COMMERCIAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

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It is often said that cultural resource management (CRM) comprises the vast majority of archaeology done in North America today. Certainly, just by comparing the number of archaeologists we know personally who are involved in academic archaeology with those employed in CRM, this statement also holds true for British Columbia.

Yet, for all of the academic articles, books and conferences that publicize archaeological projects, there is comparatively little written about CRM archaeology. This is particularly true concerning the "business" side of this practice. For example, how many CRM archaeologists are there? How many CRM firms? How many CRM projects are undertaken each year, and by whom? How much money is involved? Ultimately, what is the "business" of archaeology and how big is it?

After failing to find clear answers to these questions in published material, we went digging around for information ourselves, and herein present a snapshot of what commercial archaeology in B.C. looks like.

Process of CRM

The term *cultural resource management* was "invented by archaeologists in the 1970s to equate what they did with natural resource management" (King 1998:6-7). While one might expect the term to mean the management of *cultural resources*, it is commonly used—primarily by archaeologists—in a much narrower sense to refer to "managing historic places of archaeological, architectural, and historical interest and to considering such places in compliance with environmental and historic preservation laws" (1998:7). In B.C., the practice of CRM is defined in relation to the B.C. *Heritage Conservation Act* and the B.C. Archaeology Branch.

The role of the Branch, currently housed within the Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations, is "not to prohibit or impede land use and development, but rather to assist the development industry, the province, regional authorities, and municipalities in making decisions leading to rational land use and development" (B.C. Archaeology Branch 2012). The Branch authorizes archaeological work throughout the province by means of a permit system and maintains a provincial heritage registry of all known archaeological sites, heritage sites and objects, heritage wrecks and other types of sites. The current legislation in B.C., enacted in 1996, is called the *Heritage Conservation Act* (*HCA*). The CRM process has been previously outlined in *The Midden* (43[2]:1) as follows:

> Those seeking to develop an area that either contains a recorded archaeological site or has not been assessed for archaeological remains are responsible for the logistical and financial planning of this process. Depending on the scale of the proposed development, archaeological sites are subject to varying levels of assessments known as Archaeological Overview, Impact and Alteration. In this system, landowners hire qualified archaeologists to determine the levels of investigation required and undertake this work under provincially-issued permits.

This is commonly known as a "user-pay model," where the project proponent is responsible for paying for the archaeological permitting and mitigation process.

The CRM process, quite simply, involves 1) proposing a construction project, 2) finding out whether the project will impact archaeological sites, 3) hiring an archaeologist to apply for permits to alter or impact sites, 4) undertaking necessary archaeological excavation or monitoring construction, and 5) submitting a report to the Archaeology Branch.

The Archaeology Branch summarizes the site evaluation process as such: "When the benefits of a project outweigh the benefits of archaeological preservation, the branch will work with the proponent to determine how the project can go ahead with minimal archaeological resource loss. Where the loss of significant archaeological values cannot be avoided, the branch ensures that appropriate compensatory measures are implemented" (B.C. Archaeology Branch 2012). Archaeological investigations conducted for pay, usually in the context of "development," is referred to as "contract archaeology" (Stapp and Longenecker 2009:155).
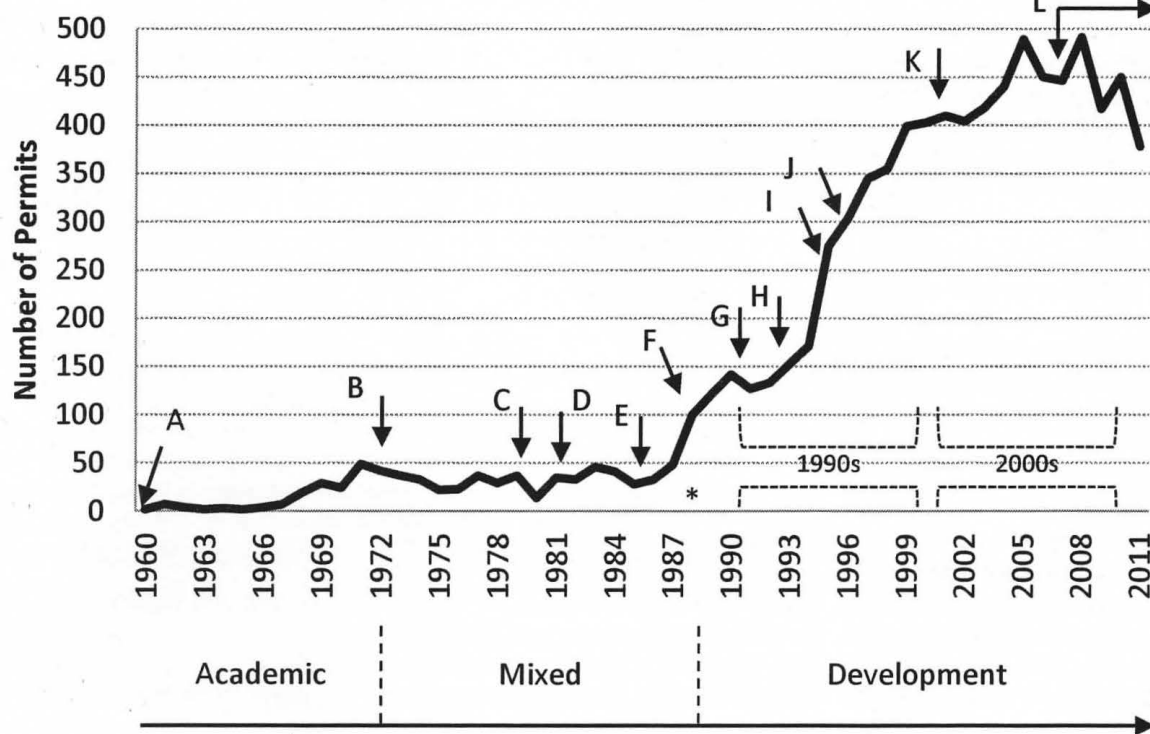
...over the last 30 years (1980-2008) the number of permits increased by an astonishing 3500 percent.

Permitting Archaeology

Little quantitative data exists regarding the historic growth and current size of contract or for-profit archaeology in British Columbia. While the issue has been the subject of recent discussion in Ontario (Birch 2007; Ferris 2002) and Quebec (Zorzin 2011), the emergence of CRM appears to remain mostly unexplored for B.C. (see however Spurling 1986). While thorough inspection of the B.C. literature allows a general, if not scattered overview of its history (see References and Further Reading), this view may be enhanced by quantifying the number of permits issued through time. We have done so here, charting permits issued between 1960, the first year the province issued permits, and 2011. As illustrated in Figure 1, the number of permits issued grew from two in 1960 to nearly five-hundred per year at the close of the last decade.

While the overall trend is clearly onwards and upwards, the question remains: What does it actually mean? Apart from illuminating the "rise" of archaeological permits in B.C., we suggest it reflects the

Permits Issued by Year, 1960-2011

Figure 1. Number of archaeology permits issued per year by the B.C. government, 1960-2011. Points A–L highlight major economic and legislative events, however this list is in no way complete.

A. 1960—First permits issued by the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board (ASAB), this made possible by passage of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act (AHSPA)

B. 1972—Provincial Archaeologist Office (PAO) established

C. 1979—Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) established

D. 1981-82—Recession (U.S.)

E. Mid-1980s—Economic recovery or 'boom'; Canada's economic growth rate was among the highest of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries in the period 1984-86

F. 1988*—Archaeology Branch established

G. 1990-91—Recession (U.S.)

H. 1993—Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act

I. 1995—British Columbia Association of Professional Consulting Archaeologists (BCAPCA) established, now the BCAPA

J. 1996—Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) consolidated amendments, including "site alteration permits" (see McLay 2011)

K. 2001—Recession (U.S.)

L. 2007-09—Recession (U.S.); 2008-present – Global financial crisis

growth of the for-profit CRM industry. To begin with, the correlation between economic cycles and permits issued appears strong, especially the mid-1980s boom, the 1990-91 recession, the 2001 recession, and most recently the 2007-09 recession and 2007-present global financial crisis. This economy–archaeology link, what Zorzin describes as a "capitalist configuration," is well described for Ontario and Quebec.

The story of CRM in British Columbia begins in 1960 with the first issuance of provincial archaeology permits, at that time granted by the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board (ASAB). Up until 1972, when the Provincial Archaeologist Office (PAO) was established, these permits were largely academic or "research" oriented (Apland 1993:10-11). Throughout the 1970s, permits reflected a mix of government-initiated research and inventory projects and development-driven archaeology, or CRM (also ARM [archaeological resource management]). By the end of the 1980s, permits were primarily issued for commercial archaeology.

Between 1972 and the late-1980s, the number of issued permits fluctuated significantly but remained below 50 permits per year. Neither the establishment of the

PAO in 1972 nor the B.C. *HCA* in 1979 affected a rise in the number of permits issued; however, both were followed by periods of significant decline.

It would not be until the effects of the mid-1980s economic boom were realized that the 50 permits per year threshold would be broken, better *shattered*. During the period 1987 to 2005, the number of permits issued skyrocketed from nearly fifty to nearly five-hundred. To reiterate: *During the 18 year period between 1987 and 2005, the number of permits rose by a scale of ten, or 1000 percent.*

In the period 1980-90, there was a ten-fold growth in the number of permits, jumping from 14 to 142. The 1980s was unquestionably a decade of significant change in B.C. archaeology (Apland 1993; Fladmark 1993). However, in the ten years between 1990 and 2000, the number of permits—thus archaeological work done—almost tripled, rising from 142 to 403. As such, the 1990s might be considered to represent the true rise of B.C.'s heritage industry. Ultimately, *over the last 30 years (1980-2008) the number of permits increased by an astonishing 3500 percent.*

The economic basis of CRM, thus archaeology, is perhaps most clearly illustrated in the post-2007 period of Figure 1. The 2007-09 recession and 2008-present global financial crisis had a significant impact on archaeology, especially in the United Kingdom, which saw an 8.6% loss of jobs in commercial archaeology in 2008 (Zorzin 2011:120).

While macro-economic phenomena provide a broad framework for understanding the post-2007 period, as well earlier ones, they provide little insight into how they might be manifested on the "micro" level, in this case British Columbia. One way to approach this is by comparing residential housing starts in the province with number of permits issued, as we have done in Figure 2. The correlation is striking, especially in light of the 2008 boom (peak at 491/year), the 2009 bust (trough at 417/year), and the short-lived 2010 recovery.

We suggest the rapid growth of CRM archaeology in B.C. is self-evident in these figures. Key questions remain, however, concerning the link between for-profit archaeology and provincial permitting.
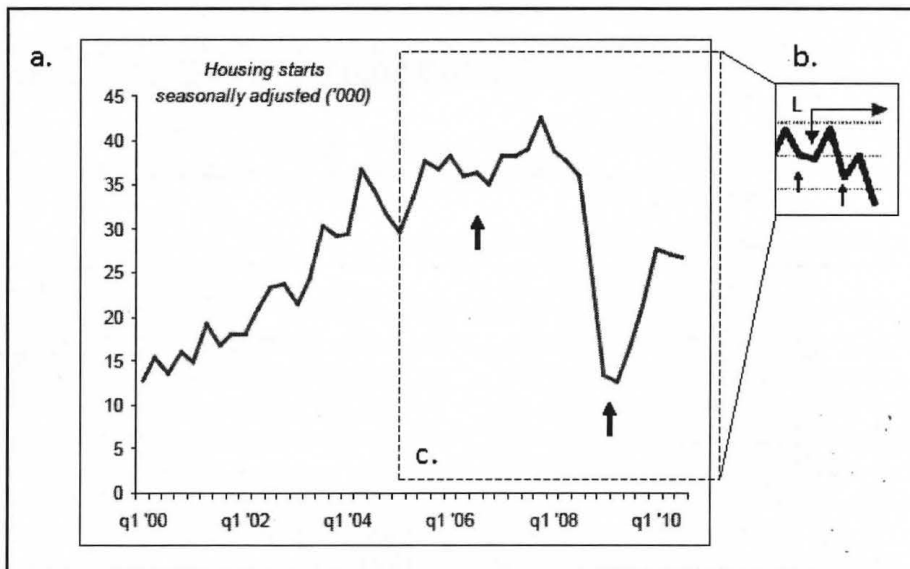

Figure 2. Correlation between (a) residential housing starts in B.C. , 2000-10 (BC Stats 2010:4) and (b) archaeology permits issued, 2005-11 (Fig. 1, this paper). Dashed box (c) shows 2005-11 overlap; the years 2006 and 2009 are denoted by up-arrows.

The Clients

In 1987, forty-eight archaeology permits were issued in B.C.—"75% of them to consultants, mainly for small-scale impact assessment and evaluative testing" (Bernick 1988a:2). The following year this number doubled (100/year). It more than doubled again in 1995 (275/year), and surpassed four-hundred in 2000 (403/year). In 2005 and 2008 this number reached 489 and 491, respectively.

In 1988, the same year the doubling trend began, the Archaeology Branch was established "to encourage and promote the protection, conservation, development and public appreciation of archaeological resources throughout the province" (Apland 1990:3-4). After 1988, permits issued for forestry and residential development began to dominate (for discussion of the forestry–CRM link, see Klassen *et al.* 2009).

In contrast to 1987, where 25% of permits were issued to non-consultants, in 2011 less than 3% of the total 383 permits issued were for research purposes. Just to be clear: *97% of archaeology undertaken in B.C. today is non-research related*—is, in other words, commercial archaeology.

Using the 2011 permit lists available through the ASBC website (http://www.asbc.bc.ca/publications), we compiled permits by the client sector they represent to create Figure 3.
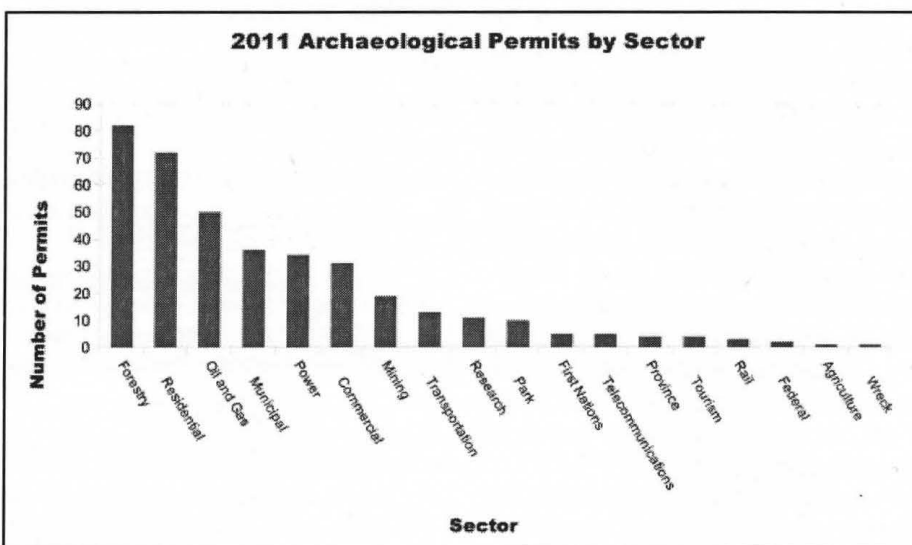
Figure 3. Permits issued by the Archaeology Branch in 2011, organized by sector.

Permit Clients	# of Permits
BC Hydro	22
BC Timber Sales	10
Westcoast Energy Inc. / Spectra Energy Corp.	8
NOVA Gas Transmission Ltd. / TransCanada Pipelines Ltd.	7
Ministry of Transportation	6
Western Forest Products	6
Teck Coal Limited	5
TDB Forestry Consultants	4
Canadian Dehua International Mines Group Inc.	3
Canadian Forest Products Ltd.	3

Table 1. Top ten clients by number of archaeological permits issued in 2011.

In sum:

- resource extraction activities (forestry, mining, oil and gas, power) account for 48% of all archaeology permits (n=184)
- government (municipal, provincial, federal) activities account for 11% of all permits (n=42)
- nearly 19% of archaeology permits (n=73) were held by residents doing home construction
- 8% of permits (n=31) were issued for commercial development
- of the 3% of permits (n=11) issued for research purposes, 3 are for field schools.

In terms of specific clients, the top ten companies represented by number of permits issued in 2011 are shown in Table 1. Of these, BC Hydro far exceeds any other client (n=22), followed by BC Timber Sales, which comprises less than half of that number (n=10). Not surprisingly perhaps, archaeology's top clients represent two of the largest industries in the province—power and forestry.

The Archaeologists

Who are CRM archaeologists? No archaeology would happen without them and yet there is little understanding of this community (Zorzin 2010:1). To explore this question, we consulted the membership database for the British Columbia Association of Professional Archaeologists (BCAPA, formerly BCAPCA [the dropped "C" was for "Consulting"]).

BCAPA membership is hierarchical, ranked from Students, Affiliates, Interns, Associates, to Professionals. While BCAPA membership is not *required* in order to undertake CRM archaeology
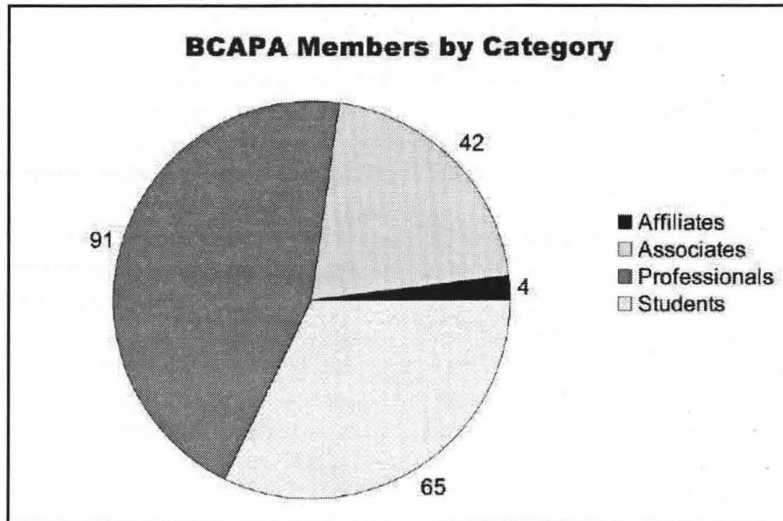

Figure 4. BCAPA members organized by category. Data accessed on 12 April 2012, http://http://www.bcapa.ca/members/current-members/

in the province or to hold a permit, the organization's efforts towards "increasing professionalization" have made it attractive as a qualification to achieve; as a Professional, one can also put letters after their name (RPCA). The Archaeology Branch (2012) estimates that 60% of consulting archaeologists are BCAPA members; as such, BCAPA membership numbers can be considered a baseline for the *minimum* number of archaeologists operating in CRM in the province.

Whereas the number of working archaeologists in B.C. was around 25 in the late-1970s, as shown in Figure 4 this number had grown to 202 BCAPA members at the time of this publication, 45% of whom are Professionals (n=91), followed closely by 32% Students (n=65), and 20% Associates (n=42), this category meaning,

almost but not quite qualifying for Professional status. Based anecdotally on the CRM archaeologists we know personally, the male to female ratio is roughly equal, the age-range leans towards the mid-30s, and most are white or of European descent. Similar results were found in the BCAPA's Safety Survey (http://www.bcapa.ca/wp-content/uploads/BCAPASafetysurveyresults.pdf), which also highlights that the majority of archaeologists work full-time (78%, n=39) and have worked for their present company for less than five years (66%, n=33).

In short, CRM archaeologists are a young and growing body of workers; the question of where they come from, however, or who "produces" CRM archaeologists, will be addressed later on.
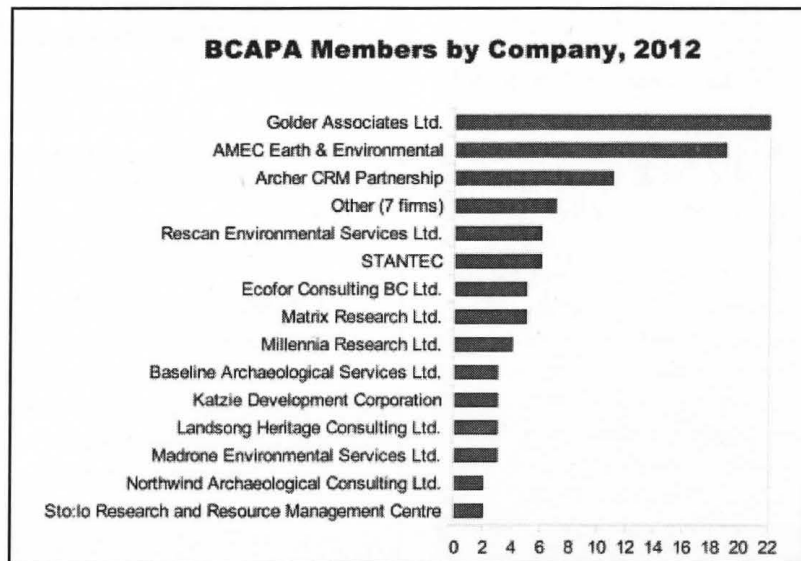

Figure 5. BCAPA members organized by company.

The Firms

As an indirect measure of which CRM companies employ the most archaeologists, and thus undertake most archaeology in the province, we broke the BCAPA membership figures down by firm, as shown in Figure 5.

As two of the largest firms in B.C. that employ archaeologists, Golder and AMEC are transnational corporations with roots in all sectors of construction, development and assessment processes. Indeed, there has been a trend lately towards conglomeration, of little firms being bought up and incorporated into larger ones (e.g., I.R. Wilson is now part of Stantec), who thus increase their client base in one fell swoop. In turn, clients are able to hire a "one stop shop" company to see all aspects of projects through from start to finish, representing an integrated approach to development that, in theory anyway, is more efficient and hassle-free.

To give a sense of the scale of these larger firms, and the industries they support, we consulted the companies themselves. Golder Associates has over 160 offices on six continents and employs about 8000 people. Golder's Client Sectors include Infrastructure, Mining, Power, Manufacturing, Oil & Gas and Real Estate. Big projects currently underway in British Columbia include the Gateway road expansion in Vancouver and the Site C dam project. On the Golder website for Canada (http://www.golder.ca/), archaeology is classified under Cultural Sciences within the Environmental & Social Assessment division of services. Golder's company slogan is "Engineering Earth's Development, Preserving Earth's Integrity."

AMEC has offices and projects in about 40 countries worldwide and employs over 27,000 people. AMEC's Client Sectors include Oil & Gas, Minerals & Metals, Renewables/Bioprocess, Transmission & Distribution, Transportation/Infrastructure, Industrial/Commercial, Unconventional Gas, Nuclear, Power, Water/Municipal and Government Services. AMEC is also assisting with the Site C project. On their website (http://www.amec.com/), archaeology is difficult to find; a search reveals it to be under Cultural Resources, hidden in the Environmental Services section. AMEC's company slogan is "Customers, people, growth—delivering The AMEC Way."

These top two employers of archaeologists in British Columbia are primarily hired to *facilitate* development; yet "conservation" is archaeology's core value. The paradox herein is visualized on the company websites, where photographs under "Sectors" are primarily of large, metallic structures (power plants, oil rigs) or landscapes of construction, while images under "Services" feature the natural environment: blue lakes, green fields, mountains untouched by development. A mixed message is certainly the result, but what is clear is that archaeology is *big* business.

The Money

It seems strange that, in a culture predicated on capitalism and consumerism, asking someone how much money they make is often awkward, at times insulting and usually considered a taboo topic. This seems to be the case not only for individuals, but for companies and even government ministries, as we found while researching for this article.

From informal sources, we learned that a consulting archaeologist in British Columbia, working as a contractor, not an employee, can expect to make between $20 to $40 per hour depending on education, experience and specialized qualifications. Working conditions are often difficult and even hazardous, as the BCAPA's recent survey on safety in the workplace can attest to, and usually involve being on-call, long work days, and extended periods away from home. In many ways, the work is "boom and bust," reminiscent of the gold rush: unpredictable, intensive, highly mobile and with a constant turnover in labour.

We were largely unable to get even estimated revenue figures for consulting firms, beyond those that are too broad to be useful. For example, of AMEC's annual revenues of about $7 billion, it is unclear how much derives from Canada, let alone British Columbia. Of Golder's intake of $8.7 million from BC Hydro in 2010/11 (BC Hydro 2011:17), we cannot discern how much was related specifically to archaeology.

We focused on one client—BC Hydro—in the hopes of eliciting more information, given that this is a Crown corporation and thus some of these details are public information. We contacted one of the three archaeologists employed at BC Hydro, Rick McDougall, the Senior Environmental Coordinator (Archaeology), Environmental Risk Management (pers. comm. 18 April 2012). We specifically asked how much money BC Hydro spends annually on archaeology. Unfortunately, we were told that:

There is no single reference where total expenditures on BC Hydro archaeology can be found as these types of costs are reported through different operating programs, capital projects and other activities. In addition, expenditures of funds obtained through customer rates (what customers pay for electricity) may be reported separately from funds obtained from other

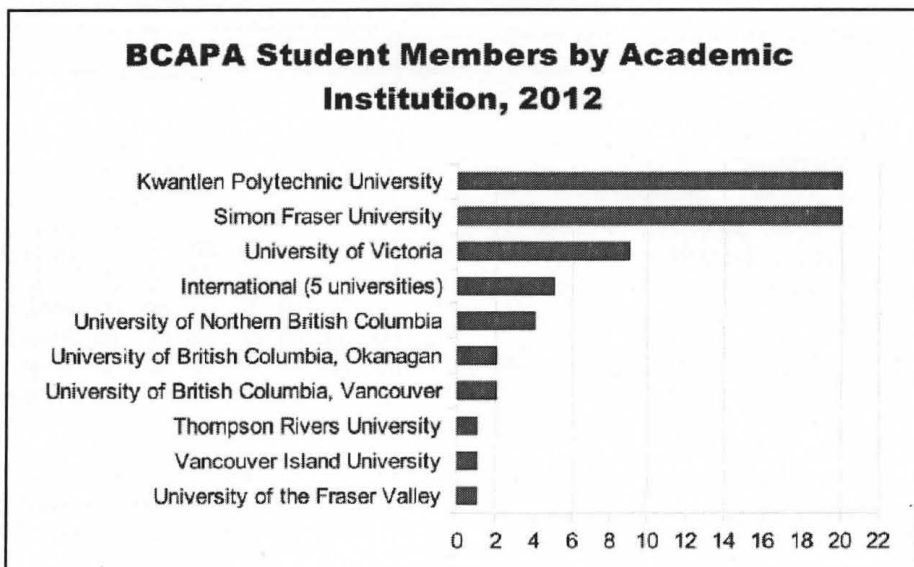**BCAPA Student Members by Academic Institution, 2012**

Figure 6. BCAPA student members organized by institution.

sources such as from water license fee remissions (e.g. archaeology projects related to water use planning commitments).

Therefore, we contacted the Project Team for Site C requesting the same information, and received the following response:

• Golder, AMEC and Millennia are doing the archaeology

• more than 125 archaeologists have participated

• at least 100 Aboriginal field assistants have been employed.

We did not, however, receive a response to our repeated question of how much money BC Hydro has spent so far on archaeology for the Site C project.

Similarly, an enquiry with the provincial government concerning expenditures on archaeology was referred to the Archaeology Branch, who responded that they had no such figures. They referred us to the Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure, who—like BC Hydro—said that such costs are wrapped up in the overall budget for specific projects.

The financial details of commercial archaeology appear inaccessible, shrouded in a fragmented system of accounting. It is clear, however, that large sums of money are being devoted to the industry.

The Training

Like any business, archaeology is made possible by training new generations to be competent in the skills required by the field; it likewise entails students learning to think about archaeological practice in a certain way. We were thus particularly interested in the relatively high proportion of BCAPA Student members, accounting for 32% of all members (n=65), and so took a closer look.

Figure 6 illustrates which universities BCAPA students are affiliated with. As shown, Kwantlen and SFU account for the majority of student members (62%, n=40), followed by UViC (n=9), UNBC (n=4) and UBC Vancouver and Okanagan (n=4). Curious about these results, we investigated the programs offered by these institutions, particularly focusing on courses and field schools with a CRM focus.

SFU offers both a CRM course and a Certificate, the latter of which is comprised of material culture, CRM, regional and First Nations courses. However, the SFU

Institution	CRM Course	CRM Program	Field School
Kwantlen	Archaeological Methods for Cultural Resource Management	*none offered*	Applied Archaeology Field School; focus on CRM-methods, survey, some excavation
SFU	Archaeological Resource Management	Certificate in Cultural Resource Management	Local field school described as "archaeology and heritage stewardship"; focus is on excavation and mapping
UVic	*none offered*	*none offered*	Local field school described as having a "cultural resource management focus"
UNBC	Archaeological Heritage Management	*none offered*	Field school focus split between TEK, survey and excavation
UBC, Okanagan	*none offered*	*none offered*	200- and 300-level field schools offered; focus is on historic archaeology, excavation
UBC, Vancouver	Applied Archaeology	*none offered*	Local field school described as "field instruction and research"; focus is on a range of skills, little excavation

Table 2. Courses, programs and field schools relating to CRM offered by the institutions representing 86% of all BCAPA Student members. Local field schools examined were: Kwantlen 2012, UVic 2011*, UNBC 2012, SFU 2011, UBC Vancouver 2010, UBC Okanagan 2009.

*UVic has a "Culture, Heritage and Museum Studies" department offering "cultural resource management" courses, but the program does not include archaeology. As such, it was excluded from this study: http://www.uvcs.uvic.ca/cultural/

field school, advertised as "archaeology and heritage stewardship," is not explicitly CRM in focus. Conversely, Kwantlen's field school is geared towards "Applied Archaeology" and the university also offers a CRM course. UVic has no CRM courses*, however their local field school has been CRM-focused in collaboration with Parks Canada (Benson 2012).

In general, then, archaeology courses at all institutions in B.C. remain "academic" in focus and breadth, despite that most archaeology *in practice* is CRM. Students who are exposed to and trained in CRM archaeology through courses and in the field are more prepared for this employment reality, and may be more likely to pursue CRM careers because of this. It seems, from the BCAPA membership figures, that students increasingly see the BCAPA as an important "professional" credential to achieve in order to ensure a successfully-employed future. How many of these students actually stay in CRM remains to be seen.

Conversely, of all BCAPA's 202 members, only two are university professors. This suggests that the perceived divide between academic and CRM archaeology remains wide. It is noteworthy, however, that both of these professors have had close ties with the SFU or Kwantlen

field schools, perhaps in part accounting for the higher involvement in the BCAPA by students from these institutions.

The Public

In the permitting process, applicants must specify where the materials—bags of artifacts, fauna, soil samples, notes and photographs—produced through archaeology will be housed. The Royal B.C. Museum in Victoria has traditionally been the repository for these materials, which means that most of the artifacts and accompanying materials are actually destined for warehouses. There is simply no room to either have these artifacts on display or even house them in the museum itself. This means that, in large part, once everything has been filed away, the materials become largely inaccessible to the wider public.

CRM reports are typically provided to the client(s) and the Archaeology Branch in Victoria, and sometimes copied to the relevant First Nation(s). This has produced a vast amount of information known simply as "the grey literature." This means the report is held in a public repository, but it is not publicly available except by request, which is reviewed and approved (or not) by the Archaeology Branch. The result is that, unless you are

an archaeologist, researcher or are otherwise "approved" to access to the Branch library, information regarding CRM archaeology—which comprises 97% of all archaeology in B.C.—is inaccessible.

To further complicate matters, it has become standard practice for archaeologists to sign non-disclosure agreements (NDAs) for either the CRM firm or the client, which means they are restricted in what they, as individuals, can write or say regarding the projects they are involved in. We know of some cases where the NDA signed legally binds the individual to this silence for ten years, stalling any potential "knowledge building" about B.C.'s ancient past.

Historically, *The Midden* has been one venue often used by CRM archaeologists to publish shorter, newsy articles relating recent work and new finds. Longer, in-depth articles and reports resulting from CRM archaeology remain sparse in formal publications. The BCAPA recently announced that they are pursuing the creation of a peer-reviewed journal explicitly for B.C. archaeology. However, even without the legal hindrance of NDAs, it remains to be seen whether CRM archaeologists will find the time and energy to write up a second article after long physical workdays and subsequent technical report writing.

Discussion and Conclusions
At college and in university, students typically learn four basic tropes about archaeology that are likely carried with them throughout their lives as practicing archaeologists:

1) Archaeology is about the preservation of sites and materials.
2) Archaeology is undertaken in the name of research to learn about the past.
3) Archaeologists have a responsibility to disseminate their results.
4) Archaeology is for the public "good."

Our investigation into the "business" of archaeology has demonstrated that this "theory" bears little resemblance to the "practice" in B.C. today. Indeed, we believe that the complete opposite is true.

Our snapshot view of commercial archaeology in British Columbia offers a few key points: 1) Archaeology has grown exponentially in the last thirty years; 2) Industry and development drive the majority of commercial archaeology; 3) CRM archaeologists are young and increasing in number; 4) Large transnational corporations are the biggest employer of archaeologists; 5) While the figures are shrouded in secrecy, archaeology is "big business"; 6) CRM is a minor component of training in most archaeology programs; 7) The public is largely uninvolved in contemporary archaeology.

Given that most CRM is either industry-driven or residential, archaeology often takes place in remote areas and on

> *[T]he granting of permission to build factories or other structures at places where [archaeological] sites are located...should be made contingent on the provision by the interested parties of funds for the investigation of such sites before construction commences. We cannot prevent urban expansion and industrial development, but by intelligent legislation they could be turned from a bane to a boon to archaeology.*
>
> C. E. Borden, 1950

private property. With so little information published in venues that are publicly available, rare if ever chances to visit sites and observe archaeology in action, and archaeological materials stored in warehouses somewhere, there is almost no opportunity for public engagement. It is little wonder, then, that when newspapers publish articles on archaeology, there is limited public understanding of how archaeology works or, even more critically, why heritage sites matter (Angelbeck 2010). CRM is a privatized practice that takes place behind closed doors.

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Meanwhile, it remains unclear the extent to which permits granted reflect the destruction of sites (see Bryce 2008 and McLay 2011 for more discussion). The reality is that ancient heritage sites are a "non-renewable resource," and archaeology is an inherently destructive process: as Flannery (1982:285) said, "Archeology is the only branch of anthropology where we kill our informants in the process of studying them." In this sense, simple exploratory shovel tests constitute site destruction. In 1950, Charles Borden saw

that increased development was actually a "boon" for the practice—indeed, it has created and sustained many careers in archaeology since the beginning.

Reflecting back on the decade that was the 1970s, Knut Fladmark had this to say in 1981: "Without doubt, the last ten years have been a decade of tremendous growth and change in B.C. archaeology—change which has profoundly affected the amount, type and results of archaeological research, and which in itself may not always have been uniformly productive in furthering the fundamental goals of the discipline" (1981:11). As *The Midden* editor Nick Russell commented at the time (13[2]:1-2), Fladmark's remarks revealed that the issue of scale had become one of great import: "Archaeology has exploded in B.C. in the last decade, so where Carl Borden was the only practising professional in the province, there are now more than 25. ... Despite all this growth, knowledge of B.C. prehistory has not substantively increased." Also in 1981, Bjorn Simonsen quit his position as Provincial Archaeologist, noting upon exit that "It was a very frustrating job: The legislation was totally inadequate, and we were not given the resources to enforce the legislation. ... I saw so many sites go under, it was a farce" (B. Simonsen, quoted in N. Russell, 1981:3). By the dawn of the 1980s then—and nearly a decade before the real 'rise' of B.C. archaeology—it appears the industry had already entered treacherous waters.

In 1986, two years before the proverbial rocket ship was to launch, Brian Spurling completed an exhaustive policy science study of "Archaeological Resource Management in Western Canada." He found evidence for the existence of "serious problems" (1986:464). Viewing CRM as a policy area, insofar as it represents "the legislated conservation and preservation activities of the archaeological profession" (1986:11, 19), Spurling

had this to say about the rise of commercial archaeology: "The transformation of archaeology into a business is a very recent phenomenon, *one which occurred entirely within the last decade as a response to the passage of provincial heritage legislation*" (1986:291, emphasis added). Initially viewed with "trepidation and suspicion" by the archaeological establishment, for-profit consulting "proved to be [one of] the only areas of disciplinary expansion through the later 1970s and early 1980s. As the ranks of universities, museums and government agencies were filled, students graduating with Masters and Ph.Ds perforce gravitated towards private sector employment" (1986:292):

> Currently, the market for archaeological consulting services is saturated. The last few years of economic decline and regulatory reform have led to a slump in industry's demand for heritage consulting services. (1986:293)

This "economic decline" and "slump" is clearly visible in Figure 1 from 1985-86.

Spurling, from his vantage in 1986, identified four "gaps and problems" for archaeology: (1) "academic archaeologists can still argue that [CRM] studies make few theoretical or methodological contributions to the discipline"; (2) the interested public, including avocational archaeologists, are "mostly excluded from meaningful involvement"; (3) the wider public remains basically unaware of the "results of and need for archaeological activity"; and (4) archaeological heritage "is still being lost at uncontrolled and unknown rates" (1986:464). Additionally, CRM "cannot be defended" against allegations of "resourcism" (1986:500)—in this case, transforming history and places that matter into "a source of supply" for the CRM industry.

After Spurling, then, and in light of the information we have compiled for this article, we advocate for throwing out the four old tropes of archaeology that bear little resemblance to its reality. We suggest replacing them with four new ones that

more honestly and unfortunately represent what archaeology is about in B.C. today:

1) Archaeology is about facilitating the destruction of heritage landscapes.
2) Archaeology is undertaken to fulfill legal and regulatory obligations.
3) Archaeologists have a responsibility only to their clients and the Archaeology Branch.
4) Archaeology is a private, "for-profit" enterprise.

Virtually all archaeology in B.C. after 1960 can be defined as "commercial" insofar as archaeologists were/are specialists working for money, with the hope of more money. Without this economic drive, little archaeological work would ever have been undertaken. In this light, academic archaeologists conducting "pure" research are no different than their "applied" colleagues; what differs is only in who pays, the "public" institution or the "private" developer. In both cases, practices are tied to and motivated by a philosophy of socioeconomic growth/development/ progress, an ideological path that leads straight to heritage destruction (Hutchings 2011). In a cruel twist of fate, without this "development"—the very process that destroys archaeological sites—commerical archaeology would not be.

The difference between 1960 and today, then, is one of scale, not kind. Archaeology has become big business, and as it continues to grow, the "resource" will decline (Spurling 1986). In 1981, Bjorn Simonsen called the cultural resource management system a "farce." Nearly thirty years later, Tom King described CRM as "a sham" (King 2009:7). To paraphrase Joe Flatman (2009:6): *The future is at once both very bright for the employment of archaeologists but very gloomy for cultural heritage.*

Call for Responses
In this article, we have raised what we see as serious issues regarding archaeology today. While specific to B.C., we have encountered similar concerns expressed

by archaeologists practising worldwide (e.g., King 2009; Smith 2006). We expect, however, that many readers will disagree with some of our conclusions, particularly those that challenge archaeology's ideals.

As such, we invite people to respond to our observations with their own evidence and interpretations. Our article provides only a sketch of issues that beg for more focused critical attention.

For example, how is the "success" of heritage protection measured? Is it the preservation of sites as dots-on-maps? As artifacts in a box? As "data" in reports? Or as landscapes, reflecting *both natural and cultural dimensions*? If a condominium is built on top of a shell midden without disturbing it, has that site been "saved?"

How is the increasing involvement of First Nations in commercial archaeology affecting the industry? Is it changing in response to their interests? Or are they changing in response to its? Can meaningful on-the-ground relationships transform the structure of CRM?

What roles *should* "the public" play in heritage today? Do commercial archaeologists have a responsibility to make the process and products of research transparant and accessible? Does the Archaeology Branch? By keeping sites "secret," are they also kept "safe?" Or is this policy limiting awareness of heritage in B.C.?

This important conversation needs participation from all who are affected. Please consider adding your voice.

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