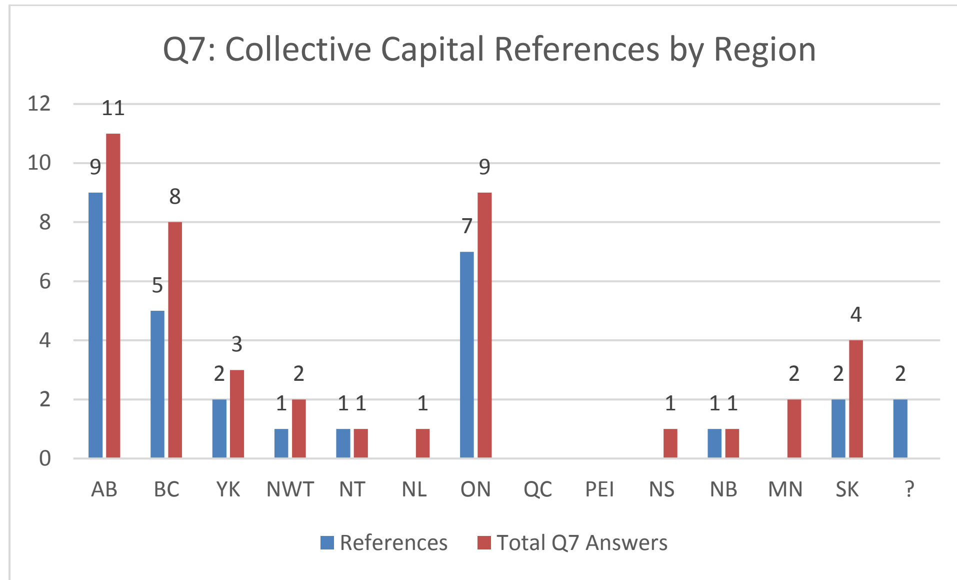


Figure 7.7: Question 7 Instances of Collective Capital references by region

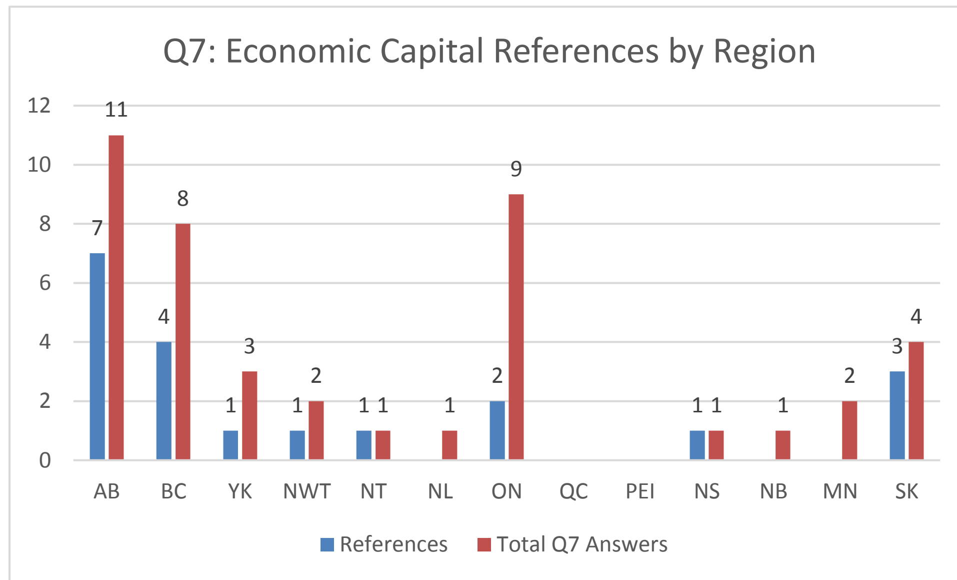


Figure 7.8: Question 7 Instances Economic Capital references by region

The distribution of Economic Capital references mentions Indigenous field crew members or funding from or to Indigenous communities. The Collective Capital references I identified in Question 7 responses included four archaeological-based references to government-facilitated engagement (two responses) and the conveyance of archaeological knowledge through training and education (two responses). Indigenous-based references were coded in 17 of 26 responses and included: participation of Elders (two responses); transmission or integration of traditional knowledge (seven responses); and Indigenous community authority over/within a project (eight responses). The remaining five instances of Collective Capital captured hybrid archaeological- and Indigenous-based references. In all, the 26 instances of Collective Capital in Question 7 included 22 that implied that best instances of CRM engagement included some manifestation of Indigenous Collective Capital.

7.1.3 Survey Question 9: Engagement Capitals

> To provide opportunities for First Nation members to participate in the archaeological process. To incorporate local and traditional knowledge into our impact assessments. To learn about traditional practices and land uses. To provide value to my clients in the form of improved relations with First Nations.
>
> Survey Question 9 Response (#4: CRM)

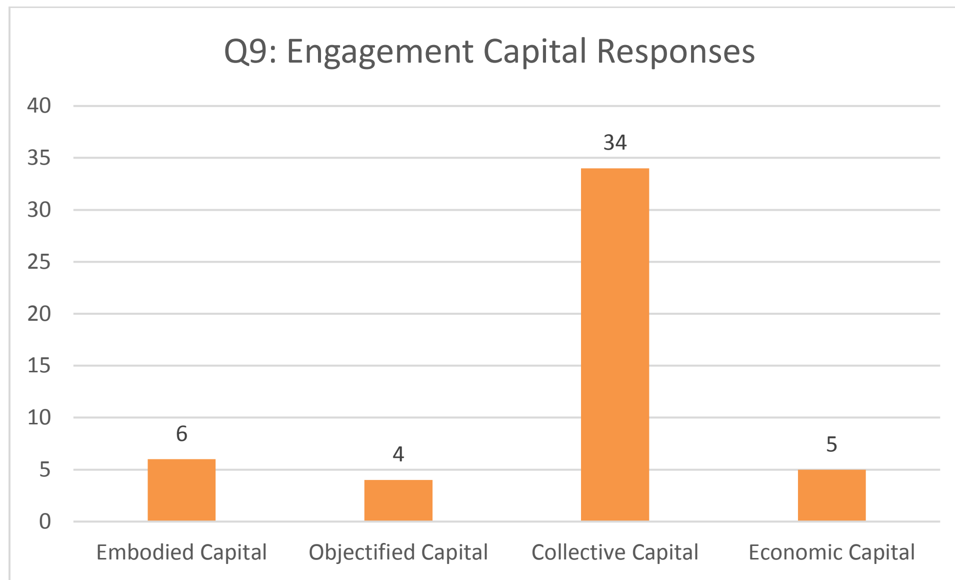


Figure 7.9: Instances of Engagement Capital responses to Question 9

Question 9 asked respondents to speak of their own personal goals when involved in engagement. References alluding to Collective Capital were significantly more common in the responses than other forms of Capital.

In terms of particular instances recorded, five of six Embodied Capital references related to archaeologists learning about Indigenous heritage, culture and perspectives (four CRM; one academic). The remaining response discussed archaeologists providing skills and experience to community members. The Objectified Capital responses reflected a spectrum of archaeological and Indigenous values, ranging from a government official's "sound approaches to managing the archaeological record," to an Indigenous community member's valuing their experiencing of a site, and an Indigenous government official's prioritization of First Nations site "integrity". In between, a CRM-characterized goal of mutual (archaeological and Indigenous) respect of sites and artifacts. It is interesting to note that Objectified Capital considerations do not exclusively place a respondent in a particular location across this spectrum. For example, the same government official

referring to sound approaches for the archaeological record also advocated for "sharing of knowledge and sound partnerships" in the same response.

Collective Capital responses were by far the most prevalent Engagement Condition or Capital to be coded from the Question 9 responses. The number of instances so identified provide an opportunity to consider a distribution Collective Capital references across identities:

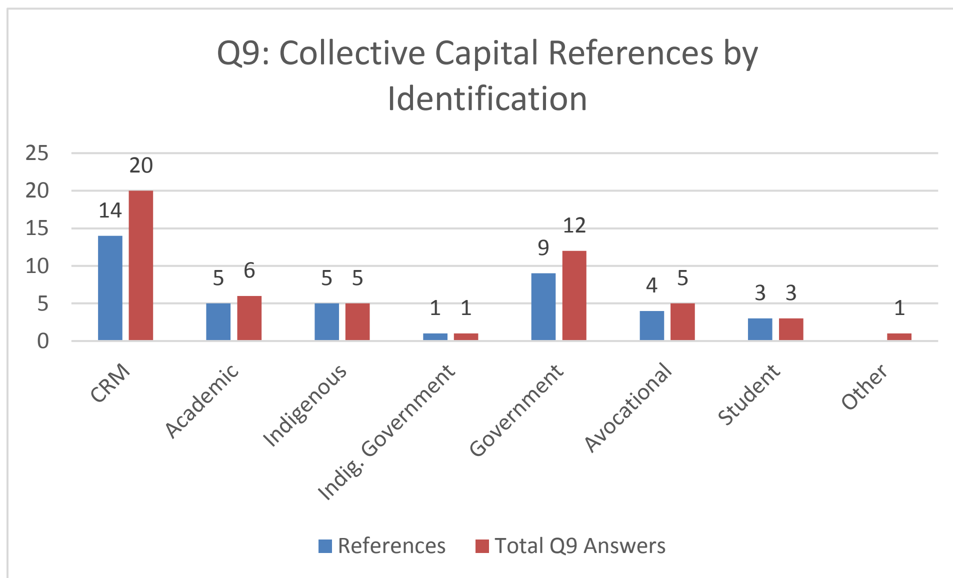


Figure 7.10: Collective Capital references in Question 9

Almost all individuals from almost all identifications articulated personal goals that could be coded as Collective Capital references in their responses. The substance of the responses was able to be distinguished into categories based on from where the Collective Capital manifested (archaeological doxa/institutions, Indigenous doxa/institutions, or both). Seven of 34 responses manifested what I classify as archaeologically-sourced Collective Capital, notably transmitting archaeological values of preservation and data-collection methodologies as goals of engagement (e.g., archaeological training for Indigenous community members and dissemination of

archaeological knowledge and values to communities). I identified Indigenous manifestations of Collective Capital in 15 of 34 responses, which included desires to see Indigenous traditional land use and histories as a part of the engagement process (seven references), and expressions of Indigenous authority (eight references). Seven of these responses also spoke about greater degrees of Indigenous authority, while one government official spoke of avoiding "problems created by First Nations." The remaining 12 responses I coded incorporated both Indigenous and archaeological manifestations of Collective Capital, with five responses using language implying that their goals involved an "exchange" or sharing of information between archaeology and Indigenous communities.

Finally, I identified five responses that spoke to dimensions of Economic Capital. Three of five responses spoke of funding needs and justification in a way that also linked to Developer Capacity Conditions, by talking about funding initiatives (one Indigenous community member response), or developer value/cost justifications of engagement (one CRM and one government response). The remaining two responses (one student and one Indigenous community member) referred to the potential for Indigenous communities to take more control over engagement and heritage management processes, and the economic gains that would be generated from that greater control.

7.2 Embodied Cultural Capital

Embodied Cultural Capital (shortened here to Embodied Capital) as first introduced in Chapter 4 represents the experiences, skills, training and education accumulated within an individual. It is a personal symbolic wealth capable of being transferred, in part, to others and capable of being evaluated by others based on both perceived and projected evidence. An individual's resume or curriculum vitae is a testament of projected Embodied Capital relative to a given profession. An individual's assessed performance within a given role, or even the preconceived value of that person prior to being a part of

an engagement instance by the others to be interacted with in that instance, would constitute the individual's perceived Embodied Capital relative to that role.

Potential variation between projected and perceived Embodied Capitals highlights the relative opaqueness of this particular symbolic capital. This opaqueness does not, however, preclude identification of a flow of Embodied Capital in any given situation. It simply precludes immediate assessment of the degree to which that Embodied Capital is internalized and externalized. For example, an archaeologist might be shown various plants, with their medicinal qualities described, by an Indigenous participant in the course of fieldwork. The potential exists for that Embodied Capital to have been conveyed to the archaeologist, but without a subsequent example of applying that knowledge there is no guarantee that the flow of capital between Indigenous participant and archaeologist was retained. Or the archaeologist may have poorly absorbed that knowledge and could not use or further convey that information subsequently. Or that knowledge, if retained, may not be valued by a third party the way they would value that same knowledge conveyed by the Indigenous knowledge-holder. It is therefore important to recognize that when I talk about Embodied Capital in this section I am talking about the flows and perceptions of this capital between individuals and from situations, its potential and not its retention.

7.2.1 Embodied Cultural Capital – Analysis

In the CAA Newsletter, 199 of 512 instances of engagement involved the explicit transmission of Embodied Capital from one individual to another. Examples include: interviews with Elders where the interviewer is given knowledge of oral and personal histories, traditional ecological knowledge and site information; field schools; archaeological training; public education; and tours of archaeological sites. Any engagement wherein information is intentionally communicated or experiences deliberately arranged in order to educate an individual or group constitutes active transmission of Embodied Capital. This active transmission is complimented by the perception and deployment of individual Embodied Capitals by others.

The questionnaire survey responses exhibited instances of something resembling the active transmission of Embodied Capital in both Question 7 (best instances) and Question 9 (goals):

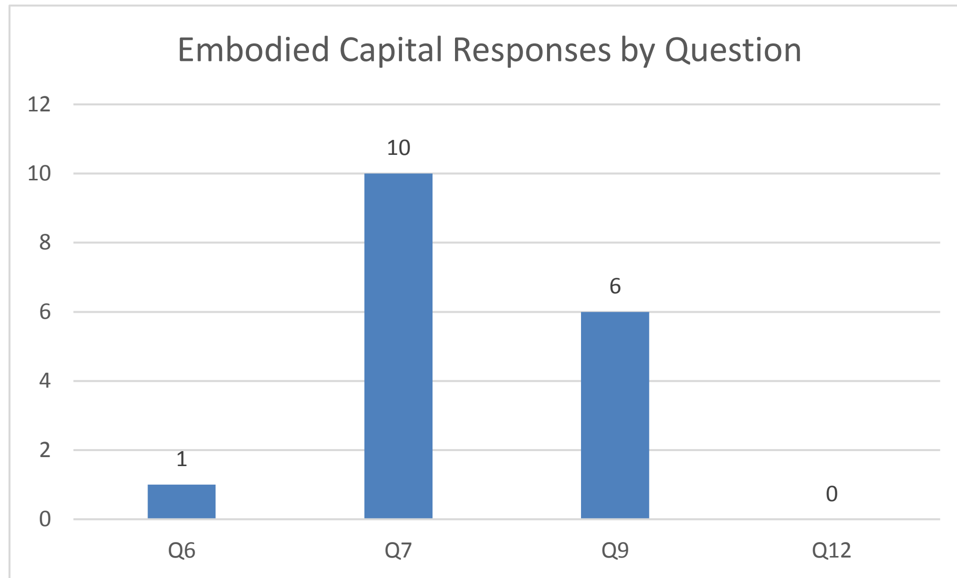


Figure 7.11: Embodied Capital responses by open-ended survey question

Most noticeable from the interviews is the increased prevalence of Embodied Capital references among government-affiliated roles:

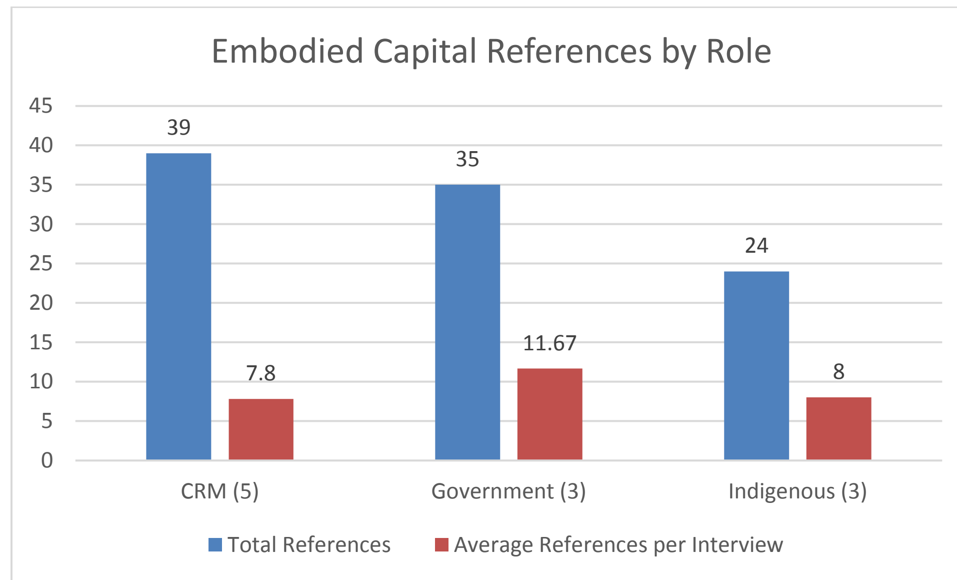


Figure 7.12: Interviews - Embodied Capital references by role

This skewing could be the result of Tom Andrews's presence in this category and the northern disposition towards "on-the-land" experiencing of heritage.

7.2.2 Embodied Capital – Interpretation

As the analysis indicates Embodied Capital is relatively easy to code for in discussions about engagement in CRM. It is also an overarching theme in engagement in that references that allude to this particular Cultural Capital often appear to touch on other Capitals, as well as most Engagement Conditions. This is hardly surprising, given that engagement is, at its heart, a formal and informal process of interaction between individuals. Individuals whose experiences, skills, and training are wrapped up in their conceptions of self, how they project and elaborate knowledges and identities, and how these are interpreted by others. Engagement is also premised in how these individual aspects are known and valued by others before any engagement activity even takes place, echoing the familiarity portion of the Relationships Condition. It is no wonder that the

symbolic representation of those lived experiences (Embodied Capital) is seen to pervade the language and description of interviewees and questionnaire respondents.

That the accruing of relevant skills and experiences, of Embodied Capital, is an important part of the archaeological exercise is nowhere discounted in the data gathered here. The language of interviewees implies that sufficient Embodied Capital as represented in skills and experiences, is repeatedly relied upon, but when lacking, an individual's Embodied Capital is the subject of criticism and in some cases perceived as a failure that extends to a particular educational institution or training regime; a devaluing of associated Collective Capitals, if you will.

Examples of Embodied Capital expressed in the interviews generally fell into one of two subsets I distinguish here as valuation and exchange. Valuation entails recognition of skills, experiences and training, either through self-assessment or an assessment of someone else. Exchange is intended to reflect the acquisition of Embodied Capital (skills, experiences, training) on the part of engagement participants. Each of these two conceptions of Embodied Capital help provide a useful sphere within which to consider Embodied Capital accumulation and movement within engagement instances, sources of Embodied Capital and regional variations of engagement.

7.2.2.1 Valuation - Perception

> I think it's because of the knowledge that I possess and the voice that I have and just having that…voice of authority to step into that role to just let [archaeologists] know that you are not getting away with this. I said I wanted, you know auger holes done, dug deep because around here we get so many done along the flats it's just all silt and sand. You could never get deep enough so I will demand that there will be an auger that we'll auger test them all instead of digging by hand. I mean you could dig them all by hand and you could dig a meter and still not find anything because they are so deep. We've dug here and it's 3.8 m into the ground and we're still finding cultural material...
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

The Embodied Capital examples of perceived value or lack thereof can feature fairly prominently in engagement instances, particularly when seasoned participants are determining how best to interact with novice fieldworkers:

> I also helped train them I found that RISC [Resources Information Standards Committee archaeological training course] didn't really give them a lot of background looking at the different types of materials that we use so I would actually bring in materials and show people this is what fired chert looks like because it looks different and stuff like that. Little things, just to help them get more comfortable and make sure that they were not missing anything that could possibly end up in the back dirt.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

> So often we get people who, in other places in BC, are completely inexperienced. They show up for work in the bush wearing hiking boots and jeans and [it's] "no you need cork boots and a safety vest". We do try and obviously tell them that beforehand. And then who have no idea about archaeology, no idea about heritage, no idea about local information, even which road to go down to get there, kind of thing.
>
> Jo Brunsden, Interview

> …you certainly get some participants [monitors/field workers] that are just out for the money and they don't really care about what they're doing it's just a job and that is all that they want, and that's perfectly fine as long as they're willing to work. You get other participants who are out there and they want to learn, they want to know more. They are really engaged with what they're doing. They are constantly asking you questions "well what does this mean?" "What does that mean?" They are constantly [wanting] to learn… So I found that's kind of a pretty big part of First Nations participation, that when you find someone that does want to learn, that they're eager and they want to learn, and they want to know and sometimes they don't have the resources to learn on their own so you're a fairly good source of information and they learn fast.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

Some consultants structure their field crews specifically around the dichotomy between inexperienced archaeologists and experienced Indigenous community members:

> I have got a colleague who works in BC who has the same array of experiences and he often likes aboriginal workers because he's like you know, you often get guys if you are lucky who have a good sense of the land and can do things like keeping your junior crew from being eaten by a bear. Who've got some basic knowledge that the young person from the lower mainland who is working on an archaeology degree who is going to have no clue…
>
> Interviewee: 011122

> I've got some First Nations participants that I know if I've got a young crew that is not that experienced outside, I've got a couple participants that I know I can request and they will be outstanding. They will help keep them out of trouble which is also huge especially from a safety standpoint. So if I have got the First Nations participant that's really adept at snowmobiling and I've got a couple crew members who aren't as experienced I can rely on that First Nations participant to keep them from doing something stupid, that's it basically, for lack of a better word. It's basically a danger to themselves I mean they could hurt themselves so if they're planning on taking it on a side slope that has a really high percentage of rollovers but they don't know that because they're not that experienced but I know that the First Nations participant knows that and he'll step up and go "don't do it you will just hurt yourself".
>
> Interviewee: 021125

The ability to value an individual's Embodied Capital relevant to any particular situation identifies both individuals in need of mentorship, as well as those capable of providing that mentorship. Important to recognize, however, is this perceived valuation is always relative to the Embodied Capital of the observer:

> So they will supposedly put you with the senior person but often, this is another issue that kind of ticks me off. They have these kids that come fresh out of University and have their degrees supervising somebody who has been doing it for 20 years in their own territories and then some of them can get kind of, just look down on you because you're Indian not because of the knowledge that you have or they won't listen to what you're saying just because you don't have the degree.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

In this example students recently graduated gauge the Embodied Capitals of others relative to their institutional experiences, essentially over-valuing institutional achievements over directly relevant skills and experiences, or at least disregarding the value of these dimensions of a person's Embodied Capital. From the other perspective, the Indigenous community participant with 20 years of experience has probably seen dozens of new archaeologists exhibit the same valuation behaviour and might even have developed a personal strategy of enlightening these university graduates or at least negotiating past that under-valuation.

However, archaeologists are also capable of demonstrating sufficient self-awareness to recognize the transition from academic context to CRM or engagement context:

> One of the things that really surprised me …being involved in really academic archaeology and coming here is how little any of that mattered and how little that had any impact on what's really happening out there. There's certainly a time and place for academia but I just… Coming back into the real world I could not have felt more distant from it. I don't want to say anything bad about academia, obviously there's a lot for it, but I don't know I just felt that what the issues I was focusing on and was really inspired about in academia and what everybody else was talking about once I got here none of that mattered anymore we have real problems to deal with… it just wasn't, it didn't translate very well unfortunately.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

This self-awareness of the skills and experience necessary to thrive in a given CRM environment itself constitutes a kind of Embodied Capital acquired through sufficient practical knowledge and reflection, essential for effective CRM-based engagement with Indigenous individuals and communities. It also hints that jargon and performed expert knowledge may be attempts at asserting an authority that is undervalued outside of the academic contexts. Adopting the mantles of the various roles involved in engagement may confuse personal understandings of what are the valuable dimensions of an Embodied Capital – and thus validating authority to hold a role in engagement - with the actual skills and abilities necessary to fulfill those roles. In other words, the archaeological and Indigenous roles in CRM are performances by individuals premised

on how they and how they believe others conceive of those roles. Valuation and projection occurs simultaneously from and by all participants, reaching across differing cultural sets of disposition or understandings of what the engagement process is and is supposed to achieve. Embodied Capitals thus not only constitute the substance beneath the projection but the skills with which individuals both perform and perceive.

The extent to which participants know and acknowledge, or fail to acknowledge, the internally-held (Embodied Capital) values of others speaks to a resonance or dissonance between individuals. The role of archaeology in CRM is wrapped up in the perceived expert knowledge of the discipline as a “science.” Recognizing or questioning the “expertness” of others can end up legitimizing or delegitimizing the primacy of archaeologists as experts within that CRM process. That many of the above quotes are relative assessments of the archaeological skills and experiences of the speakers and of others also suggests that, under certain conditions, engagement becomes an exercise in affirming one’s own expert presence by refuting someone else’s. That Carrie Dan and other Indigenous archaeologists speak to their archaeological credentials in addition to their occupying that Indigenous half of the engagement binary emphasizes an evaluative hierarchy of expert knowledge in CRM. Archaeological Embodied Capital valuation, or the means by which individuals affirm or diminish the archaeological expert knowledge and skills of others, is therefore not restricted to commercial and government archaeologists alone. As evidenced by Tom Andrews, the reverse is also possible where the valuation of non-archaeological[62] expert knowledges further affirms his own presence in particular engagement circumstances (on certain sites, working with certain people, etc.).

Just as we saw in discussions of the Relationship Condition, relationships between engagement participants are subject to change since the perceived Embodied Capital constructions of individuals by others are open to negotiation and change. An

---

[62] Both local and Indigenous such as they are distinguishable.

archaeological field crew member demonstrating archaeological or local land-use skillsets to an Indigenous monitor for example, has the potential to shift the recognized Embodied Capital of themselves relative to that Indigenous monitor; however, the degree to which that shift occurs, if it happens at all, is dependent on the Embodied Capital of the monitor. A monitor with little faith or knowledge of the commercial archaeological process would not likely care whether or not a crew member was competently digging a square excavation unit. Embodied Capitals of individuals are differently valued relative to the Embodied Capitals of others. With sufficient, relevant Embodied Capital, an individual can also deploy, augment or manipulate the Embodied Capitals of others. The engagement process is thus a context for enabling strategic understanding and manipulation of the Embodied Capital values of the participants, such as they are varyingly able to be perceived and manipulated by one another. These processes of valuation persist before, during and after the actual instance of engagement, augmenting the interpersonal Embodied Capitals of those involved into subsequent encounters, and ultimately into shaping subsequent Relationship Conditions of engagement.

7.2.2.2 Exchange – Acquisition

> And the monitors are out there to supplement, to participate, and in some cases learn from the archaeologist…
>
> Interviewee: 011221

The other subset of Embodied Capital references I identified in my analysis can be grouped into an exchange/acquisition category, capturing the flow of Embodied Capital in instances of engagement:

> …it's trying to learn a new landscape and it was a real gift to me that people were willing to take the time to teach me, "and it's like oh yeah oh yeah I see that that makes sense"
>
> Interviewee: 011321

Examples from the CAA Newsletter include field schools and Elder participation, which highlight two areas from which Embodied Capital actively flows: archaeology/academic, and Indigenous/traditional knowledge:

> Archaeology is often where that winds up happening because it's got that cultural heritage aspect to it there is often a thought that that is a good one to engage people on because of you know the opportunities to learn about culture and to contribute to, sort of give their two cents about what's going on in the ground. But a lot of that emphasis a lot of that winds up getting really big focus of course in sort of the traditional land use studies and economic studies the things that actually do the harvesting of knowledge from living people. That was a really horrible way to put it because it sounds very opportunistic, it sounds very Western, we take their knowledge. But you have the idea that aboriginal groups are maybe most concerned with that part of the process…
>
> Interviewee: 011122

These areas are also not exclusively the domain of any one group. There are Indigenous archaeologists, Elders with archaeological skills and experiences, and non-Indigenous archaeologists with archaeological and traditional knowledge expertise.

7.2.2.3 Sources of Embodied Capitals

I will make a distinction here between Embodied Capital that values/exchanges archaeological skills and knowledge (Archaeological-sourced Embodied Capital), from values/exchanges of Indigenous skills and knowledge (Indigenous-sourced Embodied Capital), simply to organize and convey the distinctions in emphasis arising from various interviews.

The transmission of archaeological knowledge and training (along with the embedded archaeological dispositions those norms and values contain) from archaeologists to Indigenous communities has been identified as capacity-building (Connaughton et al. 2014). Embodied Capital in this context is partly distinguishable from archaeological Institutional Capital in that the Embodied Capital form captures more the archaeological skills and experiences expressed within and by individuals, and exchanged with others.

Strictly archaeological Embodied Capital in an unreciprocated transmission did not feature prominently in the interviews. Three of these accounts of one-sided transmission of Embodied Capital pertain to instances where an archaeologically-trained Indigenous community member or government official actively trained less experienced CRM field crew members (011223, 011221, Carrie Dan).

In the CAA Newsletter review, 39% (17 of 44) of field school years, which could be argued as being exclusively an archaeological Embodied Capital context, included a community education component featuring Elders sharing traditional knowledge or language (Drum Lake 1985; Fort Selkirk 1988-89; Igloolik/Arnaquaksat 1993-94; Grace Adam Metawewinihk 1995-96; Central Coast of Labrador Community Archaeology Program 1999-2005; Sanirajak 2006-07; Harrison River 2007). The list above indicates that the transmission of archaeological Embodied Capital can sometimes occur in conjunction with the transmission of Indigenous-sourced Embodied Capitals.

Of course, what is not possible to identify from the Newsletter descriptions is the number of field schools that did not include an Indigenous knowledge conveyance, but did instruct Indigenous individuals. Such instances, similar to conventional academic teaching of archaeology to students, or CRM archaeologists field training crews and monitors, or archaeologists conveying knowledge of the archaeological record to Indigenous communities or individuals, would be examples of strictly archaeological Embodied Capital conveyed without reciprocal exchanges of Indigenous Embodied Capital. Given the focus of questionnaires and interviews on the personal dimensions of individual participation in engagement instances, the absence of an emphasis on this dimension of Embodied Capital exchange is not surprising. Such knowledge conveyances reflect the conventional role of archaeologist as “knowledge mobilizer,” and generally appear to operate beneath interviewee and respondent reflexivity when reflecting on Indigenous engagement.

Parallel transmissions such as those implied in a few of the field schools reported in the CAA Newsletter are often characterized as an exchange in other contexts:

> One friend… grew up in the bush and she's taught me so much about snaring and just stuff I never would've learned anywhere else, lots about animals, tracks and all that kind of stuff so there's lots of knowledge sharing that way. I teach her about lithics. I taught her how to make stone tools and she teaches me about the bush so there's lots of back and forth and there are lots of participants who are very eager to share their knowledge about the bush.
>
> Interviewee: 011121

> …I mean [Indigenous participants] don't necessarily make that connection but for sure any good archaeologist is going to listen to them and make that connection, for sure. And then you will reciprocate that back. When he says "look at all of those game trails" you explain "well if there's a lot of game trails here then it would be great in prehistory just the same as it's great now". So it's working together that I find to be one of the most beneficial parts of it.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

> I taught some of the Inuit hunters how to flake quartzite. Actually had one of the camp hunters come back with a big caribou that he proudly butchered with a quartzite knife. He explained to me how quartzite knives worked differently from steel knives... We both learn together.
>
> Bill Fox, Interview

The nature of these exchanges of Embodied Capitals convey a value, a Capital, which retains its worth past the instance of exchange when it originally occurred:

> On a project in extreme northeastern Alberta there was a guy who had a trap-line out there and the firm was to bring him in. They wanted to talk to him because they knew that there were a couple old trap-lines but that the trap-lines had been inactive for a while and this guy wanted to get it going again… We load up in the helicopter, we meet the nice trap-line owner and he starts telling us all this stuff about archaeology and it turns out he worked on a different company's crew about 10 years ago. He was hired on a major excavation project and he knew all sorts of things about lithic raw material and we were like "well where did that come from?" and he really thought it was really interesting and we were like "wow okay right on that's interesting". That was like 10 years ago this guy did this and he still has memories of working with this crew and also a lot of the knowledge that he gained in that process. And then he told us some really neat

> things about trapping in those lands. It's actually a very rich parcel of lands from the trapping perspective so that was a really worthwhile experience for us.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

These exchanges emphasize that archaeological knowledge and skills are not the only values transmitted in engagement instances. The very nature of the engagement process facilitates an exchange, with Indigenous individuals making valuable Capital contributions to the relationship.

Indigenous-sourced Embodied Capital was characterized in northern and rural interviews as a range of skills, including traditional knowledge such as land-use and language, to localized-knowledge of individual bushcraft, hunting and trapping skills. Experiences can translate, for example, as valuable knowledge of particular terrain and personal historical narratives. Important to realize, however, is that Indigenous-sourced Embodied and Collective Capitals are capable of residing in and emanating from narratives, language, individuals and places in a way that blurs the lines between Embodied and Institutional forms of Capital (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw 1992; Martin-Hill 2008).

When these references emerged from the data, it was often in a context that highlights their value to archaeologists:

> So the First Nations participants we have in northeastern BC for example they are usually extremely skilled in the woods. They are hunters or trappers; they do that for fun. They snowmobile for fun, they quad for fun, they do all sorts of outdoor activities for fun. They are a great source of learning for the archaeologists that don't have that background and it makes them ultimately better CRM archaeologists if they can go into the woods and they can physically walk around and they know what certain things mean and they learn signs right?
>
> Interviewee: 021125

> Like say you have someone like [community member] who comes out and he is working on a site while he's an experienced hunter, he's gonna know where some of those things might be like where the salt licks are and stuff. Maybe there's a

> hunting blind right there – he would know. Whereas an archaeologist growing up in the city isn't necessarily going to know stuff like that. Somebody that's never hunted, somebody that doesn't understand that way of life. Like the ethnohistorical stuff I guess.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

Traditional knowledge and personal narratives also featured prominently:

> I think we benefit by getting their knowledge of the area and for this I think back to BC where we were out with all those guys and they just knew the area so well and you learn so much more about the land, about the traditions and you learn more about their culture…
>
> Interviewee: 011326

> Some of the individuals we find out really know the land we're working on and have been able to provide at least some information around generalized traditional land use.
>
> Interviewee: 021124

> From my own experience you know almost nowhere else in the world do you get that access to, and I mean we're increasingly losing it, but that access to people who still are very comfortable living off of the land. That know the places and the resources, what you do in certain seasons, what this is good for, what that is good for. It may not feed directly into the archaeological record or you know the things you're dealing with. Again, it's the teaching someone else that appreciation of this particular country and the people who live there. I really value that experience in Canada's North where you have access to people who still know all this stuff and you are getting that human component of what you see as archaeological sites as dots on the map on the landscape but it starts to make a more coherent picture when you hear the stories or the mythologies. Anything to help you understand how this bunch of people made their living here and how they adapted to things.
>
> Interviewee: 011321

The skills and experiences of Indigenous community members in the north and in more rural parts of the country aid high potential resource-targeted survey, safe and easy

traverse of terrain, and, in some cases, even first-hand accounts of the archaeological subject matter:

Aberdeen Lake, 1991: The archaeologist and an Elder who had lived on the site travelled to the region. The Elder talked about what life had been like there and identified at least one structure (CAA Newsletter 1992).

Kitigaaryuit, 1996: "Elders from Tuktoyaktuk who had lived at Kitigaaryuit or who had visited it when it was inhabited year round were brought to the site to talk about its history and to help identify features." (CAA Newsletter 1997)

Even past archaeological surveys become incorporated into the Embodied Capitals of Indigenous community members as the narratives of generations of archaeologists infuse regionally-sustained (urban and rural) Indigenous engagement:

> And I would think that since this place opened, so [the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre] opened in 1979, Bob Janes he broke ground, there’s a long tradition in this institution. So Bob Janes was our founding director, he worked collaboratively with the community called Willow Lake and wrote beautiful long papers and books all based on going into people’s yards and excavating their teepee while they helped so that he could have a better understanding what he was finding out on the land, teepee remains on the land. So going right into the community and asking, “Can I excavate that? Will you help me?”
>
> Tom Andrews, Interview

These accounts all reflect a similar dimension to Indigenous-sourced Embodied Capital, i.e., “expert” knowledge arising from living in the places archaeology is being conducted; an expertise to be utilized in order to negotiate the logistics of undertaking informed and effective archaeological fieldwork in those areas. But these accounts, in part, also appear to reflect an archaeological value for the Embodied Capital tied to the lifeways of Indigenous individuals that comes from a perceived connection of these “traditional” ways of living off the land with ancient peoples and ways of living embodied in the archaeological record. Exposure to this Indigenous expertise reinforces connection of present with past, and an assumed expertise that connects to the archaeological record in

ways that an archaeologist's expertise and life experience does not generally have access to otherwise.

7.2.2.4 Political Flows, Recognitions and Deployments

Acknowledging the flows and sources of capital described above hints at the variability of Embodied Capital. The rural and northern examples reflect both the accessibility of traditional knowledge and memory and the "outsider" status of archaeologists working in rural and northern areas they do not also live in. These aspects over-emphasize, even conflate, elements of Embodied Capital, like bushcraft, in the minds of some interviewees as being "Indigenous values," as opposed to Embodied Capitals capable of inhabiting anyone who lives or has lived in a rural setting. Engagement in these examples is between expert foreign knowledge outsider and expert local knowledge insider, the equivalent of book smart and street (trail) smart. But this recognition (or lack thereof) of local expert knowledge would not extend to urban settings; "bushcraft" or rural expertise perhaps limited to poison ivy identifications and such. In these circumstances Embodied Capital has less to do with navigating the physical terrain and more to do with navigating political and activist landscapes. Indeed, this point underscores that engagement does not just happen between archaeologist and Indigenous individual interacting together in the field. While these are the one on-one-experiences that dominated interview and survey responses, engagement also operates at a more formalized level between Indigenous Community representatives (Council/Traditional Confederacy members and staff) and archaeologists as representatives of and spokespeople for their clients and even government processes. In these contexts, identities, agendas creating the engagement instance, and the need to reach some kind of outcome to facilitate regulatory and developer processes situate engagement within more political- and activist-centric valuations and exchanges.

These political and activist spheres of engagement are certainly not unique to urban settings though they are perhaps more pronounced in the absence of exclusive local Embodied Capitals such as traditional knowledge, and certainly a dimension of more formalized instances of engagement. The political nature of these settings emphasizes a

different suite of Embodied Capitals concentrated on expertise in navigating the perceived Engagement Conditions and Capitals of other individuals and collectives. In this respect, Embodied Capital also represents the performative ability of these individual actors in shaping the perceptions of others and their own self-perception, and the dispositions of engagement participants of where the expertise of Embodied Capital is supposed to be situated:

> Every consultant knows who I am.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

> Where I and my family we make offerings still. Even if we're in Spain will make offerings at any water body that we encounter because I'm trained to do it here [Northwest Territories].
>
> Tom Andrews, Interview

Carrie Dan emphasizes her experiences and education with George Nicholas as foundational to both her career and others' as part of the Simon Fraser University/Secwépemc Cultural Education Society field school beginning in the 1990s and ending 2010:

> I was actually working for the University. It was 2004 that was the last year that I was George's TA and then moved away. Yeah George is phenomenal I still talk to George and I value his opinion and still share with him some stuff. The projects we're going on and stuff. Or he might just call me up and say "what are you finding out there? I've seen you on the news". I am actually working with George this coming year on a project for one of the mines here so we'll actually be working together again out in the field…

However, despite her academic achievements, Carrie seemingly confounded the expectations of where Embodied Capital is situated, as she described the hostility towards her from the provincial establishment:

> I mean I was one of the first Indian archaeologists and published as well. They [the BC government] don't want people getting a hold, people like me getting a hold of… the control of how things are going to happen because they will be cut out of it and all of the other archaeologists in BC well they'd be out of work if the Indians just did it themselves.

In other words, even holding Institutional Capital of formal academic achievement, and Embodied Capital as expert archaeologist, Carrie Dan's experience suggests that the provincial government's apparent concerns with her being Indigenous meant her archaeological interpretations are "biased." In other words, these officials read her Embodied Capital as arising from her being Indigenous, and somehow reducing her Embodied Capital as archaeologist – Embodied Capitals that presumably would have been more highly valued if held by a more "conventional" form of archaeologist.

This characterizing of Indigenous archaeologists as potentially having motivations contrary to the "neutrality" of archaeology is not exclusive to governments either:

> [Indigenous community archaeologists] they do the best they can… and they do some really good work but sometimes there's a perception of not being neutral, that they have to be really careful about because then you seem perceived as being, as only serving the band interests rather than the cultural heritage which should stand alone from chief and Council in a way. That's my personal opinion.
>
> Interviewee: 011121

The performance of expert archaeological authority from archaeologists dismissive of alternatively-sourced Embodied Capitals emphasizes that the discipline is still subject to dispositions and norms that encompass elements of racism and colonialism. That these performances are particularly dissonant when expressed by recent archaeological graduates is symptomatic of a disciplinary doxa which fails to recognize archaeology as

servicing other interests, and, perhaps, that engagement instances operate beyond archaeological-centric priorities.

The formal and informal incorporation of Indigenous individuals and collectives through engagement in CRM variably unsettles this exclusive archaeological authority. The ability of Indigenous individuals to sustain wider community-based interests in order to achieve community-oriented heritage outcomes via the alteration of the CRM process represents an Embodied Capital. As does the ability of archaeologists to value the Indigenous individuals they engage with for their contribution to desired, aligned outcomes. A hypothetical example would be the experienced Indigenous activist/monitor who pushes back at the archaeological field practices of CRM field directors, projecting community influence and authority into the archaeological project and raising the public profile of the projects they are working. Archaeologists, in turn, might inform and work with this individual to help the cause of trying to stop an otherwise authorised development impact of a known archaeological site; both roles deploying their respective Embodied Capitals within an engagement instance to achieve a mutually beneficial outcome.

These negotiations, resistances and deployments with and by various individuals, and the performative elements inherent in formal engagement instances, constitute non-archaeological Embodied Capitals, perhaps more commonly expressed in the urban south of Canada, but more broadly intended to re-align the goals and relationships between the actors of engagement and the communities they come from:

> My personal goal is to change the way all involved view my people. We are not a people that is extinct and we are not a people to be [studied] anymore. I think all involved have studied us enough, it is time to make the necessary changes that all involved keep saying they are wanting. It is time to treat us as the valued people we are.
>
> Survey Question 9 Response (#53: Indigenous)

7.3 Objectified Capital

No other Cultural Capital is more immediately relevant to the practice of archaeology than Objectified Capital. Objectified Capital represents the symbolic values possessed by an object, a value that encompasses the creator, proxy, agent and user or interpreter of the object. In archaeology, Objectified Capital most intuitively relates to the artifacts, features and sites that constitute the archaeological record. As recognized knowledgeable experts, archaeologists are perceived capable of assessing the values of these objects and places as their disciplinary conventions allow, which are then, in turn, monetized within CRM with the basis of those values complimenting the efforts needed to harvest those objects and places.

Archaeological systems of classification and typology (Culture History) are the scales against which artifacts and places are valuated; in other words, the capacity of objects and sites/locales to contribute meaningfully (potentially or realized) to archaeological knowledge and constructions of the past. Regional and temporal ubiquity or rarity, and the abundance of objects at particular places, contribute to impressions of value. Isolated finds, culturally-modified trees, cache pits, temporary camps, domestic residences, village sites, quarries and industrial complexes are all site types whose interpretive values are deemed relative to their regional and temporal proclivities, and abundance of objects present at these locales. These often regional systems of evaluation and classification were developed over more than a century of near exclusive archaeological oversight of the material past in Canada. In the last few decades, that formal oversight has been challenged by new/old systems of symbolic valuation of things and places by Indigenous communities and individuals, as well as by the development sectors that pay for the harvest of these objects found within development properties.

While Objectified Capital, as characterized here, refers to the symbolic values of things and places, it is important to recognize that under some circumstances and by other participants in engagement Objectified Capital could also encompass dimensions of Embodied and/or Collective Capitals.

7.3.1 Objectified Capital – Analysis

Objectified Capital was one of the least featured Capital or Condition identified in data over the course of this research. This is likely less an avoidance of the topic by respondents, and more a reflection that these values are so embedded within the archaeological habitus that they are beneath awareness and an assumed universal, one that certainly is also encompassed in regulatory regimes (e.g., Dent 2012; Ferris and Welch 2014; Williamson 2010). In all, 106 of 512 examples collected from the CAA Newsletters were coded for any kind of reference to Objectified Capital as part of the engagement process, explicitly relating to the interactions between archaeologists and Indigenous individuals. These examples covered a broad spectrum of Objectified Capital evaluations, acquisitions, even destructions as part of the engagement process.

The identification of particular places and artifacts, their uses and purposes, was particularly common (33%: 35 of 106), as exemplified by these selected examples:

Venn Passage, 1972: The chief "related to us several stories about rock carving and the tools that were used" (CAA Newsletter 1972: 104).

Southern Lakes Area – Tagish, 1983: "Sheep hunting blinds… were located with the assistance of a local Tagish resident" (CAA Newsletter 1984: 2)

Gupuk, 1988: Elders from Tuktoyaktuk "taught about traditional Inuvialuit activities and helped to identify artifacts" (CAA Newsletter 1989: 22).

Southern Saskatchewan Boreal Survey, 1994: "Elders and other knowledgeable informants provided the necessary information regarding each plant, including the Cree name and traditional use." (CAA Newsletter 1995: 26)

Thomsen River, Banks Island, 1995: "Elders Committee confirmed identifications of artifacts, provided Inuvialuktun terms for features and artifacts and provided other useful information" (CAA Newsletter 1996: 11).

Infusions of Objectified Capital in the form of knowledge onto the landscape through interpretive signage and parks also were flagged during my review (*Metlakatla Museum Displays*, 1972; *Fort Qu'Appelle burial ground*, 1985; *Arviaq*, 1993; *Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature*, 1997; *Cedar Lake*, 2000-2001, *Below Forks Site*, 2001). Books (*Fish Lake*, 1993), audio/visual recordings (*Itimnik, Lower Kazan River*, 1994; *Arvia'juag National Historic Site*, 1997; *Northern Yukon Caribou Fence*, 2005) and reproductions (*Ikaahuk Archaeology Project*, 2013) also emerged as Objectified Capital products – in effect the outcomes of engagement.

One example reflects a more confrontational interaction and contestation of Objectified Capitals. This interaction occurred in 1973 at Luxie Cove in Nova Scotia. Excavation at the site "halted at an early stage due to vandalism by a militant band of Micmac Indians" (CAA Newsletter 1973: 152). They pulled up stakes and the gridline, filled in excavations and felled trees on the site on which they placed no trespassing signs as part of a coordinated protest. While informal archaeological oral histories speak to many more instances of such contestation,[63] these instances are rarely reported or otherwise portrayed as routine undertakings and results of engagement.

I should also mention that, based on my review, 15% of Objectified Capital interactions involved human remains. I want to reinforce the point that, although presented here under Objectified Capital, in my mind human remains, more so than probably most other examples of presumed “archaeological material,” are highly problematic within uncontested archaeological notions that assert these remains are objects having knowledge value. Certainly human remains perennially serve as focal points for the dissonance between archaeological and Indigenous community worldviews, especially as

---

[63] Prominent examples of note include the Oka dispute over a burial ground and golf course development, protests over unrecognized burial grounds in the Ipperwash Provincial Park and in particular the findings of a CRM report that there were no archaeological sites of significance present in the park, or the Caledonia protest that included accusations that the CRM archaeologist and developer had destroyed archaeological sites, poorly recovered artifacts from archaeological sites, and destroyed several thousand burials (e.g., Ferris and Welch 2014, 2015).

these discoveries have tended, conventionally, to be the instigator of engagement, and in some jurisdictions in Canada, the only reason for such an engagement to occur. Not surprisingly, then, CAA Newsletter examples tend to represent both fractious and cohesive approaches to human remains over the last 40 years or more:

Hesquiat Cultural Committee, 1973: Archaeologist was “given the opportunity to assist” in a burial removal and salvage project (CAA Newsletter 1973: 126).

Fort Qu'Appelle burial ground, 1986: In conjunction with the provincial government, the Qu’Appelle community purchased the land to keep the site intact. Individuals previously removed were reburied (CAA Newsletter 1987: 25).

High Falls Burial Salvage Project, 1992: Archaeologist "… agreed to investigate only with the support and involvement of Poplar Point band members. This involved the employment of Band members as field workers, and ritual intervention by Elders when skeletal remains were encountered." One individual was located and "reinterred within 3 days of recovery." The archaeologist describes the political and legal wrangling over the site and the twisting of the archaeological data by opposing lawyers (CAA Newsletter 1993: 15).

Gabriola Island burial cave complex, 1989 and 1992: "From the outset, the Nanaimo Indian Band has been involved with DgRw 199 and the efforts to conserve the site. Neither of the research efforts would have been possible without the Band's concurrence, in-field support, and continued interest in the scientific approach to the study of the past" (CAA Newsletter 1993: 29).

Fort Rodd Hill, 1997: "A reburial ceremony was arranged with the Songhees Band… The Songhees directed placement of reinternment of human remains recovered during various times from archaeological sites on the Fort Rodd Hill grounds" (CAA Newsletter 1998: 26).

Overall, the CAA Newsletter survey marked a relatively small but strong set of examples of Objectified Capital pertaining to engagement.

Turning to the Questionnaire responses, there also proved to be few references that could be coded for this particular element of engagement. Only one question (Question 7) even approached a level of response comparable to other coded references:

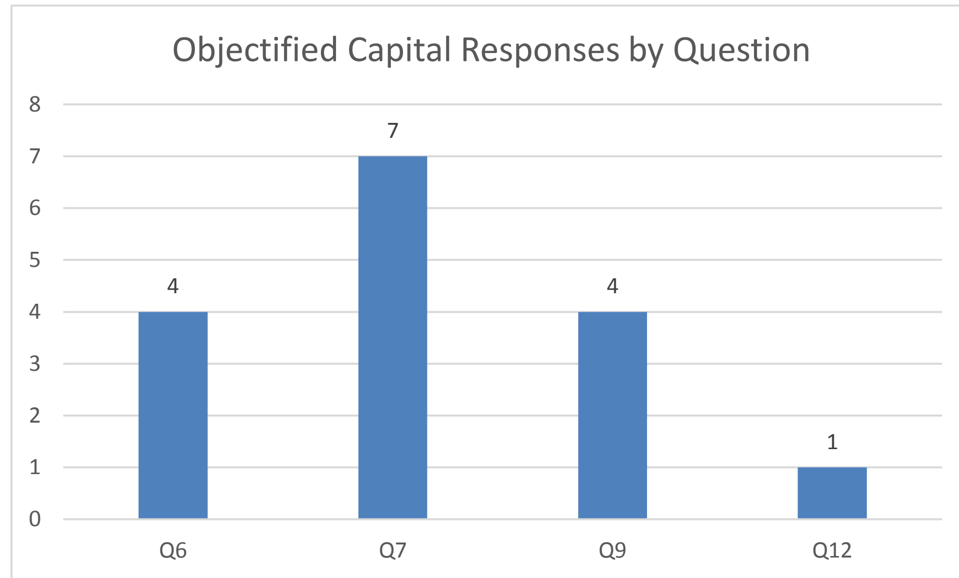


Figure 7.13: Objectified Capital responses by open-ended survey question

Objectified Capital's now established pattern of relative underrepresentation continued in the interviews:

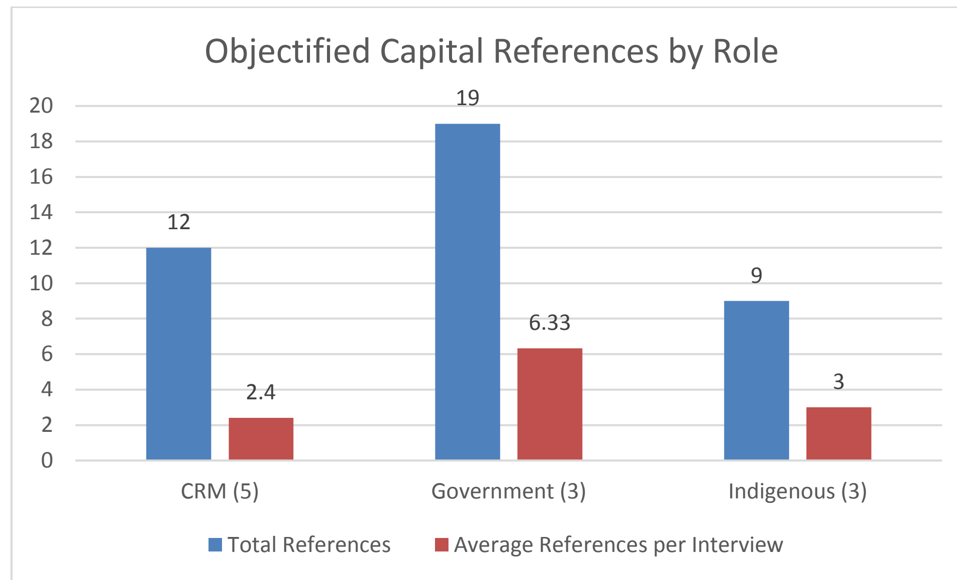


Figure 7.14: Interviews - Objectified Capital references by role

7.3.2 Objectified Capital – Interpretation

> Initially people are pretty underwhelmed by the little stone chips or whatever you dig up. The actual material of archaeology it's not all that inspiring (laughter). It's a little hard to tell a good story, but I think you know now because over the years we have had lots of students work with us and some of them come back 20 years, 25 years later saying "you know I didn't like it at the time but that project we did with you that was really good it made me think about our culture and where we come from." I think there may be a delayed effect… What you are doing is you are getting them on the land, right? You know you are getting them to kind of see these places and hear the stories. I think they do value it because it is that sense of everybody up here talks about sense of place a sense of where you come from so I think the archaeology really resonates on that level and gets you back to these old places.
>
> Interviewee: 011321

Archaeology, as a science/discipline/profession/hobby, revolves around the material, tangible past. Methodologically, analytically, epistemologically, archaeologists believe that objects/artifacts, features, and places/sites deserve more than just passive scrutiny –

these literally are the stuff of archaeology. That active, rigorous and systematic analysis of the archaeological record reveals the value of sites and materials. Essentially, archaeology could be construed as the disciplinary paragon of Objectified Cultural Capital. Preservation of this archaeological Capital in the face of existential threats is the nascent philosophy behind CRM (Byrne 1977; Charlton 1976; Schiffer and Gumerman 1977). Cultural resource management also massively increased the Objectified Capital of archaeology through the imposition of legislative requirements that literally monetize archaeological methodologies and conceptions of value for the things and places of archaeology. The resulting scale of this preservation, however, also calls into question exclusively archaeologically-defined values of the material past, since these are now imposed by the State on society broadly, and, increasingly, create an Indigenous community engagement in the CRM process that complicates archaeological Objectified Capital with Indigenous heritage Objectified Capital onto the same material record.

This rise of archaeological engagement with Indigenous communities in CRM practice has increasingly contested archaeology-only concepts of value around the things and places of archaeology, and has fed into a redefining, or at least broadening, of what those values are. Inherent to this ongoing, recursive process of valuation of the archaeological record is a discontinuance of exclusive archaeological authority as manifested in the use and control of archaeological materials:

> I think a lot of this comes back to fundamental ideas around what the value of heritage resources are. That they're not just of value for themselves, they're of value because of their cultural and historical and heritage significance. I think this improved community engagement, whether it's with First Nations or with other communities, gets to the core of what heritage management should be about. That the whole purpose of preserving these resources is because people think they're important and if people think they're important we should probably be telling them about [these resources].
>
> Interviewee: 021124

With this ongoing revision to object/place values in mind, I characterize Objectified Capital pertaining to archaeological engagement with Indigenous communities in two

ways. The first considers the artifacts, features and places constituting the archaeological record and the variable access to this record facilitated through the reports, signage, exhibits, parks and other forms of knowledge mobilization arising from the archaeological process. The second qualifies Objectified Capital within the value-laden practice of CRM. How archaeological, Indigenous and developer-infused Objectified Capitals interact through and because of engagement.

7.3.2.1 Objectified Capitals of the Archaeological Record and its Representation

Bits of stone, fired clay, stains on the earth, tree scars, hillocks, hummocks and holes, without the requisite knowledge that is pretty much all the archaeological record in Canada is. This knowledge is also not exclusive to archaeology. Many people would recognize a projectile-point if they were to come across one. A popular culture infused with certain material tropes ensures at least a superficial recognition of some artifact or site types: the teepees, tomahawks and totem poles of a ubiquitous, monolithic, Native American culture featured in Western culture (Anderson and Robertson 2011; Francis 1992[2011]; Diamond 2009).

A more nuanced, non-archaeological knowledge of the past is maintained along the continuum of oral narrative, traditional knowledge, memory, and contemporary present to varying degrees in Indigenous communities across Canada. The Objectified Capital of culturally active artifacts and places is accessible to non-archaeologists, while not fitting within solely archaeological definitions of value.

In other circumstances archaeology does have a potential contribution to make to communities, particularly in cases where the culturally-relevant continuum of Objectified Capital with regards to certain artifacts or places has been broken or severed:

> The Tłı̨chǫ said that they never used stone tools for example. Their oral traditions said that they only made bone tools. While working with Harry Simpson, he would be excavating a test pit some place he directed me to because the place name was associated with a past event and out would pop a stone tool; that happened dozens of times; it got him thinking. As a result, the Tłı̨chǫ have

> changed their worldview now and now recognize the use of stone tools: “oh yeah we made those.”
>
> Tom Andrews, Interview

> There are names associated with quarries or places where people gathered rock to make stone tools and that knowledge is gone, but it’s still captured in those place names.
>
> Ingrid Kritsch, Round Table

It is this use of archaeological knowledge past archaeology resulting from Indigenous engagement that amplifies the value of the archaeological record beyond archaeologists.

The process of the identification, recovery, cataloguing and reporting of archaeological materials remains exclusively within archaeology, and within commercial CRM, reinforced through government-articulated archaeological standards of practice. The analysis of cultural resources is simply the means of valuating and assigning archaeological Objectified Capital. The domain of archaeological materials and places is a professional one, not because these places and materials are inherently archaeological but because they are “made” archaeological through the various mechanisms (regulation, professionalism, orthodoxy etc.) that assign responsibility to archaeologists.

More broadly, archaeology has in the past several decades developed threads of practice related to the dissemination of archaeological knowledge and practice beyond the discipline. Public archaeology, community archaeology, Indigenous archaeology and applied archaeology all operate with the understanding that an exclusive archaeological domain of the past is unsustainable for the discipline (e.g., Atalay 2012; Ferris and Welch 2014; Jamieson 1997; Silliman 2008. See also Binnema and Neylan 2007). In these conceptions of practice, it is in the inclusion of and presentation of knowledge to non-archaeologists that archaeological materials and practices can be made meaningful

(McManamon 1991; Shackel and Chambers 2004). In other words, the archaeological process alone suspends archaeological materials and reporting within an Objectified Capital exclusively accessible to archaeologists. In making these processes, material and documentation accessible to non-archaeologists, they become resources from which anyone can draw value from. The defining characteristic is accessibility.

Missed opportunities with respect to accessibility are not lost on CRM practitioners:

> I think we could get a lot more out of it I think everybody could through better engagement and education. I think the current model especially in Alberta, just how it got to doing the work, sending in the report to the government and a box of rocks to the museum, I don't think we are getting a lot of value out of the system as a whole. I think it goes back to the original purpose of the Historic Resources Act which was **to preserve and to understand and communicate** [emphasis mine] historic resources. I think we need to work on those other components of it. That's where the potential value can come in to the proponents as well in terms of demonstrating their contribution to the preservation and to their corporate responsibility, that sort of thing.
>
> Interviewee: 021124

Preservation, understanding and communication: of these three CRM archaeology has done a fairly consistent job of the first two, but largely failed in terms of communicating beyond archaeology in ways accessible to non-archaeologists. An exception to this general pattern is found in the North. The publication of non-technical books, reports and pamphlets in all three Territories are integral parts of the archaeological Indigenous engagement process.

Nunavut, as first described in Chapter 3, requires archaeological permit holders to "write and submit to the Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth a non-technical summary for use in public education programs…" (Stenton 2003: 6). Tom Andrews also described a similar practice in the Northwest Territories:

> At the end of the field season archaeologists are required to submit a non-technical report. But we also ask them to put that plain language summary right into their permit application. We use to publish the non-technical reports on an

> annual basis but no longer have funding for this. Instead we post them annually on our website.

The Yukon Government published dozens of booklets, papers and other materials related to archaeology.[64] Many of these include contributions from and were developed in collaboration with Yukon First Nations (Charlie and Clark 2003; Dobrowolsky and Hammer 2001; Gotthardt 1992; Gotthardt et al. 2000; Hammer and Hare 1999; Hammer and Thomas 2006; Hare 2011; Hare and Gotthardt 1996; Hare and Grier 1994). These Northern examples represent the potential of archaeology, CRM in particular, to provide valued-added products and services not only to the public in general but as part and parcel of the Indigenous engagement process. In doing so, CRM would also confront and overcome a consistent criticism of the products of practice as remaining inaccessible and of little use to anyone (Della Valle 2004; Hamilton 2010; Ferris and Welch 2014).

Inherent to this realization is that limited participatory engagement alone does equate with a wider means of making expert archaeological knowledge accessible. For example, the Indigenous field assistant/monitor role tends to be framed in survey and interview responses as an imperfect, generally symbolic, means of distributing information to an entire community, and situating the community at the point of archaeological harvest. Much of the underlying frustration expressed by interviewees with respect to this form of engagement can be attributed to the absence of any meaningful knowledge filtering back to the communities; the resulting CRM report is not enough. What is missing in these circumstances is an Objectified Capital medium capable of conveying this information. The archaeological materials remain with the archaeologist, the site itself in CRM is often destroyed (or avoided), the data gathered either unavailable or made inaccessible through the impenetrable language of archaeology and a government-mandated technical report. This is what makes the required non-technical reports produced by CRM companies in

---

[64] http://www.tc.gov.yk.ca/publications_listing.html, accessed April 8, 2016.

the Territories potentially so meaningful. They represent an accessible "artifact" of the archaeological project and a realization of the potential of archaeology's unconventional value, and reveal at least one way the archaeological enterprise can be translated into heritage of meaning for communities.

7.3.2.2 Objectified Capitals of the Engagement Process in CRM

Cultural resource management operates both as a means of establishing and defining archaeological values, and as a means of negotiating and accounting for non-archaeological values as manifested by contact with the material past. Engagement within CRM projects Indigenous Objectified Capitals into this accounting in variable ways depending on Engagement Conditions.

Indigenous means of knowing the ancient and recent past operate beyond the material past archaeologists focus on, but do connect or contest that archaeological past, and so can complement and be complemented by archaeologists in engagement relationships. These means can also transcend archaeological preoccupations with the fixedness of materiality and physical evidence in place with accounts of activities (past and present) at and across places that might not easily fit the conventional definition of an archaeological site (i.e., no material evidence):

> …we're actually looking at our cultural heritage values on the land that are being affected but they're not protected under the Heritage Conservation Act. They are outside of that and they could be, like you know a spiritual area. It's a sacred place where people are coming into rites of passage for puberty or something like that, and maybe our medicine men altar up there in the mountains, whatever. There's like a huge list of the cultural heritage sites and they are not protected because they are not archaeological sites per se. They don't qualify as archaeological sites because they are not pre-1846 because we are First Nations and we're still using the land but it's only the old stuff that is protected not what we're doing out on the land today.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

> I was telling [a contemporary forager]… the fact that you're using this land this way, your family land all the time, they go back every year to do "sugarbush"

> [maple syrup tapping] they call it… I tell him it's important that you do this and that you document it and if nothing else just tell the band office, your research office, that you're doing this and that you're still doing it because this connects you [to a continuum of land use].
>
> Carolyn King, Round Table

Although not widely referred to in the interviews, the material past as possess-able and accessible are also of consequence to Indigenous valuations of that material. Carrie Dan's pride with respect to the Secwepemc Museum was not simply a product of the Museum programmes she was lauding, but of the ability of her First Nation to retain, study and govern access to this material heritage. In other words, the material past has meaning and value notwithstanding any potential or realized archaeological ascription.

Engagement thus serves as a space where these meanings and values (Indigenous Objectified Capitals) can be negotiated relative to other values (archaeological, development, financial cost, etc.). Indigenous-accessed Objectified Capital of the material past can exist without archaeological interpretation. This is most certainly the case where there is a continuum of use and/or identification:

> [Haida artist April Churchill] came to my son's kindergarten class and we all went bark stripping, cedar bark stripping, a few weeks ago. Which was incredible and from my perspective it was great listening to her say "well you want to strip the CMT" she wasn't calling them CMTs [culturally-modified trees]… And then there's me in the back of my mind thinking "do these trees count as CMTs now?"
>
> Jo Brunsden, Interview

Both Indigenous and archaeological means of characterizing the material past represent the mechanisms through which the Objectified Capital of those materials is valuated and distributed within the forum of engagement. The efficacy of these means is highly dependent on Engagement Conditions. The previous quote from Carrie Dan highlights one of the effects of the Regulation Condition in British Columbia in failing to protect

non-archaeological heritage and contemporary traditional-use sites, or rather, because it is premised in archaeological-centric notions of Objectified Capital, why this heritage legislation, like most in Canada, is deficient in speaking to non-archaeological heritage values in the archaeological record. The ability for the Kamloops office to undertake accommodations towards the protection of non-archaeological sites also reflects the Indigenous Community Capacity Condition:

> Yeah we don't tell people that this [survey of sacred sites] is for our own internal use. And then we actually do an office review in-house of what I have in that area, a lot of it's just up here (points to head) because I have been doing this for 20 years. So I know our territory, I know what's out there and what we have documented as well but I look at the trapline maps, I will look at our oral histories, you know written interviews that we've done with Elders over the years you know just see what's out there.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

Thinking about the material past in terms of varied Objectified Capitals invites the framing of *who* defines that capital value of objects and sites and *how* they do so. It amplifies a dichotomy already present between cultural and scientific value while also bridging them, and challenges preconceptions of both. Archaeologists already wrestle with this dichotomy:

> It's really hard because I have a nerdy scientific value that I place on, personally place on, various archaeological things. To me a shell midden is far more scientifically valuable than a CMT but that's not the position taken by the CHN [Council of the Haida Nation] necessarily, they think everything is valuable. But to the extent of like "well there's a CMT, there it's coming down, it's all rot, do you want to do something about it?" "Nope leave it, it is important. Nobody touches it". Okay it is totally right that we respect that, but there seems to be some, I guess there's high cultural values and everything, but scientific value seems to be… Yeah… Not acknowledged for me.
>
> Jo Brunsden, Interview

Considering the negotiation of differing values or Objectified Capitals within engagement also begs the question, who is CRM archaeology for? Is it a professional form of hoarding to service a future archaeological research imperative? Is it an expression of orthodox Western conventions that all knowledge is useful and therefore should be recorded on behalf of all people? Is it a function of contemporary society: a means and space to mitigate the contested material heritage values present on a parcel of land scheduled to be harvested or converted into a development project? Is it evolving through the engagement process to co-opt Indigenous communities into the development process? Is CRM archaeology merely a means of translating archaeological knowledge and expertise into income and livelihood for those who harvest that record, archaeologist and Indigenous participant alike, or something more? Not surprisingly, no research participant came close to inferring that archaeology, for whatever reasons, was a useless exercise, and tended to express an importance to the archaeological record, if not all archaeology, in terms of value to their role in engagement, and their communities (Indigenous, archaeological, government), they represented. Essentially, archaeology's continued existence and the need for CRM is beyond question and, in the context of this research, critiques of practice and of engagement within that practice were framed as "the discipline can improve," or contribute to strengthening or expanding Indigenous input and control over the stewardship of the archaeological-based knowledge values these sites and things contain:

> I think it brings the communities together if more people know about their heritage and the archaeology part, people are more prone to take care of it as well. Because there's still a lot of people who are collecting, you know? I was just talking on reserve a couple weeks ago, I met a guy who told me he found a cache of scrapers and he took it home but yet he does arch work. And so I was like "why didn't you call me? I would've come and we could've mapped together" right? Instead of now it's out of context so… I think it's important if we can teach people about what we do and what to see and maybe those monitors can start recording sites themselves and bring that information back to the band and then they understand what we're doing in the field as well. So that it's not like well, some people think that "you guys are in the pocket of oil and gas" but my job is to make sure the resource is protected as best as I can and if they can see that it does help us in the long run too.
>
> Interviewee: 011121

> So yeah, [collectors] just get really scared but once you start talking to them, people are just like "well you know what I have this collection", and I'm like yeah. So they share collections with me and we've actually got lots of collections back like that because I said "when you no longer want it, like it's illegal to sell it, blah blah blah, but it is important to us it is our culture would you think about depositing it back with us at the Secwepemc Museum here?" And yeah we get lots back every year… we'll actually put newspaper ads in the paper just once a year saying you know what this is what we would like to happen that we want our stuff back, give me a call. We can put your name on it, we can put your grandpa's name on it, we just want it back and you're not gonna be charged or anything.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

> Once you take it [an artifact] away from that spot it's nothing, it's not in situ, I can get no information from it other than it's a pretty artifact but still we do some magnificent displays down there and we use those collections going around to schools. We have a cultural educator in our museum who takes those artifacts on tour. Goes around and shows them to kids in our school system.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

These quotes emphasize that there is a difference between the Objectified Capital created solely through the archaeological process of knowledge generation, and the Objectified Capital of these objects beyond archaeology itself and held by participants from Indigenous communities. In effect, artifacts undiscovered and sites unknown have no Objectified Capital realized, and are no more than concentrations of bits of stone, fired clay, bone and other things – or the absence of such concentrations – like any other. In other words, the Objectified Capital of the creators is lost and remains latent in the present.

Once realized as artifacts and locations a range of new Objectified Capitals are infused in these objects, along with some reworked concept of the creator's Objectified Capital (i.e., the person, the people, the time). The archaeological process infuses information and knowledge into and about those objects and sites that archaeologists realize through their interpretation and expertise in pronouncing these things as "significant" as they relate to

archaeological understandings of the past. However, those Capitals are lessened or lost if artifacts are removed from their deposited contexts by collectors or otherwise without regard for the archaeological process. These objects are regarded as having little value to archaeology which is reflected in the dismissal of "disturbed contexts" from CRM mitigation efforts and costs. The process of CRM is therefore intended to mitigate this value loss as a result of development while still enabling development to proceed. This process accounts for developer Objectified Capitals in that archaeological materials present in a proposed development locale are valuated and monetized in the pursuit of a realized development project. Archaeologists, by virtue of State statute, define that monetization using State-imposed criteria, expert assessment, and the idiosyncrasies of a competitive bidding process. Developers continually balance the costs associated with CRM (alongside a host of other regulatory processes) with their Capital (Economic and possibly Objectified) projections for a specific project. The incorporation of Indigenous Objectified Capitals alongside those of the developer and the archaeologist creates whole new sets of interactions between these value sets.

Engagement's formal extension of Indigenous Objectified Capitals within CRM can only go as far as the conventions of archaeological practice allow. Representing the value of heritage as residing in both things and places is one obvious way Indigenous and archaeological Objectified Capitals overlap. Another way these Capitals intersect is that the information produced during the CRM process can be of relevance to both archaeologists and Indigenous communities. In some contexts, the archaeologically-defined outcomes of site excavation or protection, as opposed to developer-led destruction, may also align with values Indigenous communities have with respect to addressing threatened heritage sites, though these values might misalign over whether or not excavation is preferable to protection. However, these CRM outcomes are often defined by development and regulatory processes rather than an amicable negotiation between archaeological and Indigenous values. This creates a dissonance when Indigenous Objectified Capitals persist in development contexts where archaeological Objectified Capitals do not; for example, on contemporary traditional use sites or on a locale which features in oral history but has no archaeological evidence. The variably

ascribed values of particular sites, contexts and artifacts are framed from an archaeological baseline established by State guidelines and an archaeological discourse and narrative (Culture History). A departure from these strictures is required to address Indigenous Objectified Capitals when they are not consistent with archaeological Capitals.

State guidelines themselves can also curtail the extent to which Indigenous Objectified Capitals are capable of manifesting during engagement. For example, British Columbia's permit notification system requires foreknowledge of Indigenous Objectified Capitals (e.g., traditional use sites, sacred sites) in a particular region which, even if communicated, may not be addressed in the subsequent conservation process. Alternatively, heritage regulations in the North and human remains requirements such as those in Ontario accommodate Indigenous Objectified Capitals in more significant ways. In the former, traditional use sites, place names, and sites of historical, in addition to archaeological, significance are formally protected, while in the latter the disposition of human remains is subject to direct negotiation between the landowner and the relatives of the deceased.

When Objectified Capitals are dissonant and unresolved within regulatory processes, contested engagement in CRM becomes very tangibly about the material past, in that those materials become symbolic of that contestation. This contested engagement is clearly illustrated in the recently disputed case of Grace Islet, in British Columbia. The islet's owner intended to build a significant house on that small island despite the presence of archaeologically-confirmed Indigenous cairns thought to contain human remains. An avoidance strategy initially approved by the British Columbia government involved building the structure over the cairns without otherwise disturbing them. This strategy, according to the government and the homeowner, satisfied the provincial government's legislation-defined heritage concerns. It did not satisfy, however, the concerns of Indigenous peoples and even of many archaeologists. The resulting protests and their eventual resolution with the government purchasing the islet demonstrate the costly failure of developer and government Objectified Capital valuations of Grace Islet

in failing to adequately account for Indigenous Objectified Capitals. The archaeological (non-government) and Indigenous Objectified Capitals also generally aligned in this instance, each recognizing the importance of the cairns and the problems associated with the homebuilder's avoidance strategy. In all, the Grace Islet example illustrates that the spectrum of Objectified Capital capable of being represented in engagement is dynamic and nuanced.

The Grace Islet example also demonstrates how the presence, or the potential for Indigenous human remains shapes engagement and the consequences of decisions made in CRM. State requirements for addressing discoveries of human remains features prominently across Canada (Chapter 3), and emphasizes attempts to either prioritize Indigenous Objectified Capitals over archaeological or landowner values, or at least align heritage regulation and landowner rights with Indigenous Objectified Capitals in order to avoid future contestation. Indeed, the public attention these human remains-related contestations garner perhaps may speak to broader values held towards human remains within society. Notably these regulations do not necessarily reflect solely Indigenous Objectified Capitals since they afford Indigenous human remains – and consideration for the living who represent directly or generally the deceased – the same dignities as any other deceased individual, essentially reflecting a commonly-held Canadian Objectified Capital of respecting the deceased however expressed in a multicultural country.

Accounting for varying Objectified Capitals is a fundamental function of engagement, just as Indigenous participation in resolving CRM-discovered human remains or in the decision whether or not or how to excavate a site can be seen as engagement resulting from aligning Objectified Capitals. Arguably, engagement becomes more necessary to mutually acceptable heritage outcomes the more divergent the participating Objectified Capitals, up until the point when these divergent value sets are irreconcilable, ultimately leading to some form of State resolution, which can mediate differing values, favour one set over all others, or facilitate State proxies such as CRM archaeologists to undertake removal in the face of objections. Acknowledging and negotiating differing valuations and conceptualizations of the material past necessitates engagement to achieve a mutually

acceptable result and avoid arbitrary State-imposed resolutions, whereas if these values were consistent across society the result would likely remain the same with or without engagement. The variability between Objectified Capitals is particularly distinct because material past in Canada has symbolic, even functional, value beyond archaeological interpretation of those materials. This is especially so when the meaning and value Indigenous peoples realize in places and things is shared with archaeologists, providing insight into the interconnectedness of Indigenous material and social worlds.

7.4 Collective Capital

Collective Capital represents the socially mobilized and institutionally maintained sum of Cultural Capitals held by a group or perceived group of individuals. The State, the Indigenous community, the archaeological consulting firm, the academic institution all possess varying amounts of Collective Capital more or less capable of being wielded by agents and/or members of these collectives. Basically, Collective Capital is an aggregate form of Cultural Capital composed not only of an intermittently distinguishable Institutional Capital, but also the sum of associated Embodied and Objectified Capitals as well. I reference Collective Capital where power and knowledge are collectively wielded and maintained among and between individuals and transcend the idiosyncrasies of any one individual. For example, archaeological skills possessed by an individual are characterized as Embodied Capital, however the archaeological conventions and shared knowledges these skills reflect and draw their "expert" value from I consider Collective Capital. Traditional knowledge and oral histories operate within a similar Embodied/Objectified – Collective Capital dualism. These Collective Capitals are amplified when they are not only constructed and maintained collectively but when their deployment is defined in terms of a broader societal function. CRM's role as State proxy in heritage management and the roles of Elders in Indigenous societies reflect the Collective Capitals these roles are capable of wielding and reflecting in that broader setting. With respect to Indigenous engagement in CRM, I employed Collective Capital where these collectively held authorities and knowledges are consciously wielded or

conveyed in the interaction between Indigenous and archaeological roles. The archaeological field school teaching archaeological conventions to Inuit high school students, the elected council of a First Nation initiating archaeological research and even general senses of collaboration between and with collectives as opposed to with and between strictly individuals represent examples of Collective Capital as I characterize it.

Collective Capital provides a sense of the broader community/archaeology/State objectives and authority as negotiated and represented by individual proxies present at the instance of engagement. This speaks to the formally stated purpose of engagement in archaeology, and reflects (accurately or inaccurately) the broader duty of the State to Indigenous Nations to consult on decisions affecting Indigenous rights and interests. Essentially, then, while functionally engagement in archaeology occurs at the intersection of individuals, these individuals are represented/portrayed/presumed/conflated as collectives engaging with one another. These broader expectations shape the perceived roles within engagement that individuals step into and adopt as part of that performative process. The extent to which engagement participants perceive and realize their roles as avatars of wider collectives, or resist this conflation and focus on the individual-to-individual component of engagement, also reflects the degree to which Collective Capitals shape or fail to shape their respective agents.

7.4.1 Collective Capital – Analysis

With 343 examples, Collective Capital represents the most prevalent of the Cultural Capitals as I have characterized them in examples drawn from the CAA Newsletter. Collective Capital manifested in these engagement examples in a number of different ways.

First, in terms of formal Indigenous community consultation: oversight and/or instigation of archaeological research (22%: 76 of 343). This resulted from involvement by Indigenous community government individuals and organizations obviously situated

within a wider context of traditional knowledge preservation, professionalism and education:

Kekerton Island, 1984: Archaeological work supplemented by the "collection of narrative histories" (CAA Newsletter 1984: 11) instigated by Pangnirtung Tourism Committee. The field archaeological crew included 3 members from Pangnirtung.

Eastern James Bay Coast Survey, 1987: Survey "carried out at the request" of the community. Project included Elders interviews about the area's history. (CAA Newsletter 1988: 6)

Sheguianduh, 1990: "Local First Nations Band Councils have been consulted so that Native liaisons may coordinate public information and consultation meetings and record oral histories regarding regional sites. Native staff will also participate in the survey component of the study." (CAA Newsletter 1991: 5)

Graham Island, 1999: Project "subcontracted to the Council of Haida Nations to provide direction". A Haida archaeologist and Haida crew members participated. (CAA Newsletter 2000: 16)

Tseshaht Archaeological Project, 2001: Partially funded by the community and using local oral traditions. (CAA Newsletter 2002: 30)

The second way Collective Capital manifested in these examples was in the solicitation and provision of traditional knowledge and oral narratives/histories (34%: 116 of 343). These constitute examples of knowledge garnered from Indigenous institutional sources. Examples include:

Gupuk, 1988: Project "assisted by trainees" from the communities. Elders from Tuktoyaktuk "taught about traditional Inuvialuit activities and helped to identify artifacts". (CAA Newsletter 1989a: 22)

Shawak (Alaska) Highway, 1991: Interviews conducted with community Elders to "identify sites and localities of traditional and historic importance…". (CAA Newsletter 1992: 28)

Aksagajuktuq, 1998: A search for Norse shipwreck based on Elder accounts from 1942. (CAA Newsletter 1999: 14)

The third pattern of Collective Capital expression appeared as formal archaeological training and education conducted through community outreach, field schools and other forms of field training (22%: 75 of 343):

Isthmus Site, 1990: A "two-week course in archaeology" offered to grade 10 students at Attagutaaluk School" (CAA Newsletter 1991: 12)

Metis Heritage Inventory Project, 1993: A "pilot program designed to train Metis students about how to locate, record and evaluate Metis heritage sites". (CAA Newsletter 1994: 22)

The fourth and final form of Collective Capital takes the somewhat undefined form of explicitly "joint" and "collaborative" projects (27%: 91 of 343). These projects often occurred within a jurisdiction or with participants that display a consistent level of engagement beyond simple "participation" and "crew member" roles. The specific ways in which Collective Capital manifested in these joint/collaborative projects is inaccessible in these instances. It is unclear the extent to which community-directed knowledge influenced and Indigenous institutions and governments played a role in directing these projects. Despite this these projects are also designated as having Collective Capital by virtue of their explicit reference to Indigenous community partners presumably, based on the consistency mentioned above, at substantive levels of project management:

Aishihik Hydroelectric Facility, 1998: Project conducted "in cooperation with" the communities. (CAA 1998: 6)

Klondike City/Tro'juwech'in, 1999: A "joint project". (CAA 2000: 7)

Scowlitz Site Field School, 1999: “Collaboration” project. (CAA 2000: 13)

McIntyre Creek, 2010: "Community research project" conducted "with" the communities. (CAA 2012: 82)

The prevalence of Collective Capital examples continues in the survey responses with significant presence in answers to Question 7 and Question 9:

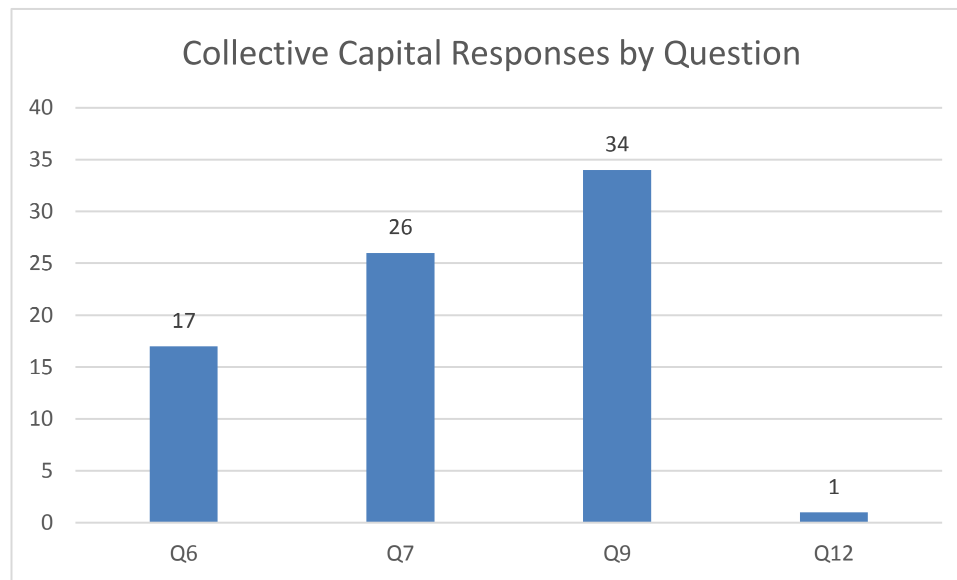


Figure 7.15: Collective Capital responses by open-ended survey question

A high number of Collective Capital references were identified within the interviews conducted for this research, with the three government interviewees demonstrating the highest average references per interview:

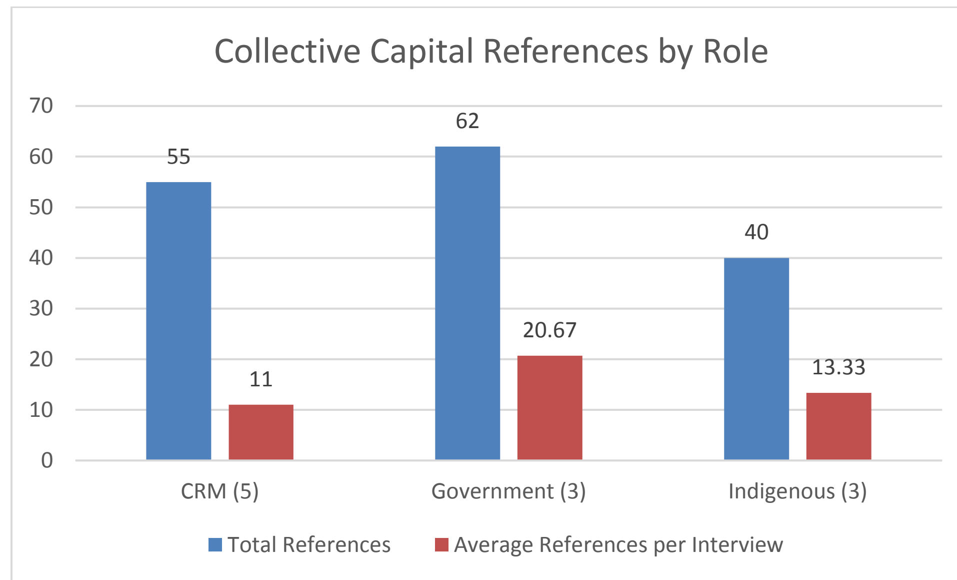


Figure 7.16: Interviews - Collective Capital references by role

The reason for this high degree of Collective Capital references, compared with the survey's distributions of Collective Capital according to role, is that Tom Andrews's interview (Government) featured the highest number of Collective Capital references (39). This high number is consistent with the themes of Elders, traditional land use, and community-oriented archaeological projects which featured in Tom's interview.

7.4.2 Collective Capital – Interpretation

Allusions to Collective Capital permeate the conversations surrounding Indigenous engagement in archaeology largely because a big part of engagement entails the interaction of social groups, however defined, for purposes related to a particular instance of engagement.

Archaeologists premise their professionalism in a common institutionalized and regulated practice. Collective Capital infuses activities derived from this institutional

professionalism, paralleling individual Embodied Capital accumulation derived from field and laboratory experiences. In other words, the Collective Capital value of archaeology is reinforced every time an archaeologist is recognized as an expert. This in turn reinforces the Embodied Capital of any one individual institutionally verified as an archaeologist.

Indigenous community participants/monitors, on the other hand, are usually designated agents of their community's interests. These individuals are the community's proxies in often contested spaces, avatars of varying competencies incorporating and relaying information back to the collective, and speaking and acting on the community's behalf where encouraged or driven to do so. However, these roles are not mutually exclusive. Non-Indigenous archaeologists can be Indigenous community representatives and Indigenous people can be archaeologists.

Collective Capitals are dependent on the particular roles of individuals in any given situation as opposed to being premised in any static concept of identity. The individual roles of designated agents, the Capitals they wield and accumulate, are not immutable. The following analysis and interpretation of Collective Capital is then premised on examining snapshots or echoes of moments in time. Individual instances of engagement are situated within expectations and experiences inevitably subjected to change in the next instance. They are representative of the roles and collectives with which people identify at that moment only.

7.4.2.1 Archaeological Collective Capital

> Yeah I mean if you go through saying "well I'm the one with the degree, I know all this knowledge and you don't know anything because you never went to university", I mean [First Nations] hate that. They have their own traditions they've passed down, they've got their own traditional knowledge and they've got a fairly good base of knowledge to work with. So if you go in being pretentious or anything they are not going to want to work with you for sure.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

Indigenous engagement in archaeology represents a contested space wherein varying conceptions exist as to the roles of individuals engaging. These conceptions are collectively understood, but translated through individuals into particular instances of engagement. Individuals can obfuscate, ignore, alter, emphasize, and enforce these collective conceptions of roles and to varying degrees adjust their roles as social agents for their respective communities. Some archaeologists, for instance, invoke and channel the science-like objectivity of their discipline as a Collective Capital to maintain a degree of detachment:

> I think it's important if we can teach people about what we do and what to see and maybe those monitors can start recording sites themselves and bring that information back to the band… then they understand what we're doing in the field as well so that it's not like, well, some people think that "you guys are in the pocket of oil and gas" but my job is to make sure the resource is protected as best as I can and if they can see that it does help us in the long run too… but you know archaeologists are neutral and I told chief and Council that all of the time "I am neutral, I'm here to protect the resource I'm not here to take sides".
>
> Interviewee: 011121

Indigenous community representatives can also adopt more detached stances. It can be questioned whether this dynamic emerges from the community itself or from new cohorts of agents acting on their behalf:

> Where before we did learn quite a bit about communities, now there's a very active effort by the First Nation heritage offices, who usually are White anthropology students, to keep that information as only First Nations controlled that they're not going to give you that information anymore.
>
> Interviewee: 011321

Both of these examples highlight the attempted maintenance of exclusive domains of Collective Capital. The archaeologist emphasizing neutrality and training in demarcating a perceived professionalism which implies an objectivity less susceptible to bias; the

trend of First Nations communities no longer having to demonstrate Collective Capital of traditional knowledge and land use to justify their involvement in heritage management.

CRM Archaeologists operate within a projected sense of impartial professionalism, institutionally and socially validated through academic measures. In other words, this so-called “neutral” (011121) responsibility to protect the archaeologically-defined past is not broadly understood to be simply a personal opinion. It is premised in the assertion of archaeology as science, and in the history of CRM as “rescue archaeology” (Apland 1993; Dent 2012; Ferris 2007; MacLeod 1975). It is reflected in the institutional imposition of methodological integrity, the vilification of “looters”, and the lamenting of “disturbed” contexts. This shared history of practice reinforces an exclusivity of professionalism distinguishable from, and, for some, superior to other ways of considering the material past:

> There’s an issue, I’ve seen it a lot with [Institution A] undergrads where it is that they are very open to the idea of aboriginal engagement but they still regard it as a one-sided process. They are going to teach the aboriginal people all about archaeology and sometimes they aren’t seeing it as a two-way process and I think one of the good potentials is as a two-way process.
>
> Interviewee: 011122

> Archaeologists who are convinced that their discipline is engaged in a project that is capable of contributing to a better understanding of the present world must be willing to support this conviction with determination. On the one hand, they cannot be intimidated by those who claim ethnically based special rights of access to archaeological materials, or special historical knowledge and abilities that are not available to those who practice science in the Western tradition. On the other hand, they must stand against those in the academic world who claim extreme forms of cultural relativism, equivocality among diverse approaches to knowledge, and the impossibility of relatively objective historical research.
>
> McGhee 2008: 595

These quotes emphasize that just as Indigenous participants are representatives of their communities, so too are archaeologists representative of their companies and their "community" of the broader profession of archaeology.

In engagement contexts, the perceived and the perceiver operate within unique constructs of self and society, dispositions/doxa, borne out of informal experiences and formal training. As with other disciplines (e.g., Farmers: Gonzales and Benito 2001; Nurses: Hoeve, Jansen and Rodbol 2014), archaeologists wrap themselves in the trappings of their profession (Dods 2010; Ferris and Welch 2014; Rowlands 1994). Embodied Capitals emerge from the conventions, networks of colleagues, and professional settings wherein an archaeologist lives and works. Training and professional philosophy, expressed by methodological, analytical or ethical means, become social borders whose porosity can include or exclude individuals not sharing a particular set of dispositions. A failure of consulting companies to appreciate all fieldworkers as social agents/proxies of the Collective Capital of both company and profession might explain some noteworthy examples of a professional devaluation:

> I think [CRM companies] could step up a little bit more and insist on our culture history at least being taught to [fieldworkers] before they come out. You know an overview of our culture, it's surprising how little they know when they get up here. I mean if I was going to go work in another area I would do a whole shitload of research. How do you go into an area blind without even knowing what you're looking for? I mean teach 'em some sense.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

> Why aren't they studying up on our area before they get here? Why as a field director or company owner, why would you have these people out there if they don't know the culture or if they are not familiar with even our materials and stuff? We do have a lot of materials in this area.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

> I know when I started as a field tech and they threw me in the field I had no experience, and no idea what I was looking for really. So I totally get that there might be people on the crew who just don't know but they need to be listening to the monitors who do.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

> A lot of times, a lot of times consultants have sent people out who are fresh out of university and don't know a thing so I have spent lots of hours with green archaeologists just training them how to line up a 1 x 1 m unit.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

Each of these examples devalues the Collective Capitals of archaeologists particular to those instances[65] because the field crews are seen as extensions of companies and institutions, and archaeology more generally, rather than as individual agents. The onus for a perceived lack of Embodied Capital is not placed on the field crew members but on the collectives they identify with, or more accurately, as perceived by others.

This devaluation is not exclusively an internal process by existing, more experienced commercial archaeologists, who at least are often in a position to commiserate, but more consequentially for engagement extends to Indigenous community members as well. Alternatively, perceived successes are largely attributed to individuals and are premised in first hand experiences of academic, CRM and government archaeologists such as George Nicholas and others who maintain a connection with Indigenous communities. The extension of the Collective Capital of archaeological professionalism conveyed through the interactions of these archaeologists – informally, or through training, education, contracted services, and engagement itself – provides Indigenous community members opportunities to interact and perceive their interactions with these individual

---

[65] The institutionalized capital of university degrees, in particular, tends to be devalued by CRM practitioners.

archaeologists positively. The success of George Nicholas in British Columbia running Indigenous field schools under the auspices of Simon Fraser University is a perfect example of the accumulation and expression of an individual archaeologist's Embodied Capital as perceived by Indigenous communities, regardless of their broader perception of the Collective Capital of archaeology:

> George, he really friended us here and it wasn't just with my community. Because different bands had different people that George has schooled. Not all of them made it through with their degrees but they are exceptional fieldworkers too right? It was definitely a really good thing. Before I started here I just used to contract to the band. And there was a fellow by the name of John Jules, the late John Jules, he has passed now, but this was his job and he was a student of George Nicholas as well. But yeah he created some pretty incredible educated Indians that are pretty powerful.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

It is worth noting that forty-four field schools, including field schools that ran over multiple seasons, and involving some form of Indigenous community involvement were listed in the CAA Newsletter. In all, 33 (75%) indicated Indigenous community members were students, including the Fort Selkirk Culture-History Project, the Grace Adam Metawewinihk Site, the Central Coast of Labrador Community Archaeology Program and the Igloolik Field School. Four of these 44 (9%) field schools were conducted by a CRM company, while the remaining 40 (91%) were conducted by institutions (government [5] or academic [35]). These 40 are just 15% of the 265 institutional (academic and government) projects involving Indigenous communities recorded in the CAA Newsletter.

Drawing from these wider archaeological Collective Capitals, cultural resource management has encultured its own Collective Capitals and engagement doxa. The university a CRM archaeologist studied at and the professors that person studied under become less relevant within the world of CRM than the companies that person works for and previously worked for, and the principal archaeologists of those companies that

person worked under. Each company, and their company principals, develops a reputation in the regions they work in and with the other CRM firms, developers and Indigenous communities they interact or do not interact with.

That CRM archaeology is perceived to exist in order to act as authorized agents to “manage” the threatened archaeological record establishes their Collective Capital in the conservation process, and to be part of the engagement process. Narratives of “rescue” and “salvage” archaeology, saving the past in the face of development, extend a heroic narrative to archaeology’s enshrining of disciplinary conventions in State regulatory structures (Dent 2012; MacLeod 1975; Noble 1977). The archaeologist as protagonist characterization is amplified by pop culture and news media representations of the discipline as positive and heroic. But the negotiation of these heroic narratives with the commercial directive for profit and satisfied clients shifts the narrative from one of a selfless hero to one of a mercenary, a “heritage hero for hire.” Notwithstanding that contradictory narrative unique to CRM, the particulars of Indigenous community and consulting company relationships tend to be drawn from a much tighter Collective Capital arising from the community’s direct experiences and shared opinions about particular companies, and even particular field crews from those companies. This smaller scale of Collective Capital is maintained, valuated and revised on an almost daily basis.[66]

7.4.2.2 Indigenous Collective Capital

The increasing valuation of an Indigenous form of Collective Capital in archaeology manifests in a variety of ways. The first manifestation can be attributed to a resurgent presence of Indigenous sovereignty and developing heritage resource co-management initiatives.

The trajectories of CRM governance in Canadian jurisdictions are increasingly towards more Indigenous involvement and oversight, though the degree to which that is occurring

---

[66] CRM field crews regularly work with the same communities for months at a time, returning each field season.

in any given jurisdiction at present is highly variable. What this amounts to is a growing set of Collective Capitals affecting heritage management. Operating as a proxy of the State, commercial archaeologists are contributing to a feedback loop whereby their presence as a State-actor enables heightened Collective Capital value to Indigenous communities when engagement occurs, especially when CRM archaeologists support, or at least accede to Indigenous community interests that far exceed anything the State directly accommodates in the development process more generally. This archaeological support can also be solicited or extracted during the engagement process by Indigenous participants with the necessary Capitals and under the certain Engagement Conditions (e.g. sufficient Indigenous Capacity, longstanding relationships, etc.). This cycle feeds greater opportunity for asserting power by Indigenous communities as the archaeological process makes variably accessible the broader development processes, of which CRM is but a small part. This in turn starts to affect the regulatory structure as governments shift policies to better respond to the shifting power dynamic and Indigenous Collective Capital that has been established through participation in the development process through archaeology. This regulatory alteration facilitates even more engagement, continuing the cycle further. Essentially, Indigenous communities are increasingly able to assert themselves, and are recognized by the State, as stewards/managers/stakeholders of an archaeological heritage commonly characterized within engagement as their own. This could be portrayed as is the beginnings of an oversight shift in the domain of heritage management, one that could, at least in some parts of the country, go so far as to siphon exclusive authority from archaeologists and provincial/territorial governments to Indigenous nations and collectives, or at least some realigned balance of power between all three. However, as long as heritage remains a provincial/territorial responsibility the idiosyncrasies of individual jurisdictions will determine to what extent this shift continues or if it ever begins at all.

Where it is happening (the North, British Columbia, increasingly Ontario) this shift has implications for the status quo of heritage management, as responsibilities previously held by one group may increasingly transit to another:

> I'm really hoping that the Arch Branch is going to have a change because they have all new young people in there now and all of the old people who are old-school that were in there forever, they didn't ever change anything so it didn't work very well. For our community and others neighboring there was even a talk, and uproar that we wouldn't even get permits…that we would just do the arch work ourselves… (J: Cut them out). Cut them out because why should they be telling us what we're doing with our cultural heritage and with our artifacts? We have our own repository here at the Secwepemc Museum right here on our reserve.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

The processes and roles within engagement can also be subjected to change:

> So now our goal is that when we are contacted by the developer they do their consultation that we say "okay one of the things we ask from you is that our field liaison representatives are involved throughout the entire process". That they are involved in the environmental assessment process, they go out on the surveys alongside whichever consulting firm you might hire to do that. They are involved in the archaeological process they go out alongside the archaeologists to do that work, and they are involved with the construction process monitoring impacts to archaeology if there's materials left in the ground, the environment that sort of thing.
>
> Interviewee: 011221

Potential also emerges for government initiatives to be critically assessed and modified through incorporation of the practical experiences of Indigenous community members. Take, for example, the British Columbia Resources Information Standards Committee (RISC) Archaeological and CMT Training Course, a five-day certification for heritage resource professionals and First Nations participants. Several interviews indicated that versions of the course were insufficient relative to First Nations conceptions of what archaeological field work should entail:

> the government has this silly little program called the resource something. RISC. It's dumb they have got West Coast stuff here [Kamloops] that, who cares. These people that are here in our community, when you are teaching in a First Nations

> community that course there's got to be stuff that is relevant for communities. We don't care about what's going on [in the Coast].
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

> I found that RISC didn't really give them a lot of background looking at the different types of materials that we use so I would actually bring in materials and show people this is what fired chert looks like because it looks like… Little things just to help them get more comfortable and make sure that they were not missing anything that could possibly end up in the back dirt… I think they have to keep in mind that the RISC course doesn't make you an archaeologist and you do get a lot of First Nations people calling themselves archaeologists which is you know… you take it with a grain of salt or whatever.
>
> Interviewee: 011223

As Indigenous communities become more involved in the creation, consultation and management of heritage governance initiatives there arises opportunities for innovation premised in on-the-ground and relativist perspectives less beholden to a removed, centralized authority or exclusively to archaeologist-centric conceptions of practice. Recent success with and advocacy for Indigenous heritage stewardship models all emphasize the need for mainstreaming and formalizing Indigenous epistemology (Budhwa 2005; De Paoli 1999; Hammond 2009, Klassen et al. 2009; Nicholas 2010a; Phillips 2010; Wobst 2005).

Another form of Indigenous Collective Capital emerges in instances around the mobilization of collectively-held knowledge about the past. By collectively-held I am referring to traditional knowledge, oral histories and other Indigenous means of knowing the past, material and otherwise. In instances of these Indigenous Collective Capitals being integrated with archaeology, engagement demonstrates the effectiveness of being able to deploy both simultaneously:

> And [engagement is] beneficial to me because I will get more information out of it. Just an example of that is out here on the highway to Pritchard. We are four-laning it and I started that project back in 2006 and it's still going but we've hit

> various sets of human remains. In one of the permits that I had there I wanted a monitor on all of these sites as they went through them and where they thought that nothing would ever be found. Below a paleosol level we found an 8800-year-old black bear that would've never been found before. We were able to excavate it in situ and get the DNA analysis and the radiocarbon dates done. That's supercool information but if I hadn't read that permit and made those comments and wanted extra testing and monitors on that site… it wouldn't have happened.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

Just as archaeological training infuses Indigenous communities with discipline-derived Capital, so too do the methodologies of archaeological analysis facilitate expert knowledge mobilization by and on behalf of Indigenous communities. Certainly the space of engagement provides the potential for archaeologically-realized value for communities in the form of that data translated to Collective Capitals. Sufficient Indigenous community capacity and embodied knowledge are however essential in this translation. Without these elements data-capital translation does not happen and we are left with archaeologists convinced of the inherent value of their data simply by passing it along to disinterested communities that somehow would consume that information untranslated from archaeological jargon. The reverse flow, data from Indigenous sources to archaeologists, occurs under somewhat different circumstances.

This relevance of Indigenous traditional knowledge to shaping robust archaeology is particularly strong in the North, where the continuum between past and present materialisms and land-use is still largely intact. Tom Andrews describes this continuum and the tradition of archaeological engagement in the Northwest Territories best in this exchange:

> Tom: We have all of these things that require [engagement] but really all of those things have been based on a practice that has been around for a long time; since this museum opened in 1979. Bob Janes, our founding director, broke ground; as a result, there's a long tradition of collaboration in this institution. Bob worked collaboratively with the community called Willow Lake and wrote beautiful long papers and books all based on going into people's yards and excavating their teepee while they helped so that he could have a better understanding what he was

> finding out on the land. So going right into the community and asking, "Can I excavate that? Will you help me?" Kind of like Millie's Camp experiment that Bonnichsen (1973) undertook years ago. That was ground-breaking: where an archaeologist would go into Millie's Camp without her, interpreting everything as an archaeologist and then asking Millie "how did I do?"
>
> Josh: So this ethnoarchaeological tradition, appears because a lot of the ways of life that you are looking at in the archaeological record are still extant if not on the land immediately, at least in the memory, that there is a very direct and obvious connection there.
>
> Tom: Yes, and it made it kind of pointless to do it any other way, really. It just didn't make sense, although it was still done in some places. Imagine being an archaeologist here 40 or 50 years ago and with people, everybody living on the land then imagine the knowledge, imagine what we could do with our science knowledge now, then compare it with what we can do now where we are already starting to, people are starting to forget and lose those direct connections that would've been so much better then. So there's that long tradition and it really starts with our founding director Bob Janes and every other archaeologist…

This continuum of use and memory is not exclusive to the North. Traditional knowledge, traditional land-use and oral traditions are all still present in the South, although perhaps to more varying degrees between different communities than in the North:

> We get the message today, because we're not doing [traditional medicine], "don't eat the plants, don't eat the berries" because you don't know what they do now.
>
> Carolyn King, Round Table

The participation of Elders, for example, in archaeological projects is a good indicator of the presence of Indigenous Collective Capitals as these Elders are an embodiment of sustained cultural knowledge within Indigenous epistemologies. The archaeological projects recorded in the CAA Newsletter, though not a complete dataset, do suggest that while the North (Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut) see a higher rate of Elder participation in engagement at around 25%, the South (the provinces) also sees some involvement at around 12%:

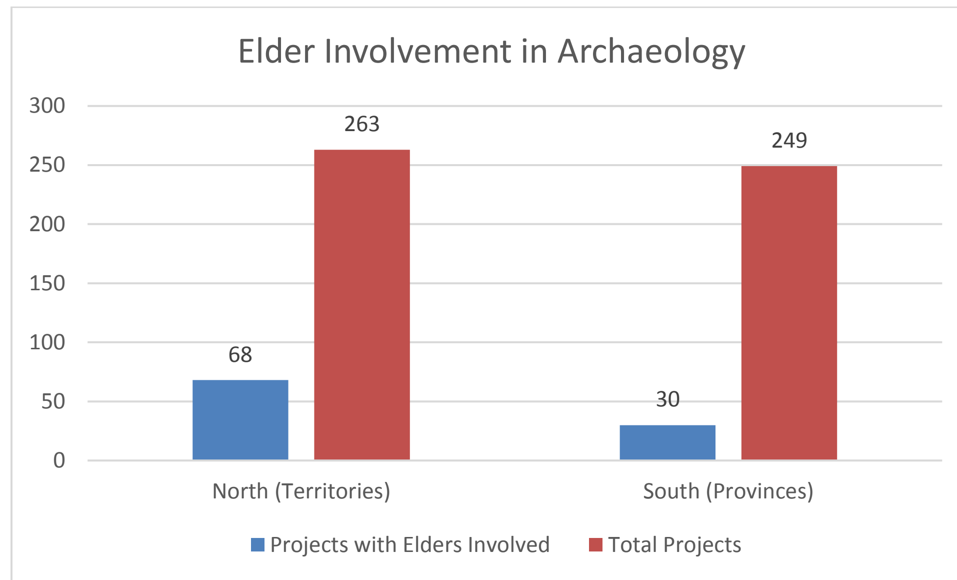


Figure 7.16: CAA Newsletter Indications of Elder involvement in archaeology

Another dimension of Indigenous Collective Capitals arises from Indigenous languages. Indigenous languages are the lodestones of sustained cultural knowledge and by extension a significant form of Collective Capital in Indigenous cultures. So much information is coded into place names, for example, that there is significant interaction between the name of a place and archaeological values for that place:

> Here's this tangible reality, this idea of using place names and trails as a way to find archaeology. For me it was an untested method. Going into that first archaeological site—one identified by a place name that Harry had provided—and putting in a test pit to find a thumbnail scraper was a real Eureka moment….
>
> So if I'm advising a young archaeology student about what they should do I suggest they take linguistics because language is a key concern for all of the communities and you can learn so much about the landscape from place names. By having linguistic tools, trying to learn the language, the importance of place names to archaeology becomes clear.
>
> Tom Andrews, Interview

> A wealth of knowledge is still reflected in people's knowledge of the land and travel and place names and stories behind the names.
>
> Ingrid Kritsch, Round Table

The inclusion of Indigenous languages and place names, particularly in commercial practice, opens up possibilities with respect to language revitalization and place name reclamation as possible outcomes of value to all participants in engagement instances tied to CRM.

7.5 Economic Capital

Economic Capital, while still symbolic in the same way currency is symbolic, is easily the most tangible of any of the Engagement Conditions or Capitals discussed so far in the dissertation. This is especially the case in cultural heritage management where, simply put, money – Economic Capital – is the fuel that drives the commercial archaeological process. Developers contract consulting archaeological firms, who in turn employ the archaeologists who go out and survey/excavate development areas. When Indigenous communities participate in fieldwork, they too are compensated for their time and expenses either directly from the developer or through the archaeological firm. Billing rates, mileage, overhead, expenses, and profits are just a handful of terms familiar to commercial archaeologists and their Indigenous community counterparts. Indigenous community participation in this process formalizes flows of Economic Capital into communities through fees, monitor/participant billing and expenses, even large-scale impact benefit agreements. When an Indigenous community does not have the formal capacity to undertake engagement processes informal compensation/employment of individual community members is not uncommon. Academic and government archaeology are not exempt from these engagement transactions either.

It is also worth noting that where and when necessary, Indigenous communities also have contracted archaeologists to undertake CRM work, adopting the role of developer. Communities have also employed their own in-house archaeologists for various purposes ranging from territorial oversight of heritage resources to specific ongoing projects.

These many facets of Economic Capital flow in the process of archaeology, and the process of engagement, and emphasize the conversion of heritage resources, expertise and data into tangible currencies. It also outlines the ways in which tangible currencies can be expended in the recovering, understanding and creation of heritage resources.

7.5.1 Economic Capital – Analysis

Economic Capital flows in archaeology can be understood in much the same way that money is accounted for in most situations, via a balance sheet. A developer’s balance sheet shows the CRM contract as an expense whereas the CRM firm lists that contract as income. This distinguishes Economic Capital as a tangible capital from the previous three cultural capitals in that tangible capitals are expended or acquired in the course of a transaction. Symbolic/cultural capitals are acquired in the same ways but are not necessarily expended when deployed as part of an engagement transaction. For example, someone gaining experience working a Stage 4 Late Woodland village excavation in Ontario acquires Embodied Capital. However, this person does not expend this experience upon recollection at the next Late Woodland village excavation. Symbolic capitals are more about accumulation than expenditure and in this way they differ significantly from Economic Capital.

Intake and outflow of monies are identified when transactions are functions of formal relationships in CRM (client-company, company-employee, etc.), and engagement between archaeologists and communities. This is perhaps best expressed by the wealth of instances covering all forms of archaeological practice contained in the CAA Newsletter.

The CAA Newsletter included 277 projects which explicitly stated or strongly inferred[67] an Economic Capital transaction specifically related to one form or another of engagement. Five different categories manifested from the data: crewed, funded, crewed and funded, support, and product. Crewed refers to instances where community members were employed or strongly inferred as being employed as field participants over the course of an archaeological project, or where Indigenous community members had additional duties but still participated in fieldwork. The funded category refers to archaeological projects that were wholly or partly funded by Indigenous communities. The crewed and funded category is a self-evident combination of the two previous categories. Support transactions occurred when a community member was employed exclusively in some non-archaeological fieldwork role such as camp management, guide or wildlife monitor. The product category refers to the expenditure of Economic Capital in the creation of some outcome beyond the archaeological fieldwork itself. Examples of this category include interpretative signage and land purchases for heritage park development. It should be noted that there are other possible Economic Capital transactions possible through engagement but not represented in the CAA Newsletter data, including Indigenous heritage permit fees and Indigenous community billing above and beyond the crew wages (e.g., mileage, administration fees, etc.).

---

[67] For example, listing an Indigenous individual as a crew member was interpreted as that person was paid to participate.

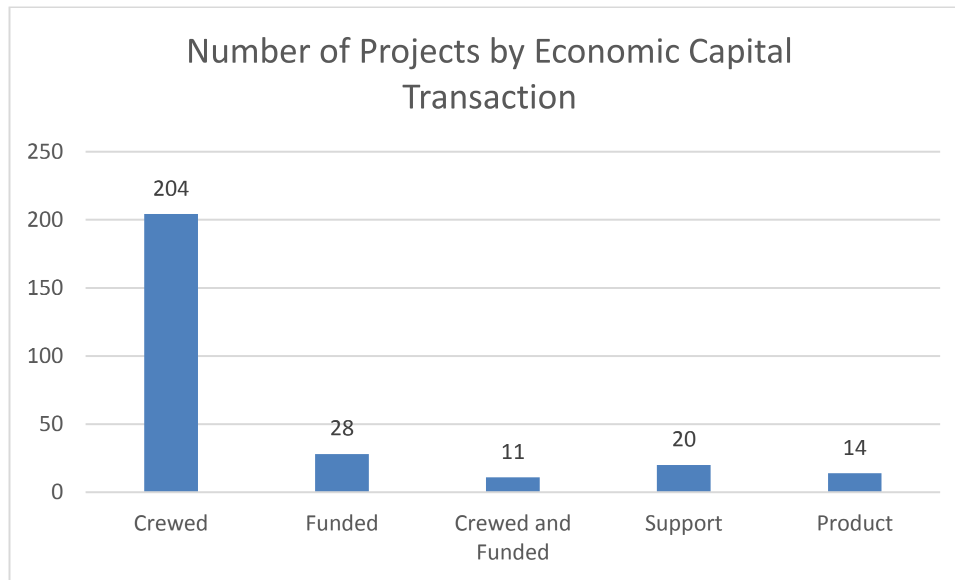


Figure 7.17: CAA Newsletter projects by Economic Capital transaction type

The employment of Indigenous community members as monitors/participants/crew members is far and away the most prevalent category of Economic Capital transaction evident in the CAA Newsletter data. This likely reflects the use of monitor/participants consistent with engagement in places such as Ontario, British Columbia and the North.

Questionnaire responses also hinted at other aspects of Economic Capital transactions beyond the categories reflected in the CAA Newsletter data. Questions 6 and 7 generated the most responses:

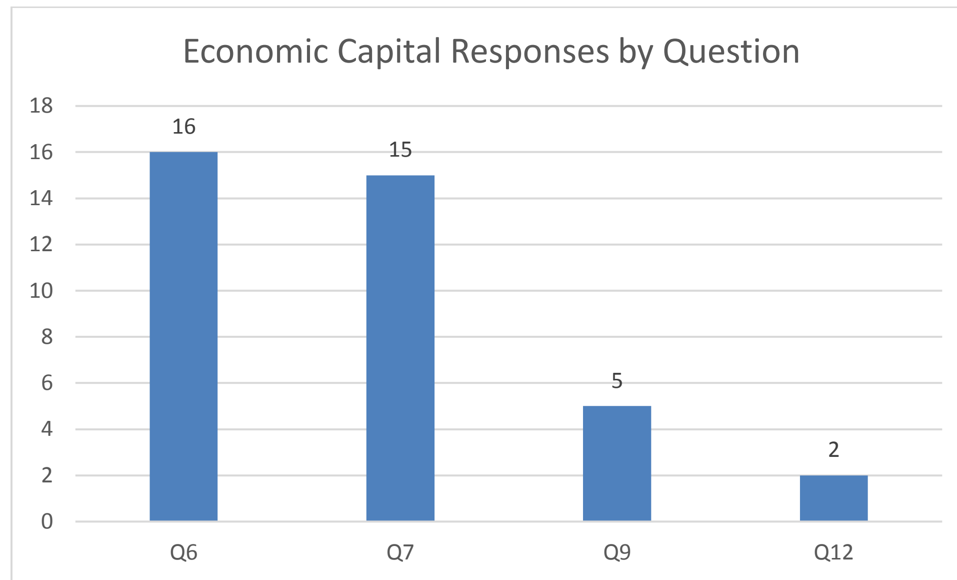


Figure 7.18: Economic Capital references in open-ended survey question responses

This weighted response data becomes even more interesting when the self-identification of respondents is considered. When describing standard engagement practices in Question 6 (Figure 7.20) the distribution of Economic Capital references is most notable from CRM and government respondents, not surprisingly given that those two groups are most caught up in Economic Capital dimensions of day to day conservation management of archaeology:

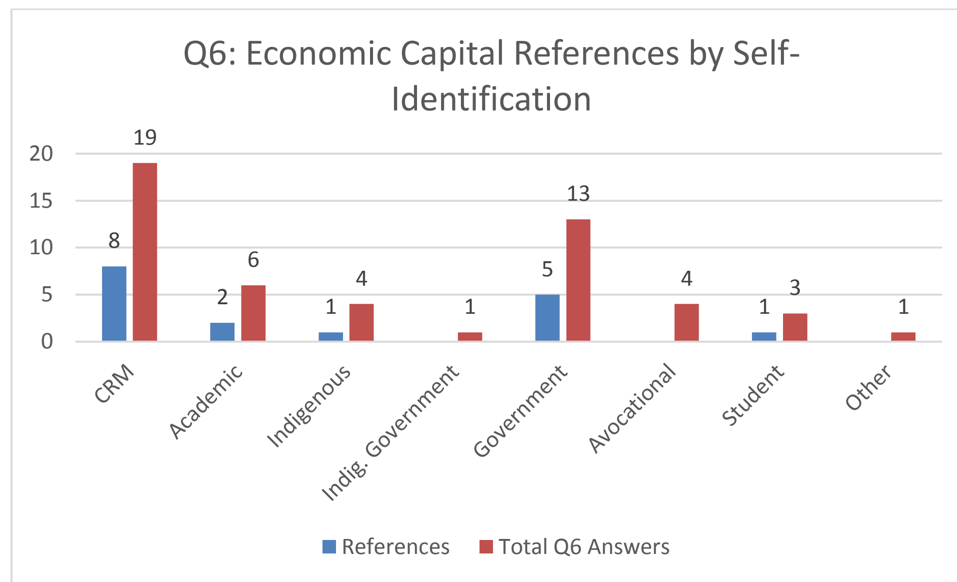


Figure 7.19: Question 6 Economic Capital references by self-identification

Question 7 about best instances exhibits a significant drop in Economic Capital references among government employees and a bit of a jump in the numbers of self-identified CRM archaeologists:

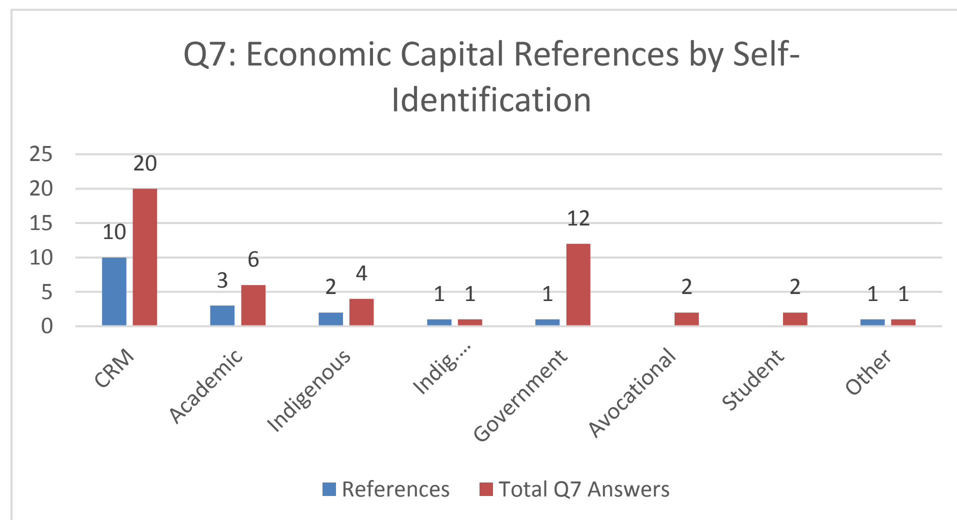


Figure 7.20: Question 7 Economic Capital references by self-identification

Given the fairly high prevalence of references in Questions 6 and 7 it was expected that responses to Question 9 about goals of engagement would exhibit a similar distribution:

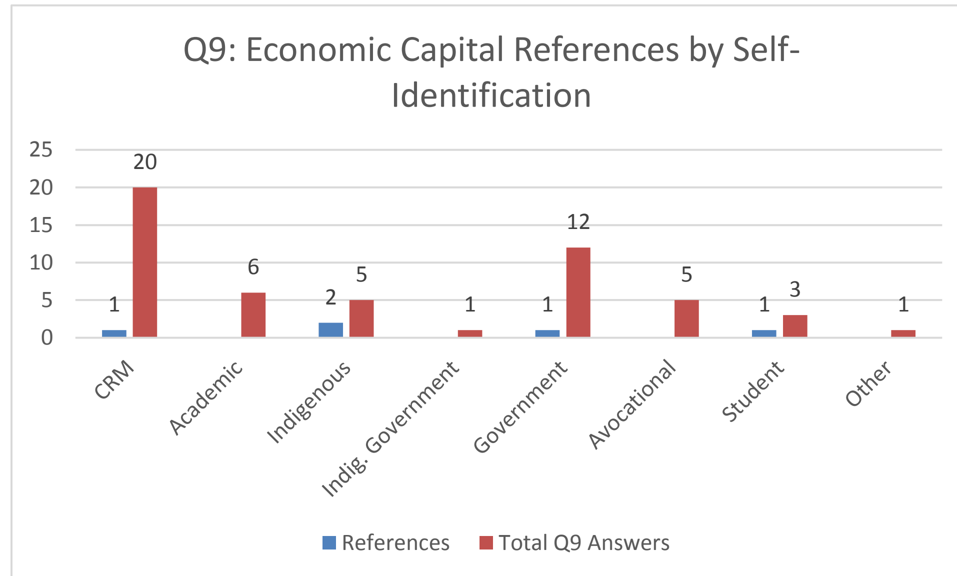


Figure 7.21: Question 9 Economic Capital references by self-identification

However, the data shows that Economic Capital references appear to be barely acknowledged as a personal goal in Question 9, perhaps suggesting the notion of personal goals was perceived by most respondents as something more idealistic than pragmatic.

Lastly, the interview responses displayed a fairly consistent array of coded Economic Capital references:

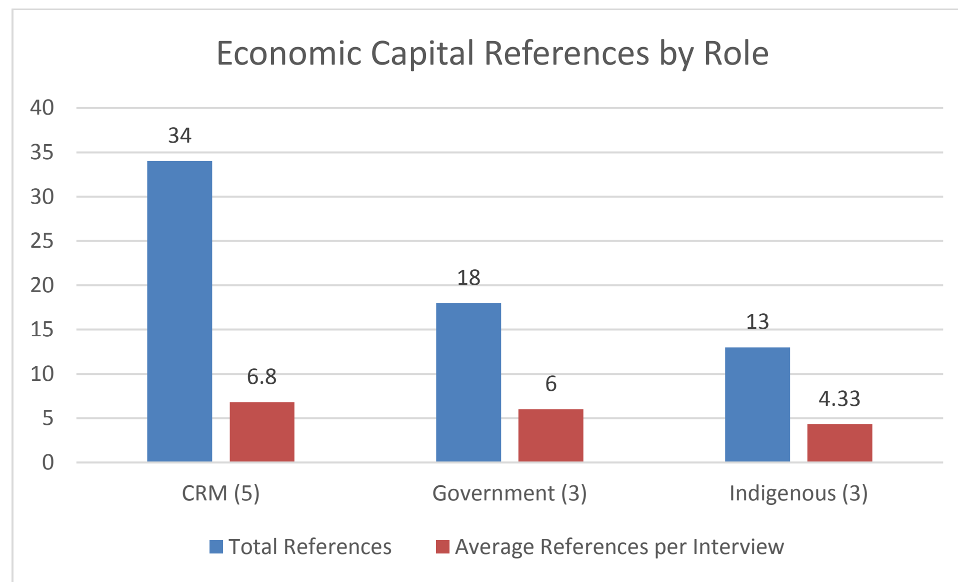


Figure 7.22: Interviews - Economic Capital references by vocation

7.5.2 Economic Capital – Interpretation

As noted above, the flows of Economic Capital within instances of engagement in CRM are very different than the flows of symbolic capital previously discussed. Economic Capital is perhaps best equated as a type of fuel. It drives the CRM profession and it employs the academics.

Academic engagement might see an archaeologist employed at a university using grant funding to mount an excavation with local fieldworkers. Economic Capital flows into the Indigenous community from the grant via the archaeologist to not only pay fieldworkers but to pay for the support and upkeep of the archaeologist's presence, such as providing food and lodgings. The product of that excavation in the form of an archaeological analysis and any resultant collections will typically augment that academic's curriculum vitae perhaps helping them achieve better paying positions and further grants in the future. Less likely but possible longer term benefits to the Indigenous community might be increased tourism revenue should the site be attractive enough to that industry.

CRM engagement is a much more complex distribution of Economic Capital. Developers of construction, natural resource development and other land-altering projects engage in a risk management calculus with respect to archaeological resource management. The developer of a particular project as part of their required environmental assessment process contracts an archaeological consulting firm to survey the proposed development footprint. These expenditures facilitate the production of archaeological outcomes intended to allow the land-altering project to proceed to completion. The greater the perceived risk to the development project resulting from the presence (potential or known) of the material past as defined by archaeologists the more funds become available to mitigate that risk until the mitigation of that risk itself comes to threaten the 'math' behind the development project. This math also seeks to minimize cost to the developer while also managing risk: quality of archaeology undertaken is only valued insofar as quality ensures certainty to the primary outcome of getting the project completed. If the proponent has little need to be concerned for quality (as in neither regulator, public or Indigenous community is likely to object to the manner of the archaeological work), the cost of undertaking archaeology can be miniscule (e.g., Ferris 1998; Williamson 2010). If the client perceives the cost of archaeology as necessary to ensuring certain approval by the State, and likely avoids any objections by a third party, the cost of undertaking archaeology can be substantial. Even the cost of engagement, in this context, is thus a cost to ensure minimal risk for the proponent.

The math of managing risk leads to large-scale development projects spending hundreds of thousands to millions of dollars on archaeology particularly as tied to controversial projects where cultural heritage could easily become a contested flashpoint (e.g., the Site C Dam project in British Columbia).[68] The resulting calculus, which manifested as 70,000 shovel tests conducted over two years of archaeological survey in the Site C project impact area, implies that the more money spent on archaeology the less the risk of

---

[68] https://www.sitecproject.com/sites/default/files/Information%20Sheet%20-%20Site%20C%20and%20Archaeology%20-%20January%202016_1.pdf, accessed September 1, 2016

cultural heritage objections to development being of relevance enough to interfere with completing the project. Problematic perceptions of this money being paid to archaeologists to address an Indigenous cultural heritage are minimized through the processes of engagement (BC Hydro 2016):

> The heritage impact assessment program has engaged more than 100 local archaeological field assistants from Aboriginal communities in the region. In addition, BC Hydro has consulted with local Aboriginal groups, the public, local landowners, the Archaeology Branch, local governments, and local area museums about heritage.

When these Indigenous community representatives are involved with engagement, either the archaeology firm as a cost billed to their client, or the developer directly provides the funds. Depending on capacity these funds go directly to the representatives or, through a billing process, to the Indigenous community. Engagement costs can include travel and other such expenses, together with processing fees and the hourly rates of the representatives themselves. The implication being that by participating in the archaeological process and by receiving compensation for that participation these communities have helped shaped cultural heritage management outcomes, and by extension, within the developer's calculus at least, diminished the possibility of any cultural heritage objections to the project. As the Site C example indicates, this participation is pointed to by developers as vindication of the archaeological work and by extension their funding of it. The extent to which Indigenous participation addresses cultural heritage concerns is, however, more complicated than the act of engaging alone.

Indigenous communities are not politically homogenous, and a perceived buy-in to development projects via the engagement process by elected councils can be opposed by traditional community governments and other Indigenous political bodies (clans, societies, etc.). Economic Capital distributions as part of engagement can become politically represented as "selling-out" and activist efforts undertaken by opposing political factions to undermine not only their political opponents but the development

project itself (e.g., Unist'ot'en Camp)[69]. Of course, developers can attempt to address these different political factions by also including them in the engagement process. Engagement with these political bodies and the Economic Capital that oftentimes flows with it (e.g., the Samsung Energy Project in Ontario and the developer seeking to include the Confederacy-backed Haudenosaunee Development Institute in their risk management strategy) are seen as a means of potentially mitigating these risks although not without the potential for controversy within the community.[70] The Samsung project in Ontario saw multiple Indigenous monitors from both traditional and elected Six Nations governments present during CRM fieldwork.

Through the client’s funding, the CRM firm employs a field crew and office personnel, who together with any community representatives, facilitate any mitigative archaeological outcome and create the report required by the developer to continue with their project. Monies provided by the developer fund the necessary expert labour to produce these outcomes and the CRM firm owners, if there are no surprises, sustain a profit in the encounter, as does the developer if the project is ultimately successful. The processes of CRM as mandated by government directives, which are themselves the products of archaeologists’ efforts, maintain viable archaeological livelihoods outside of those conventionally maintained in the academy. This area of archaeological practice, which did not exist in the mid-twentieth century, is now responsible for employing the majority of archaeologists in Canada (e.g., Altschul and Patterson 2010; Ferris 1998; Zorzin 2010).

Economic Capital is not an underappreciated element of Indigenous engagement in archaeology. Its presence tends to be synonymous with characterizations of power in the processes of archaeology. Those who stand to profit in the endeavour are the ones

---

[69] http://www.vancouverobserver.com/news/what-you-need-know-about-unistoten-pipeline-standoff?page=0,1, accessed September 28, 2016.

[70] https://tworowtimes.com/news/haudenosaunee-clans-call-for-immediate-dismantlement-of-hdi-and-dismissal-of-staff/, accessed September 2, 2016.

directing the proceedings through an exclusive professionalism (academics/consultants) and a capitalist-centric, clearance regulatory model (consultants/developers; Gnecco and Lippert 2015; Hamilakis and Duke 2007; Hutchings and La Salle 2015). Money also becomes a source of tension when these established economic channels change.

7.5.2.1 Distributions of Economic Capitals

The history of archaeology in Canada involves the consolidation of Economic Capital distributions in the expansion and maintenance of archaeologist livelihoods. The academy, the CRM consulting firm, the Indigenous community office, and the government bureaucracy all exhibit a similar characteristic: all are places wherein conventional, doxa-enculturated archaeologists can work for a reasonable living. How comfortable that living is varies fairly widely between vocations, tiers within those vocations and perceptions on the relative value of archaeological knowledge and fieldwork:

> It's just the problem with CRM here is that it is, yes it's all about money, it is. You don't go into CRM to not make money. We don't do any research, we don't give anything back to our field, and that is a huge problem for me that we don't get the opportunity to. We didn't all go into archaeology to do one flake wonders in the middle of nowhere we just didn't. We didn't all sign up for that, in our doe-eyed first-year school right?
>
> Interviewee: 011121

Certainly, CRM is the most readily available avenue to make a living for archaeology graduates, particularly for those with bachelors and masters degrees. However, as McGuire (2008) points out, there is a fairly wide gulf between the incomes of the average crew workers and those of a CRM firm's upper management and ownership. Compensation at these higher tiers of commercial practice are more comparable to the

salaries and benefits afforded provincial government officials and full-time faculty (Statistics Canada 2009). Sessional instructors (Field et al. 2014) and research assistants would occupy the less compensated tier in the world of academic archaeologists. Although no data exists on the compensation of Indigenous community archaeologists it is probable that they can run the gamut of compensation tiers depending their roles and on the capacities of their specific communities.

There was some evidence of Indigenous community archaeology offices as a source of general revenue in interviews:

> [The archaeology office] is bringing in money, we are a money maker not a spender. It’s really low overhead. You build some screens, you buy some shovels. You get a printer and some paper (set up the computer). It’s low overhead.
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

This indicates that archaeological engagement capacities can, along with permanent and temporary employment, actually realize a net economic benefit for Indigenous communities. However, what does increasing Indigenous participation in a process which is arguably destructive to a cultural heritage simultaneously claimed as their own but defined by others, mean for the practice of CRM and engagement?

7.5.2.2 Tensions and Transactions

As traditional channels of Economic Capital in the CRM process diversify as a result of changes to regulatory frameworks leading to burgeoning Indigenous community capacity to be engaged within the process, anxieties emerge from perceived threats to the process as a whole:

> it completely honestly depends on the bands… I think especially in the last six months because oil and gas has kind of gone tits up here a little bit and so people are looking for work so what we’ve noticed is that the rates have changed, like dramatically. It used to be $350 a day plus a truck it’s gone up to $600 a day +$450 for a truck plus the 15% admin fee plus gas plus plus plus… … And so the costs of First Nations consultations, of having people on projects, is starting to get

> really high in some cases more than having the archaeologists out, and so a lot of the clients are looking at that and going "holy cow, this is getting too much". And so they're starting to say only for archaeology that's it.
>
> Interviewee: 011121

Given the limited extent of Indigenous community capacities across most of the country and the fact that Indigenous communities in most jurisdictions in Canada have only limited access to the CRM process, the anxieties reflected by this interviewee are still fairly localized, however the issues feeding these anxieties could spread as communities develop greater capacity and as jurisdictions increasingly require more substantive engagement, all feeding into more substantive revenue streams entering Indigenous communities through the CRM process and development-led archaeology.

That communities should see some benefit resulting from their participation in the management of their cultural heritage is a reasonable objective, but is CRM the best vehicle for realizing and maximizing these benefits? Consistent with Niezen's (2003, 2008) observations of the ways in which other government programmes have been co-opted by Indigenous communities, CRM could be characterized as an ideal vehicle for being co-opted by Indigenous communities to their own benefit because it is already enshrined in policy, legislation and developer expectations. Participating in these regulatory conditions to better ensure the heritage management process incorporates Indigenous community interests means both that Indigenous communities do not need to seek an independent process for inserting their voice, while also co-opting the State's collective authority in much the same way as archaeology uses the State to maintain the discipline. However, the other side of this equation, as was also the case for archaeology, is that the State also co-opts Indigenous participation as validation of the overarching government intervention and aim of facilitating land and resource development. In other words, when Indigenous communities participate in CRM, and do so in ever more significant and authoritative ways, these communities are conforming to State norms of regulation, which Indigenous communities may be also attempting to resist and change.

The very real and tangible monetary benefits of CRM engagement for Indigenous communities also complicate the degree communities accept the State logic behind colonially-premised systems of cultural heritage management, removal, and land development. Notwithstanding these contradictory implications for Indigenous community participation in the capitalization of cultural heritage management, there are immediate and particular benefits to Indigenous community members.

Certainly, the widespread employment of Indigenous participants on archaeological projects is, in its current form, generally regarded as a worthwhile expense by archaeologists:

> I'd say their participation in the whole [development] is major it provides a ton of jobs for the people on the rezes. They go out as bear monitors or wildlife monitors, they go out as archaeological assistants, there are tons and tons of different jobs that they do for all sorts of different companies that are developing in their traditional area. I think that it's very good for the community it brings some life into it, it brings some money into it and as a whole that is a positive impact whenever you can start bringing that kind of stuff into it.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

> You always try and present yourself in a good light to the community, so you try to give to the communities as much as you can, you always want to help them, bring them onto your project so they can make some money.
>
> Interviewee: 021125

> I think what a big part of what's working for us is that there is a clear sort of business case for the way that the work is structured, that it's not consultation, that it's more of a subcontracting and participation arrangement and there are certain work expectations or business expectations. I think that's one of the things that has enabled this to be successful is that we are hiring people to help with the work, it is not some sort of monitoring role with nebulous expectations.
>
> Interviewee: 021124

Where the distinction between managing the archaeological heritage for the community, and managing the archaeological heritage for the economic benefits of the community in part lies on the spectrum of power relationships best characterized by Bill Fox's paraphrasing of a recent First Nation representative's suggestion at an Ontario Archaeological Society meeting that "rather than archaeologists hiring First Nations, First Nations should be hiring archaeologists." This comment echoed a similar one made thousands of kilometres away:

> They [the BC government] don't want people getting a hold, people like me getting a hold of the control of how things are going to happen because they will be cut out of it and all of the other archaeologists in BC well they'd be out of work. If the Indians just did it themselves. Maybe we might hire them…
>
> Carrie Dan, Interview

The anxiety Carrie notes of archaeologists concerned that they will be cut out of archaeological heritage management mirrors a broader tension that exists between First Nations, the State and the capitalist engines of land development and natural resource harvesting in Canadian society. This tension reflects a perceived insecurity on the part of the State and capitalist development that increasing Indigenous sovereignty in the decision making affecting Indigenous rights and interests may adversely affect the integrity of Canada's economy and of companies' profit margins. But on the other hand, Indigenous communities asserting sovereignty in the particulars of economic decision-making and Economic Capital flowing from that decision making are also aligning themselves and operating within broader centralized, State-oversight structures that could also, ultimately, restrict or constrain Indigenous sovereignty. So, the tensions between Indigenous buy-in to State heritage management processes in part becomes a reflection of a much broader pattern: First Nations struggling to operate within the very same processes they are trying to overcome and… replicate? Replace? The incorporation of Economic Capital alone as part of these processes by Indigenous communities makes it difficult, if not impossible, to completely separate from the State programmes that govern this capitalist economy. Cultural resource management provides a means of accessing

these broader economic processes but it too is subject to the limitations imposed by Economic Capital, particularly when perceived threats to the State's control over this capital can be construed as harming a "greater good" (*Kitkatla* 2002).

The tensions between CRM-related archaeologists in government and commercial practice with Indigenous communities are also predicated on who controls the flows of Economic Capital into and out of archaeology, or more specifically, on whether that control leads to a decline or stoppage in the flows of Economic Capital to archaeology. Bill Fox contrasts this tension with the relative quiet of academia where funding is "less contingent on First Nations approval" and should it be necessary, academics are able "to retreat to their Ivory Tower." What this distinction highlights is that often the livelihoods of academics are neither directly dependent on the resolution of any conflict with Indigenous communities, nor are they tied to the consequences of other Client-Indigenous community interactions. Inevitably, flows of Economic Capital in engagement circumstances boil down to the ways and means of individuals – archaeologist or Indigenous community member – earning a living, or not, in the process that enables engagement, and translating their labour, expertise, and other investments in the archaeological process into real revenues essential for other purposes (rents, mortgages, retirement savings, education, food, entertainment, etc.).

Economic Capital should be understood as the mechanism through which all of the Cultural Capitals described in this dissertation are mediated in the broader capitalistic nation-State of Canada: Embodied Capitals through salaries and through the costs of achieving Embodied Capitals of worth in the archaeological engagement process, Objectified Capitals through expenditures towards expert knowledge reporting, recovery and storage, and Collective Capitals in the recognition of and payment for archaeological expert knowledge, engagement disbursements, billing, fees and varying controls over the flows of Economic Capital. While these Capitals do flow independently from Economic Capital in the particulars of engagement, the commercial archaeological space wherein that engagement occurs is entirely dependent on the flow of Economic Capital from a

developer or the State. That alone should problematize engagement as it is currently conceived of in CRM.

8 Synthesis

Eight different elements of Indigenous engagement in CRM archaeology have been identified, sampled and theorized.

The first four elements I identified as Engagement Conditions: (Regulation, Developer Capacity, Indigenous Community Capacity and Relationships): Conditions that encourage or discourage engagement, and which affect the quality and depth of interactions; the *why* of engagement. The Regulation Condition represents State controls over and impetus for engagement in archaeology. Varying from non-existent to Indigenous controlled and administered across provincial and territorial jurisdictions in Canada, the legislative, regulatory and policy means of enabling engagement also inconsistently reflect Supreme Court of Canada jurisprudence pertaining to the legal rights and title relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian Crown. The Regulation Condition in effect determines the need for engagement and helps define the nature of engagement in particular jurisdictions.

The Indigenous Community Capacity Condition represents the formal administrative and informal community structures that can enable Indigenous nations to participate, and participate meaningfully in archaeological engagement. These structures reflect a community's ability and willingness to participate in, realize outcomes from, and even criticize and resist the cultural resource management process as formalized by the State. The other side of capacity is the Developer Capacity Condition, which encompasses the varying willingness and resistance of land developers, either independently or as required by government, to seek out and facilitate the inclusion of Indigenous communities when the development activities they undertake encompass archaeological and cultural heritage management concerns.

The Relationship Condition reflects the ongoing dynamics between individuals and collectives as they exhibit degrees of familiarity and dependence with each other in engagement instances, and which shape initial and ongoing engagement encounters. This Condition is the realm of personalities and proximity, memories and maintenance, as

individuals negotiate how relating to one another within and between instances of engagement shapes and is shaped by their ongoing participation in the engagement process, as well as their views of themselves and each other, and even what the intent and outcome of engagement is supposed to be.

The remaining four elements (Embodied, Objectified, Collective, and Economic Capitals) I have referred to here as Engagement Capitals. These cultural, symbolic and tangible capitals represent the processes of engagement itself. They emphasize the flows and perceptions of value in and out of every interaction; the *how* of engagement. Embodied Capital emphasizes both performance and perception, and defines the ways in which engagement participants assess, adapt, deploy and internalize each other's suite of skills and experiences relative to realizing engagement outcomes.

Objectified Capital characterizes the value in engagement of the material subject matter and knowledge of archaeology. It also recognizes that this value is not only measured by material worth or value to archaeologists' knowledge, but also that Indigenous peoples, developers and the State construct values of the material past that may or may not include archaeological values. Objectified Capital also emphasizes the conversion between Capitals: Embodied Capitals translating into Objectified Capitals via the interpretation of sites and artifacts from both archaeological and Indigenous participants; Economic Capitals assigned to the removal of these sites and artifacts via payment for the CRM process.

The third form of capital, Collective Capital, characterizes the means with which the power and knowledges of broader communities and institutions – the collectives engagement participants either specifically or generally are aligned with – are represented within engagement. It reinforces that engagement participants are agents of a wider society: the community, the profession, the State. Collective Capital recognizes that particular knowledges cannot be thought of as individually maintained but representative of a collectively nurtured value, a value that when deployed in engagement reinforces that broader value as much as it reinforces the value of the individual capable of deploying it. The Elder who recounts an oral tradition maintained by their community for

generations; the archaeologist who teaches established and sustained methodologies of practice; the bureaucrat that interprets the State's regulations.

Finally, Economic Capital represents the monetization of heritage management and engagement that fuels the tangible means and outcomes of engagement as currently practiced. Money pays for the archaeologists and the Indigenous participants to engage. Its expenditure motivates, creates, converts, removes or addresses the other Capitals present in engagement, all in order to ultimately enable the continuation of land development.

Together these elements constitute the Analytical Framework I developed for this research. A framework which was necessary to explore and better understand the diversity of engagement instances together with the social processes and conditions which are effected, affected by and enacted within these instances. This focus brings to light threads of power and value as they coalesce around the commoditization of archaeology and the regulatory structures behind heritage management and Indigenous rights. Engagement in archaeology within this frame becomes a 'backdoor' into issues of sovereignty and autonomy as they manifest in the development process, where no 'front door' to this process exists. Archaeology represents a means to an end within these circumstances, an end beyond archaeological conventions whose outcomes are bounded by the materiality of the record and, increasingly, the economic viability of commercial practice. Awareness of the relationships and disparities between archaeological and Indigenous heritage management outcomes varies across Canadian jurisdictions and between each instance of engagement. Ultimately, the Framework provides a sense of this diversity which amplifies any trends underlying and connecting engagement instances. In this manner, I have gained an appreciation for the evolving relationship between Indigenous communities and archaeology as heritage management.

Engagement in archaeology is increasing in frequency and in variety: the cumulative experiences and imaginings of these engagement processes generating new initiatives better capable of achieving the objectives of both archaeological and Indigenous participants. This emergent form of archaeological heritage practice is a more astute

reflection of archaeology's place in broader society: more aware of its role, where necessary, as stage and conduit for various activisms and authorities. Where these activisms and authorities have other means of expression, such as seen in the northern Territories of Canada, archaeology itself is returned to the materiality-centric discipline it variably conceives itself internally. Engagement in these jurisdictions, where Indigenous communities have access to authority and input in process far beyond just heritage management, provides outcomes beyond the excavation and analysis of archaeological imaginings and facilitates a meaningful place for archaeology as, by and for communities.

My abbreviated survey of the Canadian archaeological (CRM) landscape reveals the inter-jurisdictional and interpersonal lessons and possibilities of this emerging archaeology. These were most apparent during the Round Table in Yellowknife when two regions and backgrounds essentially entered into explicit conversation with one another. Indirectly, lessons were also communicated via questionnaires and interviews. Often these were consolidated into the Engagement Conditions defined in this dissertation. Examples included the importance of respect, of physical presence, of regional familiarity, and of establishing and maintaining relationships. This final substantive chapter brings these lessons and possibilities to the fore. It weaves the threads of Conditions and Capitals into a usable framework wherein instances of engagement are made accessible, assessable and, in certain circumstances, predictable.

8.1 Considering Engagement within the Framework

The engagement Conditions and Capitals defined for this research are more overlapping than segregated components of a composite whole. In other words, they are fluid concepts that intersect, merge, separate with and direct one another in teasing out the nuances of engagement instances and larger engagement patterns.

For example, a fairly significant distinction began to resolve itself in this research across the Canadian context based on particular jurisdictional regulatory regimes and the

capacity differences those regimes enable. Areas mandating significant Indigenous involvement in the broader development process, including meaningful heritage engagement regulations (Northwest Territories; Yukon;[71] Nunavut; Nunatsiavut), reflect Indigenous Community Capacities directed more towards community-oriented and community-defined heritage management aims than towards maximizing community participation and presence on development projects they are otherwise not a part of. Other jurisdictions that mandate some form of Indigenous heritage engagement during the development process but lack any enshrining of a wider Indigenous involvement in development (British Columbia, Ontario), reflect Indigenous Community Capacities directed more towards community engagement in that heritage process in order to shape heritage management, and only incidentally and at the initiative of Indigenous communities does involvement in archaeology get leveraged as a means of accessing wider development processes. Elsewhere, engagement instances are less regularized, Indigenous community participation tends to be restricted to particular circumstances such as human remains discovery or idiosyncratic circumstances such as project-specific requiring of some form of engagement. Engagement, in these jurisdictions, beyond burial discoveries can be initiated by archaeologists or landowners because of obvious rationales in that particular instance, a pan-jurisdictional regulatory process (such as energy transmission projects crossing provincial borders), or because of obvious Indigenous community objections or even extra-legal protestations over their exclusion.

Other patterns also emerged. British Columbia, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick facilitate sub-jurisdictional processes of engagement (Haida Gwaii, the Debert Lands and the Maliseet Advisory Committee), emphasizing engagement under certain circumstances and ostensibly not in others. Specific Indigenous Community Capacities are created and calibrated to these processes where they might not otherwise exist. In other words, the Regulation Condition giving rise to a Community Capacity. Newfoundland promotes engagement in Nunatsiavut, but nowhere else. Manitoba and Saskatchewan, with the

---

[71] Especially with the recent passing of a First Nation's (Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in) Heritage Act

exception of human remains engagement provisions, do not have any engagement requirements, together with a lack of Indigenous capacities directed towards heritage management. Prince Edward Island with significant, if centralized, Ministerial authority with respect to engagement and comparatively little archaeology activity, and Quebec with vague, municipality-premised engagement possibilities make these two provinces relatively distinct entities in Canadian heritage management, though the end result still tends to be limited Community Capacity.

A key observation from this research, then, is that increasing investment in Indigenous heritage capacity, facilitated through increasing engagement in CRM archaeology and localized and provincial regulatory requirements, serves as an opportunity for communities to also seek to articulate territorial sovereignty over development processes (oversight, participation, etc.), in jurisdictions where these communities may not have an alternative means of asserting that sovereignty. However, Regulation Conditions that create engagement requirements (heritage or broader) will be limited without some form of corresponding Indigenous Community Capacity to support that engagement, and thus can create a false impression of inclusion. Take British Columbia for example. Despite having required limited engagement in the form of notifications and a well-developed participatory habitus since the mid-1990s, only 19 of 203 communities were identified as having some form of specific heritage engagement capacity.

One inescapable aspect of engagement in commercial archaeology is the extent to which the State (manifested as Federal, provincial and territorial governments) either requires, or not, and variably shapes engagement processes. The State's objectives in managing archaeological resources are one, generally small, component, of a much broader governance system. The pre-emptive negotiation of societal values (environmental, cultural, demographic, scientific, etc.) prior to a perceived detrimental, for-profit, land development process is premised in a neo-liberal accounting of those values. This accounting enables development that variably sustains the nation-state's economy while providing the perception of accommodating, or mitigating, these societal values. In other

words, everything is capable of being assigned a monetary value which then allows for its conception on a balance sheet of social priorities.

Archaeology's presence alongside biological, hydrological and other expert, professionally-held knowledges in the environmental assessment process seeks to address, evaluate and mitigate, from the State's perspective, these concerns in development contexts to the extent that these concerns extend, or have the potential to extend, into the general populace. In other words, the State's environmental assessment process assigns a value to these heritage barriers as additive costs to development. These barriers are then perceived as removed when a corresponding monetary expenditure is made in their study, mitigation or remediation as part of the CRM process. By simply participating in this process, Indigenous communities could be characterized as "opting-in" or being co-opted by these neo-liberal State processes (Hutchings and La Salle 2015). However, I would suggest that the variability and volatility of engagement in archaeology also has the potential to upset State management mechanisms. Essentially, because the breadth of variables in engagement cannot be entirely anticipated within the formulations of State regulatory structures, engagement, by virtue of its inherent inclusivity, has the potential to destabilize State authority, as Andrew Hinshelwood's (2010:1) reading Schattschneider's (1960) conflict theory of politics notes:

> The theory posits that political contests, which I extend to include policy implementation, become destabilized when the scope of participation expands. As implementation contests become destabilized the nature of the contest, and implementation objectives change.

With respect to heritage management, the State's objective is stability and predictability – to effectively manage risk to economic undertaking – enabling development capable of anticipating and pre-emptively addressing heritage values within a neo-liberal orthodoxy. Engagement variably destabilizes this process by formalizing Indigenous participation, associating heritage management with all of the issues surrounding title rights and interests of Indigenous peoples in Canada, and incorporating new values beyond those

imagined in a neo-liberal State, or of the archaeologists who earlier themselves were incorporated into this State orthodoxy. Although the reasons for and degrees of formalization vary between jurisdictions, Indigenous engagement in archaeology represents less a co-opting of Indigenous rights, title and authority and more a potentially destabilizing process which the State has had to adopt to mitigate the more public destabilization of Indigenous activisms (legal and extralegal) related to land use, cultural values and heritage sites. A process which provinces and territories have variably succeeded in attempting to define, constrict and stabilize. Despite these attempts engagement remains inconsistent.

Therefore, considering the engagement process itself cannot ever be a straightforward, formulaic exercise. The terminology I deployed in the Conditions and Capitals Framework was meant explore the idiosyncratic factors of individual instances of engagement in a manner that enables nuanced consideration. Regulatory regimes can be characterized alongside the skillsets and values of individuals who operate within or resist those regimes and the consequences to material heritage and political outcomes. These variables shift across instances of engagement and a means of interpreting not only the instances, but these shifts, requires an adaptive lens which I believe the Analytical Framework provided. This emphasizes that no one Condition or Capital is more important than another in a general sense, but that any one Condition or Capital may be the most important in a specific circumstance.

Engagement remains, as it did at the beginning of this research, the interaction between two or more groups as represented by individuals in the context of a particular event or project, or in a continuum of long-term interaction. Governments are capable of requiring or even defining engagement in archaeology. The extent to which they do so is dependent on their interpretations of their legislative remit of legal jurisprudence, and the motivations of bureaucrats relative to their ability to affect the kinds of change they perceive as “right.” Each collective and individual involved in engagement operates within a similar binary: the CRM archaeologist toeing the company line, the Indigenous monitor/field assistant focusing the attention of an entire community on a particular

project, or not. Engagement is between collectives (government to community; company to community), but the points of contact are individuals wielding various amounts of agency and authority derived from their collectives and from their own experiences and skills. The outcomes these individuals strive towards are premised not only in their own personal goals but in how they conceive of their wider role and purpose as agent of the collectives to which they belong. Processes of engagement are ostensibly confined to a finite set of variables, namely heritage regimes imposed by the State and conventions maintained and imposed at various community and professional levels. The formal engagement structure itself is also fairly consistent. Triggered by a development intent on affecting some aspect of archaeological heritage, engagement is undertaken to achieve a range of outcomes however conceived of by engagement participants. However, these participants and their collectives are not static entities, meaning engagement will always be unique, even if bounded within the parameters described above, and even when between the same individuals. Not only do the individuals themselves change but the abilities and aims of the collectives they represent also change.

New regulation, new management, new objectives, and new sensibilities of collectives dictate, to varying degrees, what individuals involved in engagement are and are not capable of. In the past 20 years, Canadian heritage governance alone has created a range of engagement practices in archaeology, now functionally treated as an element of wider Indigenous/State relations, and as a result has created whole new sets of engagement concerns which did not exist prior. Indigenous heritage management regimes varyingly tied directly to the State occupy the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, northern Labrador and, increasingly greater parts of British Columbia. The remainder of British Columbia operates under requirements to notify, alongside a regularized though informal process of participation. More formalized, if narrow, consultation in archaeological decision making exists in Ontario alongside a persistent, informal practice of broader field participation selectively followed by some archaeological practitioners in the province. Narrowly defined engagement also exists in Alberta but without the informal participation in archaeology prevalent in Ontario and BC. In all but Newfoundland and Quebec, engagement in instances of found human remains persists; in Manitoba and

Saskatchewan this is the only required engagement in CRM. Management of human remains discoveries in these two provinces resemble the more subjective and symbolic approach to Indigenous engagement generally followed in the Maritime provinces.

All of these regional engagement regimes will change over the next 20 years. Contemporary treaties containing substantive heritage chapters continue to be ratified and implemented. Governments like Ontario and British Columbia continue to introduce, expand and refine Indigenous engagement requirements tied to various dimensions of archaeological practice. Engagement processes in the North continue to shift in order to serve the changing demands of contemporary Inuit, First Nations and Métis communities. Elsewhere, jurisdictions with currently lesser engagement mandates will be confronted with a growing gap between the practices and capacity resources available to First Nations elsewhere and those within their own jurisdiction. These trends are readily evident from the changes that have happened over the preceding 20 years. For example, currently in Canada all jurisdictions, informally or formally, generally or specifically, now acknowledge that archaeology is somehow also a reflection of First Nations' direct relationship with that heritage. Most jurisdictions are now also prepared (formally or informally) to acknowledge Indigenous community decision-making or at least input in the specific handling of human remains and even grave goods. And at this point some jurisdictions extend at least notification and consultation, if not consent or shared decision making, to a wider spectrum of archaeological practices. Given where those trends have taken the country over the last 20 years, it is reasonable to assume that over the next 20 years will see provinces continue to revisit their heritage management regimes towards, not away from, understandings that archaeological management is increasingly and inseparably synonymous with First Nations' interests in, if not control of, archaeological heritage management. Notwithstanding any emerging SCC decision explicitly requiring as much, provinces are increasingly recognizing and facilitating, even anticipating, practices resembling the spirit if not the legal intent of a duty-to-consult with respect to the management of archaeological heritage.

This breadth of governance, its fluidity and relatively rapid revision, together with the wealth of identities and scenarios I have encountered over the course of this research, emphasizes that thinking about and critiquing engagement as a concept is meaningless without acknowledging individualized contexts and how these contexts can and do change engagement within and between instances. In effect, the process is a recursive cycling of change imposed on engagement instances from engagement contexts, and engagement instances (and their intended and unintended outcomes) in turn revising engagement contexts. The coming together of particular individuals, collectives, regimes, relationships, and outcomes is engagement and the nuances of these particularities, their contexts and how one changes the other is how engagement must be considered.

8.2 Regional Focus: Southern Ontario

Formal engagement in southern Ontario is a relatively new phenomenon despite a decades long succession of archaeologists working with and for Indigenous communities and lamenting the absence of formal engagement requirements (e.g., Fox 1986, 1989; Kapyrka 2005, 2010, 2014, 2016; Jamieson 1999; Racher 2006; Supernaut and Warrick 2014; Warrick 2012). Human remains in particular have been a perennial source of contestation and collaboration in Ontario (see Chapter 2). The discovery of ossuaries and cemeteries subjected to archaeological study have sustained many of the elements of engagement discussed in this dissertation well before requirements to engage over human remains emerged in 1990 in Ontario. Relationships and experiences relating to engagement under these circumstances represents a continuum, or rather sets of individual continuums, of interaction between particular archaeologists and archaeological institutions, including those in government, and particular Indigenous communities and individuals. These histories are variably expressed as new requirements for engagement are imposed by the province. Those archaeologists with longstanding relationships and a wealth of experiences working with specific Indigenous communities and individuals were already well-placed when new engagement regimes were imposed. As such the historical depth of engagement in Ontario, especially with respect to CRM, is

variable. Essentially, particular companies, communities and individuals had engagement relationships and capacities predating by decades the 2011 Engagement Technical Bulletin issued by Ontario. This emphasizes the effects other Engagement Conditions besides Regulation can have in creating and sustaining limited engagement contexts, and laying the groundwork for subsequent expansion of those engagement contexts.

The expansion of contemporary archaeological engagement provincially established limited processes wherein Indigenous communities can participate in and have the potential to affect CRM outcomes. The even limited expansion of recognized First Nations community intervention was concurrent with a jump in archaeological projects in 2010, layered onto an over two-decade continual significant rise in CRM projects occurring in Ontario (e.g., Ferris 2007):

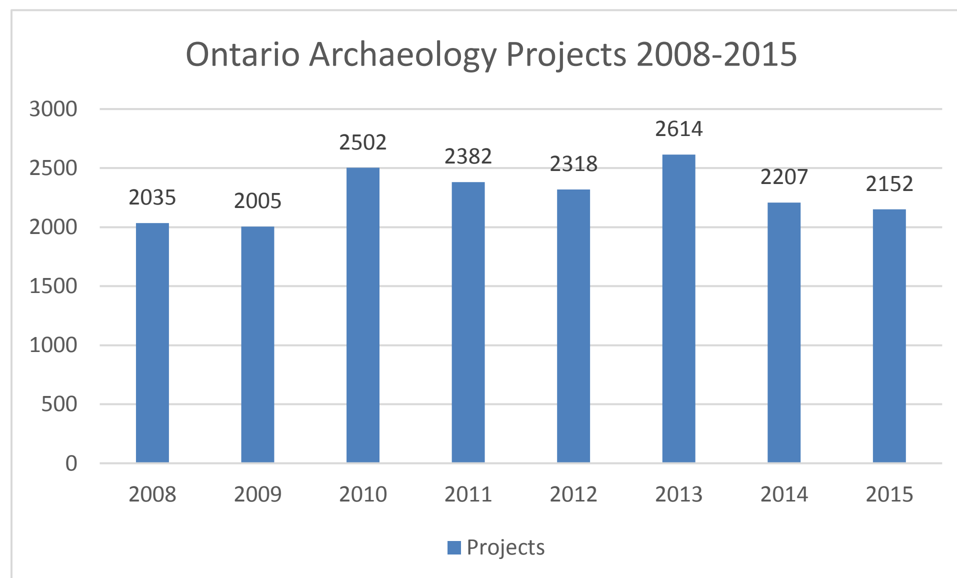


Figure 8.1: Archaeology projects in Ontario (2008-2015).

That volume of projects combined with an absence of alternative, effective political and activist avenues for First Nations communities related to land development projects limits the potential of CRM to substantively realize Indigenous heritage outcomes while

amplifying its potential to achieve Indigenous political outcomes through the engagement process. In this manner, CRM outcomes perceived as detrimental to Indigenous heritage and the archaeological record can become highly publicized and invoke well known confrontations over Indigenous sovereignty and heritage such as Caledonia and Ipperwash.[72] When these projects also affect a developer's financial integrity (particularly a private landowner), a cost-benefit equation of archaeological management against contested values can play out in a very public manner.

These engagement circumstances tend to be less about the traditional land use knowledge and memory values that featured so prominently in discussions about engagement in the North, and more about the values of participants pertaining to the negotiation of this contested setting. Communities cannot meet a capacity of engagement instances occurring hundreds of times a year or more. Community presence in CRM in places like southern Ontario, then, is largely represented by Indigenous participants with varying degrees of archaeological field training and varying authorities emerging from a spectrum of occupied roles: from monitors to heads of community consultation departments. The varying capacities, skills, expertise and connections of these Indigenous community individuals involved in various forms of engagement affects their role on any given project and their ability to effect community-desired outcomes in those circumstances. The Indigenous roles in archaeology in southern Ontario have also developed into an economic industry of their own; monitors and First Nations administration generating incomes in a manner paralleling that of commercial archaeology. Cultural persistence outcomes related to continuums of land-use and memory, such as seen more commonly in engagement instances in the North, do not feature as frequently in southern Ontario

---

[72] Barrie GO Station: http://aptn.ca/news/2016/03/09/buried-souls-how-ontario-bulldozed-through-a-rare-huron-wendat-burial-site-in-barrie/, accessed August 19, 2016; Sarnia: https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/06/15/400yearold_skeleton_of_aboriginal_woman_found_in_sarnia_backyard_costs_couple_5000.html, accessed August 19, 2016; Brant County: http://www.brantfordexpositor.ca/2013/08/05/cemetery-for-unearthed-native-remains-goes-ahead, accessed August 19, 2016.

where authority and decision making over CRM, and the income from participation in CRM, play a much larger part in the core themes that emerge from engagement.

What the differences between engagement, the values represented in engagement, and the aims of outcomes for engagement in places like southern Ontario and the North emphasize is that each region is subject to its own idiosyncrasies which affect how this process, and the variability of instances of engagement, will manifest. In other words, what might be relevant in one region (i.e. bushcraft in Northern Alberta) may not be relevant in others (i.e. bushcraft in downtown Toronto).

In exploring individual instances of engagement to decipher the dynamics of the process and the participants making that instance, not only must one understand the details of that particular instance, but the historic context as well. What was the regulatory environment at that time? What sort of capacity for involvement did the Indigenous community possess? How and why did archaeologists engage? What outcomes did they envision going in, and what were the actual outcomes? Who was involved and what were their relationships to each other at that time? The details and particular perspectives, at the time, of participants are not always accessible and so the ‘ideal’ evaluation of past instances of engagement is likely a strictly academic exercise. However, through the Engagement Analytical Framework, we can reasonably test and explore the particulars of individual instances based on information close at hand. This dissertation has provided several such examples of individual instances which, when considered alongside published articles and reports, provide some excellent evaluative opportunities.

The following examples have been characterized in plain language, without the terminology of Conditions and Capitals complicating the narrative. However, the Analytical Framework underlies the insights of contexts and values related below. Regulation, Capacities, Relationships and the various Capitals are all present.

8.2.1 The Darlington New Nuclear Power Plant Project

Beginning in 2006, the regulatory process encompassing the New Nuclear Darlington (NND) project included completion of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) (SENES Consultants Limited 2009). Part of the EIS addressed heritage concerns including built and archaeological resources in the new development footprint (Archaeological Services Inc. 2009, 2010a). In 2007, under existing Ontario archaeological guidelines (Ontario Ministry of Culture 2006) the Stage 1 and 2 survey located 24 archaeological locations: 12 “pre-contact Aboriginal” and 12 “Euro-Canadian” (SENES Consultants Limited 2009). Five pre-contact sites and three Euro-Canadian sites were advanced to Stage 3 site-specific assessments to evaluate their potential to have “cultural heritage value or interest” (Archaeological Services Inc. 2009). This Stage 3 process typically involves limited excavation and intensified surface survey. Of these, only the three Euro-Canadian sites necessitated any limited excavations after completing the intensified surface survey at all locations (SENES Consultants Limited 2009). It was decided, based on the full Stage 3 assessments, that two Euro-Canadian sites (the Brady Site, AlGq-83 and the Crumb Site, AlGq-86) warranted additional Stage 4 complete site excavation, should they remain in the development footprint (Archaeological Services Inc. 2009, 2010a). In 2010, Stage 4 work at the Brady Site (AlGq-83) recovered close to 64,000 Euro-Canadian artifacts associated with several Euro-Canadian features that were uncovered during excavation. Additionally, 39 pre-contact Aboriginal artifacts were discovered which Archaeological Services Inc. (ASI) concluded were representative of an “ephemeral Aboriginal campsite… at this location circa 6,000 to 4,000 BCE” (Archaeological Services Inc. 2010a: 5).

The unforeseen discovery of Indigenous pre-contact artifacts on a Euro-Canadian site in 2010 led ASI to apply Ontario’s then soon to be implemented *Draft Technical Bulletin on Aboriginal Engagement for Consultant Archaeologists* and a new set of archaeological standards (Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2010, 2011):

> On the advice of ASI, [Ontario Power Generation (OPG)] halted the Stage 4 excavation to ensure that all Aboriginal communities with an interest in the NND project were notified, and provided the opportunity to engage in the remaining

> work consistent with the [Ministry of Tourism and Culture] Guidelines for Aboriginal Engagement. A site visit, technical briefing and discussion of next steps were held with those who expressed an interest. The Stage 4 work was then resumed, with an agreed Archaeological Aboriginal Liaison, nominated by Alderville First Nation, who would be notified and observe the excavation of any Aboriginal features. The work was completed in late 2010, with no additional Aboriginal features identified.
>
> Sweetnam 2011: 1

The pre-emptive application of an impending government requirement to engage reflects a pro-active approach to engagement consistent with ASI's current advertised commitment to Indigenous engagement in archaeology.[73] Essentially, ASI proceeded in a manner it thought would adequately address the heritage concerns of First Nations and in a way that surpassed existing engagement requirements.

However, during consultations engaged by the project's Joint Review Panel (2011), the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation:

> expressed concerns regarding the archaeological work being done on the site. It indicated that it had not been informed of findings on the site, and noted that it had been invited to the site when the dig was completed. OPG explained that the Aboriginal artifacts were found during the Stage 4 assessment of the Brady site, which was thought to be only a Euro-Canadian site. OPG noted that it halted the excavation to make further arrangements once these artifacts were identified. The Panel confirmed with OPG that Aboriginal groups would be involved in the Stage 4 assessment of the Crumb site, which was also identified as a Euro-Canadian site.
>
> Darlington Joint Review Panel 2011: 108

[73] http://asiheritage.ca/service/aboriginal-engagement/, accessed September 14, 2016

The member expressing these concerns was Carolyn King, whose experiences in front of the Joint Review Panel were recounted during her participation in Yellowknife during this project:

> The archaeology work that's been done there [Darlington], they invited us all in, we went up there. At the nuclear plant they found 28 First Nations things like scrapers and points and rocks and axes and all of that and they found 62,962 Euro-Canadian items on-site but they think they dug into the old farm garbage pile but they have to keep it all right? … When they showed us that, I take their rock, the scraper and I say to them "who's deciding the value of this scraper?" I said, "and that pile of rubbage that you're keeping… This scraper is life and death for our people. The hunter who would've had this in his hand, if he lost that it's his life and death", right? So when the report came out, and I've taken opposition to the report, their report, and I'm on national TV when we did the joint review panel on it and I said "I don't like those words". They said [the artifacts] they found were "few, insignificant and dropped in transit". So I was thinking about that when I was reading the paper, "who's deciding where the value is there." So that whole bit goes back to the story and the use of the land… So the commissioner says "well what do you want?" And I said, "I want those words changed, we can't support anything that says those [words] because all you're doing is diminishing our value and writing us off and that it's ok to go forward."
>
> Carolyn King, Round Table

At the heart of this contestation is the power of the language employed in characterizing the heritage value of sites and artifacts. The language often deployed in commercial archaeology is an extension of the developer-client's objective to "clear" a development footprint of any adverse impacts to "significant" or "valuable" heritage. This can be accomplished in a number of ways. First, the archaeologist can report that there is little or no heritage value present. This language is predicated on value formulas built into archaeological practice and regulation. The number of artifacts found, the presence of diagnostic (projectile-point, scrapers, ceramics, etc.) artifacts and/or archaeological features are the primary variables by which these values are ascribed (Ontario Ministry of Culture 2006; Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011). Second, the archaeologist can physically remove any heritage objects and record and excavate any heritage features, a process of conversion of site context to collection context that conventionally

removes these physical elements from the landscape. This process assumes that this removal is sufficient enough to devalue the physical location of the archaeological site after excavation. Essentially the logic is that an archaeological site's value resides in the sum of its component parts, the artifacts, features and contexts of artifacts and features. Remove and/or document these component parts and the location's value is diminished. Third, an archaeologist can recommend avoidance and preservation of an archaeological site asserting that the value of that site is incapable of being severed from the locale itself.

In the Darlington project, it was the first two ways that archaeologists "cleared" the development footprint of archaeological resources. Severed from its locale, the value of these resources was translated into reports, catalogues and collections. It was the language used to facilitate this severance that offended Carolyn King. Her comments to the Joint Review Panel demonstrate the potential for the same sites and artifacts to have differing values based primarily on who was assigning those values. The scraper is "life and death" versus the scraper is undiagnostic or insignificant.

It is worth noting that, with respect to Indigenous communities' ability to engage at Darlington, Alderville First Nation did participate in this project and did designate an individual liaison to address the possibility of additional Indigenous artifacts being discovered as excavations continued, and was engaged fairly regularly throughout the NND project (Ontario Power Generation Inc. 2009). There are also some indications that other Indigenous communities tended to be incapable of meeting developer requests to participate, usually indicated by lack of responses to inquiries made by OPG (Ontario Power Generation Inc. 2009). However, a notification process in isolation does not promote participation compared to other more meaningful and direct methods of engagement and consultation (i.e. community information meetings). Later statements by the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation in the *Records of Proceedings* (Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission 2012: 38-39) about the Darlington Environmental Assessment reinforce this observation:

> The Commission enquired about the CNSC's consultation with the Mississaugas of New Credit First Nation. CNSC staff responded that it had interacted with them

> and provided information on OPG's activities, as well as on the CNSC's Participant Funding Program. The Commission asked the Mississaugas of New Credit First Nation why they did not apply for participant funding. The Mississaugas of New Credit First Nation explained that it has a limited ability to go through all of the paperwork in its office and that it had been occupied with other matters.

The perceptible means of an Indigenous community's participation in the development process might appear easily achievable relative to the developer. The reality is that a community does not receive that one request. It can receive hundreds. Even when a community might have a designated person or office, they can become quickly overwhelmed to the point that either projects are missed or they have to be prioritized in terms of which get responded to and which do not.

Ontario Power Generation Inc. (OPG) created and conducted a systematic contact regime whereby identified-as-relevant Indigenous communities were notified and followed-up with (Ontario Power Generation Inc. 2009). However, these only bore fruit if phone or email contact was established and maintained with an individual capable of deploying a community's resources in order to participate further. Significant Indigenous Community Capacity was also augmented by the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission's (CNSC) participant funding program. The program provided funds for Indigenous communities interested in participating in the nuclear regulatory approvals process. Initially only the Williams Treaties First Nations, including Alderville First Nation, applied for and received this funding. Subsequent funding was distributed to a larger array of groups including the Mississaugas of the New Credit (Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission 2014). When so inclined, a developer can allocate resources which can do much to alleviate some of the stresses on individual Indigenous community capacities.

Despite the fact that the proponent, CRM archaeological firm and even another Indigenous community engaged, the participation of one individual, Carolyn King, based on her interpretation of language and her experience operating within regulatory structures, was able to unsettle that engagement process. Any other individual in that

same position, at that same moment in time, might not have challenged the archaeological language being deployed, or raised other concerns beneath awareness of the other participants of the engagement instance. The comprehension of process, appreciation of performance and comfort unsettling authority together with an understanding of the CRM process created an unanticipated variable in an engagement process that might otherwise have been acknowledged to be progressive. This emphasizes the increased volatility of Indigenous engagement in archaeology as more individuals and communities (variables) participate with varying sets of skills and experiences in navigating CRM and other regulatory processes. Therefore, degrees of enabling or constricting this broader participation can have subsequent consequences.

8.2.2 The Skandatut Site

In April 2002, Archaeological Services Inc., carried out a Stage 2 (pedestrian survey) assessment of a property on the western limits of Vaughn, Ontario. On a large knoll surrounded by steep slopes their crew located a large surface distribution of “many thousands” of artifacts including stone tools, pottery and early European trade goods (Archaeological Services Inc. 2002[2004]). Named Skandatut (AlGv-193), the site was identified as having significant importance based on the European trade goods found, particularly three glass trade beads (Archaeological Services Inc. 2002[2004]):

> Skandatut clearly represents a large, presumably heavily fortified, late sixteenth-century settlement. It may therefore be concluded that the Kleinberg Ossuary [a nearby ceremonial mass grave] and the Skandatut village site were contemporary and associated. On the basis of the artifactual evidence recovered during the controlled surface collection at the Skandatut site, the identified village, and the presumably associated Kleinburg ossuary located 500 metres to the west, may represent the latest, and perhaps final Iroquoian occupation of the Humber River drainage.

The historical significance and contemporary ramifications of identifying the site with Iroquoian groups would resurface later. Important to understand here is that Southern

Ontario, like other parts of the country, has witnessed large migrations of cultural and linguistic groups before and after European contact. Dated to the late sixteenth-century, Skandatut may be associated with the Huron/Wendat, an Iroquoian-speaking people who are considered the ancestral peoples of the GTA (Greater Toronto Area). According to archaeological interpretations, these village-based communities followed a process of coalescence into larger nations through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and eventually coalesced away from the GTA and up around the base of Georgian Bay, where they were subsequently met by Europeans in the early seventeenth century. By the mid-seventeenth century conflicts with the Iroquois (Five Nations) led to a dispersal of Huron/Wendat peoples, including east to Quebec, where their descendants live today. Subsequently, Iroquois communities were established on the north shore of Lake Ontario later in the seventeenth century, but by the start of the eighteenth century various Anishinaabeg peoples settled across southern Ontario (Birch 2010; Birch and Williamson 2015; Ferris 2009; Jennings 1984; Trigger 1985; Warrick 2008; Williamson 2014; see also Freeman 2010). As such, the descendants of three major Indigenous groups hold some form of past and present connection to large areas of Southern Ontario, including the archaeological heritage of sites such as Skandatut: Anishinaabeg peoples,[74] the descendants of the Huron/Wendat,[75] and the Iroquois Confederacy.[76]

The Stage 2 CRM investigation of the Skandatut site followed conventional Ontario archaeological cultural history logic and dispositions that associate the late pre-contact archaeological record of south central Ontario as representative of Huron/Wendat

---

[74] Which encompasses various Anishinaabeg First Nations who negotiated land surrenders with the Crown in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and live in Southern Ontario today, including Williams Treaty First Nations.

[75] Most notably the Huron/Wendat currently residing in Wendake Quebec, as well as Wyandotte and Wyandot, descendant Huron/Wendat peoples that ended up in Kansas and Oklahoma, and well as residing in the Windsor/Detroit area.

[76] Which includes a range of descendant Iroquois communities located in Ontario, Quebec and New York State, most notably for present purposes the Six Nations of the Grand River, which operates as both elected council and by the traditional Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

ancestors. In their conclusions, ASI stressed that given the significance of Skandatut, including its proximity to the Toronto Carrying Place Trail and the Kleinburg Ossuary, that "avoidance will be the preferred mitigative option" (Archaeological Services Inc. 2002[2004]). In other words, ASI recommended that any subsequent development not impact the site, although the report then proceeds to detail how such a site could and should be excavated were excavation deemed necessary. Notably, both the Stage 2 assessment and the recommendations for subsequent excavation stages make no reference to involving First Nations, there being, in 2002, no requirement for Indigenous engagement and Ontario practices at that point were largely limited to accidental human remains discoveries.

There is also no evidence that the subsequent Stage 3 investigation and the beginnings of a Stage 4 excavation conducted by AMICK Consulting ending in 2005 included any Indigenous participation (Jackson et al. 2011; Warrick et al. 2010). By the end of 2005, work at the Skandatut Site had been fairly uncontroversial and uncontested. This was to change dramatically the following year:

> In May 2006, the Wendats asked the province to revoke archaeological licenses permitting excavation at a fifteenth-century [sic] village site known as Skandatut in Vaughn because they had not been properly consulted. Other bands joined the Wendats in demanding a province-wide moratorium on village-site excavations at that time and threatened to occupy the Skandatut site to support the Wendat protest.
>
> (Freeman 2011)

These developments involving Skandatut were happening at the same time as the confrontation in Caledonia which contributed to a suspension of further archaeological work at Skandatut, and led to the developer meeting with the Huron/Wendat and committing to consult with the community in the future over plans for the property. Several years then passed, the lessons of Caledonia integrated in the minds of heritage governance at both the provincial and municipal levels. The City of Vaughn undertook a process to formally protect the site and other large village sites from further development;

a process that included consultation with the Huron-Wendat (Archaeological Services Inc. 2010b; Williamson 2010). Perhaps in an effort to pre-empt the implementation of this plan, the landowner of the Skandatut Site hired another CRM firm to undertake a Stage 4 excavation at the Site in 2010 (Warrick et al. 2010).

What followed was a confrontation between competing visions of CRM archaeology's role in Ontario and how both perceptions of that role and the confrontation itself manifested varying relationships with Indigenous community stakeholders.

The then president of the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS), Dr. Neal Ferris,[77] was notified of the renewed fieldwork at Skandatut in August and intervened in his role as president by writing to the archaeologist, who was not a member of the OAS, asking him to cease fieldwork (Jackson et al. 2011; OAS letter dated Sept. 12, 2010). That letter called for, among other things, consultation with First Nations representatives and referenced parallels with the occupation-inciting fieldwork previously conducted at Caledonia. The Huron-Wendat had also gone to the media about seeking a temporary injunction order to halt work at Skandatut and other sites.[78]

Citing the significance of the site, heritage advocates and the Huron-Wendat successfully lobbied the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to initiate a formal field inspection under the authority of s.51 of the Ontario Heritage Act (Fumerton 2010). That inspection, conducted by a non-archaeologist government inspector together with archaeological staff from the Ministry, concluded there were no methodological issues with excavations of the site and that the work "meets current standard practice" and "will meet or go beyond the draft Standards and Guidelines for Stage 4 excavation" (Fumerton 2010: 7). However, a subsequent review of that inspection by a panel of experts convened by the OAS questioned the logic of the initial inspection's conclusions. In addition to specific

---

[77] Full disclosure: also my supervisor for this dissertation.

[78] https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2010/09/09/first_nation_battles_for_history_in_court.html, accessed September 20, 2016

archaeological methodology concerns and questioning CRM-premised excavation as opposed to preservation as the suitable outcome for Skandatut, the review panel noted that despite the draft Standards and Guidelines requiring Indigenous Community engagement, the Huron-Wendat had been not been able to engage.

That review and further objections by the Huron-Wendat led the Ministry to undertake a second formal inspection on October 4, again with the same non-Ministry inspector, but including an Indigenous Anishnaabe archaeologist, and Dr. Ferris, both of whom were agreed to by the Huron-Wendat. That second inspection likely led the Minister to issue a Stop Work Order on excavations at Skandatut on October 6, 2016 (Jackson et al. 2011; Ferris pers. comm.).

The consequences of these events ultimately triggered a subsequent review by the Association of Professional Archaeologists (APA), who contested the OAS's review and the Stop Work Order issued by the Ministry (Jackson et al. 2011; Janusas 2011). The APA's stated reason for their review was a letter they received requesting action by their member, the principal archaeologist of the CRM firm that had undertaken the Stage 4 work, and their principal concern in their review focused on the perceived impacts to their member's livelihood and business reputation. The APA review focused mostly on the OAS review, and on the Ministry's role in impacting the CRM firm's work. Their review questioned the legitimacy of the Huron-Wendat to speak on behalf of the archaeological site, intimating that the heritage of the site may not be linked to their ancestors, and that certainly other Indigenous communities, notably the Alderville and Curve Lake First Nations, had an equal or greater right to speak for that heritage. As well, they questioned the assertion that the site was "more" significant, and argued excavation methodologies were acceptable.

While the archaeological objections and counter objections petered out, the province separately facilitated a mediation with the Huron-Wendat and the landowner. This eventually led to the transfer of the lands containing the Skandatut Site in 2012 to the Toronto Region Conservation Authority (Ferris 2012), and its eventual protection under an amendment to the Vaughn Official Plan (York Region 2014).

Without delving into the specifics of the conflicting archaeological values at play between those raised by the OAS and the APA, two narratives of engagement arise from this example. The first, as pursued by Archaeological Services Inc., members of the OAS and the Huron-Wendat Nation, reflects a continuum of relationships and the resulting familiarity with and deployment of various individual expert knowledges and collective authorities fostered by these relationships. The second engagement narrative manifested in the limited involvement of and references to the Curve Lake and Alderville First Nations during the APA review (Jackson 2011; Jackson et al. 2011). There was no reference to these Williams Treaties First Nations being involved in the Skandatut Site during the contested Stage 4 excavations or earlier, and their participation was invoked only after the site became contested. In effect, the APA invoked these communities as a foil to Huron-Wendat assertions of the site's heritage being the basis for their objections to the archaeology carried out on the site. The relationship with these communities and members of the APA is in part tied to their collaborative initiative over a training session undertaken in 2010 (Kapyrka 2010).

The relationships between the Huron-Wendat and the various archaeologists in this example exemplifies the means and value of recognizing and deploying the skills and experiences of others in achieving mutually acceptable outcomes. The relationship between ASI and the Huron-Wendat dated back to at least 2004 with respect to the Skandatut site, and ASI worked with the Huron-Wendat and the City of Vaughn to designate and protect Skandatut and other sites in the area (Archaeological Services Inc. 2012). The experiences and asserted expertise of the OAS members who spoke to the Skandatut issue served the Huron-Wendat's objectives, while the Huron-Wendat's authority with respect to their 'Aboriginal rights' supported the calls of those archaeologists to preserve the site. Alternatively, there is no evidence of a relationship between the CRM firm that undertook the Stage 4 excavation and the Williams Treaties First Nations, outside of that facilitated later by the APA. Even then there appears little awareness of how both the Williams Treaties First Nations' objectives and the APA's objectives relative to Skandatut aligned beyond simple opposition/resistance to the Huron-Wendat presence.

Individual members of the APA have undertaken engagement of varying scales with particular Indigenous communities (e.g. Henry 2008). On a collective level, the earlier APA collaboration with the Williams Treaties First Nations (Kapyrka 2010) appeared designed to further connect APA membership with those First Nations, continuing an earlier series of APA round tables and monitor workshops hosted with the Six Nations (e.g., APA 2007; 2008). However, the absence of any specific Williams Treaty presence during the Skandatut Stage 4 excavation, and the haphazard, even opportunistic way in which they were subsequently included in the APA review, emphasizes the comparative unfamiliarity with which these parties engaged with one another relative to those working with the Huron-Wendat.

The presence of the glass trade beads at Skandatut also became a focal point of archaeological contention as their presence amplified the significance of the site. In both the Stage 2 and Stage 3 assessments, the trade beads were determined to be of type consistent with late-sixteenth century contextualizing the site with the period of movement and unrest described above. Moreover, the presence of these beads was highlighted in that the nearby Kleinberg Ossuary also contained similar beads thereby suggesting the two sites were related. However, in their review of Stage 4 work, the APA panel cast doubt on not only on the relationship between Skandatut and the Kleinberg Ossuary, pointing to the presence of these trade beads on other sites, but suggested that the trade beads found at the Ossuary were not contemporaneous with the Skandatut beads at all (Jackson et al. 2011: 8). Explicit summarizing of the professional archaeological experience and knowledge of both the OAS and APA review authors was meant to reinforce the archaeological conclusions of each group (Jackson et al.: 1-2; Warrick et al. 2010: 3-4; see also Ferris 2014). With respect to the presence of trade beads, the APA's expertise was wielded in a manner intended to cast doubt on the site's affiliation intending to weaken the Huron-Wendat's authority, despite local archaeological culture history's convention to associate that part of the archaeological record with the Huron-Wendat.

The Skandatut example emphasizes a similar lesson to the previous contemporary example of Darlington: that the variables in play during engagement matter. In Darlington, the proponent was relatively pro-engagement compared to the actions of the landowner at Skandatut. The disparity of capacities between a provincial entity with Federal backing and a private landowner with respect to Indigenous consultation should also be recognized as a factor. Also appreciable is the role individuals played in each of these contexts; roles that if held by other people would have changed the nature of engagement. Dr. Ferris, in his capacity as OAS president, and Carolyn King, as representative of the Mississuagas of New Credit, each brought unique sets of skills and experiences which informed their unique perspectives and activisms in the examples above. Together with other participants, these individuals shaped engagement in ways that can be anticipated from a familiarity borne out of successive interaction. It is, therefore, not only the variables of engagement that contribute to the complexity of engagement. The spectrum of awareness of and agency over these variables as held by engagement participants also complicates Indigenous and archaeological interaction in commercial contexts.

8.3 Legacies and Trajectories: The Future in the Past

Navigating Indigenous engagement in archaeology is like any other journey in that it helps to have a sense of what lies around the next bend. Degrees of predictability provide for pre-emptive risk management and the design of strategic engagement initiatives with both short and long term benefits. However, despite examples of Indigenous community-friendly commercial archaeology, there is still, across jurisdictions, an underappreciation of, sometimes even hostility towards, significant and meaningful Indigenous participation in commercial archaeological practice (Ferris and Welch 2014; Hutchings and La Salle 2015; Nicholas 2014; Welch and Ferris 2014).

The consequences of confrontations like Ipperwash, Caledonia and Skandatut in Ontario and elsewhere shape the formal processes and informal experiences of engagement.

Ipperwash eventually and Caledonia directly accelerated formalized inclusion of Indigenous communities in the commercial archaeological process (DeVries 2014; Ferris and Welch 2014, 2015). Caledonia in particular demonstrated the very real consequences of perceived developer apathy towards Indigenous communities, legacies of colonialism, and heritage in a public and memorable way which proved immediately relevant to the Skandatut example. Similar confrontations between developers, governments and Indigenous communities and institutions also demonstrate localized engagement narratives or legacies (e.g., Oka, Quebec; Gustafsen Lake, B.C., etc.).

Engagement legacies can also be the result of amicable projects and events. The previously mentioned SCES-SFU initiative saw George Nicholas, the Secwepemc and others engage in a 20-year collaboration (1991-2010). The archaeological field schools and others projects (Murphy et al. 1999; Nicholas and Markey 2014) fundamentally affected how archaeology is conducted in Tk'emlups te Secwepemc's and others' traditional territories. Despite the cessation of the partnership six years ago, the ongoing presence of field school alumni as community archaeologists and Indigenous community heritage department administrators demonstrates the continuing legacy of this collaboration. The skills and experiences resulting from the partnership reverberate throughout the Interior Plateau shaping contemporary commercial heritage management in that region.

These legacies characterize the potential of single or grouped instances of engagement in archaeology to have longstanding consequence. Tom Andrews educates archaeologists new to the Northwest Territories about Dene etiquette and protocol because of his experiences and relationships with colleagues like John B. Zoe and, for all intents and purposes, family like the late Harry Simpson. This new cohort of Northern archaeologists inherits the lessons of mentors like Andrews and others in a similar way to how new generations of Dene inherit the lessons of Elders like Zoe and Simpson. The maintenance of these individually and collectively derived narratives over successive generations means a continuum of knowledge grounded in a pragmatic reality. The importance of this succession is well-established amongst Indigenous communities. As archaeologists, we

have also grown to appreciate the value of on-the-land experience particularly in CRM. As such, transmitted narratives can be very personal, private things tied to particular times, places and people. Something that passes from mentor to mentee in a much narrower scope than the public legacies of events like Caledonia, Skandatut or Grace Islet.

I previously stated that I and others believe Indigenous heritage is an "Aboriginal right" under s.35. My conclusion is based on everything I encountered during my research. Over and over again the phrase "on the land" emerged in the context of Indigenous heritage engagement. In my mind, the land in these examples is simultaneously an institutional setting and the media within that setting; the library and the books. The interactions between Indigenous Elders and youth were a recurring theme in this "on the land" context. The transmission of traditional skills and stories in traditional settings is as much about preserving these skills and stories as it is about recognizing the importance of the land as medium and institution. It is about landscape literacy. Just as place names and travel narratives can convey institutional knowledge, heritage also is one means of "reading" the land and it is one of the interconnected land languages that writes Indigenous culture into the landscape, particularly in rural and northern contexts, although there is a growing appetite for this in more urban contexts as well (see Kapyrka and Migizi 2016; also, Carolyn King's Moccasin Project).[79] Archaeology, under these circumstances, is not just a self-perpetuating exercise in material preservation, it is philology.[80] Each site and artifact are words and pages to past and present Indigenous literatures. Engagement in archaeology is important because these are Indigenous books/institutions/places whether or not archaeologists choose to acknowledge them as such, or read them differently in their own practices.

---

[79] http://www.brantnews.com/whatson-story/4109156-telling-their-story/, accessed Nov. 15, 2016.

[80] The study of literature, language in literature, and disciplines relevant to literature.

Engagement itself also resembles a reoccurring performed narrative. The perceived and adopted dispositions of each role performed in accordance with the imperfect expectations of other actors and any audience: the Archaeologist as ‘the Expert’, the Indigenous field assistant as ‘the Local’, alternatively as ‘the Activist’, falsely homogenize engagement because each individual performs, perceives and imagines these roles differently. Engagement really gets interesting when the parameters of these roles are reimagined and redefined, both by participants themselves, and by the constant revising of the process arising out of past instances of engagement. Engagement should not simply be understood as a recursive element of the CRM process, but more fertile ground for exploring a dynamic, human social process of interaction, tailored to and shaped by the particular people, collectives and variables constituting each engagement instance. This potential in engagement should mirror the potential of archaeological survey in that the excitement about possibilities persists in practice: “What could I find today?” and “What could engagement look like today?”

In the mid-twentieth century, archaeologists rallied against the destruction of the material past they so valued in the face of development. The losses to the archaeological record were irreversible. Government regulation over the last 50 years has mitigated that material loss insofar as archaeologists have provided the perceived means of doing so (avoidance or excavation/conservation in the CRM process). In the twenty-first century archaeology is again facing irreversible losses on a grand scale. Ideally, every CRM project would produce as many values, described here as Capitals, as conceivably possible based on the Conditions present for that project. Each Condition should constantly be tuned to facilitating the greatest Cultural Capital return on each project. This gets to the heart of CRM and archaeological doxa. Sites and artifacts are perceived as liminal and destructible, the potential data from recording their properties and provenience worth the effort and expense associated with CRM in their accounting because once these elements are gone, they are gone forever.[81] The engagement instance

[81] see Welch and Ferris 2014 for a critical assessment of this approach.

represented by a CRM project, or any archaeological project for that matter, is an equally fleeting moment in time. All of the unrealized Capitals, values, skills and experiences capable of flowing during that fleeting moment are lost when they are not realized. The archaeologist that never learned the location of an important caribou migration route; the village excavation that never became a focal-point for youth-Elder engagement; the trail survey that never influenced an emerging Indigenous leader; the artifacts that never triggered the imaginations of a classroom full of children. If these Cultural Capital possibilities are not explored, imagined and realized where they exist in the instance facilitated by engagement, then the damage to the integrity of *cultural resource* management is profound. This framing of the transitory space CRM creates and the Cultural Capital possibilities of that space speaks to a practice of archaeology that is about so much more than exclusive material valuations, more than about preserving whatever 'stuff' archaeologists alone say is important.

Engagement as a process of CRM manifests and encourages this value creation because it invokes the participation of Indigenous interests. If as archaeologists we deny the potential and differential value of cultural resources to others and remove these resources for our own ends what distinguishes us from the mid-twentieth century developers who bulldozed the sites we care so much about?

I believe that archaeologists will accept and adapt to what I characterize as an inevitable trajectory towards increasing Indigenous oversight and authority within heritage management (La Salle and Hutchings 2016; Martindale et al. 2016). These beliefs are premised in an optimism found in the many positive experiences of engagement encountered in this dissertation and in my previous CRM experiences. It is also buttressed by an appreciation of the value of deconstructive "critical heritage" studies and perspectives, and an overt desire to take the next step in attempting to continue to revise heritage systems and processes.

I am not oblivious to the broader conditions of political, economic and social ideologies in Canada capable of sweeping aside heritage management in its entirety and attempting to walk back the progression of legal decisions favouring Indigenous rights. The racism,

'disaster capitalism' (Klein 2007; see also Hutchings and La Salle 2015), colonialism, Neo-liberalism, Western exceptionalism and transient populism among other -isms which either through ignorance or design reject or utterly devalue the conservation of the material past, the resurgence of Indigenous authorities and institutions, or both. However, I also believe it is problematic to reduce any and all individual dispositions opposed to the ideals espoused here of heritage co-management and Indigenous resurgence to these broader social ideologies. If I have shown engagement is nuanced than my conceptions of individuals need to be equally nuanced.

Extending beyond individual interaction, engagement is capable of negotiating between a material continuum expressed in the archaeological record and a continuum of presence as embodied by contemporary Indigenous peoples. These continuums can progress in conversation with one another, filling gaps and correcting inconsistencies. Indigenous knowledge can augment the archaeological research project providing otherwise inaccessible information about land and material-use. Archaeological knowledge can speak to the, not mundane, but everyday and habituated material lifeways and narratives of ancient pasts in degrees of detail not accessible otherwise. Indigenous participation also has the capacity to enhance the value of archaeological practice, giving social and activist purpose to archaeology in a very meaningful way. Perhaps one of the most significant attributes of archaeology with respect to Indigenous peoples is its potential as a situated, process-driven resource for communities looking to enhance, reflect on, and even contest their heritage. Archaeology is situated in that it is anchored by material culture present at a particular locale and across landscapes, and archaeology is process-driven in that there is a method, or set of procedures, which amplify the knowledge present at such heritage sites and landscapes. Experiencing the land, "being on the land," as part of a process that is inherently interested in that landscape and which serves as an explicit space linking past and present is significant.

> Visiting those places and actually seeing firsthand what's there, what the area actually looks like. I think once you're there you just get a better sense of the place and **the stories stick to you much better if they're told there** [emphasis mine].

Complementing traditional ways of considering the past with archaeology reinforces the value of both, particularly with respect to Indigenous youth. Their ready familiarity with contemporary technologies and the suffusion of that technology in the archaeological endeavour can and does serve as a tactical means of getting youth out onto the land and talking with their Elders. In more urban areas, the locales archaeology creates can facilitate access to power beyond situated political and activist outcomes: the protests, occupations and work stoppages. It can also represent a continuum of presence and authority by Indigenous peoples on contested traditional territories whereon their presence is not otherwise recognized. Archaeology is a material resource for Indigenous communities: first, to know, access and control meaning making of their material heritage; second, to access land and resource decisions by the State beyond archaeology; third, to leverage in practical application the implications of sovereign and treaty-based rights and interests; and fourth, to re-trivialize archaeology as "only" about material pasts explored by a technical subset of thing- and place-oriented historians of the Indigenous past when authority and control of sovereign rights and interests beyond heritage are accessed and controlled by those First Nations.

Engagement is capable of affecting a variety of heritage, economic, social and political outcomes (relatively positive and negative) particular to the circumstances, actors and collectives present. Individual engagement narratives should therefore not be repeated and scripted exercises but allowed to be written in the moment, "on-the-land" and by an amalgamation of authors. These situated narratives infuse place and memory in a manner paralleling conventional and traditional narratives of place generated within archaeological and Indigenous discourses. They retain and exude value, in research for me, in memory and disposition for others and in continuing to revise and reimagine the archaeological project. These engagement narratives are *accounts* in every sense of the word.

References Cited

Ahronson, Kristján

2011 Old World Prehistory and Early Canadian Archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 35(1): 1-17.

Alfred, Taiaiake

1999 *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

2005 *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Altschul, Jeffrey H. and Thomas C. Patterson

2010 Trends in Employment and Training in American Archaeology. In *Voices in American Archaeology*, edited by W. Ashmore, D. T. Lippert, and B. J. Mills, pp. 291-316. The SAA Press, Washington, D.C.

Anderson, Mark C. and Carmen L. Robertson

2011 *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*. University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Apland, Brian

1993 The Roles of Provincial Government in British Columbia Archaeology. *BC Studies* 99: 7-24.

Aporta, Claudio

2005 From map to horizons; from trail to journey: The challenges of documenting Inuit geographic knowledge. *Études Inuit Studies* 29(1-2): 221-23.

2009 The Trail as Home: Inuit and Their Pan-Arctic Network of Routes. *Human Ecology* 37: 131-146.

Archaeological Services Inc.

2002 [2004] Stage 1 and 2 Archaeological Assessment. Revised Report. Block 40/47 Plan, OPA 400, City of Vaughan Part Lots 22, 23, 24, and 25, Concessions 6 and Part Lots 23, 24, and 25, Concession 7 City of Vaughan, Regional Municipality of York, Ontario. MCL CIFs 2000-116-019 and 2001-020-045.

2009 Physical and Cultural Heritage Resources Assessment of Environmental Effects. Technical Support Document. New Nuclear – Darlington Environmental Assessment.

2010a Stage 4 Archaeological Mitigative Excavation of the Brady Site (AlGq-83) New Nuclear - Darlington Environmental Assessment. Preliminary Report: MTC CIF# P315-029-2010.

2010b City of Vaughn Official Plan: Cultural Heritage Landscape Inventory and Policy Study. Prepared for Policy, Planning and Urban Development, City of Vaughn.

2012 Stage 3 Archaeological Resource Assessment beyond the North Limits of the Skandatut Site (AlGv-193), lot 24, Concession 7, Geographic Township of Vaughn, City of Vaughn, Ontario. MTCS PIF P352-005-2011.

Arnold, Charles

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 119-120.

Asad, Talal

1973 *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. Ithaca Press, London.

Asch, Michael

1984 *Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution*. Methuen, Toronto.

1998 *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality and Respect for Difference*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

2014 *On Being Here to Stay: Treaties and Aboriginal Rights in Canada*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums

1994 *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples*. 3rd edition. Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples.

Association of Professional Archaeologists

2007 Meetings and Conferences. APA Newsletter 2007-02: 3-8.

2008 Third Archaeology Round Table, Five Oaks Conference Centre, Paris Ontario. APA Newsletter 2008-01: 5-7.

Atalay, Sonya

2006 Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice. *American Indian Quarterly* 30(3&4): 280-310.

2012 *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*. University of California Press, Berkley, California.

2014 Engaging Archaeology: Positivism, Objectivity and Rigor in Activist Archaeology. In *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*, edited by S. Atalay, L.R. Clauss, R.H. McGuire and J.R. Welch, pp. 45-59. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Ayer, Alfred J.

1936[1952] *Language, Truth and Logic*. Dover Publications, New York.

1959 *Logical Positivism*. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

Basso, Keith

1996 *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Battiste, Marie

2002 *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education: A Literature Review with Recommendations*. Prepared for the National Working Group on Education and the Minister of Indian Affairs, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

Bell, Catherine.

1992a Repatriation of Cultural Property and Aboriginal Rights: A Survey of Contemporary Legal Issues. *Prairie Forum* 17(2): 313–334.

1992b Aboriginal Claims to Cultural Property in Canada: A Comparative Legal Analysis of the Repatriation Debate. *American Indian Law Review* 17(2): 457–521.

Bell, Catherine and Robert Paterson (eds.)

2009 *Protection of First Nations Cultural Heritage: Laws, Policy and Reform*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Benson, Emily

2014 An Open Letter on Grace Islet. http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/news/ipinch-news/open-letter-grace-islet, accessed June 22, 2016.

Bernard, Harvey Russell

2006 *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 4th Edition. Altamira, Lanham, Maryland.

Binnema, Ted and Susan Neylan (eds.)

2007 *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Bintliff, John

1988 A Review of Contemporary Perspectives on the 'Meaning' of the Past. In *Extracting Meaning from the Past*, edited by J. Bintliff, pp. 3-36. Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK.

Birch, Jennifer

2010 Coalescent Communities in Iroquoian Ontario. PhD. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

Birch Jennifer and Ronald Williamson

2015 Navigating ancestral landscapes in the Northern Iroquoian world. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 39: 139-150.

Blair, Peggy

2008 *Lament for a First Nation: The Williams Treaties of Southern Ontario*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Blatchford, Christie

2010 *Helpless: Caledonia's Nightmare of Fear and Anarchy, and How the Law Failed All of Us*. Doubleday Canada, Toronto.

Blomley, Nicholas

1996 "Shut the Province Down": First Nations Blockades in British Columbia, 1984-1995. *BC Studies* 111: 5-35.

Bonnichsen, Robson

1973 Millie's Camp: An Experiment in Archaeology. *World Archaeology* 4(3): 277-291.

Borrows, John

1999 Sovereignty's Alchemy: An Analysis of Delgamuukw v. British Columbia. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 37(3): 538-596.

2003 Measuring a Work in Progress: Canada, Constitutionalism, Citizenship and Aboriginal Peoples. In *Box of Treasures or Empty Box? Twenty Years of Section 35*, edited by A. Walkem and H. Bruce, pp. 223-262. Theytus Books, Penticton, British Columbia.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1972[1977] *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

1984[2003] *Language & Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

1986 The Forms of Capital. In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson, pp. 241-258. Greenwood Press, New York.

Boyle, David

1901 *Archaeological Report 1900*. Warwick Bro's & Rutter, Toronto.

Brooks, Meagan

2014 OAS Strategic Plan Survey. *Arch Notes* 17(5):7-9.

Browman, David L. and Stephen Williams

2013 *Anthropology at Harvard: A Biographical History, 1790-1940*. Peabody Museum Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Brownlee, Kevin

2010 Searching for Identity Through Archaeology. In *being and becoming indigenous archaeologists*, edited by G. Nicholas, pp. 55-65. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Bruchac, Margaret M.

2010 Indigenous Journeys – Splinterville, Drenthe, Amherst. In *being and becoming indigenous archaeologists*, edited by G. Nicholas, pp. 66-75. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Bruchac, Margaret M., Siobhan M. Hart and H. Martin Wobst (eds.)

2010 *indigenous archaeologies: A Reader on Decolonization*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Budhwa, Rick

2005 An Alternative Model for First Nations Involvement in Resource Management Archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 29(1): 20-45.

Burley, David

1994 A Never Ending Story: Historical Developments in Canadian Archaeology and the Quest for Federal Legislation. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 77-134.

Byrne, Denis

1991 Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management. *History and Anthropology* 5: 269-276.

1993 The Past of Others: Archaeological Heritage Management in Thailand and Australia. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University.

Byrne, William J.

1977 The Resource Question and Rescue Archaeology. In *New Perspectives in Canadian Archaeology Proceedings of a Symposium by the Royal Society of Canada*, edited by A. McKay, pp. 137–147. Royal Society of Canada, Toronto.

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 99-101.

Canada, Government of

1969 *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Ontario.

Canadian Archaeological Association

1972 *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* No. 4

1973 *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* No. 5

1974 *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* No. 6

1984a *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 4(1)

1984b *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 4(2)

1985 *Canadian Archaeological Association* Newsletter 5(1)

1986 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 6(1)

1987 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 7(1)

1988 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 8(1)

1989a *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 9(1)

1989b *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 9(2)

1990 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 10(1)

1991 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 11(1)

1992 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 12(1)

1993 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 13(1)

1994a *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 14(1)

Canadian Archaeological Association (Cont.)

1994b *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 14(2)

1995 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 15(1)

1996 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 16(1)

1997a *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 17(1)

1997b *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 17(2)

1998 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 18(1)

1999 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 19(1)

2000 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 20(1)

2001 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 21(1)

2002 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 22(1)

2003 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 23(2)

2005a *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 25(1)

2005b *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 25(2)

2006a *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 26(1)

2006b *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 26(2)

2007a *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 27(1)

2007b *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 27(2)

2008 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 28(1)

2012 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 29(2)

2013 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 31(1)

2014 *Canadian Archaeological Association Newsletter* 32(1)

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News

2012 Musqueam wins fight over Marpole Midden. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/musqueam-wins-fight-over-marpole-midden-1.1191445, accessed June 22, 2016.

Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission

2012 Records for Proceedings, Including Reasons for Decisions: Environmental Assessment Screening Regarding the Proposal to Refurbish and Continue to Operate the Darlington Nuclear Generating Station in the Municipality of Clarington, Ontario. Public hearing dates: December 3-6, 2012. Government of Canada.

2014 CNSC Participant Funding Program Decision: Ontario Power Generation's application to renew the Power Reactor Operating Licence for the Darlington Nuclear Generation Station. Government of Canada.

Cardinal, Harold

1969 *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians*. Hurtig, Edmonton, Alberta.

1977 *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians*. Hurtig, Edmonton, Alberta.

Carlson, Keith Thor

2010 *The Power of Place, The Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Carlson, Roy L.

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 112-114.

Carman, John

1993 The P is Silent – as in Archaeology. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 12(1): 37-53.

Carruthers, Peter

1999 The discovery of human remains – best practices. *Arch Notes, Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society* 4(2): 10-13.

Charlie, Dawn and Donald W. Clark

2003 *Lutthi Män & Tachän Män Hudé Hudän - Frenchman and Tatchun Lakes: Long Ago People*. 2nd Edition. Little Salmon and Carmacks First Nation and the Yukon Heritage Branch, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Charlton, Arthur S.

1976 Cultural Resource Management and Conservation Archaeology in British Columbia: A Cade Study. *Bulletin (Canadian Archaeological Association* 8: 133-146.

Churcher, Charles S. and Walter A. Kenyon

1960 The Tabor Hill Ossuaries: A Study in Iroquois Demography. *Human Biology, a record of research* 32(3): 249-273.

Claassen, Cheryl (ed.)

1994 *Women in Archaeology*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Cohen, David William

1989 The Undefining of Oral Tradition. *Ethnohistory* 36(1): 9-18.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip

2009 *Inheriting the Past: The Making of Arthur C. Parker and Indigenous Archaeology*. University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, Arizona.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip and T.J. Ferguson

2006 Memory pieces and footprints: multivocality and the meanings of ancient times and ancestral places among the Zuni and Hopi. *American Anthropologist* 108(1): 148-162.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip and T.J. Ferguson (eds.)

2008 *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities*. Altamira Press, Lanham, Maryland.

Connaughton, Sean P., Mike Leon and James Herbert.

2014 Collaboration, Partnerships and Relationships in a Corporate World. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38(2): 541-562.

Copway, George

1850 [2014] *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario.

Creaven, Sean

2000 *Marxism and Realism: A Materialistic Application of Realism in the Social Sciences.* Routledge, New York.

Cruikshank, Julie

1994 Oral Tradition and Oral History: Reviewing Some Issues. *Canadian Historical Review* 75(3): 404-418.

2005 *Do Glaciers Listen?* UBC Press, Vancouver.

Culhane, Dara

1998 *The Pleasure of the Crown: Anthropology, Law, and First Nations.* Talonbooks, Burnaby, British Columbia.

D'Arcus, Bruce

2003 Contested boundaries: native sovereignty and state power at Wounded Knee, 1973. *Political Geography* 22(4): 415-437.

Da Silva, Judy

2010 Grassy Narrows: Advocate for Mother Earth and Its Inhabitants. In *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, edited by L. Davis, pp. 69-76. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Darlington Joint Review Panel

2011 Darlington New Nuclear Power Plant Project Joint Review Panel Environmental Assessment Report. Environment Minister, Government of Canada.

Davis, Lynne (ed.)

2010 *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Dawson, Kenneth, J.N. Emerson, William Hurley, Wilfred Jury, Walter Kenyon, Kenneth Kidd, Alfred Mohr, William Noble, William Roosa, Peter Storch, Romas Vastoskas, and Norman Wagner.

1971 A Brief Concerning the Destruction of Ontario's Archaeological Resources with Suggestions for Immediate Action. *Arch Notes* 71(9): 6-9.

De Paoli, Maria Luisia

1999 Beyond Tokenism: Aboriginal Involvement in Archaeological Resource Management in British Columbia. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Della Valle, Madelyn

2004 Sherds on the Shelf & Arrowheads in the Attic: Issues with Archaeological Collections in Smaller Museums in Ontario. *Arch Notes* N.S. 9(1): 8-16.

Deloria, Vine Jr.

1969 *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Macmilliam, London.

Dent, Joshua

2012 Past Tents: Temporal Themes and Patterns of Provincial Archaeological Governance in British Columbia and Ontario. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

2015 In(di)visible Fulcra: Perception and Balance in Canadian Archaeological Governance. Presented April 16, 2015 at the 80th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, San Francisco, California.

Dent, Joshua and Matthew Beaudoin

2016 Archaeologist's Almanac. Online resource: http://almanarch.blogspot.ca/, accessed June 22, 2016.

Dent, Joshua and Neal Ferris

2012 Of Disconnects and an Archaeological Heritage Beyond Archaeology. Presented June 7, 2012 at the 1st Annual Association for Critical Heritage Studies Meeting, Gothenburg, Sweden.

DeVries, Laura

2011 *Conflict in Caledonia: Aboriginal Land Rights and the Rule of Law*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

DeVries, Megan

2014 Cultural Resource Management and Aboriginal Engagement: Policy and Practice in Ontario Archaeology. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Diamond, Neil

2009 *Reel Injun*. Documentary. National Film Board of Canada, Rezolution Pictures.

Dobrowolsky, Helene and Thomas J. Hammer

2001 *Tr'ochëk - The Archaeology and History of a Hän Fish Camp*. Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and the Yukon Heritage Branch, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Dods, Roberta Robin

2010 Nations/First Nations: Conflicts in Identity and the Role of Archaeology. In *Unquiet Pasts: Risk Society, Lived Culture Heritage, Re-designing Reflexivity*, edited by S. Koerner and I. Russell, pp. 49-61. Ashgate, Burlington, Vermont.

Dowling, John and Jeffrey Pfeffer

1975 Organizational Legitimacy: Social Values and Organizational Behavior. *The Pacific Sociological Review* 18(1): 122-136.

Drapeau, Thierry

2010 A Glocality in the Making: Learning from the Experience of the Secwepemc Watershed Committee against Sun Peaks Resort, British Columbia. In *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, edited by L. Davis, pp. 213-233. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Duff, Wilson

1961 Letter to L.J. Wallace the Deputy Provincial Secretary of Buildings, Government of British Columbia. Letter on file, B.C. Archives, Victoria.

Dyck, Ian G.

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 109-112.

2001 The Last Quarter Century in Canadian Plains Archaeology. *Prairie Forum* 22(2): 143-168.

2009a Canadian Prairies Archaeology, 1857-1886: Exploration and Self Development. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 33: 1-39.

2009b Canadian Prairies Archaeology, 1886-1915: Reliance on External Interest and Expertise. *Canadian Journal of Arcaheology* 33: 179-204.

Eades, Gwilym Lucas

2015 *Maps and Memes: Redrawing Culture, Place and Identity in Indigenous Communities*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston.

Echo-Hawk, Roger

1997 Forging a New History for Native America. In *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*, edited by N. Swindler, K. Dongoske, R. Anyon, and A. Downer, pp. 88-102. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creeek, California.

Emerson, J. Norman

1959 Farewell to Ault Park. *New Pages in History 1958*: 6-7.

Ernst, Alan

1992 From liberal continentalism to neoconservatism: North American Free Trade and the Politics of the C.D. Howe Institute. *Studies in Political Economy* 39: 109-140.

Ewing, Alfred C.

1961 *Idealism: A Critical Survey*. 3rd Edition. Metheun, London.

Ferris, Neal

1998 "I don't think we're in Kansas anymore": The Rise of the Archaeological Consulting Industry in Ontario. In *Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian* Archaeology, edited by Pamela Jane Smith and Donald Mitchell, pp. 225-247. Mercury Series, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.

2002 Where the Air Thins: The Rapid Rise of the Archaeological Consulting Industry in Ontario. *Revista de Arqueología Americana* 21: 53-88.

2003 Between Colonial and Indigenous Archaeologies: Legal and Extra-legal Ownership of the Archaeological Past in North America. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 27(2): 154-190.

2007 Always Fluid: Government Policy Making and Standards of Practice in Ontario Archaeological Resource Management. In *Quality Management in Archaeology*, edited by W. Willems and M. van der Dries, pp. 78-99. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

2009 *Native Lived Colonialism Challenging History in the Great Lakes*. University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, Arizona.

2012 Skandatut Archaeological Site Preserved as a result of a Historic Land Transfer Agreement. *Arch Notes N.S.* 17(3): 11.

2014 Being Iroquoian, Being Iroquois: A Thousand Year Heritage of Becoming. In *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*, edited by N. Ferris, R. Harrison and M. Wilcox, pp. 317-376. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Ferris, Neal, Rodney Harrison and Matthew A. Beaudoin

2014 Introduction: Rethinking Colonial Pasts through the Archaeologies of the Colonized. In *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*, edited by N. Ferris, R. Harrison and M. Wilcox, pp. 1-36. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Ferris, Neal and John Welch

2014 Beyond Archaeological Agendas: In the Service of a Sustainable Archaeology. In *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*, edited by S. Atalay, L.R. Clauss, R.H. McGuire and J.R. Welch, pp. 215-238. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

2015 New Worlds: Ethics in Contemporary North American Archaeological Practice. In *Ethics and Archaeological Praxis*, edited by C. Gnecco and D. Lippert, pp. 69-93. Springer Books, New York.

Fidler, Courtney and Michael Hitch

2007 Impact and Benefit Agreements: A Contentious Issue for Environmental and Aboriginal Justice. *Environmental Journal* (35(2): 49-69.

Field, Cynthia C., Glen A. Jones, Grace Karram Stephenson and Artur Khoyetsyan

2014 *The "Other" University Teachers: Non-Full-Time Instructors at Ontario Universities*. Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Foster, Hamar, Heather Raven and Jeremy Weber (eds.)

2007 *Let Right Be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Foucault, Michel.

1991 Governmentality. In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller, pp. 87-104. Wheatsheaf Harvester, London.

Fox, William

1986a Archaeological and Native Studies in Ontario. *Arch Notes* 86(1): 7-13.

1986b (ed.) *Archaeological Consulting in Ontario, Papers of the London Conference*. Occasional Publication No. 2. London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society, London, ON.

1988 L'exhumation et l'analyse des restes humains en archeologie: La situation en Ontario sur le plan legal. *Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec* 18(1): 61-65.

1989 Native Archaeology in Ontario: A Status Report. *Arch Notes* 89(6): 30-31.

2014 Grave Reminiscences. *Strata,* Newsletter of the Peterborough Chapter, OAS. 4(1):1, 8-17.

Francis, Daniel

1992[2011] *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. 2nd Edition. Arsenal Pulp Press, Vancouver.

Freeman, Victoria

2010a Reconciliation in Cyberspace? Lessons from Turning Point: Native Peoples and Newcomers Online. In *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, edited by L. Davis, pp. 149-157. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

2010b 'Toronto Has No History!' Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism and Historical Memory in Canada's Largest City. PhD. Dissertation. Department of History, University of Toronto, Toronto.

2011 Indigenous Hauntings in Settler–Colonial Spaces: The Activism of Indigenous Ancestors in the City of Toronto. In *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture and History*, edited by C. E. Boyd and C. Thrush, pp. 209-254. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Fumerton, Dave

2010 Inspection Report: Ontario Heritage Act. September 15, 2010.

Gilbert, Colin Drew

2011 The Archaeology of the Deer Island Point Site (BfDr5), Charlotte County, New Brunswick. Unpublished MA Thesis. Graduate Academic Unit of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick.

Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw

1992 *The Spirit in the Land: Statements of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs in the Supreme Court of British Columbia 1987-1990*. Reflections, Gabriola, British Columbia.

Gnecco, Cristóbal and Dorothy Lippert (eds.)

2015 *Ethics and Archaeological Praxis*. Springer, New York.

Goff, Phillip

2013 Idealism. In *Encyclopedia of the Mind*, edited by Harold Pashler. Online Resource, accessed July 5, 2016. SAGE Publications, New York.

Goffman, Erving

1959 *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Doubleday Anchor Books, New York.

Gogal, Sandra, Richard Riegert, and JoAnn Jamieson

2005 Aboriginal impact and benefit agreements: Practical considerations. *Alberta Law Review* 43(1): 129-157.

González, Juan Jesús and Cristóbal Gómez

2001 Profession and identity. The case of family farming in Spain. *Sociologia Ruralis* 41(3): 343-357.

Gosden, Chris

2004 *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*. Cabridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gotthardt, Ruth

1992 *Tatl'á Män*. Selkirk First Nation and the Yukon Heritage Branch, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Gotthardt, Ruth, Ruth Massie and Doreen Grady

2000 *Ta'an Kwäch'än: People of the Lake*. Ta'an Kwäch'än Council, Northern Institute of Yukon College and the Yukon Heritage Branch, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Green, Alan G.

2000 Twentieth Century Canadian Economic History. In *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States, Volume III: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, pp. 191-247. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hamilakis, Yannis and Philip Duke (eds.)

2007 *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Hamilton, Michelle

2010 *Collections and Objections: Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario*. McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal & Kingston.

Hammer, Thomas J. and Greg Hare

1999 *From Trail to Tramway: The Archaeology of Canyon City*. Kwanlin Dün First Nation and the Yukon Energy Corporation.

Hammer, Thomas J. and Christian Thomas

2006 *Archaeology at Forty Mile/Ch’ëdä Dëk*. Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and Yukon Heritage Resources, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Hammond, Joanne

2009 Archaeology Without Reserve: Indigenous Heritage Stewardship in British Columbia. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Hanna, Margaret G.

2003 Old Bones, New Reality: A Review of Issues and Guidelines Pertaining to Repatriation. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 27(2): 234-257.

Hanson, Erin

n.d. Constitution Act, 1982 Section 35. Online resource: http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/government-policy/constitution-act-1982-section-35.html, accessed June 23, 2016. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Hare, Greg

2011 *The Frozen Past: The Yukon Ice Patches*. Government of the Yukon, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Hare, Greg and Ruth Gotthardt

1996 *A Look Back in Time: The Archaeology of Fort Selkirk*. Selkirk First Nation and the Yukon Heritage Branch, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Hare, Greg and Sheila Greer

1994 *Désdélé Méné: The Archaeology of Annie Lake*. Carcross/Tagish First Nation and the Yukon Heritage Branch, Whitehorse, Yukon.

Harkness, Janet

2012 Comparative survey research. In *The Handbook of Comparative Communication Research*, edited by F. Esser and T. Hanitzsch, pp. 445-458. Routledge, New York.

Harris, Cole

2002 *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Harrison, Julia D. and Bruce Trigger

1988 'The Spirit Sings' and the Future of Anthropology. *Anthropology Today* 4(6): 6-10.

Hawthorn, H.B. (ed.)

1966-1967 *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada Parts I & II*. Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

Hedican, Edward J.

2008 *Applied Anthropology in Canada: Understanding Aboriginal Issues*. 2nd Edition. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

2013 *Ipperwash: The Tragic failure of Canada's Aboriginal Policy*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Henige, David

1982 *Oral Historiography*. Longman, London.

Henry, Michael B.

2008 First Nations Consultation: A First Person Perspective. Ontario Planning Forum: Land and Economic Development. Insight Information, Toronto.

Herst, DiAnn

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 103-108.

Hinshelwood, Andrew

2010 Buried in Paper: Policy implementation networks and their role in shaping archaeology policy. PhD. Dissertation. Lincoln University, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Hodder, Ian

1993 Changing Configurations: The Relationship between Theory and Practice. In *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: An Introduction*, edited by J. Hunter and I. Ralston, pp. 11-18. Allen Sutton, Phoenix Mill, United Kingdom.

Holtorf, Cornelius

2005 *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas: Archaeology as Pop Culture*. Altamira Press, Lanham, Maryland.

2007 *Archaeology is a brand! The Meaning of Archaeology in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Routledge , New York.

Hoeve, Yvonne ten, Gerard Jansen and Petrie Roodbol

2014 The nursing profession: public image, self-concept and professional identity. A discussion paper. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 70(2): 295-309.

Hogg, Erin

2014 Community Engagement in British Columbia Archaeology. MA Thesis. Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Hutchings, Rich and Marina La Salle

2015 Archaeology as Disaster Capitalism. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 19(4): 699-720.

Inwood, Kris and Thanasis Stengos

1991 Discontinuities in Canadian Economic Growth 1870-1985. *Explorations of Economic History* 28: 274-286.

Jackson, Lawrence

2011 APA Skandatut Site Visit, March 02, 2011.

Jackson, Lawrence, Mima Kapches and Dean Knight

2011 January 10, 2011 Report on Investigation Requested by APA Member Keith Powers. Association of Professional Archaeologists.

Jameson Jr., John H. (ed.)

1997 *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Jamieson, Susan M.

1999 When natives and archaeologists meet: cooperative archaeology as a vehicle for awareness and education. *Arch Notes N.S.* 4(3): 8-11.

Janes, Robert R.

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 120-122.

Janusas, Scarlett

2011 President's Message. *Association of Professional Archaeologists Newsletter* 2011-01: 1-2.

Jeannotte, M. Sharon

2004 Just Showing Up: Social and Cultural Capital in Everyday Life. Strategic Research and Analysis, Department of Canadian Heritage, Gatineau, Quebec.

Jennings, Francis

1984 *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies*. W. W. Norton & Company, New York.

Johnson, Harold

2007 *Two Families: Treaties and Government*. Purich Publishing, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Johnson, Matthew

2010 *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*. 2nd Edition. Wiley-Blackwell, West Sussex, UK.

Kapyrka, Julie C.

2005 Archaeology and First Nations: an attitude analysis of Ontario archaeologists. *Arch Notes* 10(4): 11-21.

2010 With True Spirit and Intent: Williams Treaty First Nations and the Association of Professional Archaeologists Break New Ground. *Arch Notes N.S.* 15(4): 11-16.

2011 Association of Professional Archaeologists and Anishinaabe Elders Building Bridges. *Association of Professional Archaeologists Newsletter* 2011-01: 2-7.

2014 Lest We Forget… The Colonial Nature of Archaeology. *Arch Notes N.S.* 19(3): 12-15.

Kapyrka, Julie and Gitiga Migizi

2016 Truth and Reconciliation in Archaeology: Dismantling the Kingdom. *Arch Notes N.S.* 21(4): 3-9.

Keefer, Tom

2010 Contradictions of Canadian Colonialism: Non-Native Responses to the Six Nations Reclamation at Caledonia. In *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, edited by L. Davis, pp. 77-90. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Keeysak Hydropower Limited Partnership

2012 Keeysak Generation Project Environmental Impact Assessment: Socio-Economic Environment, Resource Use and Heritage Resources. Supporting Volume.

Kelley, Jane H.

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 123-124.

Kenyon, Walter A.

1978 *Some Bones of Contention: The Neutral Indian Burial Site at Grimsby*. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Killian, Gerald

1983 *David Boyle: From Artisan to Archaeologist*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

King, Amanda

2008 Archaeology and Local Governments: The Perspectives of First Nations and Municipal Councillors in the Fraser River Valley, B.C. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Klassen, Michael

2013 Indigenous Heritage Stewardship and the Transformation of Archaeological Practice: Two Case Studies from the Mid-Fraser Region of British Columbia. PhD. Dissertation. Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Klassen, Michael, Rick Budhwa and Rudy Reimer/Yumks

2009 First Nations, Forestry and the Transformation of Archaeological Practice in British Columbia, Canada. *Heritage Management* 2(2): 199-238.

Klein, Naomi

2007 *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Picador, New York.

Klimko, Olga, and Milt Wright

2000 Old Rocks and Hard Places: Archaeology and Land Claims/ Treaty in British Columbia, Canada. In *Native Title and the Transformation of Archaeology in the Postcolonial World*, edited by I. Lilley, pp. 88–98. Oceania Monograph 50. Oceania Publications, Sydney.

Knechtel, Fritz

1960 Ontario Archaic and Our Nuclear Future. *New Pages of Prehistory 1959*: 22-23.

Kolter, Phillip and Nancy Lee

2005 *Corporate Social Responsibility: Doing the Most Good for Your Company and Your Cause*. Wiley, Hoboken, New Jersey.

Kovach, Margaret

2009 *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Kritsch, Ingrid D. and Alestine M. Andre

1997 Gwich'in Traditional Knowledge and Heritage Studies In the Gwich'in Settlement Area. In *At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada*, edited by G. Nicholas and T. Andrews, pp. 125-144. Publication no. 24. Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Kulchyski, Peter (ed.)

1994 *Unjust Relations: Aboriginal Rights in Canadian Courts*. Oxford University Press, Toronto.

La Salle, Marina and Rich Hutchings

2012 Commercial Archaeology in British Columbia. *The Midden* 44(2):8-16.

2016 What Makes Us Squirm – A Critical Assessment of Community-Oriented Archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 40(1): 164-180.

Lane, William

1993 Heritage's New Advisors. *The Midden* 25(2): 2.

Latour, Bruno

1987 *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Latta, Martha A.

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 125-127.

Lewis, Roger

2010 The Journey of a *L'nu* Archaeologist in a Mi'kmaw Place. In *being and becoming indigenous archaeologists*, edited by G. Nicholas, pp. 178-183. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Linden, Honourable Sidney B.

2007 *Report of the Ipperwash Inquiry*. Ipperwash Inquiry, Toronto.

Little Bear, Leroy

1988 Section 88 of the Indian Act and the Application of Provincial Laws to Indians. In *Governments in Conflict? Provinces and Indian Nations in Canada*, edited by J. A. Long and M. Bolt, pp. 175–187. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Locke, John

1825 *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Samuel Marks, New York.

Lyons, Natasha

2013 *Where the Wind Blows Us: Practicing Critical Community Archaeology in the Canadian North*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona.

McGhee, Robert

2008 Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology. *American Antiquity*73(4): 579-597.

McGuire, Randall H.

2007 Foreword: Politics Is a Dirty Word, but Then Archaeology Is a Dirty Business. In *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics*, edited by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 9-10. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

2008 *Archaeology as Political Action*. University of California Press, Los Angeles.

MacLeod, Donald

1975 Peddle or Perish: Archaeological Marketing from Concept to Product Delivery. *Canadian Archaeological Association Collected Papers March 1975, Research Report 6*. Historical Sites Branch, Ontario.

McLeod, Neal

2007 *Cree Narrative Memory: From Treaties to Contemporary Times*. Purich Publishing, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

McManamon, Francis

1991 The Many Publics for Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 56(1): 121-130

McWilliams, Abagail and Donald Siegel

2000 Corporate social responsibility and financial performance: correlation or misspecification? *Strategic Management Journal* 21(5): 603-609.

Manitoba Hydro

2013 Bipole III Transmission Project: Cultural and Heritage Resources Protection Plan. Manitoba Hydro, Winnipeg.

Maracle, Lee

2003 The Operation was Successful, But the Patient Died. *Box of Treasures or Empty Box? Twenty Years of Section 35*, edited by A. Walkem and H. Bruce, pp. 308-314. Theytus Books, Penticton, British Columbia.

Markey, Nola M.

2010 The “Other” Accidental Archaeologist. In *being and becoming indigenous archaeologists*, edited by G. Nicholas, pp. 199-209. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Marshall, Joseph M. III

1996 Wounded Knee Takeover, 1973. In *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, edited by F.E. Hoxie, pp. 697-699. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Martin-Hill, Dawn

2008 *the Lubicon Lake Nation: Indigenous Knowledge and Power*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Martindale, Andrew and Natasha Lyons

2014 Introduction: Community-Oriented Archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38 (2): 425-433.

Martindale, Andrew, Natasha Lyons, George Nicholas, Bill Angelbeck, Sean p. Connaughton, Colin Grier, James Herbert, Mike Leon, Yvonne Marshall, Angela Piccini, David M. Schaepe, Kisha Supernaut, and Gary Warrick

2016 Archaeology as Partnerships in Practice: A Reply to La Salle and Hutchings. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 40(1): 181-204.

Mason, Andrew R.

2013 Cultural Resource Management in the Context of Forestry in British Columbia: Existing Conditions and New Opportunities. In *Aboriginal Peoples and Forest Lands in Canada*, edited by D.B. Tindall, R.L. Trosper and P. Perreault, pp. 161-179. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Mason, Ronald J.

2000 Archaeology and Native North American Oral Traditions. *American Antiquity* 65(2): 239-266.

Miller, Bruce Granville

2011 *Oral History on Trial: Recognizing Aboriginal Narratives in the Courts*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Miller, James R.

2009 *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Mitchell, Donald

1975 Letter to Bjorn Simonsen, regarding ASAB membership. Letter on file, B.C. Archives, Victoria Columbia.

Murphy, P.J., George P. Nicholas and Marianne Ignace (eds.)

1999 *Coyote U: Stories and Teachings From the Secwepemc Education Institute*. Theytus Books, Penticton, British Columbia.

Murray, Tim

1993 Communication and the Importance of Disciplinary Communities: Who Owns the Past? In. *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* edited by N. Yoffee and A. Sherratt, pp. 105-116. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Newfoundland and Labrador (Government)

2014 *Archaeology Review* 12. Provincial Archaeology Office, Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, St. John's, NL.

Newman, Dwight

2009 *The Duty to Consult: New Relationships with Aboriginal People*. Purich Publishing, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Nicholas, George

2006 Decolonizing the Archaeological Landscape: The Practice and Politics of Archaeology in British Columbia. *American Indian Quarterly* 30 (3-4): 350-380.

2010a Seeking the End of Indigenous Archaeology. In *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 20th Century*, edited by C. Phillips and H. Allen, pp. 233-252. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

2010b (ed.) *being and becoming indigenous archaeologists*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

2014 Reconciling Inequalities in Archaeological Practice and Heritage Research. In *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*, edited by S. Atalay, L.R. Clauss, R.H. McGuire and J.R. Welch, pp. 133-155. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Nicholas, George and Thomas Andrews (eds.)

1997 *At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada*. Publication no. 24. Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Nicholas, George and Julie Hollowell

2007 Ethical Challenges to a Postcolonial Archaeology: The Legacy of Scientific Colonialism. In *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics*, edited by Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, pp. 59–82. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Nicholas, George and Nola Markey

2014 Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and Simon Fraser University (SCES-SFU) Indigenous Archaeology Program. In *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, edited by C. Smith, pp. 6548-6550. Springer, New York.

Niezen, Ronald

2003 *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Difference*. University of California Press, Berkley, California.

2008 *Defending the Land: Soveriegnty and Forest Life in James Bay Cree Society* 2nd Edition. Pearson Education, London.

2009 *The Rediscovered Self: indigenous identity and Cultural Justice*. McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal & Kingston.

Noble, William

1977 The Noble Report: Licensing (Part 1). *Arch Notes* 77(2): 4-6.

1982 Potsherds, Potlids, and Politics: An Overview of Ontario Archaeology during the 1970s. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 6: 167-194.

O’Brien, Michael J., R. Lee Lyman, and Michael Brian Schiffer

2005 *Archaeology as a Process: Processualism and Its Progeny*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Oetelaar, Gerald and D. Joy Oetelaar

2006 People, Places and Paths: The Cypress Hills and the Niitsitapi Landscape of Southern Alberta. *Plains Anthropologist* 51(199): 375-397.

Ogilvie, Robert

1985 *Archaeology in Nova Scotia 1981-1984*. Curatorial Report Number 55. Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Okamura, Katsuyuki and Akira Matsuda (eds.)

2011 *New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology*. Springer, New York.

Ontario (Government)

2006 Draft Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists. Ministry of Culture, Toronto.

2010 Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Technical Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario. Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto.

2016 Archaeology Field Director Information Session and Workshop. April 2016. Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport, Toronto.

Ontario Power Generation Inc.

2009 Aboriginal Interests. Technical Support Document. New Nuclear – Darlington Environmental Assessment.

Paterson, Robert K.

2009 Ancestral Remains in Institutional Collections: Proposals for Reform. In *Protection of First Nations Cultural Heritage: Laws, Policy and Reform*, edited by C. Bell and R. K. Paterson, pp. 155-180 UBC Press, Vancouver.

Patterson, Thomas C.

1999 The Political Economy of Archaeology in the United States. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28: 155-174.

Paynter, Robert

2005 Contesting Culture Histories in Archaeology and Their Engagement with Marx. *Rethinking Marxism* 17(3): 399-412.

Peacock, Allen and Ilde Rizzo (eds.)

1994 *Cultural Economics and Cultural Policies*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Norwell, Massachusetts.

Perry, Ralph B.

1912 *Present Philosophical Tendencies: A Critical Survey of Naturalism, Idealism, Pragmatism and Realism Together with a Synopsis of the Philosophy of William James.* Longmans, Green, and Co., New York.

Phillips, Caroline

2010 Working Together? Maori and Archaeologists in Aotearoa/New Zealand Today. In *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 20th Century*, edited by C. Phillips and H. Allen, pp. 129-156. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Phillips, Caroline and Harry Allen (eds.)

2010 *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 20th Century*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Piquemal, Nathalie and Bret Nickels

2002 Aboriginals and archaeologists: is collaboration possible? *Policy Options*. http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/of-cities-and-other-things/aboriginals-and-archaeologists-is-collaboration-possible/, accessed July 19, 2016.

Pokotylo, David and Neil Guppy

1999 Public Opinion and Archaeological Heritage: Views from Outside the Profession. *American Antiquity* 64(3): 400-416.

Pokotylo, David and Andrew Mason

2010 Archaeological Heritage Resource Protection in Canada: The Legal Basis. In *Cultural Heritage Management: A Global Perspective*, edited by P.M. Messenger and G.S. Smith, pp. 48-69. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Pruecel, Robert W. and Stephen A. Mrozowski (eds.)

2010 *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: The New Pragmatism*. 2nd Edition. Wiley-Blackwell, West Sussex, UK.

Putnam, Hilary

2016 Realism. *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 42(2): 117-131.

Racher, Paul

2006 Up from the muck: Towards a truly professional archaeology in Ontario. *Arch Notes* 11(4): 7-11.

Ray, Arthur J.

2011 *Telling It to the Judge: Taking Native History to Court*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston.

Redman, Charles

1991 In Defense of the Seventies: The Adolescence of the New Archaeology. *American Anthropologist* 93(2): 295-307.

Rowlands, Michael J.

1994 The Politics of Identity in Archaeology. In *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*, edited by G.C. Bond and A. Gilliam, pp. 129-43. Routledge, London.

Salomons, Tanisha and Eric Hanson

n.d. Guerin Case. Online Resource: http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/land-rights/guerin-case.html, accessed June 23, 2016. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Saskatchewan(Government), the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, the Meewasin Valley Authority, and the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation

2000 Saskatchewan First Nations Central Burial Site Memorandum of Understanding. June 10, 2000.

Savage, Howard

1972 President's Page. *Arch Notes* 72(3): 3.

Schattschnieder, Elmer E.

1960 *The Semi-Sovereign people: A realist's view of democracy in America*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York.

Schiffer, Michael and George Gumerman (eds.)

1977 *Conservation Archaeology: A Guide for Cultural Resource Management Studies*. Academic Press, New York.

SENES Consultants Limited

2009 Environmental Impact Statement. New Nuclear – Darlington Environmental Assessment.

Shackel, Paul A. and Erve J. Chambers

2004 *Places in Mind: Public Archaeology as Applied Anthropology*. Routledge, New York.

Shrubsole, Nicholas D.

2011 The Sun Dance and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff: Healing Through Resistance and the Danger of Dismissing Religion. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 2(4).

Silko, Leslie Marmon

1996 *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of Spirit: Essays on Native American Life Today*. Touchstone Books, New York.

Silliman, Stephen (ed.)

2008 *Collaborating at the Trowel's Edge: Teaching and Learning in Indigenous Archaeology*. University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, Arizona.

Simpson, Leanne

2011 *Dancing on our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence*. ARP Books, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Singer, Michael

2005 *The Legacy of Positivism*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Smith, Laurajane

1993 Feminist Issues in Cultural Resource Management. In *Women in Archaeology: A Feminist Critique* Occasional Papers in Prehistory 23, edited by H. du Cros and L. Smith, pp. 210-214. Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

2004 *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. Routledge, New York.

2006 *Uses of Heritage*. Routledge, New York.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai

1999[2012] *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* 2nd edition. Zed Books, London.

Smith, Merran and Art Sterritt

2010 Towards a Shared Vision: Lessons Learned from Collaboration between First Nations and Environmental Organizations to Protect the Great Bear Rainforest and Coastal First Nations Communities. In *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, edited by L. Davis, pp. 131-148. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Snow, Elizabeth

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 117-118.

Snow, Chief John

2005 *These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney People*. Fifth House Publishers, Markham, Ontario.

Sparrow, Leona, Jordan Wilson, Larissa Grant, Jason Woolman, Susan Roy, Susan Rowley, and Viviane Gosselin.

2016 Righting History: c'esna?em: The City Before the City. Presented at the 3rd Biennial Meeting of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, June 6, 2016, Montreal, QC.

Spurling, Brian

1986 Archaeological Resource Management in Western Canada: A Policy Science Approach. PhD. Dissertation, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Spurling, Brian E. and Ernest G. Walker

1987 The Fort Qu'Appelle Burial Site: A Canadian Controversy. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14(4): 481-486.

Statistics Canada

2009 *Salaries and Salary Scales of Full-time Teaching Staff at Canadian Universities, 2008/2009: Preliminary Report*. Education Finances, Postsecondary Faculty and Tuition Statistics Section, Ottawa, Ontario.

Stenton, Doug

2003 *Guidelines for Applicants and Holders of Nunavut Territory Archaeology and Palaeontology Permits*. Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, Iqaluit, Nunavut.

Stiegelbauer, Suzanne

1996 What is an Elder? What do Elders do? First Nation Elders as Teachers in Culture-Based Urban Organizations. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 16(1): 37-66.

Supernaut, Kisha and Gary Warrick

2014 Challenges to Critical Community-based Archaeological Practice in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38(2): 563-591.

Sweetnam, Albert

2011 OPG New Nuclear at Darlington Project - Engaging Aboriginal Communities in the Stage 4 Excavations of the OPG New Nuclear at Darlington Site. Letter to Darlington Joint Review Panel.

Swindler, Nancy, Kurt Dongoske, Roger Anyon, and Alan Downer (eds.)

1997 *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creeek, California.

Thomas, David H.

2000 *Skull Wars Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity*. Basic Books, New York.

Thomson, J. Callum

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 114-117.

Throsby, David

1999 Cultural capital. *Journal of Cultural Economics* 23: 3-12.

2002 Cultural Capital and Sustainability Concepts in the Economics of Cultural Heritage. In *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage* edited by Marta de la Torre, pp. 101-118. The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider and Sarah Carter

1996 *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston.

Trigger, Bruce

1985[2002] *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

1991 Distinguished Lecture in Archaeology: Constraint and Freedom – a New Synthesis for Archaeological Explanation. *American Anthropologist* 93: 551-569.

1994 Dialogue (Response to Burley). *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 18: 101-103.

1998 Archaeology and Epistemology: Dialoguing across the Darwinian Chasm. *American Journal of Archaeology* 102 (1): 1-34.

2006 *A History of Archaeological Thought*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Turnbull, Christopher

1977 Of Backdirt and Bureaucracy: The Role of Government in Canadian Archaeology. In *New Perspectives in Canadian Archaeology Proceedings of a Symposium by the Royal Society of Canada*, edited by A. McKay, pp. 137–147. Royal Society of Canada, Toronto.

VanPool, Todd and Christine VanPool

2003 Introduction: Method, Theory and the Essential Tension. In *Essential Tensions in Archaeological Method and Theory*, edited by T.L. VanPool and C.S. VanPool, pp. 1-4. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Vansina, Jan

1965 *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology.* Translated by H.M. Wright. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Verhagen, Philip and Thomas Whitley

2012 Integrating Archaeological and Predictive Modelling: a Live report from the Scene. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 19: 49-100.

Von Mises, Richard

1951[1968] *Positivism: A Study in Human Understanding*. Dover Publications, New York.

Wallace, Sandra

2011 *Contradictions of Archaeological Theory: Engaging critical realism and archaeological theory*. Routledge, New York.

Warrick, Gary

2008 *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 500-1650.* Cambridge University Press, New York.

2012 Buried Stories: Archaeology and Aboriginal Peoples of the Grand River, Ontario. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 46(2):153-177.

Warrick, Gary, Allicia Hawkins, Holly Martelle and Neal Ferris

2010 Independent Expert Panel Review of September 15th Inspection Report Under the Ontario Heritage Act Related to Licensed Activities Carried out at the Skandatut Ancestral Huron-Wendat Archaeological Site. Ontario Archaeological Society.

Watkins, Joe

2000 *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Watson, Richard A.

1990 Ozymandias, King of Kings: Postprocessual Radical Archaeology as Critique. *American Antiquity* 55(4): 673-689.

Watts, Christopher (ed.)

2013 *Relational Archaeologies: Human, Animals, Things*. Routledge, New York.

Weaver, Sally M.

1993 The Hawthorn Report: Its Use in the Making of Canadian Indian Policy. In *Anthropology, Public Policy and Natives Peoples in Canada*, edited by N. Dyck and J. B. Waldram, pp. 75-97. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston.

Welch, John R. and Neal Ferris

2014 ‘We Have Met The Enemy And It Is Us”: Transforming Archaeology through Sustainable Design. In *Transforming Archaeology: Activist Practices and Prospects*, edited by S. Atalay, L.R. Clauss, R.H. McGuire and J.R. Welch, pp. 91-113. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Weller, Susan

2015 Structured Interviewing and Questionnaire Construction. In *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Second Edition. Edited by H. Russell Bernard and Clarence C. Gravlee, pp. 343-390. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland.

White Deer, Gary

1997 Return of the Sacred: Spirituality and the Scientific Imperative. In *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*, edited by N. Swindler, K. Dongoske, R. Anyon, and A. Downer, pp. 37-43. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creeek, California.

Whitridge, Peter

2004 Landscapes, Houses, Bodies, Things: “Place” and the Archaeology of Inuit Imaginaries. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 11(2): 213-250.

Wicken, William C.

2002 *Mi’kmaq Treaties on Trial: History, Land, and Donald Marshall Junior*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Wilkes, Rima and Tamara Ibrahim

2013 Timber: Direct Action over Forests and Beyond. In *Aboriginal Peoples and Forest Lands in Canada*, edited by D.B. Tindall, R.L. Trosper and P. Perreault, pp. 74-85. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Williamson, Ronald

2010 Planning for Ontario’s Past: Accomplishments and Continuing Challenges. *Revista de Arqueología Americana* 28: 7-45.

2014 The Archaeological History of the Wendat to 1651: An Overview. *Ontario Archaeology* 94: 3-64.

Wobst, H. Martin

2005 Power to the (Indigenous) Past and Present! Or: The Theory and Method Behind Archaeological Theory and Method. In *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing Theory and Practice*, edited by H.M. Wobst and C. Smith, pp. 17-32. Routledge, London.

Wylie, Alison

1989 Archaeological Cables and Tacking: The Implications of Practice for Bernstein's 'Options Beyond Objectivism and Relativism'. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 19:1-18.

1993 A Proliferation of New Archaeologies: "Beyond Objectivism and Relativism." In *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?*, edited by N. Yoffee and A. Sherratt, pp. 20-26. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

2002 *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology*. University of California Press, Berkley, California.

York Region

2014 Amendment no. 744 to the Vaughn Offical Plan – The Block 40/47 Secondary Plan. Clause No. 7, Report No. 13. Committee of the Whole. September 4, 2014.

Zacharias, Sandra and David L. Pokotylo

1997 Cultural Heritage Policy Overview. Unpublished report for the BC Ministry of Forests, Nelson Forest District, Nelson, BC.

Zoe, John B. (ed.)

2007 *Trails of our Ancestors: Building a Nation*. Tlicho Government, Behchoko, Northwest Territories.

Zorzin, Nicolas

2010 The Political Economy of a Commercial Archaeology: A Quebec Case-Study. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton.

2015 Dystopian Archaeologies: the Implementation of the Logic of Capital in Heritage Management. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 19: 791-809.

Appendices

Appendix I: Government Legislation, Regulations, Agreements, Policy Documents and Supreme Court of Canada Cases

Government of Canada

Canada Act 1982 1982, c. 11 (UK)

Constitution Act 1982 (Schedule B of the Canada Act 1982)

Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, 2012 S.C. 2012, c. 19, s. 52

Newfoundland and Labrador

Historic Resources Act RNSL 1990 c.H-4.

Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act S.C. 2005, c. 27.

Nova Scotia

Special Places Protection Act RS 1989 c.438.

Debert Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment Regulations N.S. Reg. 129/2008.

Archaeological Research (Category B) Guidelines Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014.

Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment (Category C) Guidelines Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage 2014.

Prince Edward Island

Archaeology Act RSPEI 1988, c A-17.1

Heritage Places Protection Act RSPEI 1988, c. H-3.1

Ancient Burial Grounds Act RSPEI 1974 c.A-11

Archaeology Act Regulations c.A-15.1

New Brunswick

Heritage Conservation Act SNB 2009 c.H-4.05

Maliseet Advisory Committee on Archaeology

Quebec

Cultural Heritage Act 2011 c.21

Cree-Naskapi (of Quebec) Act S.C. 1984 c. 18

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement 1975

Ontario

Ontario Heritage Act R.S.O. 1990, Chapter O.18

Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act, S.O. 2002 c. 33

Provincial Policy Statement 2014 Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2014.

Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011.

Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Technical Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2010.

Proposed Agreement-in-Principle between the Algonquins of Ontario, Ontario and Canada 2015

Manitoba

The Heritage Resources Act 1985 C.C.S.M. c. H39.1

The Environment Act 1987 C.C.S.M. c. E125

Provisions Regarding Found Human Remains Manitoba Heritage Resources Branch n.d.

Agreement for a Protocol for the Protection of Heritage Resources and Aboriginal Human Remains Related to the Wuskwatim Generating Project Manitoba and Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation 2006.

Manitoba (cont.)

Manitoba Hydro's Bipole III Transmission Project: Cultural and Heritage Resources Protection Plan Manitoba Hydro 2013.

Saskatchewan

Heritage Property Act S.S. 1980 c. H-2.2

Archaeological Burial Management Policy Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Parks 2010.

First Nation and Métis Consultation Policy Framework Government of Saskatchewan 2010.

Alberta

Historical Resources Act R.S.A. 2000 c. H-9

Listing of Historical Resources Aboriginal Heritage Section, Historic Resource Management 2013

The Government of Alberta's Guidelines on Consultation with First Nations on Land and Natural Resource Management 2014

British Columbia

Heritage Conservation Act R.S.B.C. 1996 c.187

Memorandum of Understanding: First Nation Heritage Site Conservation in Hul'qumi'num Tumuhw Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group 2007

Heritage Conservation Memorandum of Understanding Treaty 8 First Nations 2010.

Kunst'aa guu-Kunst'aayah Reconciliation Protocol Council of the Haida Nation 2009.

Nisga'a Final Agreement 1999

Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement 2007

Maa-nulth First Nations Final Agreement 2009

British Columbia (cont.)

British Columbia Archaeological Resource Management Handbook for Foresters Ministry of Tourism, Sports and the Arts Archaeology Branch 2007

Cultural Feature Identification Standards Manual Council of the Haida Nation 2013

Yukon

Historic Resources Act RSY 2002 c.109

Archaeological Sites Regulation O.I.C. 2003/73

Yukon Heritage Resource Operational Policy Yukon Tourism and Culture 2010.

Guidelines Respecting the Discovery of Human Remains and First Nation Burial Sites in the Yukon Yukon Tourism and Culture 1999

Yukon First Nations Umbrella Final Agreement 1988/90/93

Northwest Territories

Northwest Territories Act, SC 2014, c. 2 s. 2

Archaeological Sites Act S.N.W.T. 2014 c.9

Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations SOR/98-429

Strong Cultures, Strong Territory: GNWT Culture and Heritage Strategic Framework 2015-2025 Northwest Territories 2015.

Heritage Services Policy Northwest Territories 1993 (Link to 1997 reformatted version)

PWNHC Archaeological Permit Requirements Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 2014

Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Agreement 1992

Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement 1993

Inuvialuit Final Agreement 2005

Tłı̨chǫ Land Claims and Self-Government Agreement 2003

Nunavut

Nunavut Act S.C. 1993, c.28

Nunavut Land Claims Agreement 1993

Guidelines for Applicants and Holders of Nunavut Territory Archaeology and Palaeontology Permits Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, Stenton 2003

Human Remains Policy Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, n.d.

Supreme Court of Canada Decisions

Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia [1973] SCR 313

R. v. Guerin (Guerin v. The Queen) [1984] 2 SCR 335

R. v. Sparrow [1990] 1 SCR 1075

R. v. Van der Peet [1996] 2 SCR 507

Delgamuukw v. British Columbia [1997] 3 SCR 1010

Kitkatla Band v. British Columbia (Minister of Small Business, Tourism and Culture) 2002 SCC 31

Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests) 2004 SCC 73

Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. British Columbia (Project Assessment Director) 2004 SCC 74

Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada (Minister of Canadian Heritage) 2005 SCC 69

Beckman v. Little Salmon/Carmacks First Nation 2010 SCC 53

Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia 2014 SCC 44

Appendix II: Indigenous Community Website Review

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC (BC Assembly of FN)	?Akisq'nuk First Nation	http://akisqnuk.org/home/	y	n	n	Lands
BC	?Esdilagh First Nation	no	n	n	n	
BC/NWT (See NWT)	Acho Dene Koe First Nation	http://www.adkfirstnation.ca	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Traditional Land Use
BC	Adams Lake Band	http://adamslakeband.org/	y	n	n	Lands
BC	Ahousaht First Nation	http://ahousaht.ca/Home.html	n	n	n	
BC	Aitchelitz First Nation	no				
BC	Alexis Creek FN (Tŝi Del Del)	http://www.tsideldel.org/	unclear	n	n	
BC	Ashcroft Indian Band	no				
BC	Beecher Bay (Scia'new) First Nation	http://www.beecherbaybc.com/	n	n	n	
BC	Blueberry River First Nation	no				
BC	Bonaparte Indian Band	http://www.bonaparteindianband.com	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Cultural Heritage (Bert Williams)
BC	Boothroyd Band	http://www.nntc.ca/memberbands.htm	y? (through Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council)	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Boston Bar First Nation	http://bostonbarfirstnation.com	y	n	n	
BC	Bridge River (Xwísten) Indian Band	http://xwisten.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Burns Lake Band (Ts'il Kaz Koh First Nation)	http://www.burnslakeband.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Campbell River (Wei Wai Kum) Indian Band	http://www.crband.ca/index.php	in progress	n	n	
BC	Canim Lake Band	http://www.canimlakeband.com/	y	n	y	Natural Resources
BC	We Wai Kai Nation (Cape Mudge)	http://www.wewaikai.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Natural Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC/YT	Carcross/Tagish First Nation	http://www.ctfn.ca/	y	n	y	Heritage, Lands and Natural Resources
BC	Cayoose Creek Band	http://cayoosecreek.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources; Lands Stewards
BC/YT	Champagne and Aishihik First Nations	http://cafn.ca/	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Language, Culture and Heritage
BC	Chawathil First Nation	no				
BC	Cheam Indian Band	http://www.cheam.ca/	y	n	n	Economic Development and Land Resources
BC	Stz'uminus (Chemainus) First Nation	http://www.stzuminus.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Cheslatta Carrier Nation	no				
BC	Coldwater Indian Band	http://coldwaterband.com/ (down)				
BC	Cook's Ferry Indian Band	http://cooksferryband.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Registry
BC	Cowichan Tribes First Nation	http://www.cowichantribes.com/	y	n	n	Lands; Environment and Natural Resources Department
BC	Da'naxda'xw First Nation	www.danaxdaxw.com	unclear	unclear	n	
BC	Dease River First Nation	no	y (through Kaska Dena Council)	n	n	Kaska Natural Resources Society with funding from a Strategic Engagement Agreement with the BC government
BC	Ditidaht First Nation	http://www.ditidaht.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Doig River First Nation	http://treaty8.bc.ca/communities/doig-river-first-nation/	y	n	n	Coordinated Lands Office - Treaty 8 First Nations
BC	Douglas First Nation (Xa'xtsa)	http://www.xaxtsa.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Dzawada'enuxw First Nation	http://www.kingcome.ca/	y	n	n	Land and Marine Resources
BC	Ehattesaht First Nation	http://www.ehattesaht.com/index.html	n	n	n	
BC	Esk'etemc First Nation	http://esketemc.org/	y	n	n	Land and Resources
BC	Esquimalt Nation	http://www.esquimaltnation.ca	n	n	n	
BC	Fort Nelson First Nation	http://www.fortnelsonfirstnation.org	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Gitanmaax Band Council	http://www.gitanmaax.com/SiteAssets/HomePage.aspx	n	n	n	
BC	Gitanyow First Nation	http://www.gitanyow.com/	n	n	n	
BC	Gitga'at First Nation	http://gitgaat.net/contact/hartelybay.htm	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Gitsegukla Indian Band	http://www.gitsegukla.org/	n	n	n	
BC	Gitwangak Band Council	no				
BC	Gitxaala Nation	http://gitxaalanation.com/	n	y	y	Gitxaala Environmental Monitoring
BC	Glen Vowell Indian Band (Sik-e-Dakh)	http://www.sik-e-dakh.com/	n	n	n	
BC	Gwa'sala-'Nakwaxda'xw Nation	http://www.gwanak.info/	y	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Gwawaenuk Tribe	no				
BC	Hagwilget Village First Nation	http://www.hagwilget.com	n	n	n	
BC	Haisla Nation	http://haisla.ca/	y	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Halalt First Nation	http://halalt.org/	y	n	n	Lands and Resource

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Halfway River First Nation	http://hrfn.ca	y	n	n	Lands
BC	Heiltsuk Nation	http://www.heiltsuknation.ca/	n	n	no?	Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre
BC	Hesquiaht First Nation	no				
BC	High Bar First Nation	no				
BC	Homalco Indian Band	no				
BC	Hupacasath First Nation	http://hupacasath.ca	y	n	n	Natural Resources; Forestry
BC	Huu-ay-aht First Nations	http://huuayaht.org/	y	n	n	Natural Resources and Trade
BC	Iskut First Nation	http://iskut.org/	n	n	n	
BC	K'omoks First Nation	http://www.comoxband.ca/	y	n	n	Land Code Coordinator
BC	Ka:'yu:'k't'h'/ Che:k'tles7et'h First Nation	no				
BC	Kanaka Bar Indian Band	no				
BC	Katzie First Nation	http://www.katzie.ca/	?	?	y	Katzie Development Corporation - CRM Consulting Firm owned and operated by the First Nation
BC	Kispiox Band Council	http://www.kispioxband.com	n	n	n	Forestry dept. but does not mention referrals
BC	Kitasoo/Xaixais Nation	http://coastalguardianwatchmen.ca/nation/kitasooxaixais	n	y	n	Kitasoo/Xai'Xais Watchmen Program
BC	Kitselas Indian Band	http://www.kitselas.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Kitsumkalum First Nation	http://www.kitsumkalum.bc.ca/	y (fisheries only)	y	n	Referrals handled through specialist in band office
BC	Klahoose First Nation	http://klahoose.org/	n	n	n	Treaty manager appears to work with archaeologists
BC	Kwadacha Nation	http://www.kwadacha.com/nation	? (possibly through Kaska Dena Council)	n	n	Kaska Natural Resources Society with funding from a Strategic Engagement Agreement with the BC government
BC	Kwakiutl First Nation	no				
BC	Kwantlen First Nation	http://www.kwantlenfn.ca/	y?	n	n	
BC	Kwaw-kwaw-Apilt First Nation	no				
BC	Kwiakah First Nation	http://kwiakah.com/index.htm	n	n	n	
BC	Kwikwasut'inuxw Haxwa'mis First Nation	http://khfn.ca/lands	n	n	n	
BC	Kwikwetlem First Nation	http://www.kwikwetlem.com	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Lake Babine Nation	http://www.lakebabine.com	y	n	n	Forestry and Natural Resources Department
BC	Lake Cowichan First Nation	http://www.lakecowichanfn.com/	n	n	n	
BC	Lax Kw'alaams Band	http://laxkwalaams.ca	n	n	n	Sub-contracted out for LNG negotiations (Circle Square Solutions; Firelight Group)

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Leq'á:mel First Nation	http://lfn.coppermoon.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Department (mostly internal but references environment assessments)
BC	Lheidli T'enneh Band	http://www.lheidli.ca/index.php	y	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Lhoosk'uz Dene Nation	no				
BC	Lhtako Dene Nation	no				
BC/YT	Liard First Nation	http://www.kaskadenacouncil.com/kaska-nations/liard-first-nation	y (through Kaska Dene Council)	n	n	Kaska Natural Resources Society with funding from a Strategic Engagement Agreement with the BC government
BC	Little Shuswap Lake Indian Band	http://www.lslib.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Lower Kootenay First Nation	http://lowerkootenay.com	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Lower Nicola Indian Band	http://www.lnib.net	y	y	n	Natural Resources; Referrals Clerk
BC	Lower Post First Nation	http://www.kaskadenacouncil.com/	y (through Kaska Dene Council)	n	n	Kaska Natural Resources Society with funding from a Strategic Engagement Agreement with the BC government
BC	Lower Similkameen Indian Band	http://www.lsib.net/	y	n	n	Natural Resource Team under Capital, Public Works and Housing Manager; no specific contact
BC	Lyackson First Nation	http://lyackson.bc.ca	y	n	n	Lands and Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Lytton First Nation	http://www.lyttonfirstnations.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Natural Resources
BC	Malahat Nation	https://www.malahatnation.ca	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Mamalilikulla-Qwe'Qwa'Sot'Em Band	http://mamaband.org/	n	n	n	
BC	Matsqui First Nation	http://www.angelfire.com/empire2/matsquifirstnation/	n (looks internal Lands Department)	n	n	(might have some affiliation with Sto:lo Nation)
BC	McLeod Lake Indian Band	http://www.mlib.ca	n	y	TLU	Land Referral Office
BC	Metlakatla First Nation	http://www.metlakatla.ca	n	y	n	Stewardship Office
BC	Moricetown Indian Band (Wet'suwet'en)	http://www.moricetown.ca/; http://www.wetsuweten.com	y (through Office of the Wet'suwet'en)	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Mount Currie (Lil'wat) Nation	http://www.lilwat.ca/	y	n	n	Lands, Resources and Public Infrastructure
BC	Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation	http://www.yuquot.ca/	y? (Lands Manager but unclear if just internal)	n	n	Lands
BC	Musqueam Indian Band	http://www.musqueam.bc.ca	y	y	n	Treaty, Lands and Resources
BC	N'Quatqua Band	http://www.nquatqua.ca/index.html	n	n	n	
BC	Nadleh Whut'en First Nation	http://www.nadleh.ca/	y	n	n	Natural Resources listed but no contact named
BC	Nak'azdli Band	http://www.nakazdli.ca/	y	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	'Namgis First Nation	http://www.namgis.bc.ca	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Cultural Researcher and CMT Survey Team

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Nanoose First Nation	http://www.nanoose.org/	n?	n	n	possibly Land Management?
BC	Nee-Tahi-Buhn Band	http://www.wetsuweten.com/communities/nee-tahi-buhn	y (through Office of the Wet'suwet'en)	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Neskonlith Indian Band	no				
BC	New Westminster First Nation/Qayqayt	no				
BC	Nicomen Indian Band	no				
BC	Nisga'a Nation (Gingolx, Gitwinksihlkw, Laxgalt'sap, New Aiyansh Council)	http://www.nisgaanation.ca/	y	n	n	Directorate of Lands and Resources
BC	Nooaitch Indian Band	http://nooaitchindianband.com	n (internal only?)	n	n	
BC	Nuchatlaht First Nations	http://www.nuchatlaht.com/	y?	n	n	Fisheries/Forestry Technician
BC	Nuxálk Nation	no				Some evidence this nation had a Nuxálk Nation Archaeological Branch in the 1990s
BC	Okanagan Indian Band	http://okib.ca	y	y	n	Territorial Stewardship; references archaeology specifically

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Old Massett Village Council (Haida)	http://www.haidanation.ca	y (through Council of the Haida Nation)	y (Solutions Table)	y (of sorts: training regime for all archaeological field crews)	
BC	Oregon Jack Creek Indian Band	http://www.nntc.ca/memberbands.htm	y? (through Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council)	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Osoyoos Indian Band	http://oib.ca	n	n	n	
BC	Oweekeno Nation/ Wuikinuxv	no				
BC	Pacheedaht First Nation	no				
BC	Pauquachin First Nation	no				
BC	Penelakut First Nations	http://www.penelakut.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Penticton Indian Band	http://pib.ca	y (On Band Council)	n	n	Natural Resources & Environment (Councillor)
BC	Peters Band	no				
BC	Popkum Band	no				
BC	Prophet River Band	http://treaty8.bc.ca/communities/prophet-river-first-nation/	y	n	n	Coordinated Lands Office - Treaty 8 First Nations
BC	Qualicum First Nation	http://www.qualicumfirstnation.com/	n	n	n	
BC	Quatsino First Nation	http://quatsinofn.com	y?	n	n	Forestry
BC	Saik'uz First Nation	http://www.saikuz.com/	y	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Samahquam First Nation	http://www.inshuckch.com/Samahquam.html	n	n	n	

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Saulteau First Nation	http://www.saulteau.com	y	y	n	Economic Development; Lands
BC	Scowlitz First Nation	no				
BC	Seabird Island Band	http://www.seabirdisland.ca/page/home	y	n	n	Lands and Community Development
BC	Sechelt (shíshálh) First Nation	http://www.shishalh.com	y	n	n	Resource Management
BC	Semiahmoo First Nation	no				
BC	Seton Lake First Nation	http://tsalalh.net/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Shackan Indian Band	http://www.shackan.ca/	y	n	n	Lands/Forestry
BC	Shuswap Indian Band	http://www.shuswapband.net/	unclear			
BC	Shxw'ow'hamel First Nation	http://www.shxwowhamel.ca	n (internal only)	n	n	
BC	Shxwha:y Village (Skway First Nation)	http://www.skway.com/	n	n	n	
BC	Simpcw First Nation/ North Thompson Indian Band	http://www.simpcw.com/	y	y	y	Natural Resources; Referrals and Archaeology Coordinator
BC	Siska Indian Band	no				
BC	Skatin First Nation	http://www.inshuckch.com	n	n	n	
BC	Skawahlook First Nation	http://skawahlook.com/	n (internal only?)	n	n	
BC	Skeetchestn Indian Band	http://www.skeetchestn.ca/	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Skeetchestn Cultural Resource Management Zones

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Skidegate Village Council	http://www.skidegate.ca/; http://www.haidanation.ca	y (through Council of the Haida Nation)	y (Solutions Table)	y (of sorts: training regime for all archaeological field crews)	
BC	Skin Tyee Nation	http://www.wetsuweten.com/communities/skin-tyee/	y (through Office of the Wet'suwet'en)	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Skowkale First Nation	no				
BC	Skuppah Indian Band	http://www.nntc.ca/memberbands.htm	y? (through Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council)	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Skwah First Nation	http://skwah.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Sliammon First Nation	http://sliammonfirstnation.com/	n	n	y	Culture Dept.; Collaborative Projects with SFU
BC	Snuneymuxw First Nation	http://www.snuneymuxw.ca/	y	y	n	Economic Development; Douglas Treaty Implementation Dept.
BC	Songhees First Nation	http://songheesnation.ca (currently in development)				
BC	Soowahlie First Nation	http://soowahlie.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Splatsin First Nation (Spallumcheen)	http://www.splatsin.ca/	(internal only)	y	maybe	Title and Rights; Language and Culture
BC	Spuzzum Indian Band	http://www.nntc.ca/memberbands.htm	y? (through Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council)	n	n	Natural Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Squamish Nation	http://www.squamish.net/	y	y	n	Intergovernmental Relations, Natural Resources and Revenue; Rights and Title
BC	Squiala First Nation	http://www.squiala.com/index.php	y	n	n	Lands Department
BC	St. Mary's Indian Band (ʔaq'am)	http://www.aqam.net/	y	n	n	Lands and Natural Resources
BC	Stellat'en First Nation	http://www.stellaten.ca/	n	n	n	Developing environmental monitoring program
BC	Sts'ailes Band (formerly Chehalis)	http://www.stsailes.com/home	n	y	n	Aboriginal Rights & Title (Cultural Heritage Resources Policy)
BC	Stswecem'c Xgat'tem First Nation (Canoe Creek/Dog Creek)	http://canoecreekband.ca/	n	y	n	NStQ Treaty Group
BC	Sumas First Nation	http://www.sumasfirstnation.com/	n (internal only)	n	n	
BC	T'Sou-ke Nation	http://www.tsoukenation.com/	y	n	n	Lands, Environment & Housing
BC	T'it'q'et First Nation	http://www.titqet.org/	y	n	n	Lands & Resources Department
BC	Tahltan Indian Band	http://tahltan.org/	n	y	y	THREAT (Referrals and Heritage)
BC	Takla Lake First Nation	http://www.taklafn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands & Economic Development
BC	Taku River Tlingit First Nation	http://trtfn.com/wp/	y	y	n	Natural Resources; Lands and Treaty Coordinator, Lands Engagement Coordinator

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc	http://tkemlups.ca/	y	n	y	Natural Resources; 2 Archaeologists on staff
BC	Tl'azt'en Nation	http://tlaztennation.ca/	y	n	y?	Natural Resources; Joanne Hammond associated with TLUs
BC	Tl'etinqox-t'in Government Office	http://www.tletinqox.ca/	n	y?	n	TNG Referral and Forestry staff
BC	Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations	http://www.tla-o-qui-aht.org/	n	y?	n	Treaty Office
BC	Tlatlasikwala Nation	http://www.tlatlasikwala.com/	n	y	n	Planning and Research Coordinator (Referrals)
BC	Tlowitsis Nation	http://www.tlowitsis.com/	n	y?	n	Treaty Office
BC	Tobacco Plains Indian Band	http://www.tobaccoplains.org/	n	n	n	
BC	Toosey First Nation	no				
BC	Toquaht First Nation	http://www.toquaht.ca/	y	n	n	Lands, Public Works and Resources
BC	Ts'kw'aylaxw First Nation	http://www.tskwaylaxw.com/	internal	n	n	
BC	Tsartlip First Nation	http://tsartlip.com/	n	n	n	
BC	Tsawout First Nation	http://www.tsawout.com	n	y	n	Douglas Treaty Elder's Working Group
BC	Tsawwassen First Nation	http://tsawwassenfirstnation.com/	y	y	n?	Natural Resources; Policy and Intergovernmental Affairs; Nation does have a Culture and Heritage Act
BC	Tsay Keh Dene Band	http://www.tsaykeh.com/	y?	y	n	Lands and Resources; Environmental Monitoring
BC	Tseshaht First Nation	http://www.tseshaht.com	y	n	n	Lands and Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Tseycum First Nation	http://www.tseycum.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Tsleil-Waututh Nation	http://www.twnation.ca/	y	n	n	Treaty, Lands and Resources
BC	Tzeachten First Nation	http://www.tzeachten.ca/	internal	n	n	Lands
BC	Uchucklesaht First Nation	http://www.uchucklesaht.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC	Ucluelet First Nation	http://www.ufn.ca	y	n	n	Lands, Resources and Assets
BC	Ulkatcho First Nation	no				
BC	Union Bar First Nation	http://www.unionbarfirstnations.com	n	n	n	
BC	Upper Nicola Indian Band	http://uppernicola.com/	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Cultural Heritage Resources Dept.
BC	Upper Similkameen Indian Band	no				
BC	West Moberly First Nations	http://www.westmo.org/	y	n	n?	Lands and Resources; There is a Cultural Program but it may not be related to archaeology
BC	Westbank First Nation	http://www.wfn.ca	internal	y	n	Intergovernmental Affairs
BC	Wet'suwet'en First Nation	http://wetsuwetenfirstnation.ca/	y	y	n	Natural Resources Consultation & Accommodation
BC	Whispering Pines/ Clinton Indian Band	http://www.wpcib.com/	y	n	y	General Finance/Forestry/ Archaeology (same department head)

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC	Williams Lake Indian Band	http://williamslakeband.ca/	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Archaeology Coordinator position - Currently vacant
BC	Xatsull First Nation (Soda Creek Band)	http://www.xatsull.com/	y	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Xaxli'p (formerly Fountain Band)	http://www.xaxlip.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Xeni Gwet'in First Nations Government	http://xenigwetin.ca/	n	n	n	
BC	Yakweakwioose First Nation	no				
BC	Yale First Nation	http://www.yalefirstnation.ca/	y	n	n	Natural Resources
BC	Yekooche First Nation	http://www.yekooche.com/	n	y?	n	Treaty Consultation Coordinator
BC	Yunesit'in Government (formerly Stone Indian Band)	no				
BC- Not in BCAFN	As'in'i'wa'chi Ni'yaw Nation (Kelly Lake Cree Nation)	http://www.kellylakecreenation.com	y	y	y	Environment Headman; Consultation/Referrals; Cultural Resource Management Headman
BC- Not in BCAFN	Ktunaxa Nation Council	http://www.ktunaxa.org/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
BC- Not in BCAFN	Sinixt Nation (Arrow Lakes)	http://www.sinixt.kics.bc.ca	n	n	n	
BC - Regional BC Bodies emerging from CAA list	Secwepemc Cultural Education Society	http://www.secwepemc.org/	n	n	n	Cultural Preservation body

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
BC - Regional BC Bodies emerging from CAA list	Stó:lō Nation	http://www.stolonation.bc.ca/	y	n	y	Land, Research and Resource Management; Cultural Resources
BC - Regional BC Bodies emerging from CAA list	Stó:lō Tribal Council	http://stolotribalcouncil.ca	n	y	n?	Rights and Title Manager; Heritage Policy
BC - Regional BC Bodies emerging from CAA list	Tsimshian Tribal Council of Prince Rupert	defunct				
Yukon First Nations (Council of Yukon First Nations)						
YT/BC (listed in BC)	Carcross/Tagish First Nation	http://www.ctfn.ca/	y	n	y	Heritage, Lands and Natural Resources
YT/BC (listed in BC)	Champagne and Aishihik First Nations	http://cafn.ca/	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Language, Culture and Heritage
YT	Ehdiitat Gwich'in Council	http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/ehdiitat-gwichin-council/	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	n	Lands and Resources; Intergovernmental Relations and Treaty Implementation
YT	First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun	http://nndfn.com	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Heritage

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
YT	Gwichya Gwich'in Council	http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	n	Lands and Resources; Intergovernmental Relations and Treaty Implementation
YT	Kluane First Nation	http://www.kfn.ca/	y	n	y	Lands, Resources & Heritage; Heritage Branch
YT	Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation	http://www.lscfn.ca/	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Heritage personnel
YT	Nihtat Gwich'in Council	http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	n	Lands and Resources; Intergovernmental Relations and Treaty Implementation
YT	Selkirk First Nation	http://www.selkirkfn.ca/	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Heritage Coordinator
YT	Ta'an Kwach'an Council	http://taan.ca	y	n	y	Lands, Resources and Heritage; Heritage Branch
YT	Teslin Tlingit Council	http://www.ttc-teslin.com/	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Heritage Department
YT	Tetlit Gwich'in Council	http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/tetlit-gwichin-council/	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	y (through Gwich'in Tribal Council)	n	Lands and Resources; Intergovernmental Relations and Treaty Implementation
YT	Tr'ondek Hwech'in	http://www.trondek.ca	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Heritage; Heritage Act
YT- Other sources (AANDC List)	Kwanlin Dun First Nation	http://www.kwanlindun.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
YT/BC (listed in BC)	Liard First Nation	http://www.kaskadenacouncil.com/kaska-nations/liard-first-nation	y (through Kaska Dene Council)	n	n	Kaska Natural Resources Society with funding from a Strategic Engagement Agreement with the BC government
YT	Ross River Dena Council	http://www.rrdc.ca	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; CRM; History
YT	Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation	http://www.vgfn.ca/	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Heritage
YT	White River First Nation	http://whiteriverfirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
NWT	Acho Dene Koe First Nation	http://www.adkfirstnation.ca	y	n	y	Lands and Resources; Traditional Land Use
NWT	Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation	http://www.akaitcho.info	unclear			
NWT	Deh Cho First Nations	www.dehcho.org	y	n	n	Resource Management
NWT	Deninu K'ue	no (Part of Akaitcho Treaty 8 TC)				
NWT	Gwich'in Tribal Council	http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/	y	y	y	Lands and Resources; Intergovernmental Relations and Treaty Implementation; Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute
NWT	Inuvialuit	http://www.irc.inuvialuit.com	y	n	y	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation; Cultural Resource Centre
NWT	K'atl'odeeche First Nation	http://www.katlodeeche.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
NWT	Łutselk'e Dene First Nation	no (Part of Akaitcho Treaty 8 TC)				

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
NWT	Northwest Territory Metis Nation	http://www.nwtmetisnation.ca/	y	n	n	Environment
NWT	Sahtu Dene	http://www.sahtu.ca/	unclear			
NWT	Salt River First Nation	http://www.saltriveronline.com/	y	n	n? (Environmental Monitoring section)	Lands Dept.
NWT	Smith's Landing First Nation	http://www.smithslandingfirstnation.com	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
NWT	Tłı̨chǫ	http://www.tlicho.ca	y	n	y (TK)	Lands Protection; Cultural Practices
NWT	Yellowknives Dene First Nation	http://ykdene.com/	y	n	y (TK)	Lands and Environment; Traditional Knowledge
Alberta (AANDC)						
AB - Treaty 8	Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation	http://www.acfn.com	n	y	n	Industry Relations Corporation
AB - Treaty 8	Beaver First Nation	http://www.beaverfirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
AB - Treaty 8	Bigstone Cree Nation	http://www.bigstone.ca	n	y	y?	Government Industry Relations; Traditional Use Studies Coordinator
AB - Treaty 8	Chipewyan Prairie First Nation	http://atc97.org	n	y	n	Industry Relations Corporation
AB - Treaty 8	Dene Tha' First Nation	http://www.denetha.ca/	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 8	Driftpile First Nation	http://www.driftpilecreenation.com/	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 8	Duncan's First Nation	http://duncansfirstnation.ca/	y	y (same as lands)	n	Economic Development, Industry Relations and Lands Consultant

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
AB - Treaty 8	Fort McKay First Nation	http://fortmckay.com	y?	n	n	Sustainability Department
AB - Treaty 8	Fort McMurray First Nation	http://atc97.org	n	y	n	Industry Relations Corporation
AB - Treaty 8	Horse Lake First Nation	no				
AB - Treaty 8	Kapawe'no First Nation	http://www.kapaweno.ca/	n	y	n	Iyiniwok Consultation Referral and Coordination Centre
AB - Treaty 8	Little Red River Cree Nation	http://www.lrrcn.ab.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Environment
AB - Treaty 8	Loon River First Nation	http://www.loonriver.net	y	n	n	Land Use Department
AB - Treaty 8	Lubicon Lake Band	http://www.lubiconlakeband.ca/	n	y	n	Consultation
AB - Treaty 8	Mikisew Cree First Nation	http://mikisewcree.ca/	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 8	Peerless Trout First Nation	no				
AB - Treaty 8	Sawridge Band	http://www.sawridgefirstnation.com/	n	y	n	Iyiniwok Consultation Referral and Coordination Centre
AB - Treaty 8	Smith's Landing First Nation	http://www.smithslandingfirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
AB - Treaty 8	Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation	http://www.sturgeonlake.ca	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 8	Sucker Creek First Nation	http://www.scfn.biz/	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 8	Swan River First Nation	http://www.swanriverfirstnation.org/	n	y	y	Kanawewim'nan Nikawiy Askiy Consultation Office; Archaeology Division
AB - Treaty 8	Tallcree First Nation	http://www.tallcreefirstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 8	Whitefish Lake First Nation (Atikameg)	no				

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
AB - Treaty 8	Woodland Cree First Nation	http://woodlandcree.net/wp/	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 6	Alexander First Nation	http://www.alexanderfn.com	y?	n	n	Lands and Economic Development
AB - Treaty 6	Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation	http://www.alexisnakotasioux.com/	y	y (same as Lands)	n	Lands Consultation
AB - Treaty 6	Beaver Lake Cree Nation	http://www.beaverlakecreenation.ca/	n	y	n	Intergovernmental Affairs and Industry Relations
AB - Treaty 6	Cold Lake First Nations	http://www.clfns.com	?	?	?	Nu Nennè-Stantec
AB - Treaty 6	Enoch Cree Nation	no? (Development Corporation only)				
AB - Treaty 6	Ermineskin Cree Nation	http://www.ermineskin.ca/	internal	y	n	Industrial Relations
AB - Treaty 6	Frog Lake First Nation	down				
AB - Treaty 6	Heart Lake First Nation	no				
AB - Treaty 6	Kehewin Cree Nation	http://www.kehewincreenation.ca	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 6	Louis Bull Tribe	http://www.louisbulltribe.ca	n	y	n	Economic Development (Consultation Coordinator)
AB - Treaty 6	Montana First Nation	http://www.montanafirstnation.com	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 6	O'Chiese First Nation	http://www.ochiese.ca	y?	n	n	Land Department (no further info)
AB - Treaty 6	Paul First Nation	http://www.paulband.com/	n	y?	n	Business and Industry Liaison
AB - Treaty 6	Saddle Lake Cree Nation	http://www.saddlelake.ca	n	y	TLU	TLUs and Consultation
AB - Treaty 6	Samson Cree Nation	http://samsoncree.com/	n	n	n	
AB - Treaty 6	Sunchild First Nation	no				
AB - Treaty 6	Whitefish Lake First Nation (Goodfish)	http://www.wfl128.ca/	n	n	n	

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
AB - Treaty 7	Blood Tribe	http://bloodtribe.org/	y	n?	n	Lands Dept.; External Affairs?
AB - Treaty 7	Piikani Nation	http://piikanination.wix.com/piikanination	n	y	TK	Consultation Office
AB - Treaty 7	Siksika Nation	http://siksikanation.com	y	n	n	Natural Resources also Land Management
AB - Treaty 7	Stoney Tribe (Morley)	http://www.stoneynation.com/	n	y	n	Consultation
AB - Treaty 7	Tsuu T'ina Nation	no				
Alberta Metis	Metis Nation of Alberta	http://www.albertametis.com	n	y	n	Tripartite Intergovernmental
Saskatchewan (AADNC) and Federation of Sovereign Indigenous Nations	Ahtahkakoop First Nation	http://www.ahtahkakoop.ca	n	n	n	
SK	Beardy's and Okemasis First Nation	no				
SK	Big Island Lake Cree Nation	no				
SK	Big River First Nation	http://www.brfn.ca	n (agriculture)	n	n	
SK	Birch Narrows First Nation	no				
SK	Black Lake First Nation	no				
SK	Buffalo River Dene Nation	no				
SK	Canoe Lake Cree First Nation	no				
SK	Carry The Kettle First Nation	no				

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
SK	Clearwater River Dene First Nation	no				
SK	Cote First Nation	http://www.cote-fn.com/	y	n	n	Lands
SK	Cowessess First Nation	http://www.cowessessfn.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
SK	Cumberland House Cree Nation	http://chcn.ca/	y	n	TLU	Lands; Traditional Land Use Management
SK	Day Star First Nation	http://www.daystarfn.com	n?	n	n	Lands/Environment Portfolio for Council
SK	English River First Nation	http://www.erfn.net/	n	n	n	
SK	Fishing Lake First Nation	http://www.fishinglakefirstnation.com/	n?	n	n	Lands/Resources/ Culture Portfolio for Council
SK	Flying Dust First Nation	http://www.flyingdust.net/	y	n	n	Lands Department
SK	Fond du Lac First Nation	http://fonddulac.ca	n	n	n	
SK	Gordon First Nation	http://www.georgegordonfirstnation.com	internal	n	n	Land Management
SK	Hatchet Lake First Nation	no				
SK	Island Lake First Nation	no				
SK	James Smith First Nation	http://www.jamessmithcreenation.com	n?	n	n	Lands and Cultural Portfolios for Council
SK	Kahkewistahaw First Nation	no				
SK	Kawacatoose First Nation	no				
SK	Keeseekoose First Nation	no				
SK	Kinistin Saulteaux Nation	http://www.kinistin.sk.ca/	y	n	n	

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
SK	Lac La Ronge First Nation	down				
SK	Little Black Bear First Nation	http://littleblackbear.org	n	n	n	
SK	Little Pine First Nation	http://www.littlepine.ca/ (no info)				
SK	Lucky Man First Nation	no				
SK	Makwa Sahgaiehcan First Nation	no				
SK	Mistawasis First Nation	http://www.mistawasis.ca/	internal	n	n	Lands
SK	Montreal Lake First Nation	http://www.mlcn.ca/	y	n	n	Resources and Environment Office
SK	Moosomin First Nation	http://www.moosomin.ca/	internal	n	n	Lands
SK	Mosquito Grizzly Bear's Head Lean Man First Nation First Nation	no				
SK	Muscowpetung First Nation	http://muscowpetungtrust.com/	n	n	n	
SK	Muskeg Lake Cree Nation	http://www.muskeglake.com/	y?	n	n	unclear mandate: Lands
SK	Muskoday First Nation	http://muskodayfn.ca	y	n	n	Lands, Resources and Environment
SK	Muskowekwan First Nation	http://www.muskowekwan.ca	y?	n	n	unclear mandate: Lands Authority
SK	Nekaneet First Nation	no				
SK	Ocean Man First Nation	no				
SK	Ochapowace First Nation	http://www.ochapowace.com	y	n	n	Lands; Lands Manager has a background with the Provincial Heritage Branch (Brian Scribe)

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
SK	Okanese First Nation	no				
SK	One Arrow First Nation	no? (http://www.sktc.sk.ca/member-nations/one-arrow-first-nation/)				
SK	Onion Lake First Nation	http://www.onionlake.ca/	unclear mandate	n	n	
SK	Pasqua First Nation	http://www.pasquafn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands
SK	Peepeekisis First Nation	malware infected				
SK	Pelican Lake First Nation	no				
SK	Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation	http://www.peterballantyne.ca	n	n	n	
SK	Pheasant Rump Nakota First Nation	no				
SK	Piapot First Nation	http://piapotfn.ca	y	n	n	Lands
SK	Poundmaker First Nation	http://www.poundmakercn.ca	n	n	n	
SK	Red Earth First Nation	http://redearthcreenation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
SK	Red Pheasant First Nation	not really (https://redpheasantcreenation.wordpress.com)				
SK	Sakimay First Nations	no				
SK	Saulteaux First Nation	http://www.saulteauxfn.ca/	y	n	n	
SK	Shoal Lake Cree Nation	no				
SK	Standing Buffalo First Nation	no				
SK	Star Blanket First Nation	no				
SK	Sturgeon Lake First Nation	http://www.slfn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
SK	Sweetgrass First Nation	no				

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
SK	The Key First Nation	http://www.keyband.com/	unclear mandate			Lands Coordinator
SK	Thunderchild First Nation	http://www.thunderchild.ca/	y (internal?)	n	n	Lands and Resources
SK	Wahpeton Dakota Nation	no				
SK	Waterhen Lake First Nation	no				
SK	White Bear First Nation	http://whitebearfirstnation.ca/	y (internal?)	n	n	Lands and Resources
SK	Whitecap Dakota First Nation	http://www.whitecapdakota.com	y	n	n	Lands Dept.
SK	Witchekan Lake First Nation	no				
SK	Wood Mountain First Nation	no				
SK	Yellow Quill First Nation	http://www.yqfn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
Saskatchewan Metis	Metis Nation - Saskatchewan	http://www.mn-s.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Natural Resources
Manitoba (Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs)	Barren Lands First Nation	no				
MN	Berens River First Nation	http://www.berensriver.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Birdtail Sioux First Nation	http://www.birdtailsioux.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Black River First Nation	http://www.black-river.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Bloodvein First Nation	no				

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
MN	Brokenhead Ojibway Nation	http://www.brokenheadojibwaynation.net	y	n	n	Lands Resources
MN	Buffalo Point First Nation	http://www.buffalopoint-firstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Bunibonibee	no				
MN	Chemawawin Cree Nation	http://www.chemawawin.ca/	y	n	n	Economic Development; Land Management
MN	Cross Lake Band of Indians	http://www.crosslakeband.ca/	y	n	n	Lands; Also a work placement program: Pathways
MN	Dakota Tipi First Nation	http://www.dakotatipi.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Dauphin River First Nation	no				
MN	Fisher River Cree Nation	http://www.fisherriver.com/	y	n	n	Economic Development
MN	Fox Lake Cree Nation	http://www.foxlakecreenation.com/	n	n	n	
MN	Gamblers First Nation	http://www.gamblerfirstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Garden Hill First Nation	no				
MN	God's Lake First Nation	no				
MN	Hollow Water First Nation	http://hollowwater.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Keeseekoowenin Ojibway Nation	no				
MN	Kinonjeoshtegon First Nation	no				
MN	Lake Manitoba First Nation	no				
MN	Lake St. Martin First Nation	http://lakestmartin.site90.net/	n	n	n	

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
MN	Little Grand Rapids First Nation	no				
MN	Little Saskatchewan First Nation	no				
MN	Long Plain First Nation	http://www.longplainfirstnation.ca/	y	n	n	Lands
MN	Manto Sipi Cree Nation	http://www.mantosipi.com	n	n	n	
MN	Marcel Colomb First Nation	no				
MN	Mathias Colomb First Nation	http://www.mccn.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Misipawistik Cree Nation	http://www.misipawistik.com/	y	n	n	Traditional Lands and Waters
MN	Mosakahiken Cree Nation	no				
MN	Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation	http://www.ncncree.com/ncn/	y	n	n	Economic Development
MN	Northlands Denesuline First Nation	no				
MN	Norway House Cree Nation	http://www.nhcn.ca/	n	y	n	Minago Project Consultation (Specific to that project)
MN	O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi First Nation	no				
MN	Okawamithikani First Nation	no				
MN	Opaskwayak Cree Nation	http://www.opaskwayak.ca	y	n	n	Lands Dept.
MN	O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation	no				
MN	Pauingassi First Nation	no				
MN	Peguis First Nation	http://www.peguisfirstnation.ca/	n	n	n	

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
MN	Pinaymootang First Nation	no				
MN	Pine Creek Anishinabe Nation	http://pinecreekfirstnation.com/	n	n	n	
MN	Poplar River First Nation	http://prfn.ncsl.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Management
MN	Red Sucker Lake First Nation	http://redsuckerlakefirstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
MN	Rolling River Anishinabe Nation	no				
MN	Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation	http://www.roseauriverfirstnation.com/ (down)				
MN	Sandy Bay First Nation	http://www.sandybayfirstnation.com/	n	n	n	
MN	Sagkeeng First Nation	http://www.sagkeeng.ca	n	n	n	
MN	Sapotaweyak Cree Nation	no				
MN	Sayisi Dene First Nation	no				
MN	Shamattawa First Nation	no				
MN	Skownan First Nation	http://www.skofn.com/	y	n	n	Resource Management Office
MN	St. Theresa Point First Nation	http://www.stpfirstnation.com/	y	n	n	TALUP Land Resources
MN	Swan Lake First Nation	http://www.swanlakefirstnation.ca	y	n	n	Lands Management Dept.
MN	Tataskweyak Cree Nation	http://www.tataskweyak.mb.ca/	n	y	n	Split Lake Resource Management Board
MN	Tootinaowaziibeeng Treaty Reserve	no				
MN	War Lake First Nation	no				

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
MN	Wasagamack First Nation	http://wasagamackfirstnation.ca/	unclear			
MN	Waywayseecappo First Nation	no				
MN	Wuskwi Sipihk First Nation	http://www.wuskwisipihk.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Manager
MN	York Factory Cree Nation	http://www.yorkfactoryfirstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
Manitoba Metis	Manitoba Metis Federation	http://www.mmf.mb.ca/	y	y	y?	Natural Resources and Agriculture; Tripartite Intergovernmental; Heritage, Culture, Sports and Youth
Ontario (Chiefs of Ontario)	Aamjiwnaang First Nation	http://www.aamjiwnaangenvironment.ca (specific consultation website)	n	y	n	Health and Environment Committee; Aamjiwnaang Environment
ON	Alderville First Nation	http://www.aldervillefirstnation.ca	y	n	n	Lands and Resources; According to Ontario press release hiring Archaeology Co-ordinator through New Relationship Fund
ON	Algonquins of Pikwakanagan First Nation	http://www.algonquinsofpikwakanagan.com/	y	n	n	Lands, Estates and Membership; Includes Archaeology Protocol
ON	Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek	http://www.aza.ca/	n	y	n	Consultation Coordinator
ON	Anishinaabeg of Naongashiing	http://www.bigisland.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Manager

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Aroland First Nation	no	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	y (if under Matawa Tribal council)		NAN Lands and Resources; Matawa Regional Framework Project
ON	Atikameksheng Anishnawbek	http://www.atikamekshenganishnawbek.ca	y	n	n	Lands; Natural Resource Coordinator; Heritage, Cultural and Spiritual Resources Law (references archaeology)
ON	Attawapiskat First Nation	http://www.attawapiskat.org/	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Aundeck Omni Kaning First Nation	http://www.aundeckomnikaningfn.com/	y	n	n	Lands, Estates & Membership
ON	Bearskin Lake First Nation	No (could be through Winidgo FN Council)http://www.windigo.on.ca)	y	n	n	Resource Development through Windigo First Nations Council
ON	Beausoleil First Nation	http://www.chimnissing.ca/	y?	n	n	Forestry and Economic Development
ON	Beaverhouse First Nation	http://www.wabun.on.ca	n	y	n	Resource Initiatives through Wabun Tribal Council
ON	Big Grassy First Nation	http://biggrassy.ca/	n	y	n	Core Consultation Point Person
ON	Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishinaabek	http://www.rockybayfn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources (funded through New Relationship Fund)

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabek	http://www.bnafn.ca/	y	y	n	Lands and Resources; Consultation Consultants (hired through New Relationship Fund?)
ON	Bkejwanong Territory (Walpole Island)	http://walpoleislandfirstnation.ca/	internal	n	y	Lands/Membership; Heritage Centre
ON	Brunswick House First Nation	http://www.brunswickhousefirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Caldwell First Nation	http://caldwellfirstnation.com/	n	n	n	does have "notice of assertion" calling for consultation with chief and council
ON	Cat Lake First Nation	no (could be under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN))	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Chapleau Cree First Nation	http://chapleaucree.com	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Chapleau Ojibwe First Nation	http://chapleauojibwe.ca/ (down); http://www.wabun.on.ca	n	y	n	Resource Initiatives through Wabun Tribal Council
ON	Chippewas of Georgina Island	http://georginaisland.com/	internal	n	n	possibly under environmental
ON	Chippewas of Kettle & Stony Point	http://www.kettlepoint.org	internal	n	not listed	Brandy George?
ON	Chippewas of Rama First Nation	http://www.mnjikaning.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Chippewas of Nawash Unceded First Nation	http://www.nawash.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Department

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Chippewas of Saugeen	http://www.saugeenfirstnation.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Management
ON	Chippewas of the Thames First Nation	http://cottfn.com/	y	y	n	Lands and Environment; Consultation and Accommodation
ON	Constance Lake First Nation	http://www.clfn.on.ca/	y?	y (if under Matawa Tribal council)	n	Economic Development - Resource Development; (Matawa Regional Framework Project)
ON	Couchiching First Nation	http://www.couchichingfirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Curve Lake First Nation	http://www.curvelakefirstnation.ca/	y	y	n	Lands Department; Consultation; Rights and Resources (explicitly mentions arch. Liaisons); (Cultural Centre present but no indication they are involved with day-to-day engagement)
ON	Deer Lake First Nation	http://deerlake.firstnation.ca/	n?	n	n	possibly through Keewaytinook Okimakanak (Northern Chiefs Council) Lands and Resources
ON	Delaware Nation	http://delawarenation.on.ca/	y	n	n	Housing and Lands
ON	Dokis First Nation	http://www.dokisfirstnation.com/	y	y	n	Lands and Estates; Consultation Coordinator through New Relationship Fund

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Eabametoong First Nation	http://eabametoong.firstnation.ca/	n	y (also Matawa)	n	Community Consultation Coordinator; (Matawa Regional Framework Project)
ON	Eagle Lake First Nation	http://www.eaglelakefirstnation.ca/	y	y	n	Lands and Resources; Resources Liaison Coordinator
ON	Flying Post First Nation	http://flyingpost.ca	n	y	n	Resource Initiatives through Wabun Tribal Council
ON	Fort Albany First Nation	no (could be through Mushkegowuk Council)	y (if through Mushkegowuk)	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Fort Severn First Nation	http://fortsevern.firstnation.ca/	n?	n	n	possibly through Keewaytinook Okimakanak (Northern Chiefs Council) Lands and Resources
ON	Fort William First Nation	http://fwfn.com/	y	y	n	Property and Lands; Consultation Officer
ON	Ginoogaming First Nation	http://www.ginoogaming.ca/	y	y? (also Matawa)	n	Lands and Trusts; Project specific community liaison (proposed gold mine); (Matawa Regional Framework Project)
ON	Grassy Narrows First Nation	http://www.grassynarrows.ca/	n	y?	n	Ontario Process?
ON	Hiawatha First Nation	http://www.hiawathafirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Land
ON	Henvey Inlet First Nation	http://www.hifn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Department

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Hornepayne First Nation	http://hpfn.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Iskatewizaagegan No. 39 (Shoal Lake #39)	no				
ON	Kasabonika Lake First Nation	http://kasabonikafirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Resource Development Planning Board
ON	Kashechewan First Nation	no (could be through Mushkegowuk Council)	y (if through Mushkegowuk)	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Keewaywin First Nation	http://keewaywin.firstnation.ca/	y	n	n	Land Resource
ON	Kiashke Zaaging Anishinaabek	no	n	n	n	
ON	Kingfisher Lake First Nation	http://www.kingfisherlake.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug	http://www.kitchenuhmaykoosib.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Environment
ON	Koocheching First Nation	no (could be under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)) or Winidgo FN Council	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Lac Des Mille Lacs First Nation	http://lacdesmillelacsfirstnation.ca/	n	??	n	Lists New Relationship Fund
ON	Lac La Croix First Nation	http://llcfn.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Lac Seul First Nation	http://lacseul.firstnation.ca/	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Long Lake #58 First Nation	http://www.longlake58fn.ca/	n	y (if under Matawa Tribal council)		Regional Framework Project
ON	Magnetawan First Nation	http://www.magnetawanfirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resource
ON	Marten Falls First Nation	no	n	y (if under Matawa Tribal council)		Regional Framework Project
ON	Matachewan First Nation	http://www.matachewanfirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Mattagami First Nation	http://mattagami.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	MacDowell Lake First Nation	no	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources; also could be under Keewaytinook Okimakanak (Northern Chiefs Council) Lands and Resources
ON	M'Chigeeng First Nation	http://www.mchigeeng.ca/	y if under United Chiefs and Councils of Mnidoo Mnising			UCCM Lands and Resources
ON	Michipicoten First Nation	http://www.michipicoten.com/	y?	n	n	Economic Development
ON	Mishkeegogamang First Nation	http://www.mishkeegogamang.ca/	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Missanabie Cree First Nation	down	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Mississauga #8 First Nation	http://www.mississaugi.com	y	n	n	Lands and Natural Resources
ON	Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation	http://www.newcreditfirstnation.com/	y	y	y	Lands, Research and Membership; Consultation and Accommodation; Archaeological Coordinator
ON	Mississaugas of Scugog Island	http://www.scugogfirstnation.com	n	y	n	Community Consultation Specialist
ON	Mitaanjigaming (Stanjikoming) First Nation	http://www.mitaanjigamiing.ca/	n	y	n	Consultation Coordinator
ON	Mocreebec Council of the Cree Nation	http://www.mocreebec.com/	n	n	n	
ON	Mohawks of Akwesasne	http://www.akwesasne.ca/	y	n	n	Environment
ON	Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte	http://www.mbq-tmt.org/	y	y	n	Lands; Consultation; Research
ON	Moose Cree First Nation	http://www.moosecree.com/	y	y	n	Lands and Resources; Resource Protection; Consultation Coordinator
ON	Moose Deer Point First Nation	http://moosedeerpoint.com/	n	n	n	
ON	Munsee-Delaware Nation	http://www.munseedelawarenation.org/	internal	n	n	Lands

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Muskrat Dam First Nation	no				
ON	Naicatchewenin First Nation	http://naicatcheweninfirstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Namaygoosisagagun First Nation	http://namaygoosisagagun.ca/	n	y	n	Consultation Coordinator
ON	Naotkamegwanning First Nation	http://www.naotkamegwanning.net/	n	n	n	
ON	Neskantaga First Nation	http://neskantaga.com/	y	n	n	Lands Resource
ON	Nibinamik First Nation	down	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation	http://nigigoonsiminikaaning.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Nipissing First Nation	http://www.nfn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Office; Natural Resources
ON	North Caribou Lake First Nation	no (could be through Windigo FN Council)http://www.windigo.on.ca)	y	n	n	Resource Development through Windigo First Nations Council
ON	North Spirit Lake First Nation	http://nsl.firstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Northwest Angle No. 33 First Nation	no				
ON	Northwest Angle No. 37 First Nation	no				
ON	Obashkaandagaang	no				
ON	Ochiichagwe'Babigo'ining Nation	http://www.ochiichag.ca/	n	n	n	

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Ojibways of Batchewana	http://www.batchewana.ca	y	n	n	Natural Resources; Lands and Membership
ON	Ojibways of Garden River	http://www.gardenriver.org	y	n	n	Economic Resources and Community Development
ON	Ojibways of Onigaming	no				
ON	Ojibways of Pic River	http://www.picriver.com	y	y	n	Lands and Resources; Government Relations Officer
ON	Oneida Nation of the Thames	http://oneida.on.ca/	y?	n	n	Economic Development
ON	Pays Plat First Nation	http://www.ppfn.ca/	n	y	n	Consultation Protocol
ON	Pic Mobert First Nation	http://picmobert.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Pikangikum First Nation	down				
ON	Poplar Hill First Nation	poplarhill.firstnation.ca	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Rainy River First Nation	http://rainyriverfirstnations.com/	n	n	n	
ON	Red Rock Indian Band	http://www.redrockband.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Sachigo Lake First Nation	down				
ON	Sagamok Anishnawbek First Nation	http://www.sagamok.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Environment
ON	Sandy Lake First Nation	http://www.sandylake.firstnation.ca/	y	y	n	Resource and Land Issues; Consultation Worker
ON	Saugeen First Nation	http://www.saugeenfirstnation.ca/	y	n	n	Lands Management
ON	Seine River First Nation	down				
ON	Serpent River First Nation	http://serpentriverfn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources Coordinating Unit

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Shawanaga First Nation	http://shawanagafirstnation.ca	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Sheguiandah First Nation	no	y if under United Chiefs and Councils of Mnidoo Mnising			UCCM Lands and Resources
ON	Sheshegwaning First Nation	http://www.sheshegwaning.org/	y	n	n	Membership, Lands and Estates
ON	Shoal Lake No. 40 First Nation	http://www.sl40.ca/	n	n	n	
ON	Six Nations of the Grand River Territory	http://www.sixnations.ca	y	y	y	Lands and Resources; Consultation Supervisor; Rose and Joanne; Also HDI
ON	Slate Falls First Nation	no				
ON	Taykwa Tagamou (New Post)	http://taykwatagamounation.com/	n	y?	n	Economic Development appears to coordinate on some projects
ON	Temagami First Nation, Bear Island	http://www.temagamifirstnation.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Thessalon First Nation	no				
ON	Wabaseemoong First Nation	https://win-tlua.ca (Traditional Land Use Area website)	y	n	n	Resource Information Officer
ON	Wabauskang First Nation	down				
ON	Wabigoon Lake First Nation	http://www.wabigoonlakeon.ca/	y	n	n	Economic and Resource Development

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Wahgoshig First Nation, (Abitibi #70)	http://wahgoshigfirstnation.com/	y	y	n	Lands and Resources; IBA (Impact Benefit Agreement) Coordinator
ON	Wahnapitae First Nation	http://www.wahnapitaefirstnation.com/	y	n	n	Sustainable Development; Resource Development
ON	Wahta Mohawks, (Mohawks of Gibson)	http://www.wahtamohawks.com/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Wapekeka First Nation	http://www.wapekeka.ca/	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	y?	n	NAN Lands and Resources; Community Liaison Office?
ON	Wasauksing First Nation, (Parry Island)	http://www.wasauksing.ca/	y	y?	n	Lands; Community Consultation
ON	Wauzhushk Onigum First Nation	http://www.wonation.ca (under construction)				
ON	Wawakapewin First Nation	http://www.wawakapewin.ca/ (no info on admin)				
ON	Webequie First Nation	http://www.webequie.ca/	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Weenusk First Nation	no	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN)	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources
ON	Whitefish River First Nation	http://www.whitefishriver.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Whitesand First Nation	http://www.whitesandfirstnation.com/	n	y?	n	Economic Development

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
ON	Whitewater Lake First Nation	no	y if under Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) or Windigo First Nations Council	n	n	NAN Lands and Resources; Resource Development through Windigo First Nations Council
ON	Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve	http://www.wikwemikong.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Natural Resources
ON	Wunnumin Lake First Nation	http://www.wunnumin.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
ON	Zhiibaahaasing First Nation (Cockburn)	no	y if under United Chiefs and Councils of Mnidoo Mnising			UCCM Lands and Resources
ON (Other)	Metis Nation of Ontario	http://www.metisnation.org/	y	y	n	Lands, Resources and Consultation
QC - Abenakis	Abenakis of Odanak	http://caodanak.com	y	n	n	Land Manager
QC - Abenakis	Waban-Aki Nation (Abenaki Band Council of Wôlinak)	http://www.gcnwa.com	n?	y	n	Territorial Consultations Dept.
QC - Abenakis	Wolf Lake First Nation	no				
QC - Algonquian	Eagle Village First Nation	http://www.evfn.ca	y	n	n	Land Management
QC - Algonquian	Kitcisakik Band Council	http://www.kitcisakik.ca/	y	n	n	Forestry Coordinator
QC - Algonquian	Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg	http://kzadmin.com	y	n	n	Natural Resources Management

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
QC - Algonquian	Algonquins of Barriere Lake	no				
QC - Algonquian	Nation Anishnabe de Lac Simon	no				
QC - Algonquian	Abitibiwinni First Nation (Pikogan)	http://www.pikogan.com/	n	y?	n	Office of Socio-Economic Development
QC - Algonquian	Timiskaming First Nation	http://www.timiskamingfirstnation.ca/	y	n	y?	Natural Resources and Heritage
QC - Algonquian	Long Point First Nation	http://anishnabeaki.com (Not enough info)				
QC - Attikameks	Conseil des Atikamekw de Manawan	http://www.manawan.com/	y	n	n	Territorial Resources Centre
QC - Attikameks	Opitciwan Community	http://www.opitciwan.ca/	y?	n	n	Environment
QC - Attikameks	Wemotaci Community	http://www.wemotaci.com/	n	n	n	
QC - Cree - The Grand Council of the Crees also supports Archaeological staff	Cree Nation of Chisasibi	http://www.chisasibi.org	y	n	y?	Land and Environment; Culture & Heritage
QC - Cree	Cree Nation of Eastmain	http://www.eastmain.ca/	n	n	n	
QC - Cree	Cree Nation of Mistissini	http://www.mistissini.ca	y	n	n	Environment
QC - Cree	Cree Nation of Nemaska	http://www.nemaska.com	y	n	n	Land and Sustainable Development
QC - Cree	Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation	http://oujebougoumou.com	y	n	y?	Mining and Resource Development; Forestry; Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
QC - Cree	Crees of Waskaganish First Nation	http://www.waskaganish.ca/	y	n	n	Community Development; Land and Environment
QC - Cree	Cree First Nation of Waswanipi	http://www.waswanipi.com	y	n	n	Natural Resources; Environment
QC - Cree	Cree Nation of Wemindji	http://www.wemindji.ca/	y	n	n	Environment and Land Management
QC - Cree	Whapmagoostui First Nation	http://www.whapmagoostuifn.ca/	n	n	n	
QC - Huron Wendat	Wendake First Nation	http://www.wendake.ca	n	n	y	CDFM, Culture and Heritage
QC - Innu	Pessamit	http://www.pessamit.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Resources
QC - Innu	Essipit	http://www.innu-essipit.com/	y?	n	n	Lands, Workforce and Houses
QC - Innu	Unamen Shipu (La Romaine)	no				
QC - Innu	Pekuakamiulnuatsh Takuhikan (Mashteuiatsh)	http://www.mashteuiatsh.ca/	y	n	y?	Protection of Rights and Territory; Heritage and Culture
QC - Innu	Matimekush Lac-John	http://www.matimekush.com/	n?	n	n	
QC - Innu	Ekuanitshit (Mingan)	no				
QC - Innu	Natashquan	no				
QC - Innu	Pakuashipi	no				
QC - Innu	Uashat-Maliotenam	http://www.itum.qc.ca/	y	n	n	Protection of Rights and Territory
QC - Malécite	Viger Malécite First Nation	http://vigermalecite.com/	y	y	n	Natural Resources and Territory; Consultation Contact
QC - Micmac/ Mi'kmaq/ Mi'gmaq	Gespeg Micmac Nation	no				

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
QC - Micmac/ Mi'kmaq/ Mi'gmaq	Gesgapegiag Mi'kmaq Nation	?? Firefox warning				
QC - Micmac/ Mi'kmaq/ Mi'gmaq	Listuguj Mi'gmaq Government	http://www.listuguj.ca/	y	n	n	Natural Resources Directorate
QC - Mohawk	Akwesasne	http://www.akwesasne.ca	y	n	n	Environment
QC - Mohawk	Kahnawake	http://www.kahnawake.com/	y	n	n	Lands Unit
QC - Mohawk	Kanesatake	http://kanesatake.ca (under construction)	?	?	?	
QC - Naskapi	Kawawachikamach	http://www.naskapi.ca	n?	n	n	Environment Councillor
QC - Inuit	Akulivik	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Aupaluk	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Inukjuak	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Ivujivik	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Kangiqsualujuaq	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Kangiqsujuaq	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Kangirsuk	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
QC - Inuit	Kuujjuaq	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Kuujjuarapik	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Puvirnituq	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Quataq	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Salluit	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Tasiujaq	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Inuit	Umuijaq	no (Kativik Regional Government - http://www.krg.ca/)	y (if Kativik)	n	n	Renewable Resources, Environment, Lands and Parks
QC - Metis (not in provincial list)	Quebec Metis Nation	http://nationmetisquebec.ca	n	y?	n	Le Secrétariat de la Nation Métis du Québec
Nunavut	Nunavut Inuit	http://www.gov.nu.ca; http://www.ihti.ca	n/a	n/a	y	Culture and Heritage; Inuit Heritage Trust
Newfoundland and Labrador	Miawpukek First Nation (Conne River Mi'kmaq)	http://www.mfngov.ca	y	n	n	Natural Resources

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
Newfoundland and Labrador	Natuashish (Mushuau Innu)	no (Innu Nation - http://www.innu.ca)	?	?	?	
Newfoundland and Labrador	Nunatsiavut	http://www.nunatsiavut.com/	y	y	y	Lands and Natural Resources; Nunatsiavut Affairs; Culture, Recreation and Tourism
Newfoundland and Labrador	NunatuKavut (Labrador Metis)	http://www.nunatukavut.ca	y	n	n	Natural Resources and the Environment
Newfoundland and Labrador	Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation	http://qalipu.ca	y	n	y	Natural Resources; Culture and Heritage
Newfoundland and Labrador	Sheshatsiu Innu	http://sheshatshiu.ca/	?	?	?	
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Buctouche Band	http://buctouchemicmacband.ca/	n?	y	n	Forestry; Economic Development
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Esgenoopetitj First Nation (Burnt Church Band)	http://www.esgenoopetitjfirstnation.org/	n	n?	n	Economic Development?
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Eel Ground First Nation	http://www.eelgroundfirstnation.ca/	n?	n	n	Forestry
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Ugpi'ganjiq First Nation (Eel River Bar Band)	http://www.ugpi-ganjig.ca	n?	n	n	Forestry
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Elsipogtog First Nation	https://www.elsipogtog.ca/	n?	n	n	Forestry
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Fort Folly First Nation	http://www.fortfolly.nb.ca/	n	n	n	
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Indian Island First Nation	http://indianisland.ca	n	n	n	
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Kingsclear First Nation	http://www.kingsclear.ca/	n	n	n	

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Madawaska Maliseet First Nation	http://www.madawaskamaliseetfirstnation.com	y	n?	n	Natural Resources; Land Claim
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Metepenagiag Mi'kmaq Nation	http://www.metepenagiag.com	n	n	n?	Metepenagiag Heritage Park
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Oromocto First Nation	http://www.ofnb.com/	n?	n	n	Forestry
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Pabineau First Nation	http://www.pabineaufirstnation.ca/	n	n	n	
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Saint Mary's First Nation	http://www.stmarysfirstnation.com/	n?	n	n	Forestry
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Tobique First Nation	http://www.tobiquefirstnation.ca/	n?	n	n	Councillor Portfolio
New Brunswick (Wiki)	Woodstock First Nation	http://www.woodstockfirstnation.com/	?	?	?	
Prince Edward Island	Abegweit First Nation	http://www.abegweit.ca/	y	n	n	Fisheries and Natural Resources
Prince Edward Island	Lennox Island First Nation	http://www.lennoxisland.com/	n	n	n	
Prince Edward Island	Mi'kmaq Confederacy of PEI	http://www.mcpei.ca	y	y	n	Integrated Resource Management; Consultation
Nova Scotia (Province of Nova Scotia listing)	Acadia First Nation	http://www.acadiafirstnation.ca	y?	n	n	Economic Development
Nova Scotia	Annapolis Valley First Nation	http://avfn.ca/	n	n	n	
Nova Scotia	Bear River First Nation	http://www.bearriverfirstnation.ca	n	n	n	
Nova Scotia	Eskasoni First Nation	http://www.eskasoni.ca	y	n	n	Economic Development; Lands

Province	First Nation	Website	Lands and/or Resources Department	Consultation Dept.	Archaeological Department (Y/N/TLU)	Name of Depts.
Nova Scotia	Glooscap First Nation	http://www.glooscapfirstnation.com	y	n	n	Economic Development; Natural Resources and Environment
Nova Scotia	Membertou First Nation	http://www.membertou.ca/	n	y?	n	Government Relations
Nova Scotia	Millbrook First Nation	http://millbrookfirstnation.net/	n	n	n	
Nova Scotia	Paqtnkek Mi'kmaw Nation	http://paqtnkek.ca/	n	n	n	
Nova Scotia	Pictou Landing First Nation	http://www.plfn.ca/	y	n	n	Lands and Forest
Nova Scotia	Potlotek First Nation	http://potlotek.ca/	y?	n	n	Economic Development
Nova Scotia	Sipekne'katik First Nation	http://sipeknekatik.ca/	n	n	n	
Nova Scotia	Wagmatcook First Nation	http://www.wagmatcook.com/	internal	n	n	Land Management
Nova Scotia	We'koqma'q First Nation	http://www.waycobah.ca/	n	n	n	

Appendix III: Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) Newsletter Instances of Engagement

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
1	Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #4 1972	British Columbia	1972 Field Season	Archaeological Survey of Canada - National Museum of Man	Institutional	Gitando (Lax Kw'alaams Band)	Venn Passage	survey	chief "related to us several stories about rock carving and the tools that were used"	104
2	Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #4 1972	British Columbia	1972 Field Season	Archaeological Survey of Canada - National Museum of Man	Institutional	Metlakatla	Metlakatla Museum Displays	interpretation	museum displays constructed; Band Council began leading tours to the village	104
3	Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #5 1973	British Columbia	1973 Field Season	University of California	Institutional	Hesquait	Hesquiat Cultural Committee	burial removal and salvage project	archaeologist "given the opportunity to assist" (Archaeological Survey of Canada Research Report)	126
4	Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #5 1973	Yukon	1973 Field Season	Archaeological Survey of Canada - National Museum of Man	Institutional	Old Crow	Middle Porcupine River Survey	Survey	community members part of field crew	126-127
5	Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #5 1973	British Columbia	1973 Field Season	Archaeological Survey of Canada - National Museum of Man	Institutional - CRM	North Coast District Council - Union of BC Indian Chiefs	Salvage of Two Shell Middens in Prince Rupert Harbour	salvage excavation	council passed a resolution supporting the salvage efforts	141
6	Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #5 1973	Nova Scotia	1973 Field Season	Trent University - opposed by Micmac elements	Institutional	Micmac	Luxie Cove	salvage excavation and associated protest	excavation "halted at an early stage due to vandalism by a militant band of Micmac Indians". They pulled up stakes and the gridline, filled in excavations and felled trees on the site on which they placed no trespassing signs. Part of a coordinated protest to "draw public attention to their claims of being [unlawfully] dispossessed of some 2100 of land"	152

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
7	Canadian Archaeological Association's Bulletin #6 1974	British Columbia	1973 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Haida	Blue Jackets Creek	investigations (excavation and survey)	Local students worked on project with funding from a Dept. of Indian Affairs youth training program through the Masset Band Council	165
8	CAA Newsletter Vol. 4 No. 1, 1984	Yukon	1983 Field Season	University of Toronto - Sheila Greer	Institutional	Tagish	Southern Lakes Area	survey	"sheep hunting blinds… located with the assistance of a local Tagish resident"	2
9	CAA Newsletter Vol. 4 No. 2, 1984	Northwest Territories	1984 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	??	Saunatuk Site	rescue excavations	"local informants" had info on site occupation	9
10	CAA Newsletter Vol. 4 No. 2, 1984	Northwest Territories	1984 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Inuit	Nettilling Lake	survey	"informant data" "collected" from local Inuit hunters	11
11	CAA Newsletter Vol. 4 No. 2, 1984	Northwest Territories	1984 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Northern Athapaskan	mid-Makenzie River contemporary camp	archaeological and ethnographic work	"document" extant camp	10
12	CAA Newsletter Vol. 4 No. 2, 1984	Northwest Territories	1984 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Pangnirtung	Kekerten Island	archaeological work	"collection of narrative histories", instigated by Pangnirtung Tourism Committee; archaeological crew included 3 members from Pangnirtung	11
13	CAA Newsletter Vol. 4 No. 2, 1984	Northwest Territories	1984 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	NWT communities	Makenzie Delta Heritage Project	salvage excavations	"field training" community "participants"	11
14	CAA Newsletter Vol. 5 No. 1, 1985	British Columbia	1984 Field Season	Heritage Conservation Branch/Skidegate Band	Institutional	Skidegate Band	Skunggwai	survey	"in cooperation with the Skidegate Band"	12
15	CAA Newsletter Vol. 5 No. 1, 1985	British Columbia	1984 Field Season	Arcas Associates	CRM	Twin Tracking Indian Alliance	CNR twin tracking	inventory and impact assessment	work "under contact to the" alliance	13
16	CAA Newsletter Vol. 5 No. 1, 1985	British Columbia	1984 Field Season	Arcas Associates	CRM	Spallumcheen Band	Shuswap River Survey	survey	"under contract to" the community	13

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
17	CAA Newsletter Vol. 6 No. 1, 1986	British Columbia	1985 Field Season	Heritage Conservation Branch/Skidegate Band	Institutional	Skidegate Band	Skunggwai	survey	"supported by" community	9
18	CAA Newsletter Vol. 6 No. 1, 1986	British Columbia	1985 Field Season	Heritage Conservation Branch/Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Cowichan Band	Pender Canal	excavation	"native consultant" - Able John from Cowichan	9
19	CAA Newsletter Vol. 6 No. 1, 1986	British Columbia	1985 Field Season	Arcas Associates	CRM	Thompson River Indian Alliance	CNR twin tracking	inventory and impact assessment	"in conjunction with Gordon Mohs, representing the Thompson River Indian Alliance"	10
20	CAA Newsletter Vol. 6 No. 1, 1986	Saskatchewan	1985 Field Season	Archaeological Resource Management Section	Institutional	Qu'Appelle Indian Community	Fort Qu'Appelle burial ground	excavation	community purchased land with Provincial government to keep site intact; intend to establish heritage park and memorial	12
21	CAA Newsletter Vol. 6 No. 1, 1986	Saskatchewan	1985 Field Season	Saskatchewan Research Council	Institutional	James Smith Indian Reserve	reserve survey	survey	"jointly funded by" community and other partners; initiated in response to band's planning of a heritage park	14
22	CAA Newsletter Vol. 6 No. 1, 1986	Northwest Territories	1985 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Dene	Drum Lake field school	field school	"collected Dene oral traditions"	21-22
23	CAA Newsletter Vol. 7 No. 1, 1987	Saskatchewan	1986 Field Season	University of Saskatchewan	Institutional	Qu'Appelle Indian Community	Fort Qu'Appelle burial ground	excavation	community purchased land with Provincial government to keep site intact; reburial of individuals	25
24	CAA Newsletter Vol. 7 No. 1, 1987	Saskatchewan	1986 Field Season	University of British Columbia - Gayle Horsfall	Institutional	Metis	building practices inventory	inventory and assessment	"compiling oral historic information on construction practices."	26
25	CAA Newsletter Vol. 8 No. 1, 1988	Northwest Territories	1987 Field Season	Smithsonian Institution	Institutional	Igloolik/Sanikiluag Inuit	Ungaluyat	rescue archaeology/ field training/oral history	"crew consisted" of community members; "community elders helped to interpret the archaeological site."	6

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
26	CAA Newsletter Vol. 8 No. 1, 1988	Northwest Territories	1987 Field Season	Grand Council of the Crees - David Denton	Institutional	Wemindji	survey of parts of Eastern James Bay coast	survey	work "carried out at the request" of the community; elders interviewed about area's history	6
27	CAA Newsletter Vol. 9 No. 1, 1989	British Columbia	1988 Field Season	UBC Laboratory of Archaeology and the Musqueam and Tsawwassen Bands	Institutional	Musqueam, Tsawwassen	DgRs-30	rescued artifacts	Museum and Communities "rescued" artifacts	18
28	CAA Newsletter Vol. 9 No. 1, 1989	Northwest Territories	1988 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Sanikiluag	hamlet and Eskimo Harbour	excavation and survey	"with the assistance" of students from the community, logistical support from townspeople	21-22
29	CAA Newsletter Vol. 9 No. 1, 1989	Northwest Territories	1988 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and the Northern Heritage Society	Institutional	Fort Franklin, Paulatuk, Tuktoyaktuk, Igloolik	Gupuk	rescue and training site	"assisted by trainees" from the communities; elders from Tuktoyaktuk "taught about traditional Inuvialuit activities and helped to identify artifacts"	22
30	CAA Newsletter Vol. 9 No. 2, 1989	Yukon	1988 Field Season	Heritage Branch and Selkirk Indian Band	Institutional	Selkirk Indian Band	Fort Selkirk Culture-History Project	field school	co-project; included 7 Selkirk elders and 8 high school students from Pelly Crossing; "designed to incorporate elements of oral history research and conventional archaeology…"	15
31	CAA Newsletter Vol. 10 No. 1, 1990	British Columbia	1989 Field Season	Ohio State University	Institutional	Nanaimo Indian Band (snuneymuxw)	Gabriola Island burial cave complex	survey and burial recovery	"full cooperation" of Band	14
32	CAA Newsletter Vol. 10 No. 1, 1990	Yukon	1989 Field Season	Heritage Branch and Selkirk Indian Band	Institutional	Selkirk Indian Band	Fort Selkirk Culture-History Project	field school	same as previous+ oral history accounts including those of volcanic activity, collected; volcanic activity accounts	15

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									assisted conventional archaeological fieldwork	
33	CAA Newsletter Vol. 10 No. 1, 1990	Northwest Territories	1989 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Dene	Canol Trail	survey	"interpreted the elders' oral history narratives" to locate 45 new sites	16
34	CAA Newsletter Vol. 11 No. 1, 1991	Ontario	1990 Field Season	ASI, Laurentian, ROM	Institutional/ CRM	Ojibways of Sucker Creek and the Sheguiandah FN	Sheguiandah Site	impact assessment/Master Plan for Municipality of Howland	"local First Nations Band Councils have been consulted so that Native liaisons may coordinate public information and consultation meetings and record oral histories regarding regional sites. Native staff will also participate in the survey component of the study."	5
35	CAA Newsletter Vol. 11 No. 1, 1991	Northwest Territories	1990 Field Season	UBC	Institutional	Willowdale River and Fort Norman	Willowdale River and Keele River-Drum Lake	survey and observation of modern stone tool use	"studied how the residents of a traditional camp… continue to make and use chipped stone tools"; work was successful with the "co-operation" of local families and individuals	10
36	CAA Newsletter Vol. 11 No. 1, 1991	Northwest Territories	1990 Field Season	Northern Past Heritage Consultants	CRM	Bluenose Lake	Bluenose Lake Proposed National Park	study	"recorded current and past land use" "through interviews with elders"	11
37	CAA Newsletter Vol. 11 No. 1, 1991	Northwest Territories	1990 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Igloolik	Isthmus Site	field course	"two-week course in archaeology" offered to grade 10 students at Attagutaaluk School	12

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
38	CAA Newsletter Vol. 11 No. 1, 1991	Northwest Territories	1990 Field Season	Douglas Stenton	Institutional	Iqaluit	Tungatsivvik	training	training for college students	12
39	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Newfoundland	1991 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Innu at Seshatshit	Kanairiktok River	survey	further documentation of occupations established through "interviews" with Innu elders	11
40	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	New Brunswick	1991 Field Season	University of Toronto	Institutional	Big Cove Micmac	Skull Island burial site	excavation	crew "included" reserve member	12
41	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	British Columbia	1991 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Toquaht	Toquaht Archaeological Project	systematic traditional territory survey	oral history research with native elders	20
42	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	British Columbia	1991 Field Season	Archaeology Branch, Sto:lo Tribal Council, UBC	Institutional	Sto:lo	Hatzic Rock	systematic data recovery programme	Sto:lo community a partner with community members participating in excavations	21
43	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Northwest Territories	1991 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Rae Lakes/Willowdale River/Rae	Great Slave to Great Bear traditional trail	survey	surveyed "with" community members; stories and legends recorded relating to sites located, will be translated to Dogrib	21
44	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Northwest Territories	1991 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk; Inuvialuit Lands Administration	McKinley Bay	Test pits	"together with" community members and formal Indigenous government liaison	22
45	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Northwest Territories	1991 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk TEK project	TEK	together with a community translator and trainee, PWNHC interviewed 21 elders about aspects of traditional life	22
46	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Northwest Territories	1991 Field Season	Bison Historical Services	CRM	multiple	NorthwesTel	survey	"Local people also indicated that no traditional sites occurred near the	23

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									proposed development"	
47	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Northwest Territories	1991 Field Season	Northern Past Heritage Consultants	CRM	Takipaq	Bluenose (Takipaq) Lake	archaeological and ethno-historical investigations	interviewed "native women elders about domestic camp activities"	23
48	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Northwest Territories	1991 Field Season	University of Alberta/Local and Territorial societies	Institutional	Igloolik	Isthmus Site now called Kalirusiuyak	field course	in addition to last years' activities, this year featured stone tool production training and the expansion to Grade 11 students	24
49	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Northwest Territories	1991 Field Season	McGill University	Institutional	Baker Lake	Aberdeen Lake	survey	archaeologist and community member travelled to region; joined by an elder who had lived on the site; talked about what life had been like there and identified at least one structure	25
50	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Yukon	1991 Field Season	Bison Historical Services	CRM	Dawson FN	NorthwesTel	assessment	"accompanied" by community member "who assisted in the location and interpretation of historical sites…"	27
51	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Yukon	1991 Field Season	Heritage North Consulting Services	CRM	White River FN	Shawak (Alaska) Highway	impact assessment	interviews conducted with community elders to "identify sites and localities of traditional and historic importance…"	28
52	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Yukon	1991 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Liard FN	First Wye Lake	assessment	"assisted by" community members	28

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
53	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Yukon	1991 Field Season	Canadian Parks Service	Institutional	Old Crow	Vuntut National Park	field work	"ethnographic interviews" with locals	29
54	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Yukon	1991 Field Season	Selkirk FN and Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Selkirk FN	Tatlmain Lake	excavation	under the joint direction of the territorial archaeologist and Selkirk representative; students from Pelly Crossing received archaeological training; elders participated in fieldwork as well	29
55	CAA Newsletter Vol. 12 No. 1, 1992	Yukon	1991 Field Season	Archaeological Survey of Canada/CMC	Institutional	Dawson FN	Yukon River survey west of Dawson City	survey	"with the assistance of" a community member	29
56	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Newfoundland	1992 Field Season	Kevin McAleese	Institutional	Sheshatshit	Kanairiktok River	reconnaissance	"interviews conducted with Innu elders… to help focus the survey on locations with greater potential for sites, and to provided (sic) information on use not documented previously or visible archaeologically."	10
57	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	New Brunswick	1992 Field Season	Fort Folly Indian Reserve	Institutional	Fort Folly Indian Reserve	Beaumont Site	excavation and geophysical survey	research initiated by the community; interviews conducted with local informants	12
58	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Ontario	1992 Field Season	Settlement Surveys Ltd.	CRM	Teme-Augama Anishnabai First Nation, Bear Island Lake Temegami	timber harvesting areas near North Bay	inventory and assessment	"work undertaken for" the community "in a joint project with Ontario" MNR	14
59	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Ontario	1992 Field Season	Settlement Surveys Ltd.	CRM	Dokis FN	private hydro projects	survey	work done "for" the community	14

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
60	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Ontario	1992 Field Season	Lakehead University	Institutional (work on proposed dam development)	Poplar Point FN	High Falls Burial Salvage Project	uncovered burial investigation	archaeologist "... agreed to investigate only with the support and involvement of Poplar Point band members. This involved the employment of Band members as field workers, and ritual intervention by Elders when skeletal remains were encountered." One individual was located and "reinterred within 3 days of recovery." Archaeologist describes the political and legal wrangling over of the site and the twisting of the archaeological data by opposing lawyers.	15
61	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Manitoba	1992 Field Season	Brandon University	Institutional	??	Big Tiger geoform	sites tested	training of 2 First Nation students	22
62	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	British Columbia	1992 Field Season	Ohio State University	Institutional	Nanaimo Indian Band	Gabriola Island burial cave complex	survey and burial recovery	"From the outset, the Nanaimo Indian Band has been involved with DgRw 199 and the efforts to conserve the site. Neither of the research efforts would have been possible without the Band's concurrence, in-field support, and continued interest in the scientific approach	29

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									to the study of the past."	
63	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	British Columbia	1992 Field Season	Canadian Park Service	Institutional	Haida Tribal Society	Gwaii Hanas National Park	resource inventory investigations	"conducted under contract to the Haida Tribal Society and Millennia Research"; "Haida Tribal Society provided a seven person Haida crew"	30
64	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Yukon	1992 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Liard FN	Frances Lake	survey	"with" the community	31
65	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Yukon	1992 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Carcross-Tagish FN	Annie Lake Site	investigations	"together with" community students and elders	32
66	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Yukon	1992 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Little Salmon and Carmacks FN	Airport Lake traditional fish camp	reconnaissance	work carried out "At the recommendation of members" of the community	32
67	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Rae Lakes/Rae (Dogrib)	Great Slave to Great Bear traditional trail (Marion/Camsel l Trail)	survey	surveyed "with" community members; included training component where students received training in ethnographic field methods, instruction in "Dogrib oral tradition, place names and bush skills."	33
68	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	CMC	Institutional	Artic Red River; Fort Good Hope	Lower Mackenzie Valley NOGAP	excavations	"field assistants"	33
69	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	University of British Columbia	Institutional	Fort Franklin; Fort Good Hope; Inuvik	Thunder River NOGAP	excavation	"with" community members	33
70	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Rae	Snare Lakes (Wekwet)	impact assessment	community member listed with PWNHC archaeologists	35

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
71	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk	Qugyuk Site	excavation	"assisted by" community member	35
72	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk; Inuvik	heritage site interviews	ethnohistorical	"collected information on the location and nature of heritage sites through interviews with elders in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik"; three elders invited to participate in helicopter surveys	36
73	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	University of Alberta/Local and Territorial societies	Institutional	Igloolik	Arnaquatsiak	field course	Grades 10-12 participated learning excavation and exhibition techniques; several elders came one to instruct about construction techniques and to identify artifacts.	36-37
74	CAA Newsletter Vol. 13 No. 1, 1993	Northwest Territories	1992 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Service	??	Sayis-dene	Little Edehon Lake	survey	"along with" elder; aim was to see if continuity of land use assist in the location of sites	38
75	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Newfoundland	1993 Field Season	Smithsonian	Institutional	Sheshatshit	Naskaupi River Portage	excavation	"group of Innu students from Sheshatshit tested site…(11); Two elders from the community visited the site and provided oral history information" (12)	11-12
76	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Nova Scotia	1993 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Mi'kmaq	Kejimkujik National Park pictographs	preservation and replication	"consultations on future management" of site	13-14
77	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Ontario	1993 Field Season	ASI	CRM	Wahta Mohawks	District of Muskoka Archaeological	planning	"contract by" district municipality and Wahta Mohawks	17

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
							Management Plan			
78	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Manitoba	1993 Field Season	Brandon University	Institutional	First Nations students	Wapiti Sakihtaw site	excavation	FN students receiving archaeological training from a senior FN student	20
79	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Saskatchewan	1993 Field Season	Western Heritage Services/Gabriel Dumont Institute	CRM/Institutional	Metis	Metis Heritage Inventory Project	survey and training	"pilot program designed to train Metis students about how to locate, record and evaluate Metis heritage sites"	22
80	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	CMC	Institutional	Artic Red River; Fort Good Hope	Mackenzie River survey	survey	elder participated "on the survey crew"	27
81	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	CMC	Institutional	Artic Red River; Inuvik	Artic Red River (NOGAP)	excavation	community members were "excavators"	27
82	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Rae Lakes (Dogrib); Rae-Edzo Friendship Centre	Camsell/Marian River Heritage Resource Inventory	survey	collaboration with community and oral history research with elders; community members on survey team	28
83	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk	Tuktoyaktuk Traditional Knowledge Project	TEK survey and interviews	collected information through interviews with elders in town and on traditional use sites abut TEK practices, worked with community family	30 - 31
84	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	ERD Consulting	CRM	Taloyoak	Izok Lake	impact assessment	crew included community member	31
85	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	Parks Canada, ROM	Institutional	Baker Lake	Piqqiq	survey and oral history collection	"in co-operation with Elders Advisory Committee of Baker Lake"; recorded interviews with elders	32

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									and trained young community members; "documented by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation"	
86	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	University of Alberta/Local and Territorial societies	Institutional	Igloolik	Arnaquatsiak	field course	in addition to ongoing training "elders visited the site to help and to drum dance" in a partially excavated house; exhibit again held at end of course for the community;	33
87	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	University of Alberta/Local and Territorial societies	Institutional	Igloolik	Igloolik Field School/Oral History partnership	material identification and assessment	elders identified and assessed artifacts collected from field school; local quarry sites were then visited with elders	34
88	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	Smithsonian	Institutional	Inuit	Outer Frobisher Bay	survey	elder assisted in the location of sites; oral history used to assist project	35
89	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 1, 1994	Northwest Territories	1993 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Arviat	Arviaq	mapping and oral history project	community selected island of Arviaq as representative of their cultural heritage and are seeking its designation as a national park (declared a national historic site in 1995)	36
90	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 2, 1994	Yukon	1993 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Kwanlin Dun FN	Fish Lake Archaeology Project	survey and test excavations	joint project between community and government; FN published a book based on the results of the project	10

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
91	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 2, 1994	Yukon	1993 Field Season	Heritage North Consulting Services	CRM	Nacho Nyak Dun FN of Mayo	Ethel Lake	inventory	work done "for" the community	10
92	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 2, 1994	Yukon	1993 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullogh and Associates	CRM	Kluane FN	Shakwak Project (Alaska Highway)	impact assessment	community "informants" identified traditional land use sites	11
93	CAA Newsletter Vol. 14 No. 2, 1994	Yukon	1993 Field Season	Douglas Rutherford	CRM	Ta'an Kwachan FN	Whitehorse Sewage Treatment plant	impact assessment	traditional land use "documented through discussions with" community	11
94	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute	Institutional	Gwichya Gwich'in	Tsiigehnjik Ethno-archaeology Project	traditional use study	interviewed Elders about their lives on the Arctic Red River followed by archaeological survey; "The project has demonstrated the importance of the information shared by Elders. Without their knowledge of traditional land use, we would have little understanding of the region's human history." (13-14)	13
95	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Dogrib	Hosi Deh- Emile River	heritage resources inventory	community members on crew; visited location where peace treaty between Dogrib and Yellowknives was signed in the 1820s based on Dogrib Oral Tradition and the aid of a community member.	14
96	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Canadian Museum of Civilization	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk	Richards Island, Mackenzie Delta	surface collection and excavation	with the "assistance of" community member	14

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
97	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Sachs Harbour	Thomsen River, Banks Island	survey	community member listed with Parks Canada archaeologist; "Consultations with representatives of community organizations in Sachs Harbour continue and future research plans for Aulavik National park will be discussed." (14)	14
98	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Arizona State University	Institutional	Resolute Bay	Mount Oliver, Southeast Somerset Island	excavation	crew included "students" from community	14
99	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Canadian Museum of Civilization/Hamlet of Resolute Bay	Institutional	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay Thule winter village	excavation and reconstruction	community member listed with CMC archaeologist; "open house" held for locals upon completion	15
100	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	University of Alberta/Local and Territorial societies	Institutional	Igloolik	Arnaquaksat	field course/school	community supported field school continued; local Elders continued to participate in "collaborative research" locating quarry sites.	17
101	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Arviat	Arviaq Mapping and Oral History Project	oral history/mapping	community chose locales to "conserve and depict their traditional lifestyle" (18); Elders and youth worked together, with youth being trained in archaeological methodologies and expressing interest in the Elders' "interpretations of archaeological	18

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									features and place names..."(18)	
102	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Northwest Territories	1994 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Baker Lake	Itimnik, Lower Kazan River	survey and oral history	"...in cooperation with the Baker Lake Elders Advisory Committee…" (18); interviews conducted with Elders on-site (recording oral history and place names); interviews were videotaped by researchers and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation of Baker Lake	18
103	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	British Columbia	1994 Field Season	Douglas College and Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Toquat	Toquaht Archaeological Project	inventory, excavation	"informant research"	21
104	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Saskatchewan	1994 Field Season	Northern Plains Heritage Consultants	CRM	Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation	Amisk Lake	heritage investigation	"…high school students…" from the community listed on the field crew; "with support" of the community	23
105	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Saskatchewan	1994 Field Season	University of Saskatchewan	Institutional	James Smith Reserve	Southern Saskatchewan Boreal survey	ethnobotanical	"…assisted by…" community member; "Elders and other knowledgeable informants provided the necessary information regarding each plant, including the Cree name and traditional use." (26)	26
106	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Saskatchewan	1994 Field Season	University of Saskatchewan	Institutional	Cumberland House Reserve	Old Cumberland House	excavation	"…assisted by…" "crew" including two community members	26
107	CAA Newsletter Vol. 15 No. 1, 1995	Newfoundland	1994 Field Season	Kevin McAleese	Institutional	multiple	North West River proposed museum	planning	"consulted" with communities and First Nations about	31

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									proposed heritage centre	
108	CAA Newsletter Vol. 16 No. 1, 1996	Northwest Territories	1995 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Sachs Harbour	Thomsen River, Banks Island	survey	crew included "two assistants from Sachs Harbour"; "Elders Committee confirmed identifications of artifacts, provided Inuvialuktun terms for features and artifacts and provided other useful information." "People at present living in Sachs Harbour remember travelling in the Aulavik area and people from Victoria Island travelled there as well."	11
109	CAA Newsletter Vol. 16 No. 1, 1996	British Columbia	1995 Field Season	Millennia Research; Haida Tribal Society; Parks Canada	CRM/Institutional	Haida	Gwaii Hanas National Park	survey	community archaeologists also "contracted"	12
110	CAA Newsletter Vol. 16 No. 1, 1996	Saskatchewan	1995 Field Season	Northern Plains Heritage Consultants	CRM	Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation	Amisk Lake Heritage Management and Aboriginal Training Project	field school	local students	18
111	CAA Newsletter Vol. 16 No. 1, 1996	Saskatchewan	1995 Field Season	Northern Plains Heritage Consultants	CRM	?	Limestone Point	field school	Local Elder "made two visits to the site"; Elder had been the original guide and assistant to the earliest heritage studies in the region in the 1950s and 1960s done by Harry Moody.	18
112	CAA Newsletter Vol. 16 No. 1, 1996	Saskatchewan	1995 Field Season	University of Saskatchewan	Institutional	Southend Band Cree	Reindeer Lake	survey	"In part, the trip was at the request of Larry Clarke, a Cree Elder who is a member of the Southend band."	21

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
113	CAA Newsletter Vol. 16 No. 1, 1996	Saskatchewan	1995 Field Season	University of Saskatchewan	Institutional	James Smith Reserve and Shoal Lake Reserve	Southern Saskatchewan Boreal survey	ethnobotanical	"…working with Cree elders and other knowledgeable people, to record traditional uses of plants, for food, medicines and crafts."	22
114	CAA Newsletter Vol. 16 No. 1, 1996	Saskatchewan	1995 Field Season	University of Saskatchewan	Institutional	Plains Cree	Grace Adam Metawewinihk Site	field school	connects school children with their heritage; also used "…as a means of gaining support for archaeology from local Elders…"	22
115	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Western Heritage	CRM	Deline Dene Band	Grizzly Bear Mountain and Scented Grass Hills	survey	6 community crew members provided "assistance"; Elders were also interviewed the previous summer to record "place names, legends, stories and significance of numerous locations."; longstanding "collaboration" between community and Parks Canada "provided the basis" for contemporary study; community also setting place for historic site designation	4
116	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute	Institutional	Gwichya Gwich'in	Tsiigehnjik Ethno-archaeology Project	excavation	Gwich'in crew under the direction of CRM archaeologist; "Although this was not a formal field school, an important goal was to provide Gwich'in	4 and 5

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									individuals with training and hands-on experience in archaeology."	
117	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Deline Dene Band	Deline Hotel	HRIA	"at the request" of the community; assisted by two community members	5
118	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Inuvialuit Social Development Program	Institutional	Inuvialuit	Kitigaaryuit	survey and inventory	community project; "Elders from Tuktoyaktuk who had lived at Kitigaaryuit or who had visited it when it was inhabited year round were brought to the site to talk about its history and to help identify features."	5
119	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Parks Canada/Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Paulatuk	Angik Archaeological Field Project	field school	Grades 7-9 school children participating in excavation	6
120	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Canadian Museum of Civilization	Institutional	Resolute Bay	Bathurst Island	survey	"...with the assistance of..." community member	6
121	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Igloolik High School/McGill University/Arctic College	Institutional	Igloolik	Late Dorset house	excavation	Grades 10 and 11 students and local prospective teachers participated in two separate field schools	7
122	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Sapputiit	Auyuittaq National Park Reserve	survey	archaeologist met with Elders committee sharing information on features, place names and park information; archaeologist to follow up with community to present a draft report.	8

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
123	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Baker Lake Harvaqtuuq Historic Site Committee	Institutional	Baker Lake; Harvaqtuurmuit	Kazan River	survey	"commissioned" by community following a "detailed place name study of the area by Harvaqtuurmuit Elders"; information from place name study used in the archaeological survey	8 and 9
124	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates	CRM	Coppermine Inuit	Jericho Mine	survey	Elders "...visited the Carat Lake camp and were shown some of the sites.";	9
125	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates	CRM	Yellowknives Dene	Kennaday Project	overview	community member "participated" in part of field work	9
126	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Yellowknives Dene; Dogrib	Lac de Gras	assessment	community members "assisted with the field survey."	9
127	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates	CRM	Detah	Lac de Gras	survey	"assisted" by community members (10); "Dogrib elders and Inuit representatives from Kugluktuk examined some of the site areas and share(d) {*sic*} their knowledge about traditional lifestyles."(11)	10 and 11
128	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Inuit: Umingmaktok and Cambridge Bay	Roberts Bay	inventory and assessment	Two Elders visited one of the sites and "They talked about some of the rock features and artifacts, their uses and possible times of use."	11
129	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Northwest Territories	1996 Field Season	Avens Associates	CRM	Cambridge Bay	Mount Pelly Traditional Park	survey	"field assistants"; oral histories also collected from Elders; Elders	12

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									consulted "before and immediately after the survey"; "provided evidence for interpreting some of the boulder features…"	
130	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Western Heritage	CRM	Tsay Keh Dene Band and 3 others	Mackenzie TSA Archaeological Overview Assessment Program	predictive model	"Fieldwork was undertaken, with consultation with four First Nations bands."; "By request of the Tsay Keh Dene Band" preliminary work was done of some archaeological sites. "Support and close collaboration was supplied by the Tsay Keh Dene Band offices, Tsay Keh Dene Village residents, and Tsay Keh Dene elders.	13
131	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Saskatchewan	1996 Field Season	Western Heritage	CRM	6 FN and 2 Regional districts of Metis	Eastern Saskatchewan	traditional land use and heritage study	"Local members of six First Nations and two regional districts of the Metis Nation of Saskatchewan worked with local elders and trappers/hunters regarding their knowledge of the area."	14
132	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Saskatchewan	1996 Field Season	University of Saskatchewan	Institutional	Plains Cree	Grace Adam Metawewinihk Site	field school	continued work to connect Grades 7 and 8 students with their heritage and success gaining support of Elders whose grandchildren and great grandchildren	16

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									are part of the program.	
133	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 1, 1997	Alberta	1996 Field Season	University of Calgary	Institutional	Tsuu t'ina Nation	EgPn-375; 377	excavation	"cooperative venture"	21
134	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	University of Toronto	Institutional	Nadleh Whut'en	Nechako Plateau	survey	"in co-operation with" the community	14
135	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	University College of the Cariboo	Institutional	Kamloops Indian Band	Thompson's River HBC Post	excavations/field school	"in cooperation with, and under permit to, the Kamloops Indian Band" (project on the reserve)	14 and 15
136	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Okanagan University College	Institutional	Cheslatta Carrier Nation	Scichola and Belgatse villages	field school	"with the assistance of" the community	15
137	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	University College of the Cariboo, Okanagan University College	Institutional	Gingolx Band Council (Nisga'a)	Kincolith Cemetery	conservation and recording	"in conjunction with" the community	16
138	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Douglas College and Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Toquat	Toquaht Archaeological Project	inventory, excavation	"work with Native informants"	17
139	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	SFU/Secwepemc Education Institute	Institutional	Secwepemc	SFU-SEI Archaeology Program	field school	"university-based program for Native People"	17
140	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Arcas Consulting Archaeologists	CRM	multiple	93 projects	multiple	112 First Nations "assistants"	17
141	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Bastion Group Heritage Consultants	CRM	Kamloops Indian Band	Government Hill	excavation	crew consisted of 5-6 community members	18
142	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Bastion Group Heritage Consultants	CRM	Nisga'a	Greenville-Kincolith highway	survey	"inventory of Nisga'a place names and legends"	18
143	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Bastion Group Heritage Consultants	CRM	Quatsino Indian Band	Quatsino Sound and Holberg Inlet	survey	"on behalf of the community"	18

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
144	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	multiple	27 projects	multiple	"First Nations field assistants" and "First Nations training programs"	18
145	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	I.R. Wilson	CRM	multiple	68 projects	multiple	"50 First Nations assistants for varying periods of time"	18
146	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Millennia Research	CRM	multiple	46 projects	multiple	"33 First Nations employees"	19
147	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Westbank First Nation; Penticton Indian Band; Osoyoos Indian Band	Penticton Forest District	investigations	"local assistance provided by representatives of…" the communities	19
148	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Taku River Tlingit FN	Atlin	investigations	"field assistants and elders" from community “assisted with this study"	19
149	CAA Newsletter Vol. 17 No. 2, 1997	British Columbia	1996 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Blueberry River, Dog River, and Fort Nelson Indian Bands	northeastern BC	surveys	"representatives" from communities involved in these studies	19
150	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1995 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Ta'an Kwachan FN	Lake Laberge, Fox Lake and lower Takhini River	survey	"community archaeology project"	6
151	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1995 Field Season	Sheila Greer	CRM	Champagne and Aishihik FNs	Aishihik Hydroelectirc Facility	survey	"in cooperation with" the communities	6
152	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1995 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Kwanlin Dun FN	Canyon City	excavations	"joint project"	6
153	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1996 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Kwanlin Dun FN	Canyon City	excavations	continued from previous	7
154	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1996 Field Season	Sheila Greer	CRM	Champagne and Aishihik FNs	Aishihik Hydroelectric Facility	survey	continued from previous	7

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
155	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1997 Field Season	Sheila Greer	CRM	Champagne and Aishihik FNs	Alsek River and Hutshi Lake	traditional use survey	"contracted by" the community	7
156	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1997 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Kwanlin Dun FN	Canyon City	excavations	continued from previous	7
157	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1997 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Aishihik FN	Kluane National Park	survey	community "students" "participated"	8
158	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1997 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Inuvialuit	Ivvavik	survey	community "summer student" and a "patrol person"	9
159	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Rae	Damoti Lake Gold Mine	survey	"assistance and advice" provided by community member	10
160	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Inuvialuit Social Development Program	Institutional	Inuvialuit	Kitigaaryuit	survey and inventory	collection of oral traditions; Elders contributed place names and locations	11
161	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Sachs Harbour	Thomsen River, Banks Island	survey and monitoring	"together with" community; community provided support and crew members	11
162	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	University of Calgary	CRM	Resolute Bay	Eclipse Deposit Mine	survey	community member listed with archaeologist	12
163	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	University of Calgary	CRM	Resolute Bay	Cominco Exploration	survey	community member listed with archaeologist	12
164	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Waskaganish FN	Institutional	Iyiyuu	Charlton Island	investigations	community project included participation of Iyiyuu "tallyman" as well as other community members	13
165	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates	CRM	Yellowknives Dene	Lac de Gras	assessment	two Elders and an interpreter participated in the field assessment	14

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
166	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Parks Canada/ Baker Lake Harvaqtuuq Historic Site Committee	Institutional	Baker Lake; Harvaqtuurmuit	Kazan River	survey	cooperative project; elders approved certain collections and accompanied archaeologists to former camps to talk about features and artifacts.	14
167	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Arviat	Arvia'juag National Historic Site	excavation	Excavation of park with elders intended to record the interpretations and knowledge of Elders in conjunction with the archaeological research	15
168	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Bathurst Inlet	Bathurst Inlet	inventory and assessment	student community member "assisted" with the work	15
169	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Dogrib Treaty 11; Yellowknives Dene	BHP Diamonds	investigations	"assisted by" community members	15
170	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Northwest Territories	1997 Field Season	BHP Diamonds	CRM	Yellowknives Dene	EKATI Mine	assessment	Elders consulted with respect to a grave location and to examine a traditional use site. Also a "joint project" was undertaken with the Yellowknives Dene Traditional Knowledge Study.	16
171	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Arcas Consulting Archaeologists	CRM	multiple	92 projects	multiple	102 "First Nations field assistants" employed; "As the role of First Nations in archaeological resource management increases, and Arcas has develop (sic)	18

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									partnerships and working relationships with First Nations. First Nations groups were the lead proponents or clients on three GIS-based overviews, three inventory studies, and one excavation. A number of forestry projects and research studies was (sic) also conducted in partnership with, or under contract to, First Nations."	
172	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Bastion Group Heritage Consultants	CRM	Lax-Kw;alaams	Nass River	AIA	"were able to witness the processing of eulachon into grease."	19
173	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Yukon	1997 Field Season	Bastion Group Heritage Consultants	CRM	Teslin Tlingit Nation	Cultural Centre	development plan	centre being built by and "for" the community; included "detailed consultations" with community members	19
174	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Itkus Heritage Consulting	CRM	Lower Similkameen FN	Lower Similkameen Valley	survey	project conducted for the FN and the proponent; several sites were found but the summary qualifies that "These sites are considered sacred and information concerning them cannot be discussed without the prior permission of the First Nations involved."	19

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
175	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	I.R. Wilson	CRM	multiple	76 projects	multiple	45 "First Nations assistants" employed.; "The firm also led a three month First Nations training programme through their Williams Lake office, training over 20 First Nations community members in archaeological and anthropological theory and practical field techniques."	20
176	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Kutenai West Heritage Consultants	CRM	multiple	27 projects	multiple	12 "First Nations assistants" employed; one project near Okanagan Falls involved a burial recovery from a disturbed site which involved "support expressed from local First Nations elders", which was "greatly appreciated".	20
177	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Millennia Research	CRM	Kwantlen FN	Stave Lake	survey	"jointly directed" project	21
178	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Millennia Research	CRM	Ditidaht FN	Nitinat Lake	wet site projects	analysis and reporting completed for Parks Service and the community	21
179	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	multiple	multiple	multiple	"local assistant" employed; also called a "First Nations representative"	21
180	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council; Sinixt-Arrow Lakes	Southern Crossing Pipeline	investigations	"in conjunction with" a community member; "representatives" from	22

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
						FN; Osoyoos Indian Band			communities also "assisted with" the fieldwork	
181	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Sto:lo FN	CRM	Sto:lo	Chilliwack Watershed Study and Harrison Lake rec sites	AIA and survey	Projects situated in Sto:lo traditional territory and community members were "employed and trained to assist with this fieldwork."	22
182	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	McMaster University	Institutional	Heiltsuk	Namu	shell midden investigations	"representatives of the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre" were part of the research "team"	22
183	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	University College of the Cariboo	Institutional	Kamloops Indian Band	Thompson's River HBC Post	excavations/field school	continuation of previous work under permit to Kamloops Indian Band	22
184	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Okanagan University College	Institutional	Taku Tlingit FN	traditional use survey (no formal title)	traditional use survey	"work with" Elders to "document place names and traditional use sites, and to collect other information for Tlingit educational purposes."	23
185	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Okanagan University College	Institutional	multiple (Okanagan)	Okanagan Timber Supply area	surveys	"with" First Nations	23
186	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Okanagan University College	Institutional	Gingolx Band Council (Nisga'a)	Kincolith Cemetery	conservation and recording	"joint CRM programme"; community will be provided with information about the cemetery pursuant to its management going forward	23
187	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Sto:lo	Natural and Cultural Fire History of the	documentation	"Ethnographic data collected with the help of Sto:lo elders…"	24

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
							Central and Upper Fraser Valley			
188	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Sto:lo; Scowlitz Band	Scowlitz Site	field school	"collaborative research project"	24
189	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	SFU/Secwepemc Education Institute	Institutional	Secwepemc	SFU-SEI Archaeology Program	field school	excavation conducted at a site on land intended to be developed by the Band	25
190	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Ditidaht FN	Tsuqua'ada	survey	"with Ditidaht archaeologist"	26
191	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Songhees	Fort Rodd Hill	reinternment	"A reburial ceremony was arranged with the Songhees Band…" The Songhees directed placement of reinternment of human remains recovered during various times from archaeological sites on the Fort Rodd Hill grounds."	26
192	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	British Columbia	1997 Field Season	Millennia Research and others	Institutional/ CRM	Saanich and Hul'qumi'num FNs	Pacific Marine Heritage Legacy	survey and ethnohistoric research	Ethnohistoric research involves 7 bands from the First Nations	26
193	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Alberta	1997 Field Season	University of Calgary	Institutional	Tsuu t'ina Nation	EgPn-375; 377	excavation	"Members of First Nations are involved in the project as resource people, consultants, students and supervisors."	28 and 29
194	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Manitoba	1997 Field Season	Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature	Institutional	multiple	multiple	analysis and display	Museum interpreting past field studies "particularly for First Nations communities". Working on faunal materials which will	36

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									quickly be reburied, "making this information available first to the First Nations communities as displays…"	
195	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Manitoba	1997 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Service	CRM	Sayisi Dene	North Seal River	excavation	"The community supported excavation was undertaken by four high school students from the Sayisi Dene community of Tadoule Lake and two university students."	37
196	CAA Newsletter Vol. 18 No. 1, 1998	Newfoundland	1997 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Innu	Voisey's Bay	burial location	interviewed four Innu "informants" in an attempt to locate rumoured burials; the archaeologist "contacted the Innu nation to explain the investigation process and methods, and to obtain permission to conduct the interviews."	42
197	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Yukon	1998 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN	Klondike City/ Tro'juwech'in	investigations	"joint project"	9
198	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Yukon	1998 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN	Fortymile	testing	"with the assistance of…" two students	9
199	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Yukon	1998 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch/Aishihik FN/ Canadian Wildlife Service	Institutional	Aishihik FN	Snow Patch SW Yukon	investigations	"cooperative project"	9
200	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Yukon	1998 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Vuntut Gwitchin	Old Crow	excavation	"1997 excavation complemented in 1998 by on-site interviews	10

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									with three Old Crow elders, and by oral history research in the village."	
201	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Fort Liard and Nahanni Butte	Ranger Oil Liard Developments	survey	"with assistance and advice from" community members	11
202	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Inuvialuit Social Development Program	Institutional	Inuvialuit	Kitigaaryuit (Yellow Beetle navigation station)	interviews	"document the experiences of the Inuvialuit who worked at the station"	13
203	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	University of Toronto	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk	Cache Point Site	excavated	"crew" consisted of students from the community and elsewhere	13
204	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Inuit Heritage Trust	Institutional	Inuit	Aksagajuktuq	survey	search for Norse shipwreck based on elder accounts from 1942	14
205	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Avataq Cultural Institute	Institutional	Kanqirsujuaq Inuit	Kanqirsujuaq	excavation and survey	excavation included four Inuit students; the survey team included two Inuit students and two Inuit guides one of whom was an elder.	14
206	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Utselk'e	Kennady Lake De Beers	survey	community "field assistant"	16
207	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Dogrib; Yellowknives Dene	BHP Diamonds	investigations	community members "involved" in work; elders from the communities also toured the project; a traditional use site reported by the Yellowknives Dene Land and Environment Committee was relocated.	17 and 18

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
208	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Elisa Hart	CRM	Rankin Inlet	Meliandine West Gold Project	survey and assessment	"with assistance of" community members; "Before beginning fieldwork, the archaeology project was discussed at a meeting of the Elders' Steering Committee… The Committee recommended the participation of…" an elder who provided significant information about the area and interpretations of the archaeology.	17
209	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates	CRM	Utselk'e; Rae	Diavik Mine	investigations	"assisted by"	
210	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Service	CRM	Tadoule Lake; Lac Boucher; Arviat	Southeastern Keewatin	survey	the archaeologist's "crew of" community members	18
211	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	ERD Heritage Consulting	CRM	Cambridge Bay	Cambridge Bay DEW Line Station cleanup	survey	"The Kitikmeot Heritage Society, based in Cambridge Bay, was instrumental in identifying the sites and ensuring their protection."	19
212	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Northwest Territories	1998 Field Season	Kitikmeot Heritage Society	Institutional	Cambridge Bay	Ekalluktuuk	oral history research	Project designed using the recommendations of Elders, conducted by community members and interviewed Elders from the region	20
213	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Altamira Consulting	CRM/Institutional	Tsawwassen, Burrard, Carrier, Semiahmoo FNs	Beach Grove Site	mitigation/field school	project "included" members from the communities; success of the project also	21

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									attributed to individual community members	
214	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Antiquus Archaeological Consultants	CRM	Multiple	multiple	multiple	"many First Nations administrators and field workers worked with us…"	21
215	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Arcas Consulting Archaeologists	CRM	multiple	multiple	multiple	conducted some "archaeological survey training programs for First Nations communities" (21); "Arcas continued to develop partnerships and working relationships with many First Nations communities and employed First Nations field assistants…"	22
216	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Multiple	Southern Crossing Pipeline	investigations	"Representatives" from the communities "assisted with these investigations	24
217	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Multiple	multiple	multiple	"First Nations people were employed on a project-specific basis"	24
218	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Equinox Research and Consulting	CRM	Multiple	Multiple	Multiple	The company only hires archaeologists on a project -by-project basis "...relying heavily on First Nations personnel as field assistants."	25
219	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Western Heritage BC	CRM	Tsay Keh Dene	Mackenzie District - Finlay Forest Industries	inventory	Program "…involves the training of resident First Nations Individuals followed by their involvement in an ongoing	25

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									archaeological inventory study."	
220	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Haida	East Coast Industrial survey	survey	"worked with Haida CRM manager"	27
221	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Tseshaht/Parks Canada	Institutional	Tseshaht	Broken Group Islands	assessments	community "initiative… to enhance Tseshaht knowledge of the cultural history of the Broken Group"; includes local trainee community members	27
222	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Okanagan University College	Institutional	Gingolx Band Council (Nisga'a)	Kincolith Cemetery	conservation and recording	continued from previous	27
223	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Arizona State University	Institutional	Penelakut Tribe	Dionisio Point	excavations	"The project was undertaken with the involvement and cooperation of the Penelakut Tribe, within whose traditional territory the site resides." Community members were also employed as crew members.	27
224	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	Simon Fraser University/University of British Columbia	Institutional	Sto:lo; Scowlitz Band	Scowlitz Site	field school	"collaborative project"	28
225	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	SFU/Secwepemc Education Institute	Institutional	Secwepemc	SFU-SEI Archaeology Program	field school	excavation conducted at a site on land intended to be developed by the Band	28
226	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	British Columbia	1998 Field Season	University College of the Cariboo	Institutional	Little Shuswap Indian Band; Adams Lake Band; Quatsino Band	Quaaout Reserve #1 Burial	burial excavation	"done at the request" of the Little Shuswap Indian Band chief; included two students from SFUs SFU/SEI field school	29

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
227	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Saskatchewan	1998 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Saulteaux FN	Jackfish Lake	assessment	"Before the assessment was initiated, two elders from the Saulteaux First Nations were consulted to determine if they had any concerns about the development. They assisted in identifying two human burial sites and an abandoned Metis community…"	35
228	CAA Newsletter Vol. 19 No. 1, 1999	Manitoba	1998 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Service	CRM	Waterhen FN	Chitek Lake Archaeological Project	survey and traditional land use study	"The oral tradition from the community played an important role in understanding the location of certain types of activities." "…two students and one elder assisted in the project"	37
229	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN	Klondike City/ Tro'juwech'in	investigations	"joint project"	7
230	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN	Forty Mile	testing	"with the assistance of" community students	7
231	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Kluane, Champagne and Aishihik FNs	Alaska Highway	HRIA	"with the assistance of" community members and Heritage Offices	7
232	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	White River FN	Beaver Creek KaVn-2	investigations	"with the assistance of" four community students; at the request of the government and the FN they also survey Tchawsahmon Lake for	7

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									historic and traditional use sites	
233	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch/University of Alaska/Icefields Instruments Inc./Champagne and Aishihik FNs/ Canadian Wildlife Service	Institutional	Champagne, Carcross/Tagish and Aishihik FNs	Snow Patch SW Yukon	investigations	"cooperative project"; community member listed as principal investigator	8
234	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	CRM	Kluane FN	JjVu-3; JjVu-4	salvage	"with the assistance of" community students	9
235	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Tr'ondek Hwech'in and Gwich'in FNs	Tombstone Mountain	survey	project "carried out jointly with traditional land use studies" by the communities	9
236	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Little Salmon and Carmacks FN	Mandanna Lake	study	"jointly carried out"	9
237	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Yukon	1999 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Little Salmon and Carmacks FN	Frenchman Lake	salvage burial excavation	"At the request of the community"; "minimal observations and measurements were made to permit determination that this was a First Nations adult male..."	9
238	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	University of Toronto	Institutional	Tuktoyaktuk	Cache Point Site	excavation	"crew" consisted of students from the community and elsewhere	9
239	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Dogrib; Yellowknives Dene; Lutsel k'e	BHP Diamonds	investigations	conducted tours with an elder and community members	10
240	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Yellowknives Dene; Lutsel k'e	Snap Lake - Winspear Resources	investigations	"assisted by" community members	10

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
241	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates	CRM	Lutsel k'e FN and North Slave Metis Association	Diavik Mine - Lac de Gras	survey	community "assistants"	10
242	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	James Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Lutsel k'e FN	Gahcho Kue	inventory	"sites found" by "residents" who were presumably part of his crew.	11
243	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	James Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Yellowknives Dene, Lutsel k'e FN and North Slave Metis Association	MacKay Lake - Munn Lake; Margaret Lake - Gahcho Kue	inventory	travelled with community members (on one leg on a 60 km canoe trip)	11
244	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Fort Liard	Franklin Mountains Chevron Pipeline	survey	community members listed with the archaeologist	12
245	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Northwest Territories	1999 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Fort Liard	Liard Pipeline Project	survey	community "elder" listed with the archaeologist; elder shared traditional use information as well as specific details of sites he was familiar with.	12
246	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Tseshaht/Parks Canada	Institutional	Tseshaht	Barkley Sound	excavations	continued from previous	13
247	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Simon Fraser University/University of British Columbia	Institutional	Sto:lo; Scowlitz Band	Scowlitz Site	field school	"collaboration"	13
248	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	University College of the Fraser Valley/Vancouver City College, Langara	Institutional	Port Douglas Band; In-SHUK-ch Services Society; Upper Similkameen Band	Langara Archaeological Field School	field school	"in association with..." the communities	13
249	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	multiple	multiple	multiple	community "representatives"	14
250	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting	CRM	Ktunaxa FN	Southern Crossing Pipeline	inventory and assessment	community members "assisted"	14

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
251	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	SFU/Secwepemc Education Institute	Institutional	Secwepemc	EeRrb 144	excavation	continued from field school above, not clear if this year was a field school	15
252	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	CRM	Skeetchestn	Savona Roger's Cantel transmission line	survey	"at the request of" the community	15
253	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Millennia Research	CRM	Haida	Graham Island	inventory	"Millennia subcontracted to the Council of Haida Nations to provide direction…"; Haida archaeologist and Haida crew members also participated.	16
254	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Cariboo Heritage Archaeological Consulting	CRM	Tsi Del Del; Yunesit'in; Xeni Gwet'in FNs	multiple	AIAs	12 "representatives" from communities employed	17
255	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Cariboo Heritage Archaeological Consulting	CRM	Canim Lake	100 Mile House Forest District	AIA	"field assistants" from the community "participated"	17
256	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	I.R. Wilson	CRM	multiple	84 projects	multiple	employed 51 "First Nations assistants"	17
257	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Western Heritage Services	CRM	multiple	Mackenzie Forest District Archaeological Resource Inventory	model	"in partnership with" communities	17
258	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	British Columbia	1999 Field Season	Terry Gibson and Dale Russel	??	??	Williston Lake	survey	"with six First Nations archaeological assistants"	18
259	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Ontario	1999 Field Season	Serge Lemaitre	Institutional	Obabika Lake	Lake Temagami	rock art study	located a new site thanks to a "Native informant"	26
260	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Ontario	1999 Field Season	Northeastern Archaeological Associates	CRM	local unnamed FN	Morrow (BaGi-29) and Beseau Sites (BbGb-24)	excavations	Funding sought to test a rim sherd before "the remains (J: including human) are	33

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									reburied in accordance with the wishes of the local First Nation."	
261	CAA Newsletter Vol. 20 No. 1, 2000	Newfoundland	1999 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Innu Environmental	Churchill River	Stage 1 survey	"jointly undertook" project; provided "intensive" training to Innu participants	45
262	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Arcas Consulting Archaeologists Ltd.	CRM	Multiple (50 different)	Multiple	Multiple	Employed Field Assistants	
263	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Arcas Consulting Archaeologists Ltd.	CRM	Tsawwassen FN	Tsawwassen Beach Site (DgRs-009)	Residential Monitoring	Reburial	
264	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Arrowstone Archaeological Research and Consulting	CRM	Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council	Crestbrook Forest Industries	Forestry AIA	"in association"	
265	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Fort Nelson Indian Band, Fort Liard Indian Band, Kelly Lake First Nation, Osoyoos Indian Band, Penticton Indian Band, Prophet River Indian Band, Westbank First Nation and West Moberly First Nation	Assorted	Forestry and Oil and Gas	"employed"	
266	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Ktunaxa Nation	Ministry of Transportation	Highway Field Reconnaissance	assisted with the detailed field reconnaissance	
267	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Ktunaxa Nation	Southern Crossing Pipeline	excavation	assisted with field excavations	
268	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Northwest Territories	2000 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Dogrib FN and Lutsel K'e	EKATI Diamond Mine	field investigation	"assisted with field investigations"	

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
269	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Nunavut	2000 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Bathurst Inlet Inuit	gold survey	field investigation	"assisted with field investigations"	
270	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Simon Fraser University-Secwepemc Education Institute	Institutional	Secwepemc Education Institute	Sun Rivers housing project	field school excavation	collaborative program	
271	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Tsleil-Waututh Nation	Community Archaeology Project	excavation and survey	collaborative project	
272	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Langara College	Institutional	Upper Similkameen First Nation	AIAs and Excavation at Snazai'st	excavation and survey	work "for the band"	
273	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Parks Canada with SFU and Coast Heritage Consultants	Institutional	Tseshaht F.N.	Broken Group Islands	exploratory excavations and condition review of burial sites	emerged from Tseshaht-Parks Canada Joint Committee	
274	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Ditidaht F.N.	tsuxwkwaada (DeSf-2)	data recording of extant features	worked with community archaeologist	
275	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Songhees and Esquimalt F.N.	Fort Rodd Hill N.H.S.	field surveys	field support from communities	
276	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Haida	Gwaii Haanas Projects (3)	environmental archaeology (test excavations), karst investigations and test investigations	worked with community archaeologist	
277	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	British Columbia	2000 Field Season	McMaster University	Institutional	La’xkw’alaams Band of Port Simpson and the Tsimshian Tribal Council of Prince Rupert	Lower Skeena Valley	compare arch data with oral traditions	"in conjunction with" community members as field crew and informants	
278	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Alberta	2000 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Fort McKay and Fort Chipewyan First Nations	Muskeg River Mine	mitigation and data recording	"in consultation with" and part of archaeological team	

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
279	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Alberta	2000 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Cold Lake FN	Canadian Natural Resources Limited's Primrose and Wolf Lake Expansion Project (Oil Sands Development)	HRIA and community-based Traditional Land Use study	studies occurred together and engaged in information sharing, interviews conducted with community members regarding ownership of historic cabins	
280	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Alberta	2000 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Fort McMurray FN	OPTI Canada Long Lake Project	HRIA	field crew participation and interviews with Elders and trapline owners	
281	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba	2000 Field Season	Multiple (headquartered at Brandon University)	Institutional	Multiple	Study of Cultural Adaptations in the Prairie Ecozone	Multiple	"collaborative work with contemporary First Nations in the region"	
282	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Saskatchewan	2000 Field Season	Western Heritage Services Inc.	CRM	Buffalo River Dene Band	Dillon, Peter pond Lake	field surveys	field crew	
283	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Manitoba	2000 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Hollow Water First Nation	Manitoba Model Forest Inc.	testing archaeological model	hired nine community high school students as field crew	
284	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Manitoba	2000 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Poplar River FN	Mukatawa River	arch survey	"on behalf of	21
285	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Manitoba	2000 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Chemawawin Cree Nation	Cedar Lake	arch survey	"for"	21
286	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Manitoba	2000 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Grand Rapids Cree Nation	Sask River abandoned cemetery	restoration	"work with"	21
287	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Ontario	2000 Field Season	Mayer Heritage	CRM	Aamjiwnaang	Point Edward Charity Casino	monitoring	"FN obtained permission to monitor"	25
288	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Ontario	2000 Field Season	Woodland Heritage Services	CRM	Dokis FN	Chaudiere Portage	monitoring	"contracted by"	27

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
289	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Ontario	2000 Field Season	Woodland Heritage Services	CRM	Montreal River FNs	GPS/GIS Heritage Mapping	mapping	worked with Elders	28
290	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Sheila Greer	Institutional	Champagne and Aishihik FN, Carcross-Tagish and Kwanlin Dün	Southern Yukon Ice Patch	survey	"collaborating agencies"	35
291	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Sheila Greer	Institutional	Champagne and Aishihik FN	Aishihik Lake - Aishihik Hydroelectric Facility	tour and borrow pit survey	discussion	35
292	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Raymond Le Blanc - University of Alberta	Institutional	Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute	northern Yukon	helicopter survey	"in collaboration with"	36
293	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in	Tr'o-ju-wech'in	excavation	for the community	36
294	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in and the First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun	Mayo-Dawson Transmission Line	survey	for the community	36
295	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Chris Thomas - University of Alberta	Institutional	Selkirk FN	Tatl'à Män	excavation	"together with"	36
296	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Chris Thomas - University of Alberta	Institutional	Selkirk FN	Lhutsaw Wetland Habitat Protection Area	Survey	for the community	36
297	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Yukon	2000 Field Season	Ruth Gotthardt - Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Selkirk First Nation and the First Nation of Nacho Nyak	Ddhaw Ghro	oral history studies	with the community	36
298	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Newfoundland and Labrador	2000 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environmental Limited and Innu Environmental	CRM	Innu	Churchill River Power Project	Stage 1 overview assessment and potential mapping	training and participation	39
299	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Newfoundland and Labrador	2000 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environmental Limited and Innu Environmental	CRM	Innu	Sarah Lake - Major General Resources Limited	field assessment	"Innu field assistant also participated"	40

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
300	CAA Newsletter Vol. 21 Issue 1, Spring 2001	Newfoundland and Labrador	2000 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environmental Limited and Innu Environmental	CRM	Innu	Goose bay-Esker road junction snowmobile trails	field assessment	field assistant	41
301	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Ontario	2001 Field Season	Archaeological Services Inc.	CRM	Six Nations	Hutchinson (AkGt-34)	Stage 3-4	re-interred human remains by request of Six Nations	14
302	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Saskatchewan	2001 Field Season	Royal Saskatchewan Museum	Institutional	Local	Stanley Mission (GiNd-11)	excavation	interviewed Elders in 2000	17
303	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Saskatchewan	2001 Field Season	Royal Saskatchewan Museum	Institutional	Lac la Ronge - Sucker River - Chief Moses Ratt School	Sucker River Church (GgNh-2)	excavation	done in conjunction with the school. Grades 6, 7 and 8 participated	18
304	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Saskatchewan	2001 Field Season	Western Heritage Services Inc.	CRM	Buffalo River Dene Band	Dillon, Peter pond Lake	field surveys continued from 2000	field crew	20
305	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Manitoba	2001 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Local	Wuskwatim and Gull Rapids Generating Stations	HRIA and cultural impact assessment	simultaneously did cultural impact assessment, included training in local oral histories	20
306	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Manitoba	2001 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Chemawawin Cree Nation	Cedar Lake	arch survey (continued from 2000)	"for"; archival research and interviewing community Elders; building up and capping of historic cemetery which flooded at the request of Chief and Council; creation of an education display; initial steps towards drafting cultural resource management plan	20-21
307	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Manitoba	2001 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Hollow Water First Nation	Manitoba Model Forest Inc.	testing archaeological model	hired nine community high school students as field crew; Update	21

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
								continued from 2000	for 2001 students now receiving school credit for work; since 2000 three graduated and are attending university	
308	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Manitoba	2001 Field Season	Northern Lights Heritage Inc.	CRM	Buffalo Point FN	MOM Corner	developing archaeological interpretation	"work with" FN; assisting with treaty/land use and working with legal firms with regards to FN issues	21
309	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Alberta	2001 Field Season	SCAPE	Institutional	Multiple	Southern Alberta	place names survey	discussed appropriateness of terms with FN Elders and students	24
310	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Alberta	2001 Field Season	SCAPE	Institutional	James Smith Reserve	Below Forks Site	excavation	2 community members included in field crew; also presented information to the local community school and prepared a display case for the band office	25
311	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Alberta	2001 Field Season	SCAPE	Institutional	James Smith Reserve	James Smith Community	place names and genealogical survey	interviewed Elders in 2000-01	25
312	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Antiquus Archaeological Consultants Ltd.	CRM	Katzie FN	Port Hammond Site	monitoring of construction activities	overseen by company and FN	28
313	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Antiquus Archaeological Consultants Ltd.	CRM	T'it'q'et Administration	Reservoir Tank	excavation	"commissioned and overseen" by community	28
314	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Arrowstone Research and Consulting	CRM	Gitga'at FN	Hawkesbury Island Forestry AIAs	survey	"in association with"	28
315	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Arrowstone Research and Consulting	CRM	Canim Lake Indian Band	100 Mile House Forestry AIAs	survey	"on behalf of"	28

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
316	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Arrowstone Research and Consulting	CRM	Sto:lo Nation	Wahleach Lake AIS	survey	"on behalf of"	29
317	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Arrowstone Research and Consulting	CRM	Sto:lo Nation and Chehalis Indian Band	Harrison Mills woodlot AIA	survey	"in association with"	29
318	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Arrowstone Research and Consulting	CRM	Squamish and Lil'wat FNs	Callaghan Olympic Nordic Sports Centre AIA	Survey	"in association with"	29
319	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Arrowstone Research and Consulting	CRM	Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council	North St. Mary Lake subdivision AIA	survey/excavati on	"in association with"	29
320	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Simon Fraser University-Secwepemc Education Institute	Institutional	Kamloops Indian Band	SFU-SEI Archaeology Field School	excavation	jointly run field school	29
321	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Douglas College/Simon Fraser University/Coast Heritage Consulting	Institutional	Tseshaht FN	Tseshaht Archaeological Project	excavation	partially funded by the community and using local oral traditions	30
322	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Langara College	Institutional	Upper and Lower Similkameen FN	Pinto Flats Field School	excavation	"in association with"	31
323	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	Okanagan University College	Institutional	Multiple	North Coast Native Cemeteries Project	survey	protect cemeteries for future FN generations; train FN youth in cultural resource management	31
324	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	British Columbia	2001 Field Season	McMaster University	Institutional	La'xkw'alaams Band of Port Simpson and the Tsimshian Tribal Council of Prince Rupert	Lower Skeena Valley (continued from 2000)	compare arch data with oral traditions	included community members on the research team	31
325	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Sheila Greer	Institutional	Champagne and Aishihik FN, Carcross-Tagish and Kwanlin Dün	Southern Yukon Ice Patch	survey (continued from 2000)	"collaborating agencies"	32
326	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in	Forty Mile Archaeological Project	mapping, testing and excavation	"establishing as a designated heritage site to be jointly	32

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									owned and managed by the First Nation and the Government of the Yukon"	
327	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Little Salmon and Carmacks FNs	Nordenskiold Wetland Habitat Protection Area	preliminary inventory survey	"with assistance from" community members	33
328	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Selkirk FN	Lhutsaw Wetland Habitat Protection Area	test excavation	"assisted by" Selkirk FN students	33
329	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Ruth Gotthardt - Yukon Heritage Branch	Institutional	Selkirk First Nation and the First Nation of Nacho Nyak	Ddhaw Ghro	field survey	field survey with assistance of community Elder	33
330	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Hammerstone Consulting	CRM	Vuntut Gwitchin FN	LaPierre House	mapping	"assisted by" community members	34
331	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Yukon College	Institutional	Scottie Creek	Scottie Creek Valley survey	survey and test excavations	"under the direction of" an Elder	34
332	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Yukon	2001 Field Season	Fedirchuk McCullough and Associates Ltd.	CRM	Gwitchin and Inuvialuit; multiple	Alaska Highway and Yukon North Slope Gas Pipelines	archaeological assessment	field assistants; Traditional Land Use sites also identified	34-35
333	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN, North Slave Metis Alliance	Tibitt to Contwoyto winter road	survey	"assisted with field investigations"	36
334	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Lutsel K'e	Snap Lake	survey	"assisted with field investigations"	36
335	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Lac de Gras	survey	"assisted"; also included a tour for Dogrib FN community members	37
336	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Unknown	?	Aklavik, Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk	Mackenzie River Delta Heritage Resource Survey	Survey	"community consultations and traditional knowledge interviews"	38

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
337	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Inuvialuit Social Development Program	Institutional	Kitigaaryuit (Inuvialuit)	Kitigaaryuit National Historic Site	survey	"oral history interviews with 5 elders"	38
338	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Jacques Whitford Environment Limited	CRM	Tsiigehtchic and Inuvik	Mackenzie Valley Pipeline	survey	"assisted by" community members	39
339	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Acho-Dene Koe FN (Fort Liard)	Liard-E25 Well Site	HRIA and traditional land use survey	"provided field assistance and information concerning traditional land use"	39-40
340	CAA Newsletter Vol. 22 Issue 1, Spring 2002	Northwest Territories	2001 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Paulatuuq	Tuktut Nogait National Park	cultural resource inventory	"assisted in all aspects of field work"	40
341	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Callum Thompson	CRM	Lutsel K'e	Gahcho Kué	inventories, assessments and mitigation	"assistant"	12
342	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Callum Thompson	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Drybones Bay	preliminary survey	"with leadership and local knowledge provided by elders and youth" of the community	12
343	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Callum Thompson	CRM	Wekweti	Hardy Lake Survey	survey	"with the assistance of"	12
344	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Lutsel K'e and Yellowknives FNs, Inuit	Ekati Diamond Mine	investigations	"assisted with field reconnaissance"; conducted tours with Elders from the communities	14
345	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	North Slave Metis Alliance	Snap Lake	Investigations	"a tour with representatives" of the community	14
346	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Grant Clarke	CRM	Multiple	Mackenzie Gas Project	survey	"assisted with fieldwork"	15
347	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Fort Liard	East Liard Gas Gathering System	HRIA	agreed to community request that no archaeological material would be	20

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									collected (on-site recording); local provided information of the area and traditional land use sites were recorded	
348	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Donald S. Johnson	Institutional	Multiple	Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island	investigations	provided support in the field and in the community	21
349	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Dogrib FN	Nico Gold Project	HRIA	"assisted with investigations"	21
350	CAA Newsletter Vol. 23 No. 2, Fall 2003	Northwest Territories	2003 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Courageous Lake, Seabridge Gold	investigations	"provided assistance during the field reconnaissance"	21
351	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Alberta	2004 Field Season	SCAPE	Institutional	Multiple	Cypress Hills: Stampede Site	excavation	tours provided to Elders and students; "History in the Hills" interactive festival	5
352	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Alberta	2004 Field Season	Lifeways	CRM	Piikani	Shell Waterton southeast 3D	HRIA	interviews with Elders re: travel ways	14
353	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Tulita	Summit Creek Heritage Survey	survey	guide?	19
354	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Lutsel K'e and Yellowknives FNs, Inuit	Ekati Diamond Mine	investigations	"representatives"; responded to community concerns with directed intensive inventory of community identified area	21-22
355	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Dogrib FN	Snap Lake	Investigations	"working on"	24
356	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Lutsel K'e	Gahcho Kué	inventories, assessments and mitigation	"assisted by"	25

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
357	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN; Dogrib FN; Lutsel K'e	Courageous Lake, Seabridge Gold	investigations	visitation; provided information	27
358	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	FMA Heritage Resources Consultants	CRM	Inuvialuit	Chevron Canada Resources; Ellice, Garry and Niglintgak Islands	investigations	"insights provided" by Elder who accompanied field crew	28
359	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Callum Thompson	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Great Slave Lake	investigations	"joined" survey team; "accompanied";	29-30
360	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Grant Clarke	CRM	Multiple	Mackenzie Gas Project	survey	"local assistants"	30
361	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Norman Wells; Colville Lake	Colville Lake	survey	guide?	31
362	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Donald S. Johnson	Institutional	Multiple	Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island	investigations	provided support in the field	34
363	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Dogrib FN; North Slave Metis Alliance	Fortune Minerals Nico All-Access Road	inventory and assessment	"assisted with investigations"	35
364	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Norman Wells	Mackenzie River Winter Bridges Project	survey	accompanied	36
365	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Northwest Territories	2004 Field Season	Callum Thompson	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	MacKay Lake Archaeological Survey	survey	"on behalf of" the community	37
366	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Yukon	2004 Field Season	Government of Yukon	Institutional	Multiple	Ice Patch Research	reconnaissance	participants	39
367	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Yukon	2004 Field Season	Thomas Heritage Consulting/Government of Yukon	CRM/ Institutional	Nyak Dun	Greater Mayo Area	reconnaissance	"joint project" between government and community; community members including Elders provided assistance	40

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
368	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Yukon	2004 Field Season	Thomas Heritage Consulting/Government of Yukon	CRM/ Institutional	Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in; Gwich'in	Black City	excavations	"joint project" between government and communities; archaeologists and community members "worked together"	40-41
369	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Yukon	2004 Field Season	Thomas Heritage Consulting/Government of Yukon	CRM/ Institutional	Selkirk FN	Towata Lake	investigations	"joint project" between government and community; elders assisted archaeologists	41
370	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 1, Spring 2005	Yukon	2004 Field Season	University of Alberta; Yukon Government	Institutional	Vuntut Gwitchin FN	Rat Indian Creek	investigations	"joint project" between government and community	42
371	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 2, Fall 2005	British Columbia	2004 Field Season	Coast Heritage Consulting; Douglas College and Simon Fraser University	CRM/ Institutional	Huu-ay-aht FN	Huu-ay-aht Archaeological Project	excavation	"project funded and administered" by the community; community members composed most of field crew	13
372	CAA Newsletter Vol. 25 No. 2, Fall 2005	Ontario	2004 Field Season	Timmins Martelle Heritage Consultants	CRM	Dokis FN	French River Portage	survey (test pits)	part of "collaborative effort" between Public Works and Government Services and the Dokis FN	14
373	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Yukon	2005 Field Season	Government of Yukon	Institutional	Multiple	Ice Patch Research	reconnaissance	"First Nations partners"	11
374	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Yukon	2005 Field Season	Government of Yukon/Selkirk FN	Institutional	Selkirk FN	Fort Selkirk	investigations	"jointly undertaken"	12
375	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Yukon	2005 Field Season	Government of Yukon/Vuntut Gwitchin FN	Institutional	Vuntut Gwitchin FN	Northern Yukon Caribou Fence	documentation	"joint project"; discussions with Elders of Old Crow; video recorded Elders taking about the fence on site	13
376	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Yukon	2005 Field Season	??	??	Little Salmon/Carmacks FN	Yukon River Heritage Survey	survey	relocated FN traditional land-use sites based on community oral history	16

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
377	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Yukon	2005 Field Season	Champagne and Aishihik FN (Sheila Greer)	Institutional	Champagne and Aishihik FN	Aishihik Lake Survey	excavation	arranged and conducted by community	18-19
378	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Lutsel K'e	Gahcho Kué	site evaluation	"assisted" by community members	21
379	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Lutsel K'e and Yellowknives FNs, North Slave Metis Alliance, Kitikmeot Inuit, Tlicho Government	Ekati Diamond Mine	investigations	assisted by community member (North Slave Metis Alliance); tours for community members	23-24
380	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Tibitt to Contwoyto winter road	survey	assisted by community member	24
381	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Inuvik	Encana Corporation Richards Island	survey	wildlife monitor and local advisor	26
382	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Tulita	Summit Creek Heritage Survey	survey	guide, wildlife monitor and local advisor	26
383	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Tulita FN	NWT Ice Patch Project	survey	"working in partnership"	28
384	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Sambaa K'e	Trout Lake Archaeological Survey	survey	"collaborative effort between Elders, students and archaeologists"; community facilitated communication between Elders and students with archaeological training provided	29
385	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Northwest Territories	2005 Field Season	Thompson Heritage Consultants	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	New Shoshoni Ventures	survey and impact assessment	"conducted" by archaeologist and community member; suggested client invite Yellowknives elders and officials	31

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
386	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Alberta	2005 Field Season	FMA Heritage Resources Consultants Inc.	CRM	Sturgeon Lake Cree Band	Puskwaskau Lake Tower electrical tie-in	HRIA	"informative day" spent with community elder	39
387	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 1, Spring 2006	Nova Scotia	2005 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Delap's Cove	African Nova Scotia Surveys	survey	"oral history collected"	43
388	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 2, Fall 2006	Newfoundland and Labrador	1999 Field Season - 2005 Field Season	Smithsonian Institute	Institutional	Inuit-Metis community of Makkovik	Central Coast of Labrador Community Archaeology Program	field school	community goals of program: provide high school archaeological curriculum; provide training and employment opportunities; identify local archaeological and historic resources; help foster pride in Labrador heritage	14
389	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 2, Fall 2006	Newfoundland and Labrador	2005 Field Season	Smithsonian Institute	Institutional	Makkovik and Hopedale Inuit	Windy Tickle	excavation	students from the communities composed the field crew	15
390	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 2, Fall 2006	Newfoundland and Labrador	2005 Field Season	Smithsonian Institute	Institutional	Innu - Sheshatshit	Kamishtashtin	field training	training program with Innu youth conducted by archaeologist and Innu colleagues	16
391	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 2, Fall 2006	Newfoundland and Labrador	2005 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Labrador Metis Nation	Porcupine Strand Archaeology Project	excavation	"integration" youth as field assistants; conducted a community day	19
392	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 2, Fall 2006	Newfoundland and Labrador	2005 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Norris Arm	Rattling Brook 1	excavation	"crew assistance" provided by community	28
393	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 2, Fall 2006	Newfoundland and Labrador	2005 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Nain	Nachvak Fjord	survey	"crew from" community	29
394	CAA Newsletter Vol. 26 No. 2, Fall 2006	Newfoundland and Labrador	2005 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Conche	Chest Head	excavation	crew partially consisted of community residents	42

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
395	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Yukon	2006 Field Season	Selkirk FN/University of Alberta/Government of the Yukon	Institutional	Selkirk FN	Fort Selkirk	archaeological investigations	crew members from community and community/governme nt partnership	4
396	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Golder	CRM	Multiple	Mackenzie Gas Project	multiple HRIAs	"local assistants"	6,7
397	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Ekati Diamond Mine	investigations	"assisted" with fieldwork	8
398	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Tibitt to Contwoyto winter road	survey	fieldwork conducted "in company with" community member	9
399	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Metis	Northwestel Repeater Stations	investigations	"assisted by" community member	9
400	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Lutsel K'e	Gahcho Kué	limited investigations	"assisted" by community members	10
401	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Thomson Heritage Consultants	CRM	Yellowknives Dene FN	Thonokied Lake	pedestrian survey	work conducted by archaeologist and a "team" from the community	11
402	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Institutional	Sambaa K'e	Trout Lake Archaeological Survey	survey	Elder, guides/translators and research assistant "partners" in the project	12
403	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Gwich'in Social & Cultural Institute	CRM	Gwich'in and Inuvik	Dempster Highway Gravel Pit	impact assessment	community organization carried out the work with assistance from other community members	13
404	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Northwest Territories	2006 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Ltd.	CRM	Ross River Dena	Mactung Project	archaeological assessment	assisted by community member	14
405	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Quebec	2006 Field Season	Archéo-08	Institutional	Pikogan	Abitibi-Témiscamingu - Chikobitik		collaboration	20

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
406	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 1, Spring 2007	Nova Scotia	2006 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Bear River and Acadia	Archaeological River Survey of SW Nova Scotia	Survey	"talking" with communities	26
407	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	University of Calgary	Institutional	Blue Cove	The Bird Point Archaeology Project	survey	listening to Elders	19
408	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	??	Conche Archaeology Project: Salmon Net	excavation	local field crew (?); "Informal interviews with local people from Conche"	22-23
409	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Nain	Nachvak Fjord	survey and excavation	Nain residents part of field crew;	37
410	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Nain	Integrating Traditional Knowledge with Archaeological Knowledge	interviews	"While in the field I conducted interviews with ten Inuit elders, four of whom spoke only Inuktitut. I hired Katie Winters- a local interpreter- as my research assistant and her skills were invaluable to me. From these interviews we were able to get a sense of the significant places along the Labrador coast north of Nain while recording place names, hunting areas and daily activities relating to subsistence and the household." (Whitridge, pg 38); received support from the Nunatsiavut government, spoke	38

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									with teachers and students at a local school, ted interviews with ten Inuit elders, four of whom spoke only Inuktitut. I hired Katie Winters- a local interpreter- as my research assistant and her skills were invaluable to me. From these interviews we were able to get a sense of the significant places along the Labrador coast north of Nain while recording place names, hunting areas and daily activities relating to subsistence and the household. (Amelia Fay, pg. 38); received support from the Nunatsiavut government, spoke with teachers and students at a local school, radio informed community of research	
411	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Nunatsiavut	Black Island	relocation survey	"accompanied by representatives of the	39

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									Nunatsiavut Government" (38)	
412	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Nunatsiavut	Olak	survey	"accompanied by representatives of the Nunatsiavut Government" (38)	40
413	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	Gerlad Penney Associates Ltd.	CRM	Nunatsiavut	Labrador uranium exploration, interior of Postville	survey	operated under new protocols to report "archaeological activities to the Torngâsok Cultural Centre, Nunatsiavut Government" (45); recommended to clients that consulting communities with regards to "local nomenclature" would be advisable	45
414	CAA Newsletter Vol. 27 No. 2, 2007	Newfoundland	2006 Field Season	Memorial University	Institutional	Labrador Métis Nation	Sandwich Bay	reconnaissance	"in conjunction with the community" applied for grant to "employ local youth to work on the project"	48
415	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Yukon	2007 Field Season	University of Alberta/Vuntut Gwitchin FN Heritage Department	Institutional	Vuntut Gwitchin	Berry Creek Moss Houses	excavation	"community-based" project; included three "young" community field workers and four visits by elders accompanied by youth (5); "On-site discussions and interviews with the Gwitchin elders about the feature con- firmed the identity of the house as winter dwelling. " (6)	5,6

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
416	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Yukon	2007 Field Season	Yukon Archaeology Programme	Institutional/ CRM	Selkirk FN	Trouble Hill	archaeological testing	"collaborative research project" partially funded by the community along with the government and a developer; two community members "included" on field crew	6
417	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Yukon	2007 Field Season	Salix Heritage Consulting	CRM	Carcross-Tagish FN	Tagish Northwest Mounted Police Post	inventory and mapping	2 community members "included" on project crew	7
418	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Yukon	2007 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Selkirk FN	Fort Selkirk I	excavation	"support" provided by community; 2 community members part of field crew	7
419	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	British Columbia	2007 Field Season	Washington State University	Institutional	Penelakut	Coon Bay Site	investigations	investigations "assisted" by community member	9
420	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	British Columbia	2007 Field Season	Parks Canada/University of Victoria	Institutional	Haida	Tow Hill and Argonaut Hill	reconnaissance and testing	community member part of survey	9
421	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	British Columbia	2007 Field Season	Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Chehalis	Harrison River	Field School	lived and worked on reserve; toured territory; participated in ceremonies; taught traditional crafts; provided archaeological knowledge in return	10
422	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	British Columbia	2006 - 2007 Field Season	Archer CRM Partnership	CRM	Lheidli T' enneh FN	FlRq-013	excavation	work "in conjunction with" FN	13
423	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	British Columbia	2006 - 2007 Field Season	Archer CRM Partnership	CRM	Blueberry River FN; Doig River FN; Halfway River FN; Saulteaux FN; West Moberly FN	HbRf-002 & HbRf-083	excavation	"with cooperation from" communities	15

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
424	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Government of Nunavut - Inuit Heritage Trust	Institutional	Inuit	Sanirajak Archaeology Project	Field School	"joint" field school; community members both toured and participated; grade school students visited a completed excavation; community consulted on the disposition of human remains (reburied in feature); community evening held to display artifacts	16
425	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	University of Manitoba/McMaster University	Institutional	Igloolik	Mingo Lake Archaeology Project	excavation	community members part of team	17
426	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Cree Regional Authority	Institutional	Kuujjuarapik/ Whapmagoostui and Umiujaq	Little Whale River	inventory	community operated survey conducted with 4 field techs from communities	19
427	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Cree Regional Authority/Inuit	Institutional	Cree/Inuit	Richmond Fort	investigations	"joint" community project	20
428	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Avataq Cultural Institute	Institutional	Inuit	Hopewell Islands	surveys and excavations	"The project team included Inuit support staff, nine Inuit students, and two European students"	20
429	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	University of Toronto	Institutional	??	Huluraq	survey and interviews	area "identified by elders as a particularly important place for both oral history and archaeology; "on-site interviews were held with 11 elders"	21
430	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Rankin Inlet and Repulse Bay	Ukkusiksalik National Park	helicopter survey	community members "assisted" with the project	22

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
431	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Canadian Museum of Civilization	Institutional	Kimmirut	Helluland Archaeology Project	survey and excavation	"Three individuals from Kimmirut were among the crew members."	23
432	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Limited	CRM	various unspecified; Ferguson Lake Natives Group	Ferguson Lake Project	investigations	"assisted by… various Nunavut residents" (24); "members of the recently formed Ferguson Lake Natives Group were invited to the study area to view traditional camping areas they had used in the past and to visit archaeological sites." (25)	24-25
433	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Baker Lake	AREVA Kiggavik/Sissons Project	survey	"assisted by" community member from Bake Lake; Golder crew of two "attended a meeting of the Kiggavik Community Liaison Committee, and gave a presentation on the proposed archaeological field work and answered questions from the committee."; after field work a community information meeting was held in Baker Lake to present the findings	26
434	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Nunavut	2007 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Limited	CRM	Cambridge Bay and Spence Bay	Hope Bay Belt Project	archaeological assessments	local residents "assisting with" the project	26

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
435	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Newfoundland	2007 Field Season	University of Virginia	Institutional	Nunatsiavut	Hopedale Archaeology Project	survey	"working with" Nunatsiavut archaeologist; included training of local students and community presentations	37
436	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Newfoundland	2007 Field Season	Parks Canada	Institutional	Federation of Newfoundland Indians and Miawpukek First Nation	Terra Nova National Park	assessment	research team "included" community "representatives"	42
437	CAA Newsletter Vol. 28 No. 1, 2008	Newfoundland	2007 Field Season	Memorial University; Laval University	Institutional	Nain	Iglosiatik and Komaktorvik Fiord	mapping, geochemical sampling and excavation	"crew" from community initially; subsequent trip included "bear monitors" and a "field assistant" from the community	47
	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012 *Parks Canada info here but not recorded in this database*									
438	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	British Columbia	2007-2011 Field Season	Tla'amin/Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Sliammon FN	Tla'amin-Simon Fraser University Archaeology and Heritage Stewardship Project	comprehensive heritage/archae ological study; field school	community partner; "hosted" field school; held community outreach events; presented findings to non-aboriginal schools and groups in Powell River	5
439	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Alberta	2008 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Siksika Nation	Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park	cooperative archaeological research project	worked with community to develop educational interpretive program	8
440	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Alberta	2008-2009 Field Season	FMA Heritage	CRM	Siksika Nation; Maskwacis Cree Coalition	Hardisty West Interconnect	excavation	"worked in conjunction with" community	22

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									"representatives" "to enable the proper ceremonies to be conducted and to provide an opportunity to members of these groups to participate in the excavations."	
441	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Alberta	2009 Field Season	FMA Heritage	CRM	Saddle Lake and Alexander FNs	Sherwood Park Class I pipeline	excavation	"participants"	22
442	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Alberta	2009 Field Season	FMA Heritage	CRM	Kehewin FN	Elk Lake Transmission Line	survey	"participants"	22
443	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Alberta	2010 Field Season	Treetime Services	CRM	Swan River FN	Vanderwalll Contractors	HRIA	"work with" community's consultation unit; "monitors" provided a "tremendous learning experience" with local land use knowledge	37
444	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Alberta	2011 Field Season	Stantec	CRM	Siksika Nation; Maskwacis Cree FNs	east-central Alberta	excavations (7)	"conducted alongside the participation of… monitors"	47
445	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Alberta	2011 Field Season	Treetime Services	CRM	Swan River FN	Slave Lake Forestry	forestry program	"field assistants" "Contributed significantly to the effectiveness of our programs"	53
446	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Ontario	2011 Field Season	AMEC	CRM	Six Nations and HDI	Skyway Site	excavation	"monitored and assisted"	61
447	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	PEI	2011 Field Season	PEI Aboriginal Affairs and Archaeology	Institutional	Acadian and Mi'kmaq; Lennox Island Reserve	La Pointe aux Vieux	excavation	"volunteers"; reserve members were regular visitors and kept watch over the site	68
448	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	PEI	2011 Field Season	PEI Aboriginal Affairs and Archaeology	Institutional	Mi'kmaq Confederacy	Pitawelkek	monitoring and testing	"with" the confederacy	68

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
449	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	PEI	2011 Field Season	SAW-WHET Consulting	CRM	Mi'kmaq Confederacy	Green Park and Murray Harbour	survey	confederacy "co-sponsored" surveys	69
450	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	PEI	2011 Field Season	SAW-WHET Consulting	CRM	Mi'kmaq Confederacy	Red Bank	testing	"in cooperation with" confederacy	69
451	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Yukon	2010 Field Season	Yukon Government	Institutional	Kwanlin Dun First Nation and Ta'an Kwach'an	McIntyre Creek	excavations	"community research project" conducted "with" the communities	82
452	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Yukon	2010 Field Season	Yukon Government	Institutional	Kwanlin Dun First Nation and Ta'an Kwach'an	Michie and M'Clintock Creeks	inventory	"with Kwanlin Dun First Nation, with assistance from Ta'an Kwach'an Council	82
453	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Yukon	2010 Field Season	Yukon Government	Institutional	Nacho Nyak Dun FN	Fraser Falls	testing	"with" the community	83
454	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Yukon	2010 Field Season	Yukon Government	Institutional	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN	Fort Herchmer	excavation	"With the assistance of…" the community	83
455	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Yukon	2011 Field Season	Matrix Research	CRM	Kwanlin Dun First Nation	Michie and M'Clintock Creeks	inventory	"for" the community	84
456	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Yukon	2011 Field Season	Matrix Research	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN	Dempster highway	inventory	"for" the community	84
457	CAA Newsletter Vol. 29 No. 2, 2012	Yukon	2011 Field Season	University of Alberta	Institutional	Vuntut Gwitchin	Rock River	reconnaissance	"worked with" the community	84
458	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Yukon	2012 Field Season	Ecofor	CRM	Nacho Nyak Dun FN	Ethel Lake	inventory	"with" the FN	3
459	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Yukon	2012 Field Season	University of Ottawa (Geography)	Institutional	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN	Blackstone River	canoe survey	"In partnership with" the FN	3
460	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Yukon	2012 Field Season	Government of Yukon	Institutional	7 FNs (incl. Little Salmon and Carmacks FN	Yukon Ice Patch	monitoring	"participation by" FNs	3

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
461	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	British Columbia	2012 Field Season	Tla'amin/Simon Fraser University	Institutional	Tla'amin FN	Ahgykson	field school	research "allowing (ed) by" FN	7
462	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Rescan Environmental Services Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene and Tlicho FN	Courageous Lake Project	investigations	FN "assistants"	12
463	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Limited	CRM	Lutselk'e Dene FN	Gahcho Kué project	investigations	"assisted by" community individual; also held a client sponsored archaeological workshop attended by 6 FNs	13
464	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Limited	CRM	Dettah; Lutselke; Deninu Kue	Nechalacho	inventory survey	"local person" from each of the communities part of field team	15
465	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	University of Alberta, PWNHC, Tulita Dene Band	Institutional	Tulita Dene Band	O'Grady Lake	ice patch monitoring and survey	"collaborative team"	16
466	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	PWNHC	Institutional	Jean Marie River FN	Łue Túé Sųłái Candidate Cultural Conservation Area	community archaeology project	archaeologists visited area with elders, locating new sites; participated in "community culture camp" worked with community students	18
467	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	PWNHC	Institutional	Yellowknives Dene FN	Yellowknife Bay	survey	"in collaboration with" FN	19
468	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Gameti (Tlicho)	Indore and Hottah Mines	AIA	consultant "and" community member	19
469	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Kavik-Stantec Inc.	CRM	Inuvik	Inuvik to Tuktoyaktuk Highway Borrow Source	AIA	"wildlife monitor"	20
470	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Tulita	MGM East Mackay Two Well Horizontal	survey	"assisted by a wildlife monitor and local	24

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									advisor" from the community	
471	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Tulita	Chinook Drilling Program	survey	"assisted by a wildlife monitor and local advisor" from the community	25
472	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Nahanni Brute	Prairie Creek Mine Access Road Alignment	AIA	"The field assessment was planned in conjunction with Elders and community members in Nahanni Brute prior to field studies. Although the meetings were informal, advice and information from several community members and Elders was obtained that aided in the design of the archaeological field program."; elder from the community also participated in the field study	26
473	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Northwest Territories	2012 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Ltd.	CRM	Tulita	Slater River Winter 2012-2013 Program	survey	"assisted by a wildlife monitor and local advisor" from the community	28
474	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Alberta	2012 Field Season	Golder Associates	CRM	Fort McMurray #468 FN	Clearwater River valley	survey	"working with Elders" from the community recording sites and "personal recollections"	44
475	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Quebec/Nunavik	2012 Field Season	Avataq Cultural Institute	Institutional	Umiujaq	Richmond Fort	archaeological evaluation	seven students from Umiujaq "assisted with the archaeological work"; also "accompanied" by two "hunter/guides" and a	57

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
									cook; funded by Nunavik Parks and Kativik Regional Government "as part of a student employment program"; " The Cree Regional Authority also provided some funding."	
476	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Quebec/Nunavik	2012 Field Season	Avataq Cultural Institute	Institutional	Aupaluk	Aupaluk	survey	"accompanied" by community's mayor	59
477	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Quebec/Nunavik	2012 Field Season	Avataq Cultural Institute	Institutional/ CRM	Inukjuak	Inukjuak	excavations	"funded by" community; local students "participated under the KRG Summer Challenge program"; local adults also "contracted" to work.	60
478	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	Quebec/Nunavik	2012 Field Season	musée des Abénakis	Institutional	Odanak	Odanak	excavations	"in collaboration with" FN	62
479	CAA Newsletter Vol. 31 No. 1, 2013	New Brunswick	2012 Field Season	Archaeological Services, Heritage Branch; Archaeological Prospectors Ltd.; Oxbow Consulting Group	CRM	Mi'kmaq	Pennfield	research and mitigation	"in direct consultation with First Nations representatives" government and the developer agreed to avoid archaeological sites	70
480	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Yukon	2013 Field Season	Stantec	CRM	Tr'ondek Hwech'in FN and Nacho Nyak Dun FN	Klondike and Mayo Mining Districts Predictive Modelling	pilot study of predictive modelling	"in partnership with" the community heritage offices	3
481	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Yukon	2013 Field Season	Government of Yukon?	Institutional	Nacho Nyak Dun FN	Lansing Post	recovery and reinterment	archaeologist "assisted" the community	5

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
482	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	University of Toronto/Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre	Institutional	Inuvialuit	Artic Cultural Heritage at Risk	survey	"collaboration"; field crew included "Inuvialuit environmental technician"	6
483	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	Points West Heritage Consulting Limited	CRM	??	Gahcho Kué project	investigations	"assisted by" community members	11
484	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	Rescan Environmental Services Ltd.	CRM	Yellowknives Dene	Courageous Lake Project	AIA	"assisted by" community member	13
485	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	University of Western Ontario	Institutional	Sachs Harbour	Ikaahuk Archaeology Project	survey	"Community members in Sachs Harbour" requested "access to artifacts removed by previous archaeologists who worked on Banks Island"; artifacts stored at PWHNC and CMC, Lisa has arranged "to borrow some of these objects so that we can create computer models and also some actual copies to share with the community."	17
486	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	PWNHC	Institutional	Yellowknives Dene FN	Yellowknife Bay	survey	"in collaboration with" FN	17
487	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	Kavik-Stantec Inc.	CRM	Inuvik	Inuvik to Tuktoyaktuk Highway Borrow Source	AIA	"field technician" and "wildlife monitor" from community	19
488	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	University of Alberta, PWNHC, Tulita Dene Band	Institutional	Tulita Dene Band	O'Grady Lake	excavation and interviews	"collaborative team"; conducted "traditional knowledge interviews with Elders about mountain living."	19

Master Number	Source and Notes	Province	Field Year	Archaeological Organization	CRM or Institutional	Community	Project	Survey Types	Engagement Description	Page #
489	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	Golder	CRM	Yellowknives Dene and Tlicho FN	Lynx and Jay-Cardinal projects	AIA	community members part of field crew; "assisted with the field program and provided advice on the cultural significance of the landscape"	22
490	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	Golder	CRM	Yellowknives Dene and Tlicho FN	Dominion Diamonds and North Arrow Project	AIA	both community members Elders who "assisted during the field program and provided advice on the cultural significance of the landscape"; also described as participants and sharing insight	24
491	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Northwest Territories	2013 Field Season	Bison Historical Services Inc.	CRM	Norman Wells	Vermillion Ridge Quarry	survey	community member described as "wildlife monitor and local advisor"	24
492	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Alberta	2013 Field Season	Stantec	CRM	Cold Lake FN	Wolf River historic site (GfOp-9)	excavation	"Collaborative community research" "includes accounts from CLFN members and Elders…" recalling historic wintering practices; worked with Nu Nenne-Stantec a community-based affiliate	27
493	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Ontario	2008-2013 Field Season	ASI	CRM	Williams Treaty FN and Huron/Wendat Nation	Highway 407 expansion	survey	"on-site participation of First Nations liaisons representing" the two FNs	47
494	CAA Newsletter Vol. 32 No. 1, 2014	Ontario	2013 Field Season	Laurentian University	Institutional	Huron/Wendat	Huronia Field School	field school	Huron/Wendat Nation "consenting" to all investigations	58

Appendix IV: Interview Questions Sample

Do you equate CRM archaeology and academic archaeology? Or are they different? How so?

How many archaeological projects on average do you undertake each year?

[Survey condition] engagement percentage question.

In your survey you talk about your experiences in [survey conditional], can you describe the relationships and processes of engagement? (Elders? Training? Council meetings? Community Outreach?)

Do you think engagement is about the community participating in archaeology specifically or keeping an eye on the development process as a whole?

Have the roles of participants from the community been static or dynamic? Did everyone do more or less the same thing all the time? Or did different people do different things or did the same people do different things at different times?

Would you describe the community relationship as valuable to the archaeological work? Vice versa?

From your point of view is the relationship mutually comprehensible? Did you know where you stood with one another or was that unclear or changing?

How did your company benefit from the relationship?

How do you think the community benefitted? How do you think the client benefitted?

Do you maintain contact with the community even when no work is being done? Do you maintain that relationship?

You mention the [survey conditional], can you talk about that a bit in the context of CRM work?

In your survey you talk about [survey conditional] and how that contributes to a more positive view of archaeology, can you expand on that maybe give a few examples?

How important is the established capacity within community for responding to and coordinating with CRM? Is this different from other communities you might have worked with that do not have that capacity?

What advice would you give an archaeological company looking to engage with this or any community?

Appendix V: Survey Organization Contact List

CONTACT LIST

Contact ID	Organization Name
C001	Union of BC Indian Chiefs
C002	Assembly of BC First Nations
C003	First Nations Summit BC
C004	Union of New Brunswick Indians
C005	Mi'kmaq Confederacy of PEI
C006	Atlantic Policy Congress
C007	Union of Nova Scotia Indians
C008	The Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq
C009	Miawpukek Mi'kamawey Mawi'omi
C010	Grand Council of the Crees
C011	Innu Nation
C012	Chiefs of Ontario
C013	Union of Ontario Indians
C014	Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians
C015	Grand Council of Treaty #3
C016	Nishnawbe Aski FN
C017	Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs
C018	Southern Chiefs Organization Inc.
C019	Federation of Sovereign Indigenous Nations (Saskatchewan)
C020	Confederacy of Treaty no. 6 First Nations
C021	Treaty 7 Management Corporation
C022	Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta
C023	Council of Yukon First Nations
C024	Dene Nation
C025	Canadian Archaeological Association
C026	Ontario Archaeological Society
C027	Association of Professional Archaeologists
C028	Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport (Ontario)

Contact ID	Organization Name
C029	Archaeology Branch (BC)
C030	British Columbia Association of Professional Archaeologists
C031	Archaeological Society of Alberta
C032	Archaeological Survey of Alberta
C033	Tourism and Culture (Yukon)
C034	Saskatchewan Association of Professional Archaeologists
C035	Saskatchewan Archaeological Society
C036	Parks, Culture and Sport (Sask)
C037	Association of Manitoba Archaeologists
C038	Manitoba Archaeological Society
C039	Tourism, Culture, Heritage, Sport and Consumer Protection (Man.)
C040	l'Association des Archéologues professionnels du Québec
C041	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (NWT)
C042	Culture and Heritage (Nunavut)
C043	Archaeology Office (NFLD)
C044	Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeological Society
C045	Nova Scotia Archaeology Society
C046	Communities, Culture and Heritage (NS)
C047	Tourism, Heritage and Culture (NB)
C048	Aboriginal Affairs (PEI)

Appendix VI: Ethics Documentation

Western Research

Research Ethics

Western University Health Science Research Ethics Board
NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Neal Ferris
Department & Institution: Social Science\Anthropology,Western University

NMREB File Number: 105482
Study Title: Indigenous Engagement in Cultural Resource Management and Collaboration in the Academy
Sponsor: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

NMREB Initial Approval Date: September 29, 2014
NMREB Expiry Date: August 31, 2016

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Western University Protocol		2014/07/11
Letter of Information & Consent	Survey	2014/07/11
Letter of Information & Consent	Stage 3 Travel	2014/07/11
Letter of Information & Consent	Stage 3 Local	2014/07/11
Instruments	Survey	2014/07/11
Other	Received for Information: List of organizations to be contacted.	2014/07/11
Recruitment Items	institutional recruitment email.	2014/07/11
Recruitment Items	Email	2014/07/11

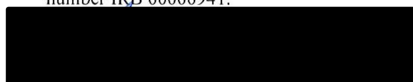
The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the HSREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of HSREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.



...air, or Board Member designee

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

Western University, Research, Support Services Bldg., Rm. 5150
London, ON, Canada N6A 3K7 t. 519.661.3036 f. 519.850.2466 www.uwo.ca/research/services/ethics

Appendix VII: Survey Recruitment Email

Greetings!
Your organization is being contacted to help participate in a study that we, Joshua Dent, MA. and Dr. Neal Ferris are conducting. Briefly, recent Supreme Court of Canada rulings cement the importance of Aboriginal title and highlight the need for meaningful and respectful engagement, consultation and consent negotiations. Our study seeks to examine the implications of these trends through the range and effect of consultation and collaboration within and between archaeological/cultural resource management and First Nations. For this part of the study, we are seeking the input from members of your organization by completing of a short online and anonymous survey regarding their views about engagement practices.

The survey should take anywhere between 5-30 minutes depending on the depth of answers provided.

Please click on the link below to preview the letter of information and the survey itself.

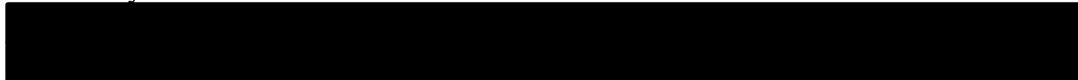
https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/archengagment

We would like to distribute information about this project and the link to this survey to your membership, either through your organization's social media, directly as an announcement in your newsletter, or by other means you think would be effective at communicating with your members. Any advice you might have on the best means of informing members of your organization about this study would be appreciated. The greater the participation in this research, the more significant and meaningful the result.

If you have any questions about the survey, this research or the subject of engagement generally please do not hesitate to contact Josh Dent via the contact information below. The final research thesis will be personally distributed digitally to all participating organizations.

Thank you,

Joshua Dent MA
University of Western Ontario



Dr. Neal Ferris
University of Western Ontario

Appendix VIII: Survey Information Form

Information Form
Research Topic: Indigenous Engagement in Cultural Resource Management and Collaboration in the Academy
Researcher: Joshua Dent MA, Doctoral Candidate, University of Western Ontario

Supervisor: Dr. Neal Ferris PhD, University of Western Ontario

Introduction:
My name is Joshua Dent, I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Western Ontario studying engagement, consultation and collaboration in cultural resource management (CRM) and at research institutions.

Purpose of Study:
You are being invited to participate in a study examining the different ways in which archaeologists, developers and the state formally and informally interact with Indigenous communities during the processes of CRM.

This study has several key objectives:

1. To identify the various forms of engagement, consultation and collaboration that occur in CRM;
2. To assess the value of each of these forms to the individuals, communities and institutions involved in CRM;
3. To compare these forms to instances of collaboration undertaken by academic researchers;
4. To theorize how engagement, consultation and collaboration affect and are affected by postmodernism and colonialism;
5. To disseminate the results as widely as possible, encouraging communities and provincial jurisdictions to better evaluate engagement practices.

Your help is requested in providing information relating to the above objectives. Should you choose to participate your contribution will take the form of this quick online survey.

Confidentiality:
Survey responses will be kept anonymous unless otherwise indicated.
Participation:
Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect.
Risks:
There are no general risks associated with this study. Please consider any and all confidentiality agreements that you may have entered into when answering this survey. Survey Monkey is an American service and as such falls under the United States Patriot Act. Should you feel at risk in any way please contact me.
Contact:
If you have any questions about this study or your care/treatment, please contact:

If you have questions about research in general, please contact:

The Office of Research Ethics
The University of Western Ontario

By completing and submitting this survey you acknowledge that you have read the Information Form, understand the nature of the study and agree to participate.

Appendix IX: Travel Information and Consent Form (Round Table)

Information and Consent Form
Research Topic: Indigenous Engagement in Cultural Resource Management and Collaboration in the Academy

Researcher: Joshua Dent MA, Doctoral Candidate, University of Western Ontario

Supervisor: Dr. Neal Ferris PhD, University of Western Ontario

Introduction:

My name is Joshua Dent, I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Western Ontario studying engagement, consultation and collaboration in cultural resource management (CRM) and at research institutions.

Purpose of Study:

You are being invited to participate in a study examining the different ways in which archaeologists, developers and the state formally and informally interact with Indigenous communities during the processes of CRM.

This study has several key objectives:

6. To identify the various forms of engagement, consultation and collaboration that occur in CRM;
7. To assess the value of each of these forms to the individuals, communities and institutions involved in CRM;
8. To compare these forms to instances of collaboration undertaken by academic researchers;
9. To theorize how engagement, consultation and collaboration affect and are affected by postmodernism and colonialism;
10. To disseminate the results as widely as possible, encouraging communities and provincial jurisdictions to better evaluate engagement practices.

Your help is requested in providing information relating to the above objectives. Should you choose to participate your contribution will take the form of conversations with the research team regarding the objectives above. With your consent these conversations may be digitally recorded. Should you desire, this recording can be erased after it is transcribed to text to ensure anonymity.

Confidentiality:
Transcriptions will be stored in encrypted folders on a password protected laptop until such time as the project is complete (est. summer 2016) when the transcriptions will be consolidated into a single file removing any possible identifying statements and stored digitally for general future consultation by myself exclusively.

Participation:
Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect. All participants will receive a digital copy of the final thesis and a small gift in thanks for their contribution.

Travel:
You have previously indicated a willingness to travel to a different community. By signing this letter, you affirm that you are responsible for yourself during this study. The research team agrees to provide funding for travel, food and accommodations.

Risks:
There are no general risks associated with this study, however should you feel at risk in any way please contact me. Please consider any and all confidentiality agreements that you may have entered into when participating.

Contact:
If you have any questions about this study or your care/treatment, please contact:

If you have questions about research in general, please contact:

The Office of Research Ethics
The University of Western Ontario

I have read the Information and Consent Form, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name:

____

Signature:

____

You do not waive any legal rights by signing the consent form.

☐ Check this box **ONLY** if you wish your name associated with your contribution, removing any anonymity and resulting in your name appearing in the final thesis.

☐ Check this box if you agree to be digitally recorded (audio only).

Please retain your copy.

Appendix X: In-Person and Telephone Interview Information and Consent Form

Information and Consent Form
Research Topic: Indigenous Engagement in Cultural Resource Management and Collaboration in the Academy
Researcher: Joshua Dent MA, Doctoral Candidate, University of Western Ontario

Supervisor: Dr. Neal Ferris PhD, University of Western Ontario

Introduction:

My name is Joshua Dent, I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Western Ontario studying engagement, consultation and collaboration in cultural resource management (CRM) and at research institutions.

Purpose of Study:

You are being invited to participate in a study examining the different ways in which archaeologists, developers and the state formally and informally interact with Indigenous communities during the processes of CRM.

This study has several key objectives:

11. To identify the various forms of engagement, consultation and collaboration that occur in CRM;
12. To assess the value of each of these forms to the individuals, communities and institutions involved in CRM;
13. To compare these forms to instances of collaboration undertaken by academic researchers;
14. To theorize how engagement, consultation and collaboration affect and are affected by postmodernism and colonialism;
15. To disseminate the results as widely as possible, encouraging communities and provincial jurisdictions to better evaluate engagement practices.

Your help is requested in providing information relating to the above objectives. Should you choose to participate your contribution will take the form of a conversation with the research team regarding the objectives above. The conversation will be digitally recorded, unless you indicate

otherwise. Should you desire, this recording can be erased after it is transcribed to text to ensure anonymity.

Confidentiality:
Transcriptions will be stored in encrypted folders on a password protected laptop until such time as the project is complete (est. summer 2016) when the transcriptions will be consolidated into a single file removing any possible identifying statements and stored digitally for general future consultation by myself exclusively.

Participation:
Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect. All participants will receive a digital copy of the final thesis.

Risks:
There are no general risks associated with this study, however should you feel at risk in any way please contact me. Please consider any and all confidentiality agreements that you may have entered into when participating.

Contact:
If you have any questions about this study or your care/treatment, please contact:

If you have questions about research in general, please contact:

The Office of Research Ethics
The University of Western Ontario

I have read the Information and Consent Form, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name:

____

Signature:

____

You do not waive any legal rights by signing the consent form.

☐ Check this box **ONLY** if you wish your name associated with your contribution, removing any anonymity and resulting in your name appearing in the final thesis.

☐ Check this box if you agree to be digitally recorded (audio only).

Please retain your copy.

Curriculum Vitae
Joshua Dent

EDUCATION:

M.A. (Anthropology) University of Western Ontario (2012)

B.A. (Anthropology) University of Victoria (2004)

STATUS/POSITION:

PhD. Student (Anthropology) University of Western Ontario (ABD, intended graduation 2016)

ACADEMIC AWARDS/DISTINCTIONS:

2016 Mitacs Elevate Postdoctoral Fellowship

2013 Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship

2012 Western Graduate Research Scholarship

2010 Western Graduate Research Scholarship

2000 British Columbia Provincial Scholarship

2000 Keith Gordon Humanities Scholarship

PUBLICATIONS:

Dent, Joshua

2017 Tailors-made: Heritage Governance Customization in Late Modern Canada. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*. Special Issue: "Archaeology and the Late Modern State," guest edited by Richard Hutchings and Joshua Dent [In Prep].

2013 False Frontiers: Archaeology and the Myth of the Canadian Wilderness. *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 21(1): 59-71.

2012 *Past Tents: Temporal Themes and Patterns of Provincial Archaeological Governance in British Columbia and Ontario*. MA Thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of Western Ontario.

Hutchings, Richard M. and Joshua Dent (editors)

2017 Archaeology and the State. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*. Special Issue: "Archaeology and the Late Modern State," [In Prep].

Selected Reports (unpublished):

AIA Final Report 2009 Forestry Developments BCTS Okanagan. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2010. (Coauthor)

AIA Final Report 2009 Forestry Developments Pioneer Family Timber Partnership. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2010. (Coauthor)

AIA Final Report 2009 Forestry Developments BCTS Cariboo-Chilcotin Business Area. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2010. (Coauthor)

AIA Final Report 2009 BCTS Kootenays. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2010. (Coauthor)

AIA Lot 15, Plan 27410, District Lot 1601 Kamloops Division Yale District Permit 2009-0379. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2010. (Project Research)

Post Impact Inspection Farwell Canyon Gravel Storage Area Permit 2008-271. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2009. (Coauthor)

HRIA FiPp-33, FjPp-50, FjPq-36, and FjPq-37 TransAlta Generation Partnership Highvale Mine Pits 3, 4 and 5 Expansion Permit 2008-320. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2009. (Analysis)

Historical and Archaeological Overview and Impact Assessment of the Western Copper Corporation
Casino Project Permit 09-9ASR Report on file at the Cultural Services Branch, Government of the Yukon. (Project Research)

AIA Dillon Consulting Ltd. Canadian Pacific Railway Company Rail Line Developments in South Central British Columbia Permit 2008-416. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2009. (Assessment and Analysis)

AIA Deka Lake Estates Ltd. Lot 1, District 372, Lillooet District Plan 19233 Permit 2009-0178. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2009. (Project Research, Assessment and Analysis)

AIA Interim Report CP 045 Block 040 Permit 2008-0312. Report on file at the Archaeology Branch, Government of British Columbia, 2008. (Author)

HRIA River Lot 9 Subdivision Permit 2008-105. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2008. (Project Research)

HRIA River Lot 36 Subdivision Permit 2008-108. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2008. (Project Research)

HRIA River Lot 52 Subdivision Permit 2008-106. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2008. (Project Research)

Selected Reports (non-refereed continued):

HRIA River Lot 72 Subdivision Permit 2008-109. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2008. (Project Research)

HRIA Borrow Source and Backslope Locations Township Road 570 Permit 2008-079. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2008. (Assessment and Analysis)

HRIA 'Area A' Swift Creek Subdivision Permit 2007-297. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2007. (Coauthor)

HRIA HAF Holding Subdivision Permit 2007-398. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2007. (Assessment and Analysis)

HRIA CP's Industrial Heartland Expansion Project Permit 2007-410. Report on file at the Archaeological Survey, Government of Alberta, 2007. (Assessment and Analysis)

PRESENTED PAPERS

Customizable Governance: Context-Specific Regulation and Capacity Building in Canadian Heritage Management. Presented June 4, 2016 at the 3rd Association for Critical Heritage Studies Meeting, Montreal, QC.

Trajectories of Heritage Management Governance. Presented May 19, 2016 at the Hamilton Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society.

In(di)visible Fulcra: Perception and Balance in Canadian Archaeological Governance. Presented April 16, 2015 at the Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

Can you hear me now? Connections and Disconnections in Ontario CRM. Presented October 26, 2013 at the Ontario Archaeological Society Symposium, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Regulatory Strata: The Progression of Provincial Archaeological Governance in Ontario. Presented September 13, 2012 at the London Chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society.

Of Disconnects and an Archaeological Heritage Beyond Archaeology. Presented June 7, 2012 at the 1st Association for Critical Heritage Studies Meeting, Gothenburg, Sweden.

Defining a Canadian Political Archaeology. Presented May 17, 2012 at the Canadian Archaeological Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Quebec.

Excavating Governance: Legislation and Policy as Diagnostic Artifacts. Presented March 3, 2012 at the 1st Annual Western Anthropology Graduate Student Society Conference, London, Ontario.

False Frontiers: Archaeology and the Myth of the Canadian Wilderness. Presented November 20, 2011 at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Quebec.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Teaching Assistant (University of Western Ontario)

Course	Term
Archaeological Field Methods	Fall 2011/12/13/14/15
Introduction to Bioanthropology/Archaeology	Winter 2011, 2013
Many Ways of Being Human	Winter 2012
Historical Archaeology	Fall 2010

RELATED EMPLOYMENT:

Position	Employer	Dates
Archaeological Field Technician (ON)	Golder Associates	May 2011-Aug 2012
British Columbia Archaeological Field Director	Altamira Consulting Ltd.	June 2009-June 2010
Associate Archaeologist/Lab Analyst	Altamira Consulting Ltd.	July 2007-June 2009
Archaeological Field Technician (BC)	Norcan Consulting	May 2002-June 2002

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS:

Role	Organization
Member	Ontario Archaeological Society, London Chapter, since September 2010
Member	Canadian Archaeological Association, since January 2012

SERVICE

Role	Details
Resource Member	London Advisory Committee on Heritage, Mar. 2015-present
Member	Archaeological Sub-Committee, London Advisory Committee on Heritage, Mar. 2015-present.
Director (Board)	London Heritage Council Dec. 2013-Present (Chair, June 2016-present)
Co-Founder	Archaeology Almanac Project (http://almanarch.blogspot.ca)
Co-Chair	Canadian Archaeological Association Annual Meeting 2014 Organizing Committee
Co-President	Western Anthropology Graduate Society, Term: 2011-2012