

**ARCHAEOLOGY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS: THE
PERSPECTIVES OF FIRST NATIONS AND MUNICIPAL
COUNCILLORS IN THE FRASER VALLEY, B.C.**

by

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 2004

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Department
of
Archaeology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Summer 2008

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ABSTRACT

Local governments are in a position to act as bridges between the publics they represent and the management of archaeological heritage. Since First Nations and municipal councillors in the Fraser Valley, British Columbia, make decisions on behalf of their communities, I focus this thesis on their perspectives of archaeology. Through surveying and interviewing local government representatives, seven key themes emerged: *Relevance, Knowledge, Interest and Exposure, Value, Protection Issues, Management Responsibility, and Working Together*. First Nations and municipal councillors' perspectives reveal general areas of divergence on the relevance, protection, and management of archaeological heritage, and convergence on the values of archaeology and working together on heritage issues. Although local governments uniquely situate archaeology through distinct views, they can bridge this disconnect through dialogue on shared perspectives. I provide recommendations to encourage this process of communication between First Nations and municipal governments, and their publics, on the management of archaeological heritage.

Keywords: Archaeological heritage management; Local government perspectives; Public archaeology; First Nations councils; Municipal councils; Cultural tourism

Subject Terms: Archaeology – Social aspects; Archaeology – Political aspects; Cultural property – Protection; Native peoples – Canada – Government relations; Heritage tourism; British Columbia – Antiquities

To my incredibly supportive family:

My husband, Maciek,

My parents, Ken and Maria,

My brother, Alex,

My grandmother, Lillian,

My grandaunt, Elga,

My late grandparents, Marie and Ray,

and generations of past and present loved ones.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible through the insight, assistance, advice, and support of numerous diverse individuals. The views of First Nations and municipal government representatives in the Fraser Valley are the foundation of this research. I am thankful to all 48 councillors, and one electoral director, who shared their time and thoughts about archaeological heritage in the survey and interviews. To the councillors who expressed reasons for not participating in this research, I am grateful for our enlightening discussions. Office administrators also deserve recognition for their assistance in distributing and communicating materials to their councils regarding this research.

I am thankful to Dave Schaepe, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, Gordon Mohs, Linnea Battel, and Bev Kennedy; heritage managers in the Fraser Valley who provided essential background information. Many Fraser Valley planners and administrators also generously shared information on existing heritage protocols within their communities. In addition, staff from local newspapers in the Fraser Valley assisted with a print media review for this thesis. I am also grateful to Joanne Gauci and Alison McNeil from the Union of B.C. Municipalities for increasing my awareness of existing agreements between First Nations and municipal governments and inviting me to attend the 2006 province-wide Community to Community Forum. I would like to thank Doug Glaum of the B.C. Archaeology Branch for keeping me updated on recent initiatives between the

branch and local governments in the province. Staff from the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre deserve recognition for their assistance with my research, but also for their support and flexibility, as supervisors and co-workers, while I completed this thesis.

I am particularly grateful to my thesis committee. I thank Dana Lepofsky, my senior supervisor, for her guidance, encouragement, and thorough, insightful review. Thanks to David Pokotylo for his support and input, in particular for sharing his expertise on survey design and analysis techniques. I would like to thank Barbara Winter for her encouragement, support, and insight. In addition, thanks to Neal Ferris, my external examiner, for his thoughts and feedback.

This research was supported financially through a SSHRC grant from Dana Lepofsky, with additional grants and teaching assistant positions from the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University. Thanks to Robyn Banerjee and Merrill Farmer for their assistance throughout graduate school.

In addition, I would like to thank all professors and colleagues who have encouraged me throughout this process and engaged in discussions about my research. In particular, thanks go to Eldon Yellowhorn and George Nicholas for their continued support. I thank Yvette John, White-Plume-Woman (“close to the heart”), for her encouragement, perspectives, and friendship, which began while we coordinated an archaeological outreach program in 2004.

I am most grateful to my family, who have given me unwavering support, love, and patience throughout this journey. Thank you for everything.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Bridging the Disconnect

Increasingly, over the last 30 years, archaeologists have come to understand that public opinion of archaeology is inextricably linked to our ability to protect the past (e.g., Fagan 1977, 1984; Herscher and McManamon 1995; Lea and Smardz 2000; Lipe 1974; McGimsey 1972; McManamon 1991; Patenaud 1994; Sabloff 2008; Shackel and Chambers 2004). Through successful outreach and education, archaeology engages the public and encourages community support of heritage (e.g., Cripps et al. 2003; Jameson 1997; Little 2002; Merriman 2004). The public's role in protecting the past has motivated recent research in accumulating their diverse perspectives on archaeology (Créatec 2000, 2001; Mackinney 1994a, b; Pokotylo 2002; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Pokotylo and Mason 1991; Ramos and Duganne 2000). Despite differences among communities surveyed, three common themes emerge from these studies: 1) the public is interested in archaeology, yet has a limited understanding of the discipline; 2) the public supports the protection of archaeological sites, but is unaware of the government's role and legislative responsibilities, and 3) the public does not strongly support First Nations stewardship of their archaeological past, even though the discipline has been promoting a more prominent role for Aboriginal peoples. Overall, these studies suggest that the general public is interested and supportive of archaeology even

though they lack the knowledge to make informed decisions about archaeological heritage management. Community level stakeholders are in a unique position to make decisions about archaeology, even though they do not necessarily hold expertise on archaeological matters. Nonetheless, local representatives can act as intermediaries between the public they represent and the management of heritage.

With increasing residential and industrial development in the Fraser Valley, British Columbia, archaeological heritage issues are moving to the forefront of First Nations communities and municipalities. Throughout the Fraser Valley, there are competing heritage and development interests among diverse Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities across particular areas of the landscape. High profile situations, such as those involving Xá:ytem (Mohs 1992; Xá:ytem 2008a), in Mission, and the McCallum site (Lepofsky 2007), in Agassiz, demonstrate that archaeological issues need to be accessible and transparent to all community members *and* there must be dialogue between different communities who have distinct interests over the landscape.

At both Xá:ytem and the McCallum site, local municipalities were alarmed when archaeological sites, unknown to them, were encountered and impacted through development. Also, in both situations, Stó:lō Nation intervened, as they were aware of and had an interest in the heritage of these sites. Along with Stó:lō Nation, the provincial Archaeology Branch and the RCMP stopped the progress of the developments so that archaeological assessments could be conducted (Lepofsky et al. 2003; Mohs 1992; Gordon Mohs, personal

communication 2005; Pokotylo and Brass 1997; Schaepe 2004). Both incidents brought forth a variety of opinions in their respective communities. These perspectives ranged from support for the protection of Xá:ytem by candidates running for Premier of British Columbia (Linnea Battel, personal communication 2006), to local non-Aboriginal residents' view of archaeology as an obstacle to a landowner's development at the Mccallum site (Lepofsky 2008).

Overlapping heritage and development interests exist across the same Fraser Valley landscape, as indicated by both Xá:ytem and Mccallum site situations and illustrated by an image overlooking the Mccallum archaeological site, in Agassiz (Figure 1). The Mccallum archaeological site, whose surface and top layers were utilized for agriculture decades ago (Lepofsky 2008), is currently surrounded by agricultural and gravel extraction interests. In addition, other heritage sites, such as the hop yards (Hancock 2001), are being encroached upon by competing interests. Primarily due to the Fraser Valley's close proximity to Vancouver, British Columbia's major city core, the region is facing increasing urbanization through residential, commercial, and industrial developments (Schaepe 2007). The existing and potential impacts to heritage sites from urbanization are immeasurable, particularly if the communities who have distinct interests over the landscape fail to communicate.

Figure 1: Competing heritage and development interests on a Fraser Valley landscape. The McCallum archaeological site is pictured in the foreground. Agassiz, British Columbia.

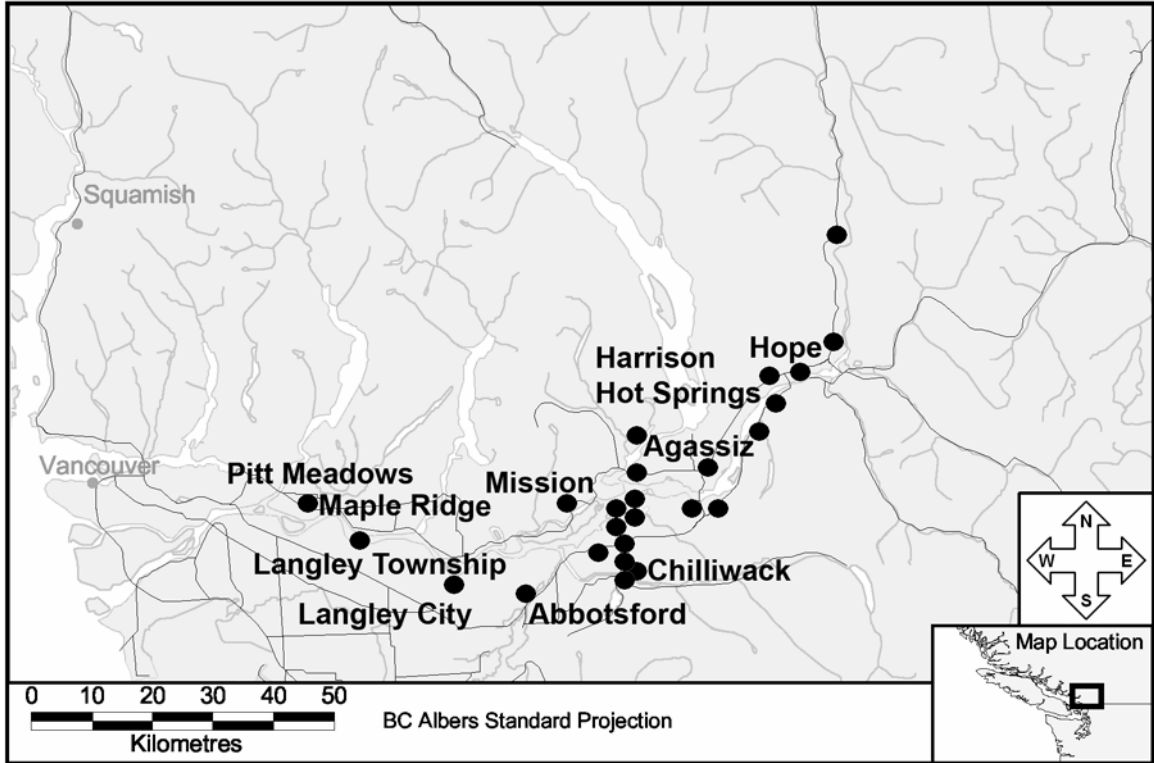


Photograph: © 2004, Dana Lepofsky, by permission

To balance heritage and development interests and prevent the chaos of inadvertently uncovering archaeological sites, there is a definite need for transparency and dialogue on heritage issues and information, between and within diverse Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities in the Fraser Valley. Since local governments in the Fraser Valley make decisions on behalf of their diverse Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, I focus this research on their perspectives. In addition, I address and attempt to bridge this gap in dialogue by assessing how archaeological heritage fits into local governments' collective vision of the Fraser Valley. From this analysis, I aim to provide recommendations for these communities to work together on heritage issues, to achieve this vision.

Representing 25 First Nations communities and 10 municipalities, I examine the perspectives of Fraser Valley local governments on archaeology; specifically First Nations chiefs, municipal mayors, and their respective councils (Figure 2, Table 1). Most Aboriginal peoples whose homeland is southwestern British Columbia, particularly within the Fraser Valley, culturally identify as Stó:lō. Translated in Halkomelem as “People of the River”, the Stó:lō are united through a common language, belief system, and economic, social, and political lifestyle surrounding the Fraser River watershed (Carlson 2001:24-5; Naxaxalhts’i 2007). The Stó:lō peoples of today have complex political affiliations, as the majority of communities are encompassed under the umbrella organizations of Stó:lō Nation Society (SNS) and Stó:lō Tribal Council (STC). Still, other Aboriginal communities who classify themselves as independent also continue to reassert their political distinctiveness from other Indigenous groups.

Figure 2: The Lower Mainland and Fraser Valley of southwestern British Columbia, showing the location of 25 First Nations communities (represented by the circles) and 10 municipalities (as labelled). Although there are more First Nations and municipalities situated on this map, this study only includes the perspectives of local governments from the Fraser Valley region, east of the Greater Vancouver area.



Map: Based on Lepofsky et al. (2005:221)

Table 1: First Nations communities and municipalities in the Fraser Valley. First Nations communities are listed by names recorded under the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and names in Halkomelem.

First Nations		Municipalities
DIAND	HALKOMELEM	
		City of Abbotsford
Aitchelitz	<i>Áthelets</i>	City of Chilliwack
Chawathil	<i>Chowéthel</i>	District of Hope
Cheam	<i>Chiyó:m</i>	Harrison Hot Springs
Chehalis	<i>Sts'a'i:les</i>	District of Kent (Agassiz)
Katzie	<i>Q'éytsi'i</i>	City of Langley
Kwantlen	<i>Qw'óntl'en</i>	Township of Langley
Kwawk-Kwawk-Apilt	<i>Qweqwe'ópelhp</i>	District of Maple Ridge
Lakahahmen	<i>Leq'á:mél</i>	District of Mission
Matsqui	<i>Máthekwi</i>	District of Pitt Meadows
Peters	<i>Sqw'átets</i>	
Popkum	<i>Pópkw'em</i>	
Scowlitz	<i>Sq'éwlets</i>	
Seabird Island	<i>N/A</i>	
Shxw'ow'hamel	<i>Shxw'ówhámél</i>	
Skawahlook	<i>Sq'ewá:lxw</i>	
Skowkale	<i>Sq'ewqéyl</i>	
Skwah	<i>Sqwá</i>	
Skway	<i>Shxwá:y</i>	
Soowahlie	<i>Th'ewá:li</i>	
Squiala	<i>Sxwoyehá:la</i>	
Sumas	<i>Semá:th</i>	
Tzeachten	<i>Ch'iyáqtel</i>	
Union Bar	<i>Peqwchó:lthel</i>	
Yakweakwioose	<i>Yeqwyeqwi:ws</i>	
Yale	<i>Xwoxwelá:lhp</i>	

Current State of Affairs

Federal Level

Archaeological heritage in the Fraser Valley generally falls under multiple legislative jurisdictions due to diverse land holdings by different bodies and communities (Table 2). The federal government is responsible for managing archaeological heritage on lands controlled by federal departments such as Parks Canada, Agriculture, National Defence, Transport, and Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). With the exception of Parks Canada, there is currently no legislative framework for managing archaeological heritage within federal lands (Burley 1994).

Table 2: Land holdings, corresponding legislation/ policy, and groups that are affected by these protection measures in the Fraser Valley.

Land Holding	Legislation/ Policy	Groups Affected
Fee simple	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Heritage Conservation Act</i> (BC) • <i>Stó:lō Heritage Policy*</i> (Stó:lō Nation/ Tribal Council) • <i>Chehalis Indian Band Cultural Resources Policy*</i> (Chehalis FN, independent band) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General residents • First Nations • Developers
Aboriginal Reservations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Stó:lō Heritage Policy*</i> (Stó:lō Nation/ Tribal Council) • <i>Chehalis Indian Band Cultural Resources Policy*</i> (Chehalis FN, independent band) • <i>The Indian Act</i> (s91.) – protects specific objects only (e.g. rock art) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Nations • Developers
B.C. Crown Land (e.g. provincial parks, forestry)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Heritage Conservation Act</i> (BC) • <i>Forest and Range Practices Act</i> (B.C.) – applicable to sites in B.C. forests & natural resource extraction zones • <i>Stó:lō Heritage Policy*</i> (Stó:lō Nation/ Tribal Council) • <i>Chehalis Indian Band Cultural Resources Policy*</i> (Chehalis FN, independent band) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General residents • First Nations • Developers/ Harvesters • Visitors (i.e. Parks)

*Applies if site is within their traditional territory and does not conflict with other First Nations communities' territories and/ or policies.

Aboriginal reservations, which are considered to be under the jurisdiction of the Canadian government, do not have effective heritage protection through federal legislative measures. The only exception is section 91 of the paternalistic, outdated *Indian Act* (Canada 1985) which condemns the seizure of select heritage objects that are primarily from Northwest Coast reserves (i.e., grave houses, totem and other carved poles and posts, and rock art). Although the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* (Canada 1992) includes archaeology as part of a mandatory assessment process for development, the absence of federal legislation means that the Canadian government is not accountable for ensuring archaeological heritage is protected on lands under federal jurisdiction (Burley 1994). Fortunately, a number of First Nations communities in the Fraser Valley have been proactive in managing and protecting their heritage through the creation and administration of heritage policies, applicable to archaeological sites and a wide scope of other cultural places within their traditional territories (i.e., Chehalis Indian Band 2001; Stó:lō Nation 2003).

Provincial Level

Originally created in 1979, the *Heritage Conservation Act* (B.C. 1996a) provides legislative protection to all pre-1846 archaeological sites in British Columbia located on provincial Crown or fee simple land. Among other regulations, the *Heritage Conservation Act* (B.C. 1996a), applied through British Columbia's Archaeology Branch, mandates a provincial heritage register of archaeological sites, official heritage site designations, and the administration of

permits for heritage investigations. Although the purpose of the act is to “encourage and facilitate the protection and conservation of heritage property in British Columbia”, including heritage on fee simple and provincial Crown land, the act does not require impact assessments to be conducted *before* development on lands where archaeological sites may be encountered. This omission in the act may substantially contribute to the destruction of unknown and unrecorded archaeological sites.

Even though infractions of the *Heritage Conservation Act* regularly occur, few charges are laid, and rarely result in the prosecution of an individual or corporation (Ormerod 2004). Charges under this legislation are regularly dropped due to lack of evidence; however, even if charges are laid, the case may never go to court if the Attorney General’s office determines the act unenforceable or not worth public funds in court fees (McLay 2004; Ormerod 2004; Steele 2007). The *Heritage Conservation Act* has therefore been highly ineffective for protecting heritage, particularly since it has not been applied to ensure that archaeological sites are appropriately managed and monitored, resulting in a lack of evidence for infractions. Between British Columbia’s inadequate legislation and Canada’s lack of heritage protection measures, the fate of archaeological heritage in British Columbia may be in the hands of communities at the local level.

Local Level

Since archaeological heritage is physically situated within the landscape, communities represented by their local governments may be in the best position

to manage “on the ground” heritage within their territories. However, the level of responsibility ascribed to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities in the Fraser Valley are highly variable. According to the Province of British Columbia, local First Nations and municipal governments do not currently have legislative jurisdiction over archaeological heritage. As a result, measures to protect local archaeological sites are in the form of heritage policies. Since the design and application of archaeological heritage policies are determined by each community, they are generally not standardized across a region and are also limited in their enforcement, lacking a legal backbone.

The Stó:lō have actively taken steps to ensure that their culturally significant places and objects, including archaeological sites and artifacts, are protected for future generations through the development and effective application of the *Stó:lō Heritage Policy Manual* (Stó:lō Nation 2003). Developed by Stó:lō Nation and also utilized by Stó:lō Tribal Council, the Policy provides guidelines for protecting and managing a wide variety of tangible and intangible Stó:lō cultural sites, carried out by cultural heritage managers. A number of Aboriginal communities in the Fraser Valley, who identify themselves as independent bands and are unaffiliated with the umbrella organizations, such as Chehalis First Nation, have also created and applied their own heritage policies through the employment of cultural heritage managers (e.g., Chehalis Indian Band 2001). The protection and management of heritage places, archaeological remains being only a single element, has been a priority of most First Nations communities in the Fraser Valley regardless of political affiliation, as seen in the

heritage policies they have created and cultural resource managers they have hired.

In addition, First Nations communities have been conducting extensive archaeological, cultural and historical research to systematically document, and in turn, manage their heritage sites (e.g., Katzie Development Corporation [Nickols 2008], Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre [Carlson 2001]; Sts'ailes Aboriginal Rights & Title [Chehalis First Nation 2008]). Of particular concern to this study is previous research conducted with Stó:lō councillors to understand their perspectives of archaeology (LaFleur 2003). Through interviews with a small number of representatives, LaFleur (2003:31) finds that the Stó:lō leaders think archaeology is important for land claims, the treaty process, and educating future generations. A majority of councillors are also greatly concerned about the destruction of archaeological sites through irresponsible development, and express a desire to work with their non-Aboriginal neighbours to protect their heritage (LaFleur 2003:32-3). LaFleur's research is an effective springboard for this project, which aims to explore the potential for First Nations and municipal representatives to work together on archaeological heritage management strategies in the Fraser Valley.

Even though the majority of municipalities in the Fraser Valley have heritage policies that provide guidelines for protecting and managing their local historic sites, such as buildings, trees, and parks (e.g., City of Abbotsford [Arlington Group Planning and Architecture] 2005), few incorporate archaeological heritage into these policies and consult with local First Nations

communities about their heritage (District of Mission [MacDonald] 2006 is an exception). Municipal planners, however, may choose to utilize informal protocols to manage archaeological sites by requesting that developers have an archaeological assessment conducted prior to issuing a municipal licence, especially if the development is large-scale and/ or within an area of high archaeological potential (Peter Li, personal communication, 2006). These protocols, however, are not typically anchored in any policy or bylaw so it remains under the discretion of the municipality, or even the individual planner, to inform developers of their responsibilities to archaeological heritage.

Some municipalities have also taken initiatives to protect archaeological heritage within their communities, even though most do not have a formal heritage policy to guide their actions. Although Fraser Valley municipalities have not employed archaeologists to manage heritage sites, as First Nations communities have, many have heritage commissions, which are appointed by municipal councils to advise them on heritage-related concerns (e.g., District of Kent [Bev Kennedy, personal communication 2006], District of Mission [2008], Township of Langley [Langley Centennial Museum 2008]). Although most heritage commissions tend to focus on protecting historic heritage unless an archaeological site becomes high-profile in the community (i.e., Xá:ytem), some Commissions in the Fraser Valley, such as the District of Kent, are moving toward a more holistic perspective of heritage by including archaeological sites and objects in their management plans (Bev Kennedy, personal communication 2006).

The differences between municipal and Aboriginal heritage measures may reflect a distinction in legislative jurisdiction rather than simply world view on heritage—which I address later in this study. Through *The Local Government Act* (B.C. 1996b), historic heritage is the responsibility of municipalities while archaeological heritage is under provincial authority (B.C. 1996a). Thus, municipal governments may not think that they are responsible for protecting local archaeological sites. In addition, the province has given municipal governments mixed messages about the role they play in managing archaeological heritage within their communities. In *Heritage Conservation: A Community Guide* (B.C. 1994), a manual created by the province to update municipal governments on heritage legislation and provide communities with guidelines for managing heritage, the relationship between local governments and archaeological sites (and Aboriginal traditional use sites) is addressed:

While the Province has primary responsibility for protecting and managing these sites, local governments need to be aware of sensitive, or potentially sensitive, archaeological and aboriginal traditional use sites in their jurisdictions (B.C. 1994: 29).

According to this document, local governments are “encouraged to consider heritage matters, including archaeological and aboriginal traditional use sites in official land use planning processes” (B.C. 1994: 29). The province’s implication that local governments should be aware of archaeological sites, and incorporate them into their planning procedures, is vague and ineffectual, as municipal governments lack the legal power to protect archaeological sites and regulate heritage investigations or impact assessments. Recently, the British Columbia Archaeology Branch has provided municipal and regional governments

with a handbook to assist in the integration of archaeological heritage management into their development planning and application review process (B.C. 2007a). This handbook asserts that local governments should have a role in mitigating impacts to archaeological sites, even though the province still carries the legislative responsibility (B.C. 2007a). A disconnect exists between and within provincial, First Nations, and municipal governments regarding responsibility for archaeological heritage. By compiling First Nations and municipal councillors' views on archaeological heritage, I intend to seek out common perspectives among diverse governments and provide a means for bridging this disconnect.

Comparing Local Governments

Although I compare First Nations and municipal governments as functional equivalents, they are dissimilar in their jurisdiction, responsibilities, and contexts. Municipal governments were formed to act as an extension of the provincial government to “represent the interests and respond to the needs of their communities”, as legislated in the *Local Government Act* (B.C. 1996b). Electoral directors are also part of the local government, however, they represent electoral areas outside of municipal boundaries, supporting a smaller population. Most of the municipalities included in this study, in addition to eight electoral areas, are part of the Fraser Valley Regional District (FVRD). This governing body operates as a federation of regional stakeholders to provide elected representation and standardized services for citizens across the region (FVRD 2007).

The elected chief and council system, which currently operates in almost all First Nations communities included in this project, continues to be imposed on Aboriginal peoples by the federal government. This colonial governance system is dictated through the *Indian Act* (Canada 1985), in an attempt to control, administer, and eventually assimilate First Nations peoples into Canadian society (Carlson 1997). Although still under the authority of the *Indian Act*, a number of Stó:lō communities in the Fraser Valley have incorporated their traditional family/ hereditary, or *Siyá:m*, system of governance, as they identify with this structure and find it more legitimate than the imposed elected system (e.g., Carlson 2007:23-24). Other segments of First Nations communities, such as Elders, youth, and family representatives, also have important roles in Aboriginal governance and are included in the structure of some communities. These traditional and familial governance roles, however, generally rest outside the boundaries of the council system at the band level (Carlson 1997:106-107). Yet another traditional layer of governance is Stó:lō tribal governance, where past and present representatives govern over a particular tribal region, typically guided by distinct watersheds in the Fraser Valley area (McHalsie 2001:32-33). Although governance extends well beyond the band council system for First Nations in the Fraser Valley, Aboriginal councillors still make decisions over community issues, potentially including the management of archaeological heritage. Although First Nations and municipal representatives govern from unique circumstances, I aim to demonstrate how these diverse local

governments can come together through shared perspectives on archaeology in the Fraser Valley.

The Process of Bridging the Disconnect

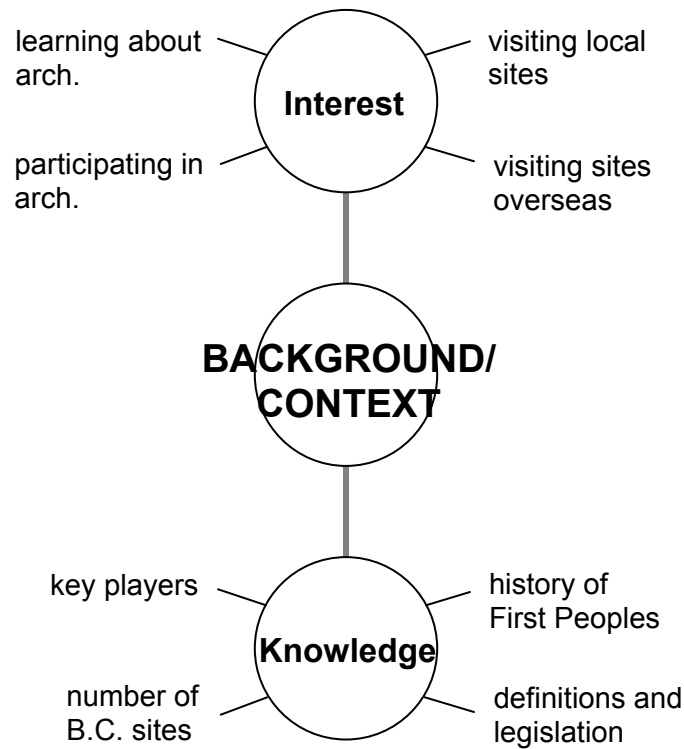
In the following chapters, I explore a process to bridge the disconnect between First Nations and municipal governments on archaeology. In the second chapter, I present the methodology of this study and discuss the process of developing effective questions for stakeholders, surveying and interviewing local governments on their perspectives of archaeology, and analysing the information obtained through these methods. Local governments' perspectives on archaeology, the results of the study, are explored in the third chapter through a number of key themes. However, I first analyze the level of response from local stakeholders to the survey and interviews, and examine possible reasons for non-response. In the fourth and final chapter, I discuss areas of divergence and convergence among First Nations and municipal governments on archaeology, as initially presented in the results. In addition, I reflect on how First Nations and municipal communities in the Fraser Valley uniquely situate archaeology through their views and how this disconnect can be bridged through joint communication on commonly held perspectives among local governments. To open up the discussions from this research to local stakeholders, I conclude with recommendations for diverse governments to work together on archaeological heritage issues.

CHAPTER 2: PROCESS OF GATHERING PERSPECTIVES

Developing Questions for Stakeholders

One of the first steps in this study involved developing survey questions for First Nations and municipal councillors, regarding their opinions on archaeology. For a questionnaire to obtain relevant data from its respondents, literature on survey design (Dillman 2000; Gray and Guppy 1999; Nardi 2003; Salant and Dillman 1994) recommends that: 1) general questions are asked at the beginning to provide participants with some background on the topic and 2) the remaining questions fulfil the study's research objectives. To ease respondents into the survey on archaeological heritage issues, I included a series of questions, pertaining to their interest in and general knowledge of archaeology. The construction of these background questions, which established the survey's context for the participants, began with a brainstorm web (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Generating ideas for background questions, to establish context in the survey.



The remainder of survey questions were developed from the study's two research objectives: 1) to describe how local government representatives value archaeological heritage, and 2) to determine the influence that First Nations and municipal councillors have over archaeological heritage. To generate questions from the first objective, I created a web to explore how the public, decision-makers included, may assign different types of values to archaeology (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999) (Figure 4). The second objective was explored by examining the different types of influence that local governments may have over archaeology, or even bodies they are influenced by (i.e., the provincial government) (Figure 5). With permission, I also incorporated a number of questions from David Pokotylo and Neil Guppy's (1999) previous survey on

opinions of archaeological heritage, potentially for the purpose of making broad comparisons between the opinions of the public and those of the local government representatives (David Pokotylo, personal communication, 2005). Through the process of testing the survey on numerous groups, primarily undergraduate and graduate students, multiple drafts were produced until only the most pertinent questions remained. Not only was the content of the questions of concern, but also the structure of the questions and the format and length of the survey was scrutinized (Appendix C: Survey Strategies).

Figure 4: Generating ideas for survey questions pertaining to Objective 1: How do councillors value archaeological heritage?

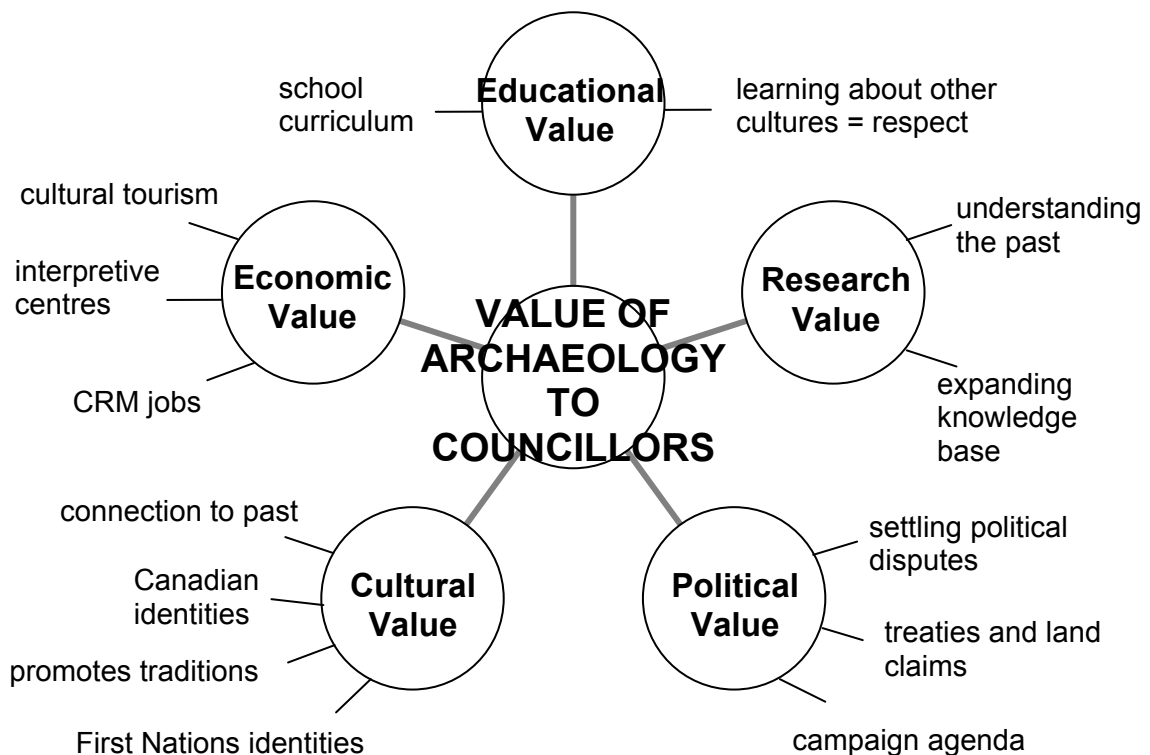
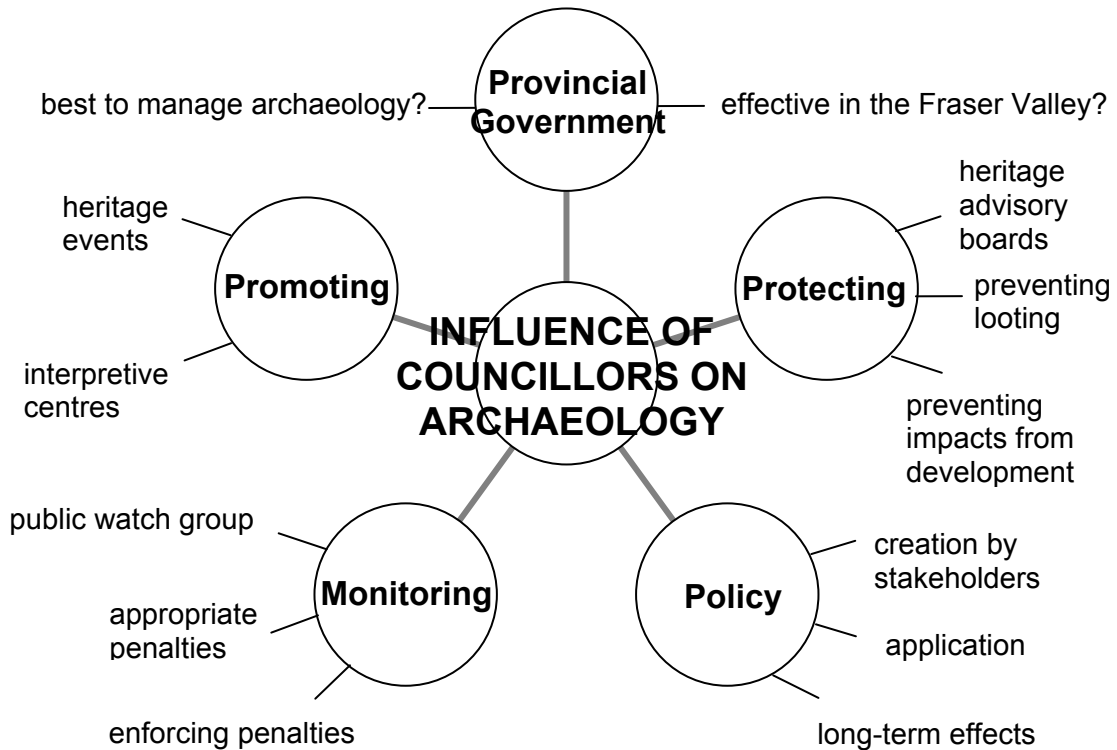


Figure 5: Generating ideas for survey questions pertaining to Objective 2: What influence do councillors have on archaeology?



Conducting the Survey and Interviews

To assess the perspectives of First Nations and non-Aboriginal community members about archaeology and heritage management in the Fraser Valley, I conducted a survey and interviews with chiefs and mayors and their respective councils. In summer 2005, I delivered self-administered surveys to all the representatives from the First Nations communities and municipalities in the Fraser Valley (see Appendix A: Survey). Throughout the remainder of the year and into 2006, I followed up multiple times with the councillors and offered to meet with them in person to complete the survey, to generate a higher response rate. Follow-up interviews with respondents enabled me to further explore issues

raised in the survey results, and allowed participants to expand on their perspectives expressed in the questionnaire (see Appendix B: Interview). Although careful consideration was taken to develop the survey and interview questions, a number of survey design lessons were learned once the completed questionnaires were returned and analysed (see Appendix C: Survey Strategies).

Analytical Procedures

Through procedures similar to those used in Pokotylo and Guppy's (1999) survey of the Greater Vancouver area, I coded all of the survey responses. After analyzing the data, I grouped them into seven key themes. As the qualitative interview data are intended to support the primarily quantitative survey data, the interviews were selectively transcribed to highlight these key themes.

To compare First Nations and municipal government perspectives on archaeology, I created frequency graphs to explore survey responses, encompassed under one of the seven key themes. The graphs primarily compare how First Nations and municipal councillors responded to particular survey questions, based on the percentage of participants who answered that specific question. Where appropriate, I also averaged the responses as a single measure of opinion. Although this method does not represent extremes in opinion, it provides a numerical value to further compare the perspectives of diverse representatives. As a final step for analysing the survey data, statistical tests (primarily Mann Whitney) were conducted for a select number of questions to elucidate significant differences between the responses of First Nations and municipal councillors.

CHAPTER 3: LOCAL GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVES

Research Response and Non-Response

A substantial number of local government representatives in the Fraser Valley, from diverse communities, responded to the survey and interviews about their perspectives on archaeology. A total of 28 First Nations representatives (27.2%) and 20 municipal councillors (29.0%) completed and returned the surveys for this study (Table 3). These completed surveys represent 16 First Nations communities (64%) and eight municipalities (80%) across the Fraser Valley.

Of the surveys from First Nations representatives, 18 (64.3%) respondents are male and 10 (35.7%) are female, very closely reflecting the total First Nations government sample percentages of 65.0% male and 35.0% female. With the surveys received from municipal councillors, 13 (65.0%) are from male participants and 7 are from females (35.0%), again, similarly reflecting the total municipal government sample percentages of 62.3% male and 37.7% female. Although the gender distributions of those who responded to the survey are similar to the overall sample distribution, this does not allow us to determine if the survey respondents' views are representative of all councillors in the Fraser Valley. There are an endless number of characteristics, such as age, geographic location, and term of office, which should be considered to understand if those who responded are representative of the demographics of the entire sample of

Fraser Valley councillors. In addition, without a body of similar research on the perspectives of local government representatives, there are no comparable response rates to definitively determine if the survey response is sufficient (David Pokotylo, personal communication, 2008). However, based on gender distribution and geographic or community variation, two characteristics that can immediately be measured in this study, the response rate of approximately 28% appears to be substantial enough to highlight the diverse views of local government representatives in the Fraser Valley. Furthermore, of all the survey respondents, 12 First Nations representatives (42.9%) and 11 municipal councillors (55.0%) agreed to participate in follow-up interviews (Table 3). This level of interview participation from Fraser Valley local government representatives, roughly half of those who completed surveys, further suggests that the response to this study is adequate for compiling the views of First Nations and municipal councillors on archaeology.

Table 3: Sample size and response rates for both First Nations and municipal representatives, from the survey and interview results.

	Potential Respondents	
	First Nations reps.	Municipal reps.
N of Communities	25	10
N of Representatives	103	69
	Actual Respondents	
N of Survey Respondents (% of representatives)	28 (27.2)	20 (29.0)
N of Communities [surveys] (% of communities)	16 (64.0)	8 (80.0)
N of Interviews Conducted (% of survey respondents)	12 (42.9)	11 (55.0)

Although I also contacted all electoral directors of the eight electoral districts outside the Fraser Valley municipal boundaries, I only received a completed survey from one director. As a result, I excluded electoral directors from the quantitative portion of the study. In addition, I attempted to contact provincial representatives (Members of the Legislative Assembly [MLAs]) in the Fraser Valley region, as archaeological heritage is under British Columbia's jurisdiction. No MLAs responded to the survey, and as a result, their perspectives are not included in this research on stakeholders' views of archaeological heritage issues.

Exploring why local government representatives chose not to respond to the survey provides further insights into councillors' views about heritage. Although hard to measure, time constraints, apathy, existing archaeological

conflicts, fear of misrepresentation, and distrust of researchers may be potential reasons for the non-response of First Nations and municipal councillors in the Fraser Valley. Even though approximately eight individuals overtly and covertly provided these reasons for non-response, others may have had similar reasons for not responding to the survey. A number of councillors stated that their schedules were too full to participate in this study. As a municipality-wide election took place in November 2005 across British Columbia, a few municipal councillors were reluctant to participate because they were engaged with running for re-election or assisting with other campaigns. Although no one directly told me they were uninterested in the topic, it is logical to assume that apathy is another reason for non-response. Such indifference about heritage issues is especially disconcerting amongst local stakeholders, as they have the potential to influence the management of archaeological heritage.

An additional potential reason for non-response is that communities can be embroiled in legal disputes involving archaeology and thus, are restricted from divulging information. This appears to have been the case in one municipality that refused to participate, and a neighbouring First Nations community that was restricted in what it could express in the survey and interviews. Increasingly, as conflicts over archaeological heritage are brought to the courts, researchers may be restricted in the kinds of discussions that can take place outside of legal contexts.

Another reason, and perhaps a more systemic one for non-response, is related to councillors' concerns that outsiders might misrepresent their views.

This was the case with two Seabird Island First Nation representatives who chose not to participate in the survey but met with me to clarify their reluctance. Councillors Clem Seymour and Donna Andrew, and a graduate student from the community, Dianna Kay, expressed concern about my interpretations of their perspectives in this study. They felt that their views, and those of other First Nations representatives, might be taken out of context. However, they were even more apprehensive about municipalities applying this research to develop heritage policies, without first working with local First Nations communities. In addition, these councillors felt that some researchers, including archaeologists, take knowledge away from their community but rarely bring back the results for their benefit. This experience demonstrates that we, as researchers, need to be aware of the underlying social and political implications of the information we collect and are responsible for sharing our results with the communities whose heritage we study. All of these possible reasons for non-response are deterrents for representing the voices of First Nations and municipal stakeholders in the Fraser Valley.

Shaping Survey Themes

Seven key themes emerged from the results of the survey and interviews with Fraser Valley councillors about their perspectives on archaeology. The themes are: *Relevance, Knowledge, Interest and Exposure, Value, Protection Issues, Management Responsibility, and Working Together*. These themes have been shaped from the original brainstorming webs created during the survey design process (see Figures 6, 7, and 8). I have organized these themes

according to their relationships to the original brainstorming webs and the study's overall goal and objectives (Figure 9).

Figure 6: Relationship between the background questions diagram and the themes of *Knowledge* and *Interest and Exposure*.

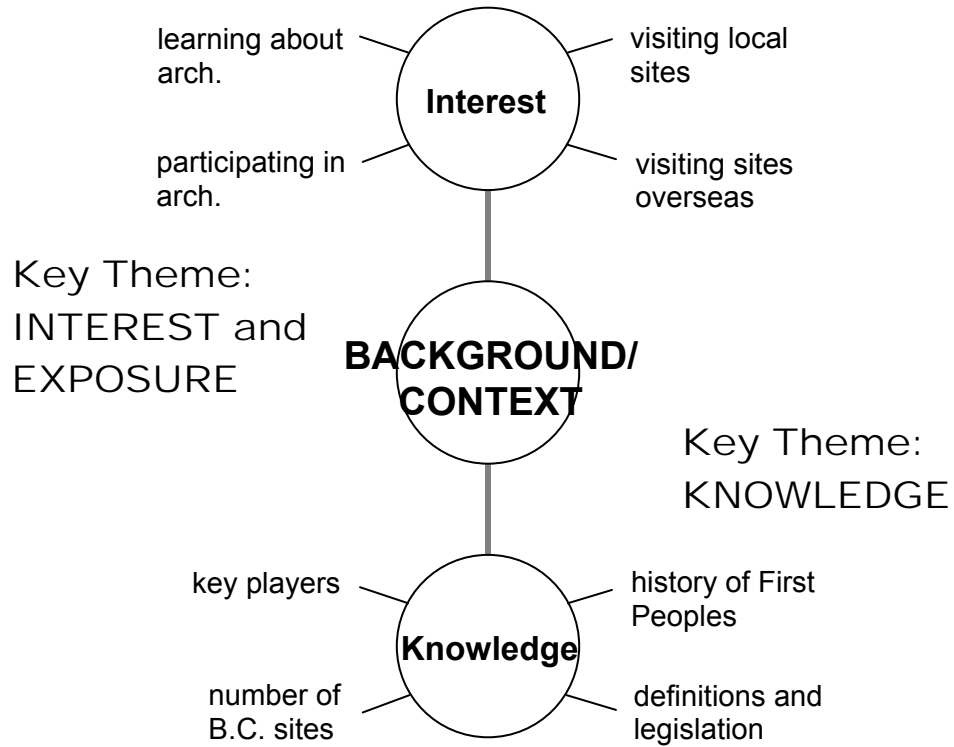


Figure 7: Relationship between the first objective diagram and the themes of *Relevance* and *Value*.

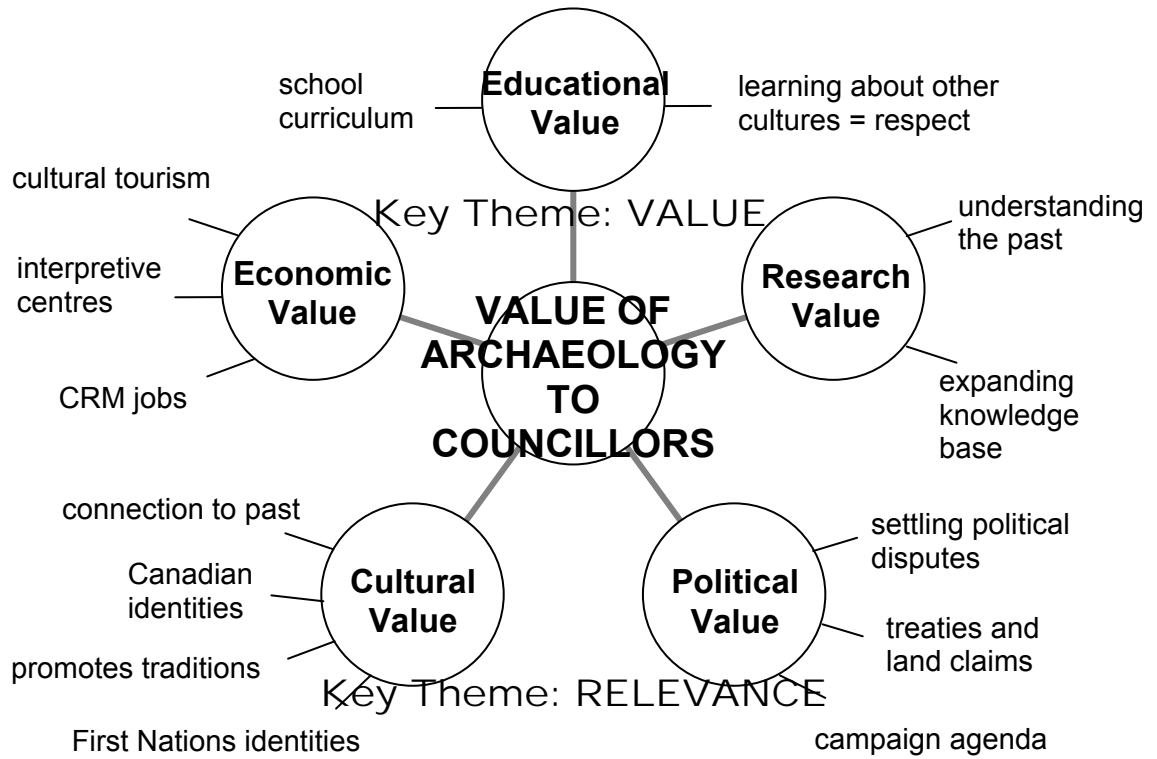


Figure 8: Relationship between the second objective diagram and the themes of *Relevance, Protection Issues, and Management Responsibility*.

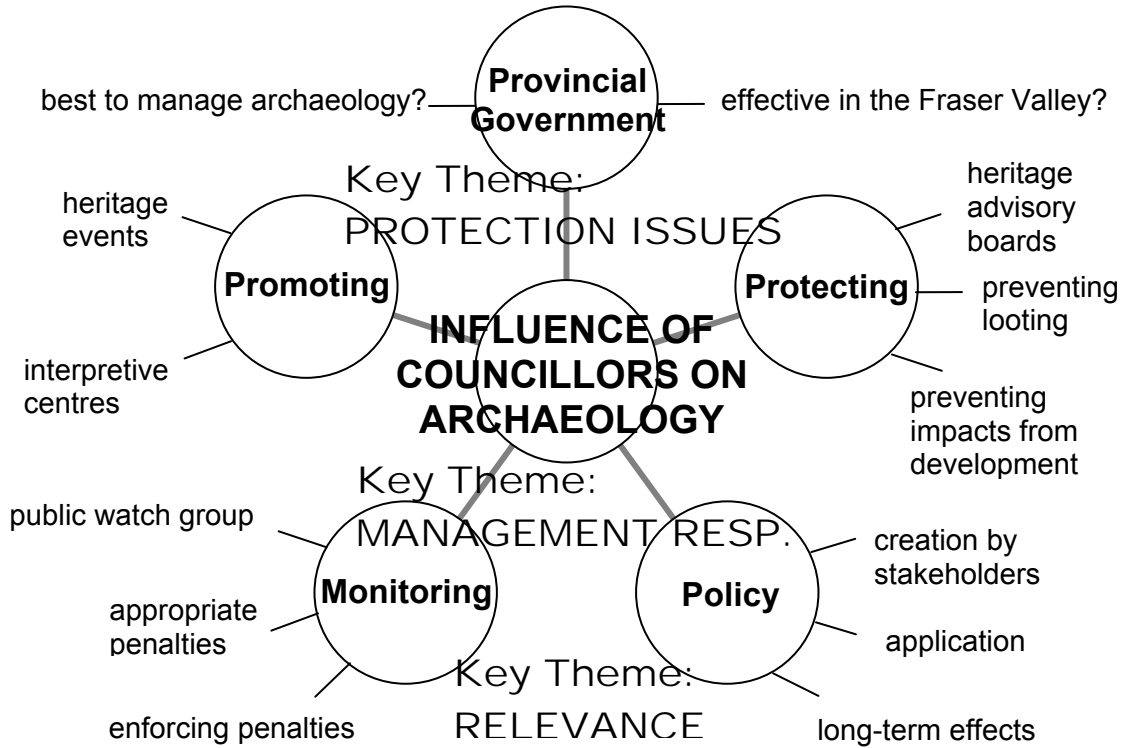
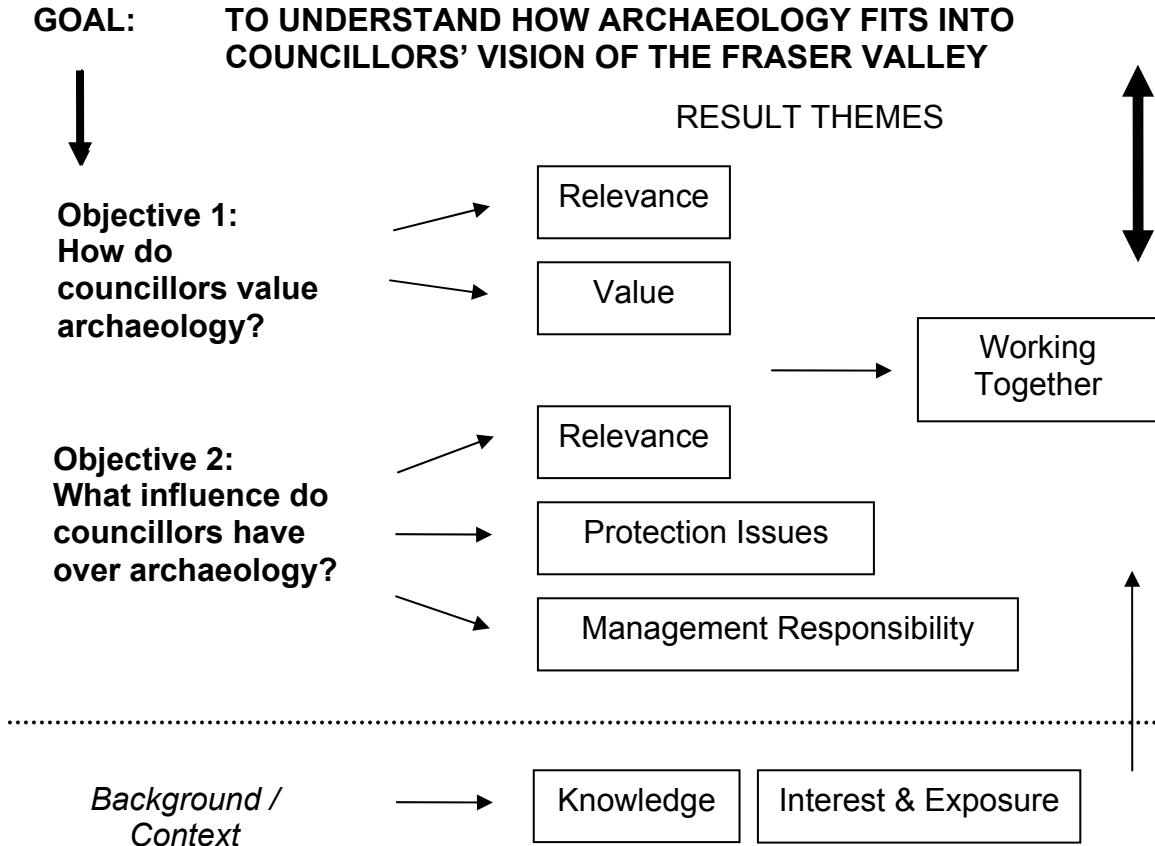


Figure 9: Result themes and their relation to the project’s objectives and overall goal.



The themes of *Relevance* and *Working Together* are distinct from the other results. *Relevance* is an overarching theme encompassing the research objectives, the overall goal of the study, and all the results. *Working Together* is not defined by any particular brainstorming web because it refers to the *potential* of First Nations and municipalities to engage in heritage dialogue. Since the theme of *Working Together* refers to the future of heritage management between diverse communities, it is connected to the overall goal of understanding how archaeology fits into the vision of local governments in the Fraser Valley. This theme was developed out of the realization that effective archaeological

management in the Fraser Valley can only be achieved through the cooperation of its diverse communities.

In the following section, I have selected a sample of questions to illustrate the breadth of each theme and the diversity of perspectives on archaeology in the Fraser Valley. I have also referred to specific interviews with local government representatives, as coded in Appendix B, and incorporated relevant quotes to elaborate on the survey results and showcase individual perspectives on heritage. To summarize each theme, I have assessed how the perspectives of First Nations and municipal councillors diverge and converge on a variety of local heritage issues. These collective perspectives, particularly the convergences, may form the basis of future discussions on joint heritage strategies between these diverse communities.

Key Result Themes

Relevance

A central theme brought out by the results is *Relevance*, which evaluates how archaeology is significant to local government representatives in the Fraser Valley. First Nations and municipal councillors were asked about the relevance of archaeology to different groups, as well as the importance of different types of heritage (Appendix A: Survey [i.e., #2, 3, 5, 7, 15, 47]). Through an open-ended question inquiring about contemporary local issues and archaeology in the Fraser Valley, participants also shared how archaeology holds significance within their own communities (#24, Appendix A). While these survey questions

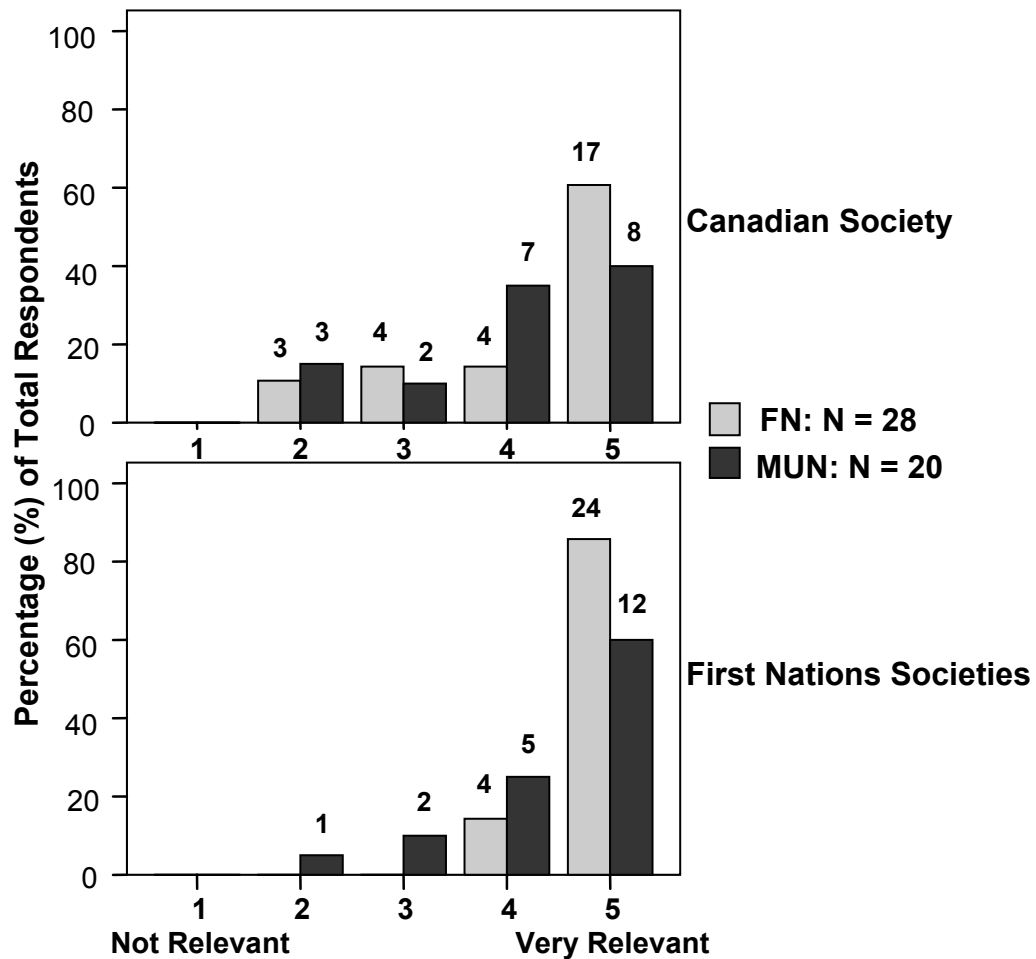
pinpointed how archaeology is relevant to local governments, the interviews explored why certain components of heritage hold more significance to Fraser Valley councillors than others (Appendix B: Interview [i.e., #4, 5, 6, 17]).

Local government representatives think that archaeology holds relevance for greater society. According to the survey, the majority of First Nations (N=21; 75%) and municipal (N=15; 75%) councillors state that archaeology is relevant to Canadian society, responding with a 4 or a 5 on a 5-point scale (Figure 10). However, both First Nations (N=28; 100%) and municipal (N=17; 85%) councillors think that archaeology is more relevant to contemporary First Nations societies than the general Canadian public (Figure 10). Still, a significant difference (Mann Whitney $U=202.0$, $p=0.031$) exists between councillors' views on the relevance of archaeology to Aboriginal societies, where First Nations representatives think that archaeology is of greater importance to their own communities than municipal councillors do. As seen in the interviews, and expressed by this municipal councillor, local government representatives think that archaeology has more relevance to First Nations societies than the Canadian public because Aboriginal heritage has much deeper roots than settler heritage in our country:

I think it might be a cultural difference, (as) the Europeans in North America are pretty new here, and particularly the farther west you go, we haven't been here very long. So anything that's archaeological or historical (from our Canadian heritage) is only 200 to 250 years old. So we don't have the same meaning for archaeology in our families and in our culture that First Nations people do, and probably therefore, not the respect for it, and the (same level of) recognition that it's important...because it's not us (MUN-9).

Both sets of local governments have similar views on the relevance of archaeology to general Canadian society, however, First Nations councillors, in particular, think that archaeology is most relevant to their Aboriginal communities.

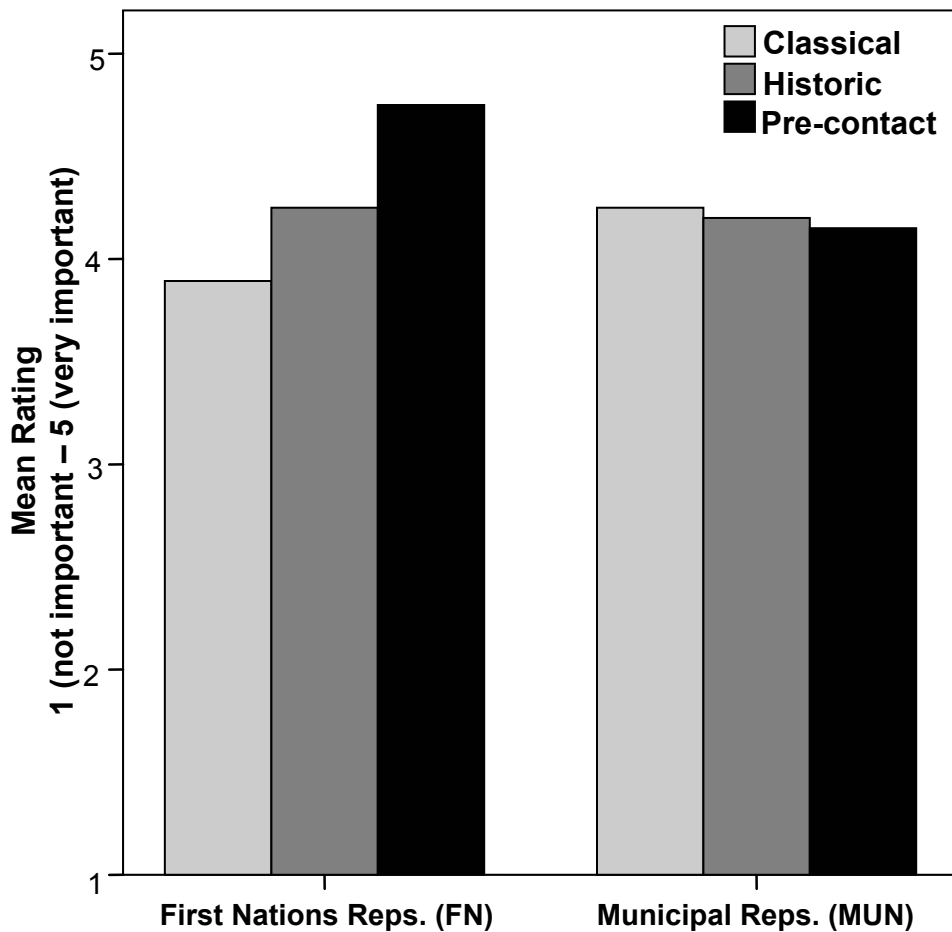
Figure 10: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "Do you think archaeology is relevant to contemporary Canadian society?" and "Do you think archaeology is relevant to contemporary First Nations societies?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Although local government representatives think that archaeology has relevance, they have differing opinions on the importance of particular categories of archaeology. When asked to rate the importance of classical, historic, and pre-contact archaeology, on a scale of 1 (not important) to 5 (very important), the

majority of First Nations and municipal councillors indicated that all of these types of archaeologies are valuable, by selecting the top two ranks for each (Figure 11).

Figure 11: “How important are the following types of archaeology?” Each type of archaeology is given an average score, according to the responses of First Nations (FN: N=28) and municipal (MUN: N=20) councillors, from a scale of 1 (not important) to 5 (very important).



First Nations councillors, however, distinctly indicate that pre-contact archaeology (mean score: 4.75) is more important than historic (mean score: 4.25) and classical heritage (mean score: 3.89), while municipal councillors think that all types of heritage have relatively the same importance (mean score of pre-

contact arch.: 4.15, mean score of historic arch.: 4.20), with a slight preference for classical archaeology (mean score: 4.25) (Figure 11). Although there is no significant difference between councillors perspectives' on historic and classical archaeology, First Nations councillors rated the importance of pre-contact heritage significantly higher (Mann Whitney, $U=175.0$, $p=0.008$) than municipal representatives. As stated in the interviews, First Nations councillors culturally and historically identify with their pre-contact heritage (FN-1, FN-4, FN-5, FN-9, FN-11, FN-12) and therefore, give it greater importance. Municipal councillors, in general, do not have the same level of connection to the Aboriginal archaeological past, and therefore find different archaeologies, including Greek and Roman archaeology, to be similarly important. This non-locally grounded and non-personal connection with the past, expressed by municipal councillors, has implications for the way heritage is managed in the Fraser Valley. I refer to local governments' divergent views on the connection to local archaeology, which is only subtly reflected in Figure 11, throughout the results.

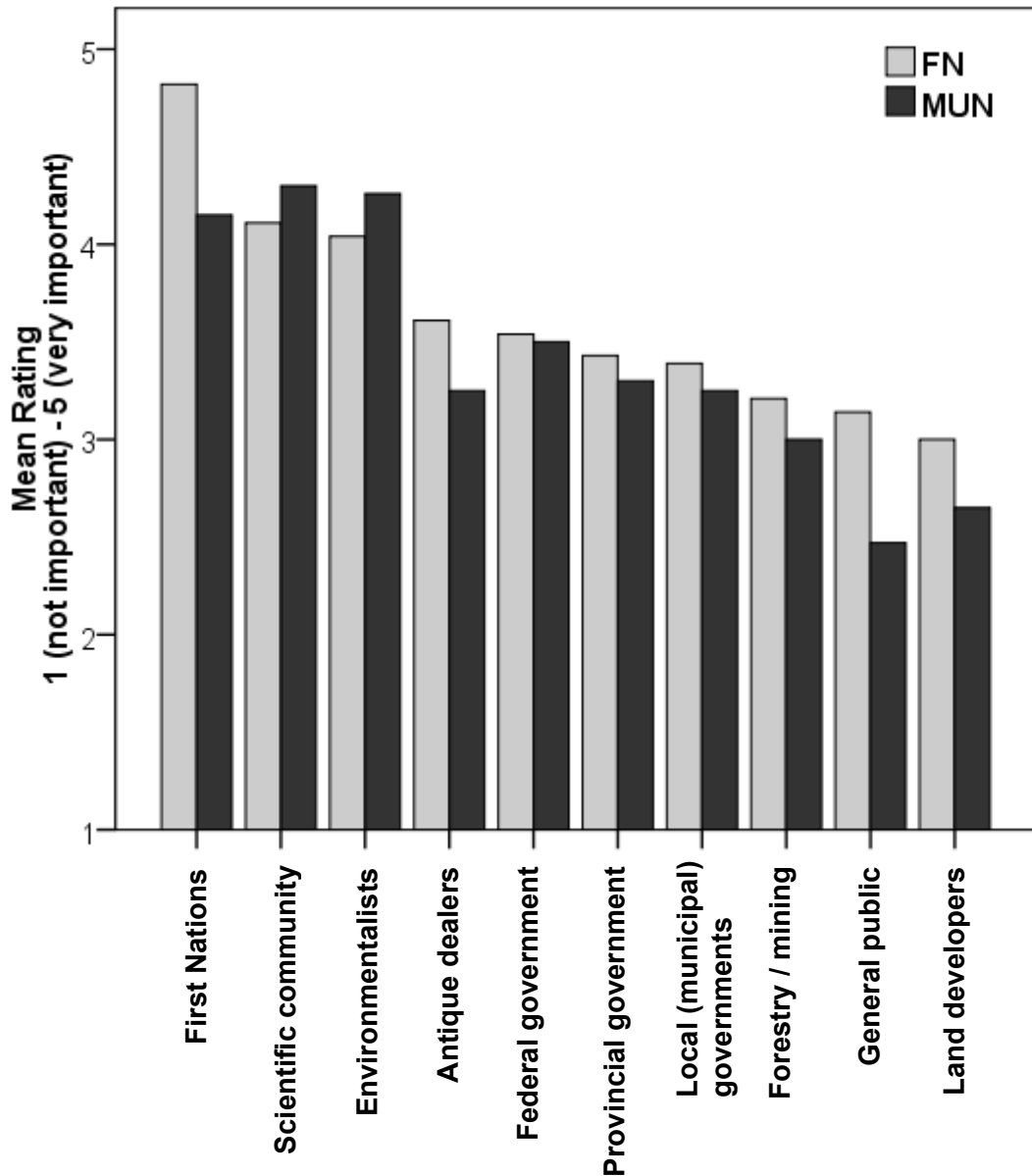
Local governments in the Fraser Valley also have diverse opinions on the relevance of archaeology to distinct groups involved with heritage issues. The survey asked participants to rate ten groups based on how important they felt archaeology was to each. Although First Nations governments suggest that archaeology is more important, in general, to all of these groups than municipal councillors, both sets of representatives have similar views about the relative importance of archaeology to most of these diverse populations (Table 4, Figure 12).

Table 4: “How important do you think archaeology is to the following groups?” Each group is ranked, according to the responses of First Nations (FN: N=28) and municipal (MUN: N=20) representatives, by average score from a scale of 1 (not important) to 5 (very important).

GROUP	First Nations reps.		Municipal reps.	
	MEAN	RANK	MEAN	RANK
First Nations	4.82	1	4.15	3
Scientific community	4.11	2	4.30	1
Environmentalists	4.04	3	4.26*	2
Antique dealers	3.61	4	3.25	6
Federal government	3.54	5	3.50	4
Provincial government	3.43	6	3.30	5
Local (municipal) govts	3.39	7	3.25	6
Forestry/ mining industry	3.21	8	3.00	7
General public	3.14	9	2.47*	9
Land developers	3.00	10	2.65	8

* MUN: N=19

Figure 12: “How important do you think archaeology is to the following groups?” Each group is graphed by average score, according to the responses of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) representatives, from a scale of 1 (not important) to 5 (very important).



The greatest difference in local government perspectives on the importance of archaeology is exhibited by the rating of “First Nations” and the “general public”, the two groups who are specifically represented by these survey participants. First Nations councillors rated the importance of archaeology higher

for their own communities than municipal representatives, likely because they have a personal connection to their heritage sites, as seen in the previous question (Figure 11), and recognize the value of archaeological heritage for land claims as part of the treaty process, as illustrated in the interviews (FN-1, FN-4, FN-5, FN-6, FN-7, FN-8, FN-12). Both First Nations and municipal councillors think that archaeology is substantially less important to the general public than almost all of the other groups. This may indicate that heritage management is not viewed as a pressing issue for local non-Aboriginal residents, as expressed in numerous interviews with municipal representatives (MUN-2, MUN-3, MUN-4, MUN-5, MUN-6, MUN-7, MUN-8, MUN-9, MUN-10). As stated by a municipal councillor:

Knowing a lot of people as I do in the valley, there's almost a high level of apathy and misunderstanding about what is transpiring in archaeology in the area, which is unfortunate (MUN-4).

This primarily municipal perception may have negative consequences for the treatment of local archaeological heritage. However, public opinion research in archaeology (e.g., Pokotylo 2002) and my own experiences in public outreach indicate that the public is interested in, and even concerned about, archaeology.

The survey responses indicate that archaeology is generally perceived to be much more important to First Nations than it is to the general public, or even local (municipal) government. As supported in the interviews (FN-1, FN-4, FN-5, FN-9, FN-11, FN-12), First Nations representatives identify with archaeology as their heritage and therefore acknowledge its significance to their communities. However municipal councillors, the local government referred to in the survey

question, are reluctant to give archaeology much importance because it is often perceived as a liability that conflicts with local development (e.g., MUN-4, MUN-5, MUN-7). As articulated by a municipal mayor:

I think that it's (archaeology) seen as a competing interest. From the local government perspective, archaeology translates into a restriction of where development may or may not be able to occur, and what that does is put constraints on local government and the people that local government supports (e.g., developers). It's not seen as an opportunity...it's seen as a liability...so it doesn't surprise me that local governments would say (that) (MUN-7).

In contrast, a number of First Nations councillors view archaeology as intricately connected to a wide range of issues, such as education, health, and even economic development through cultural tourism, so they do not perceive it as a competing interest, but an essential, harmonizing component of their community (FN-1, FN-4, FN-10, FN-11, FN-12). Responses to a question on the survey, asking councillors to rank a variety of local government issues, such as health, education, and heritage, may also illustrate this holistic Aboriginal perspective on the interconnectedness of archaeology. Although I originally thought that a number of First Nations councillors misread the question, providing too many of the highest ranks (23.8%) instead of assigning a single rank to each option, I realized that these responses may simply reflect how local government issues, such as archaeology, cannot be ranked by importance because they depend on each other to function as a whole for the community.

Even though First Nations representatives recognize that archaeology is seen as an obstacle to development by some municipal councillors, instead of a harmonizing community value, they still think that all governments should try to

understand and respect their communities' interest in heritage. As expressed by a First Nations chief:

I think all governments should really pay heed to what is out there and how important it is to us as a piece of our history...I think that other governments should be more respectful of that (FN-4).

To understand the importance of particular archaeological issues to local governments in the Fraser Valley, I presented the councillors with the open-ended survey question; "What role does archaeology play in contemporary issues within the Fraser Valley, British Columbia (Table 5)?" Perhaps due to the nature and/ or type of question, a substantial percentage of First Nations (N=9; 32.1%) and municipal councillors (N=3; 15.0%) chose not to respond. In addition, a number of respondents (FN: N=7; 36.8%, MUN: N=8; 47.1%) identified more than one archaeological issue. A very strong majority of First Nations councillors highlighted treaty and jurisdictional issues (N=17; 89.5%), compared to slightly more than a quarter of municipal councillors (N=5; 29.4%). Land use issues were noted by almost half of municipal councillors (N=8; 47.1%), in contrast to far fewer First Nations representatives (N=2; 10.5%). Cultural and educational issues were identified among First Nations (N=3; 15.8%) and municipal (N=5; 29.4%) councillors, followed by slightly less representatives (FN: N=2; 10.5%, MUN: N=4; 23.5%) who outlined archaeological management issues as key concerns. The level of archaeology's role in the Fraser Valley was prominently described by municipal representatives (N=10; 58.8%), with most (N=6; 35.3%) indicating a nominal role for archaeology. In contrast, all First

Nations councillors who noted the level of archaeology's role in the Fraser Valley think that it has an important one (N=4; 21.1%).

The majority of First Nations councillors associate archaeology with treaty and jurisdictional issues, because they think that archaeology is necessary for verifying their long-standing occupation to the courts and external governments, for the purpose of signing contemporary treaties (FN-1, FN-2, FN-5, FN-6, FN-8, FN-12). As seen previously, municipal councils may be more likely to understate the importance of archaeological issues because archaeology is often viewed as a competing interest and obstacle to development (MUN-5, MUN-7, MUN-9). These perspectives held by First Nations and municipal councillors illustrate the diverse range of opinions over archaeology and contemporary heritage issues in the Fraser Valley.

Table 5: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "What role does archaeology play in contemporary issues within the Fraser Valley, British Columbia?"

Category of Responses	FN (N=19*)	FN (%)	MUN (N=17*)	MUN (%)
I Land Use Issues <i>Total:</i>	2	10.5	8	47.1
Land use planning	1	5.3		
Land tenure			1	5.9
Development/ industry (economy)	1	5.3	7	41.2
II Treaty/ Jurisdictional Issues <i>Total:</i>	17	89.5	5	29.4
Evidence of Aboriginal history/ life ways	9	47.4		
Official documentation/ leverage	5	26.3		
Aboriginal rights and title	1	5.3		
Treaty/ land claim negotiations	2	10.5	5	29.4
III Management Issues <i>Total:</i>	2	10.5	4	23.5
Identifying/ surveying sites	1	5.3	1	5.9
Protection/ preservation of sites	1	5.3	2	11.8
Over-protection of sacred sites			1	5.9
IV Cultural/ Educational Issues <i>Total:</i>	3	15.8	5	29.4
Awareness of Aboriginal culture & history	2	10.5	1	5.9
Education/ interest in heritage	1	5.3	2	11.8
Connects people to and respects past			2	11.8
V Future Issues <i>Total:</i>	1	5.3	1	5.9
Planning for the future	1	5.3	1	5.9
VI Level of Role <i>Total:</i>	4	21.1	10	58.8
Important role	4	21.1	2	11.8
Nominal role			6	35.3
Should be more important			2	11.8
VII Other <i>Total:</i>			1	5.9
Different types of archaeological sites			1	5.9

* Note: 19 First Nations and 17 municipal councillors responded to this question; some responses fit into more than one category. Totals (N, %) of responses are provided by category.

Summary

Local governments in the Fraser Valley have both convergent and divergent perspectives regarding the relevance of archaeology. Both First Nations and municipal councillors indicate that archaeology is important to Canadian and Aboriginal societies, even though First Nations representatives collectively think that archaeology is of greater relevance to them, likely because they have much deeper roots than the general Canadian public. Both sets of local governments find that classical, historic, and pre-contact archaeology are important, however, First Nations councillors impart greater relevance to pre-contact archaeology, as they identify with it. Even though both sets of local governments think that the general public, developers, and resource industries do not find archaeology important, they have differing perspectives on the relevance of heritage to their own communities. Generally, First Nations representatives think that archaeology is highly relevant to Aboriginal peoples, as they are culturally connected to their heritage sites and value its role in treaty and land claim negotiations and jurisdictional issues.

In addition, numerous First Nations councillors view archaeology as being intricately linked to other issues, and necessary for the overall health and wellness of their communities. Municipal representatives, however, suggest that archaeology is less important to their councils because they do not identify with it culturally and thus, primarily view archaeology as an obstacle to local development. These divergent perspectives are further exhibited by a number of municipal councillors who think that archaeology plays a nominal role in the

Fraser Valley, perhaps due to perceived indifference among their residents.

While both First Nations and municipal government representatives indicate that archaeology is generally relevant to society as a whole, they hold diverse perspectives on its degree of relevance for their own communities.

Knowledge

The theme of *Knowledge* provides an assessment of Fraser Valley councillors' basic understanding of the breadth and nature of archaeology. To gauge First Nations and municipal representatives' extent of knowledge on archaeological practice in British Columbia, including associated legislation and policy, I posed a series of questions on the survey (Appendix A: Survey [i.e., #4, 8, 39, 40, 41, 43]). In addition, an open-ended introductory question on the survey, asking respondents about what they immediately associate with archaeology, situated their perspectives and, in turn, the knowledge of local government representatives (#1, Appendix A: Survey). A single question in the interview (#8, Appendix B: Interview), directed at First Nations representatives, inquired about their knowledge of archaeological laws on reservations. Since First Nations and municipal councillors' knowledge of archaeology may influence their decisions on archaeological heritage, assessing their responses to these questions is crucial for community heritage management.

Local government representatives immediately associate archaeology with a wide variety of scientific, cultural, and political topics. When councillors were asked what they think of when they hear word "archaeology", the vast majority of First Nations (N=26; 92.9%) and municipal (N=19; 95.0%) representatives

responded (Table 6). Also, in this opening question to the survey, many councillors (FN: N=17; 65.4%, MUN: N=15; 78.9%) provided more than one answer, associating archaeology with multiple topics. Both First Nations (N=31; 119.2%) and municipal councillors (N=24; 126.3%) very strongly exhibit a conventional, or scientific, view of what archaeology is by referring to artifacts, sites, excavations, and the study of ancient civilizations, with many individual councillors identifying most of these sub-categories. A substantial number of First Nations councillors, however, immediately link archaeology with their communities and view it as evidence of their long history and life ways (N=12; 46.2%), while five (26.3%) municipal councillors associate the archaeological past with Aboriginal people. Archaeology is even perceived as being embedded in red tape or as an obstacle to development, by three municipal representatives (15.8%). Overall, local governments in the Fraser Valley have a relatively conventional, scientific perspective of archaeology, even though many First Nations councillors identify culturally, and even personally, with the archaeological past.

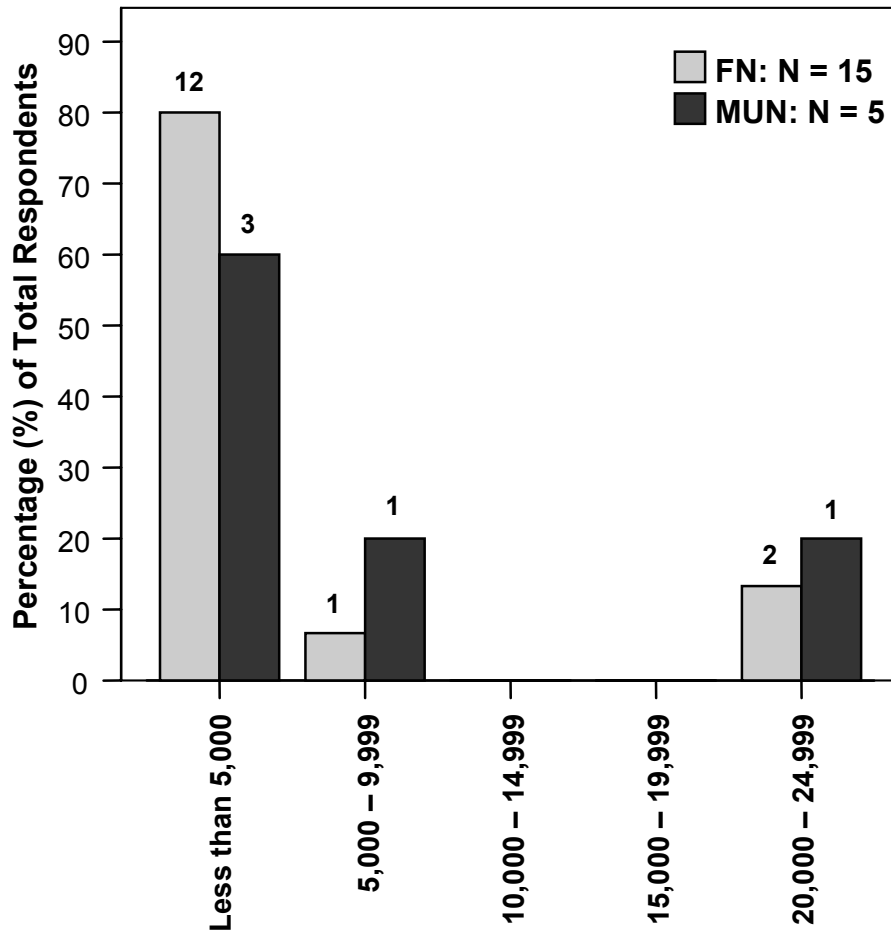
Table 6: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "What do you think of when you hear the word "archaeology"?" Based on Pokotylo and Guppy (1999:402).

Category	FN (N=26*)	FN (%)	MUN (N=19*)	MUN (%)
I Romantic perspective <i>Total:</i>			1	5.3
Indiana Jones			1	5.3
II Conventional/ scientific perspective <i>Total:</i>	31	119.2	24	126.3
Excavations	4	15.4	4	21.1
Study past, ancient society, civilizations	14	53.8	6	31.6
Study past using arch. record, methods			3	15.8
Artifacts, sites, ruins, human remains	13	50.0	11	57.9
III Broad/ general perspective <i>Total:</i>	5	19.2	10	52.6
Past cultures			2	10.5
Antiquity, history, heritage	5	19.2	7	36.8
Science, research			1	5.3
IV Earth science perspective <i>Total:</i>	1	3.8	1	5.3
Paleontology	1	3.8	1	5.3
V Aboriginal perspectives <i>Total:</i>	12	46.2	5	26.3
First Nations peoples	3	11.5	2	10.5
Evidence of Aboriginal history/ life ways	9	34.6	3	15.8
VI Collective perspective <i>Total:</i>			2	10.5
Our cultural heritage			1	5.3
Value our collective past			1	5.3
VI Political perspectives <i>Total:</i>			3	15.8
Obstacle/ red tape			3	15.8
VII Other perspectives <i>Total:</i>			2	10.5
Reference to a book			1	5.3
Learning from past mistakes			1	5.3

* Note: 26 First Nations and 19 municipal councillors responded to this question; some responses fit into more than one category. Totals (N, %) of responses are provided by category.

To understand local governments' knowledge of the magnitude of archaeology in British Columbia, I asked the survey participants to estimate the number of archaeological sites discovered in the province (Figure 13). One First Nations (3.6%) and two municipal (10.0%) councillors did not respond to the question. Of those responding, more than half of the First Nations councillors (N=15; 55.6%) and a quarter of municipal representatives (N=5; 27.8%) provided a numerical answer for the number of B.C. archaeological sites, while the remaining councillors gave a qualitative, or descriptive, response. With approximately 23,000 registered archaeological sites in British Columbia (B.C. 2008a), only two First Nations councillors (13.3%) and one municipal representative (20.0%) provided a number which fell into an accurate range for sites; 20,000-24,999.

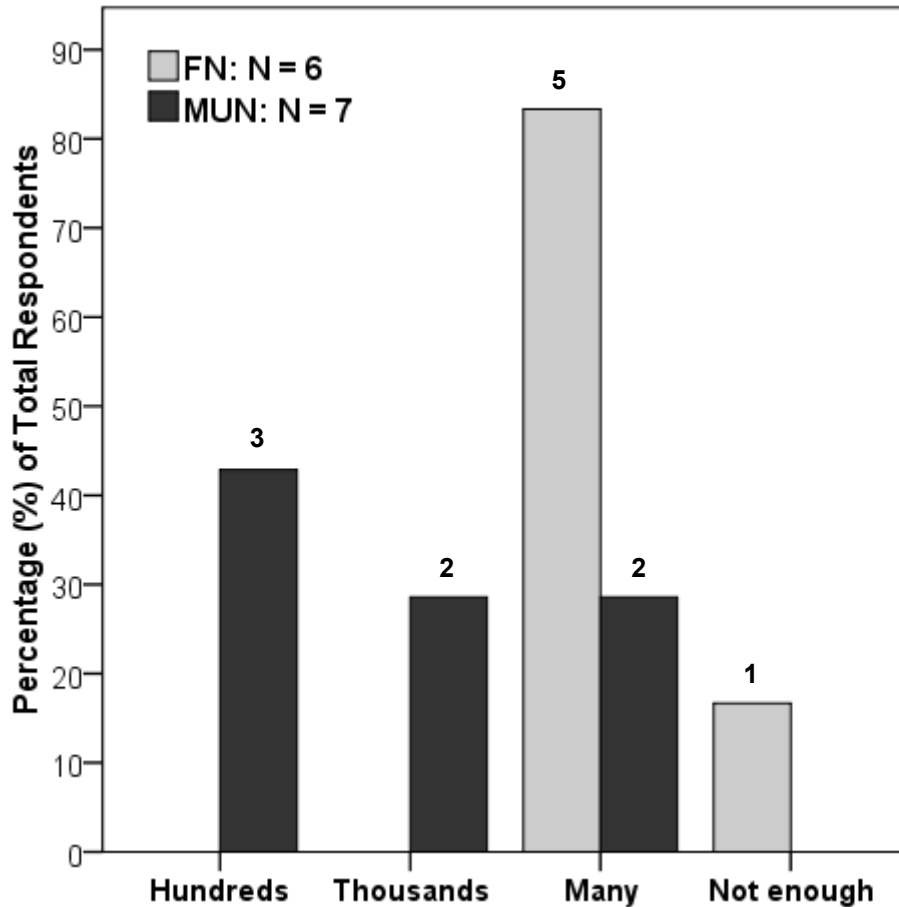
Figure 13: First Nations (FN) municipal (MUN) councillors' quantitative responses to "How many archaeological sites do you think have been discovered in British Columbia?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



The majority of First Nations (N=12; 80.0%) and municipal councillors (N=3; 60.0%) giving a quantitative answer largely underestimated the number of sites in British Columbia at less than 5,000. First Nations representatives (N=15; 55.6%) gave responses from '10' to '23,000', with an average number of 3,907 and a relatively low median of 500 sites. Municipal councillors (N=5; 27.8%) expressed a slightly smaller range, from '75' to '20,000', with an average number of 5,115 and an even lower median of 300 sites. For those who gave a qualitative response, most First Nations (N=6; 50.0%) and municipal councillors

(N=6; 46.2%) indicated that they did not know the number of B.C. archaeological sites, and were removed from further analysis of the question. Although vague, “many” was a common qualitative response among First Nations (N=5; 83.3%) and municipal (N=2; 28.6%) councillors, with “hundreds” (N=3; 42.9%) and “thousands” (N=2; 28.6%) indicated by municipal representatives, and “not enough”, written in by one (16.7%) First Nations councillor (Figure 14). Based on these responses, both sets of local governments in the Fraser Valley do not have an accurate understanding of the magnitude of the archaeological record across British Columbia. By underestimating the prevalence of archaeological sites within their communities, local governments may be contributing to the perspective that archaeology is an insignificant issue. This misconception about the number of archaeological sites also suggests that most local leaders may not be sufficiently knowledgeable to manage archaeological heritage under their jurisdictions.

Figure 14: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ qualitative responses to “How many archaeological sites do you think have been discovered in British Columbia? Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



In addition to addressing the scope of B.C. archaeology, I also aimed to assess local governments’ knowledge of the antiquity of First Peoples in the province. When asked the question, “When do you think the first people arrived in what we know today as B.C.?”, most municipal councillors (N=12; 75.0%) who responded (four did not; 20.0%) provided a numerical response while a strong majority of First Nations representatives (N=24; 88.9%) gave a qualitative answer. Councillors had the option of writing a numerical or descriptive answer, or selecting a box labelled, “Time immemorial”. For those who gave a numerical

response, only two (66.7%) First Nations representatives and four (33.3%) municipal councillors provided an answer within the current, scientifically accepted range for the origins of B.C.'s first peoples; 10,000 to 12,500 years ago (McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004; Schaepe 2001) (Figure 15). One (4.2%) First Nations councillor commented about the question, so their response is not included in any further analysis. The vast majority of First Nations representatives (N=23; 95.8%) who provided qualitative responses think that people have been in the province since time immemorial, in addition to three (75.0%) municipal councillors (Figure 16). Only one (4.2%) First Nations councillor referred to the "Ice Age" and one (25.0%) municipal representative wrote "thousands of years ago." Although Fraser Valley local government representatives do not seem to be very knowledgeable about the numerical antiquity of British Columbia's archaeological heritage, the majority of First Nations councillors indicate that their ancestors have lived here since time immemorial, holding traditional beliefs on their origins.

Figure 15: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' quantitative responses to "When do you think the first people arrived in what we know today as B.C.?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.

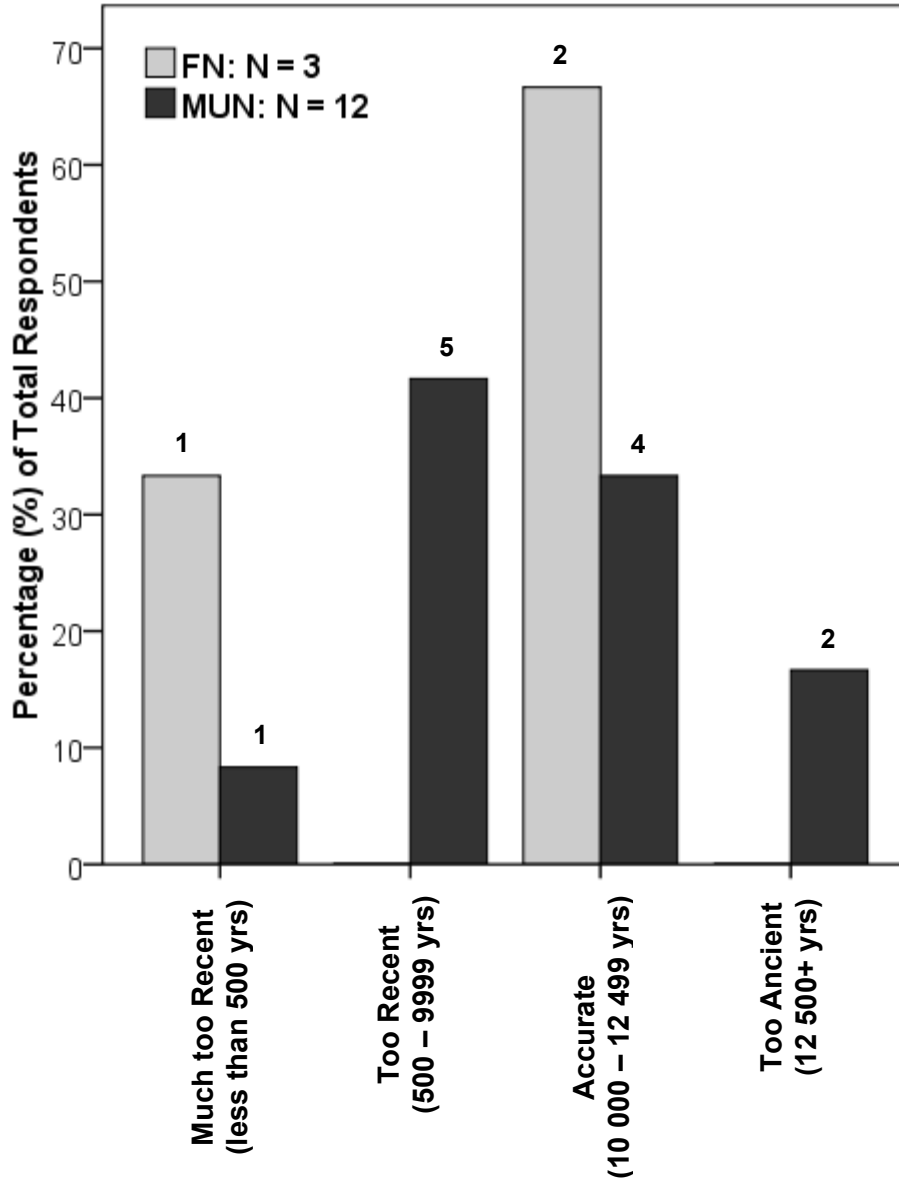
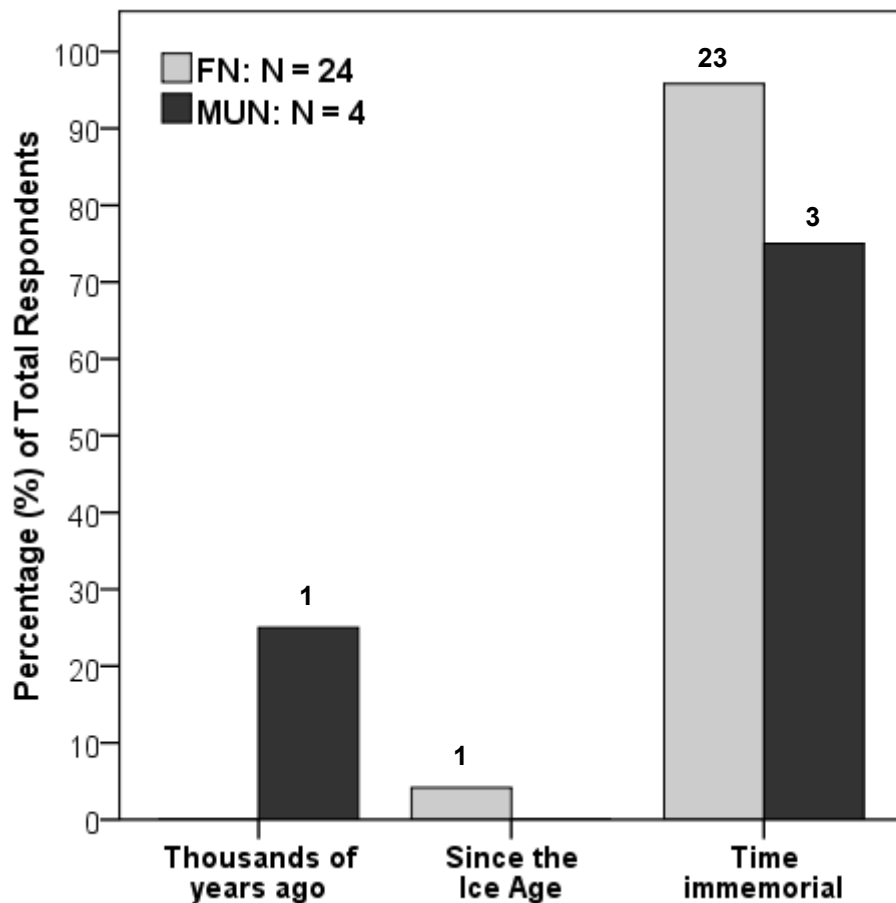


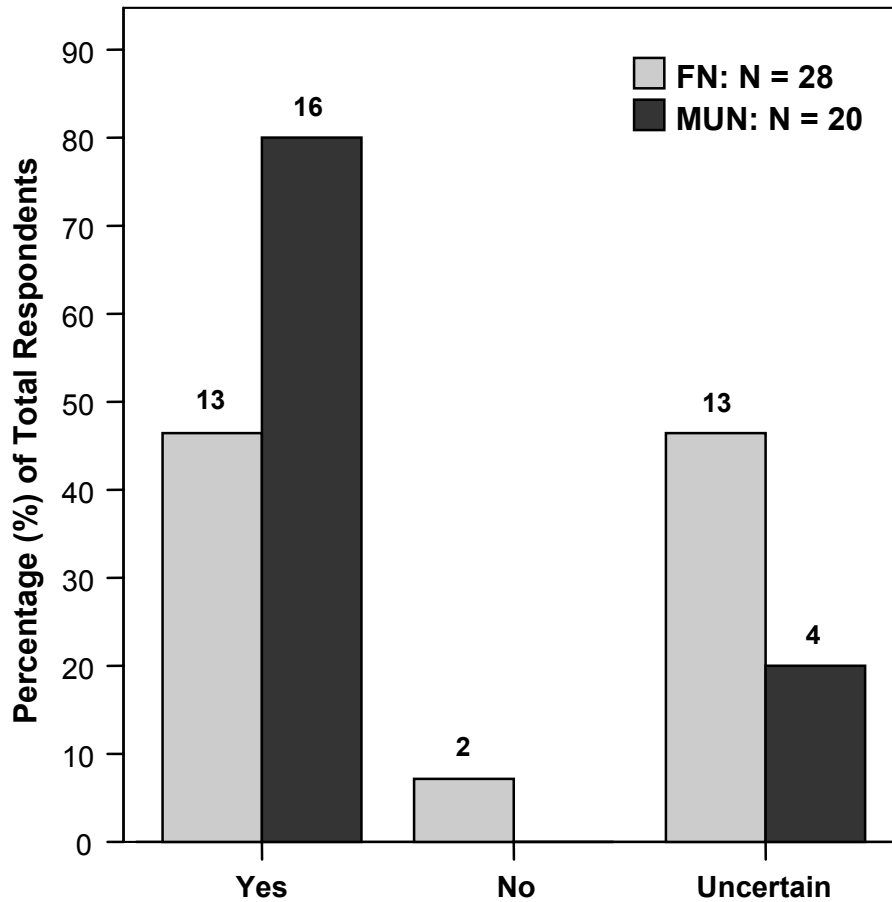
Figure 16: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ qualitative responses to “When do you think the first people arrived in what we know today as B.C.?” Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Local governments’ knowledge of archaeological legislation may also provide insights into their perspectives regarding the treatment of local archaeological heritage. When asked if there are laws to protect archaeological sites, more municipal (N=16; 80.0%) than First Nations councillors (N=13; 46.4%) stated that laws exist, while a substantial number of representatives (FN: N=13; 46.4%, MUN: N=4; 20.0%) are uncertain (Figure 17). Only two (7.1%) First Nations representatives believe that there are no laws to protect archaeological heritage. Although the B.C. government’s *Heritage Conservation Act* (B.C. 1996a) is meant to protect archaeological sites on non-federal land in

the province, archaeological heritage on First Nations reservations is exempt from this legislation. Perhaps First Nations councillors' uncertainty over archaeological law stems from a lack of formal legislation protecting archaeological heritage on their reservations. As discussed in the interviews, many First Nations councillors think that the same law protecting sites outside their reservations should also apply to archaeological heritage within their reservations (FN-2, FN-5, FN-6, FN-7, FN-10, FN-11, FN-12). Although First Nations councillors recognize the value of local heritage policies, such as the *Stó:lō Heritage Policy Manual* (Stó:lō Nation 2003) and the Chehalis Band's *Cultural Heritage Resources Policy* (Chehalis Indian Band 2001), these currently do not have the legal backbone to make them enforceable, in comparison to provincial law. For this question, the word "law" may have also been interpreted by some respondents, specifically First Nations councillors, as Aboriginal law regarding archaeological sites rather than provincial or federal government legislation, due to the strong presence of Aboriginal heritage policies in the Fraser Valley.

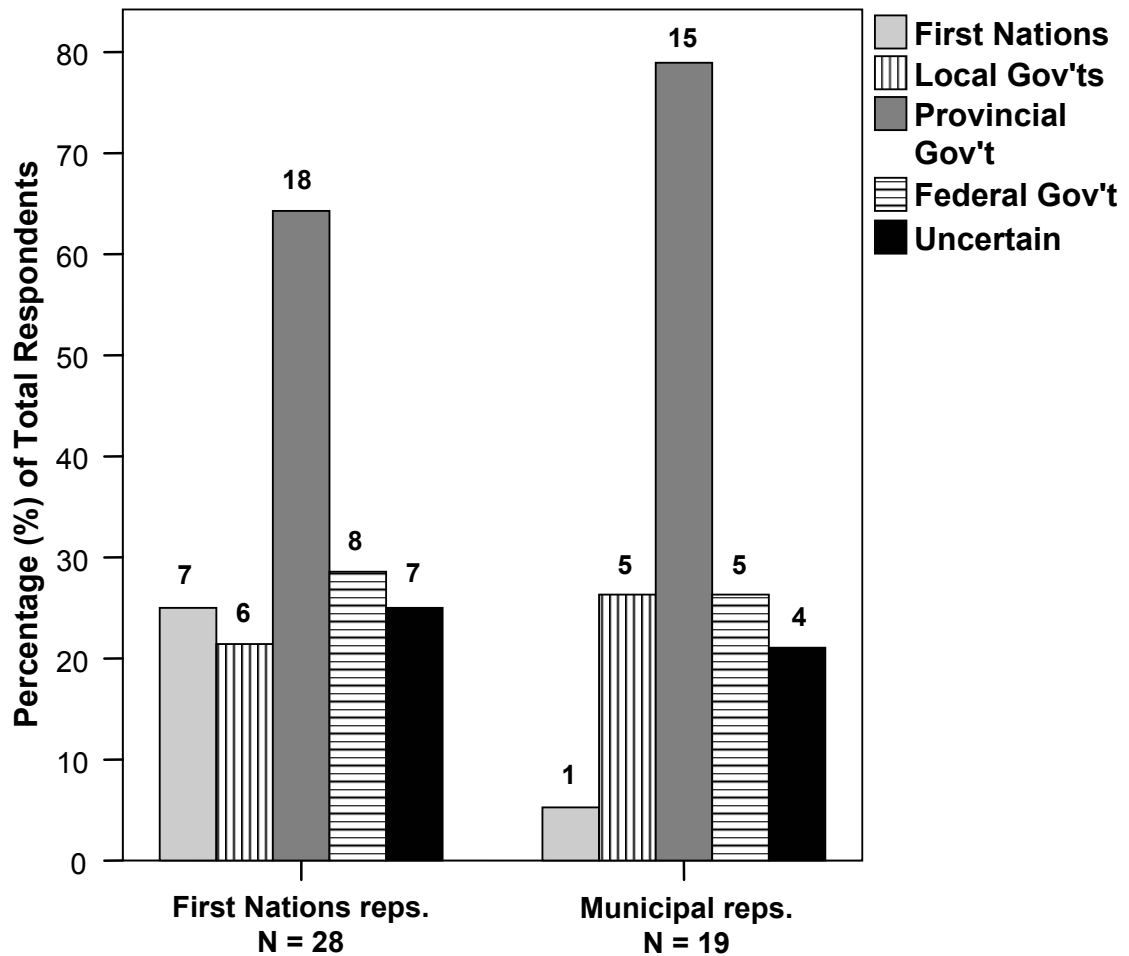
Figure 17: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "Are there laws that protect archaeological sites?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



While most local government representatives think that there are laws to protect archaeological sites, I also asked participants to identify the body (or bodies) who develops and administers legislation in British Columbia. Only one municipal councillor (5.0%), whose response is not included in the analysis, did not identify any of the bodies listed yet stated that the regional districts make laws to protect archaeological heritage. Given the option to select one or more bodies, the majority of First Nations (N=18; 64.3%) and municipal councillors (N=15; 78.9%) think that the provincial government develops laws for

archaeological heritage (Figure 18). Approximately a quarter of First Nations and municipal councillors also indicate that the federal government (FN: N=8; 28.6%, MUN: N=5; 26.3%) and local governments (FN: N=6; 21.4%, MUN: N=5; 26.3%) develop legislation for sites on non-federal land in B.C. In addition, a quarter of First Nations councillors (N=7; 25.0%) think that their own communities develop laws while only one municipal representative (5.3%) agrees, revealing divergent perspectives between the two governments on Aboriginal heritage law. Although a substantial number of First Nations (N=7; 25.0%) and municipal representatives (N=4; 21.1%) are uncertain about who is responsible for developing and administering laws for archaeological heritage in British Columbia, the majority of councillors correctly identify the provincial government as holding legislative jurisdiction.

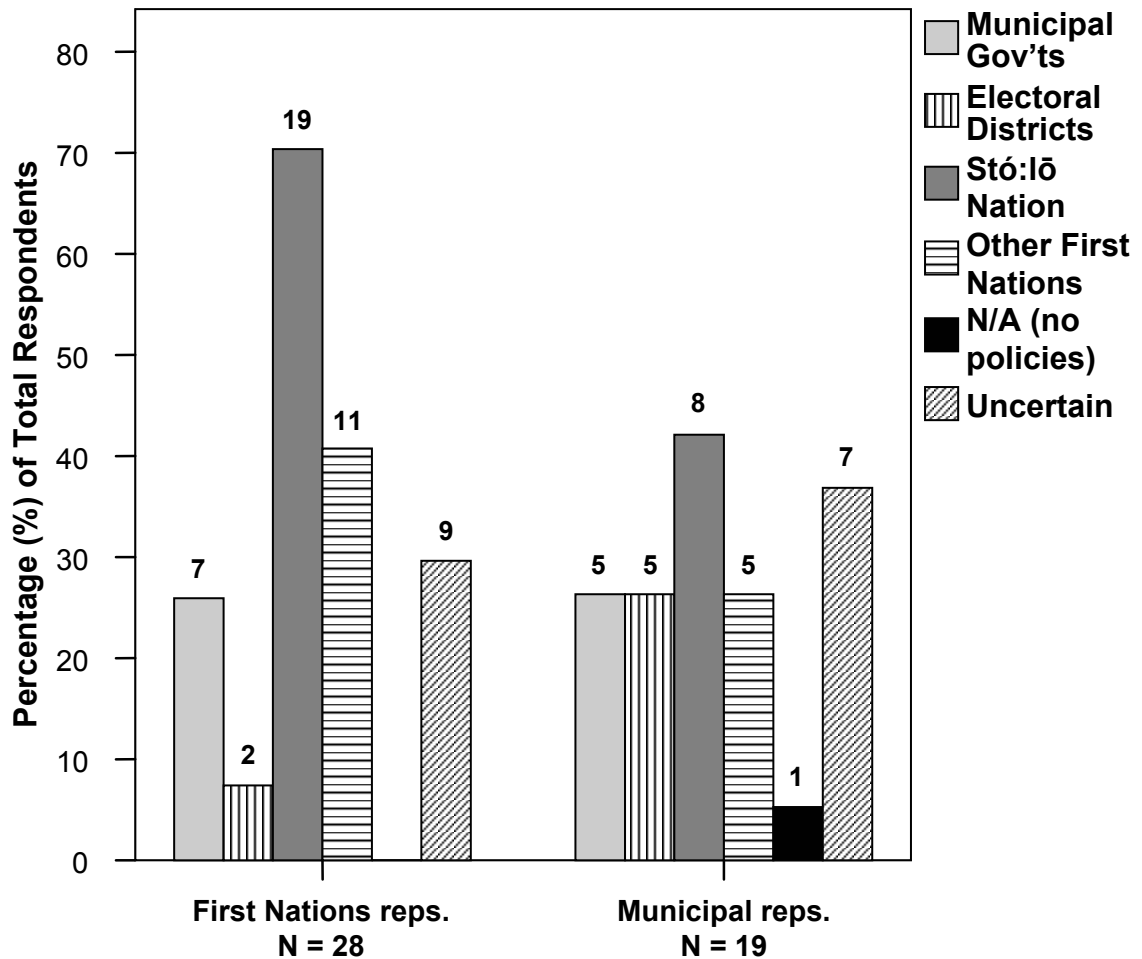
Figure 18: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "Who develops and administers heritage laws for archaeological sites, on non-federal land, in B.C.?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



To assess if councillors understand the extent of heritage protection measures within their own communities, participants were asked to identify the creators of archaeological heritage policies in the Fraser Valley. Once again, only one municipal councillor (5.0%), whose response is not included in the analysis, did not identify any of the options listed yet thinks that the regional districts make policies to protect archaeological heritage. Given the option to select one or more bodies, most First Nations councillors (N=19; 67.9%) and municipal representatives (N=8; 42.1%) think that Stó:lō Nation develops and

administers a heritage policy (Figure 19). Some First Nations (N=11; 39.3%) and municipal representatives (N=5; 26.3%) also indicate that other First Nations, outside of Stó:lō Nation, develop policies. A proportion of municipal councillors think that their own governments as well as electoral districts create archaeological heritage policies in the Fraser Valley (N=5; 26.3% each). Approximately one third of First Nations (N=9; 32.1%) and municipal representatives (N=7; 36.8%) are uncertain about who develops local policies.

Figure 19: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "In the Fraser Valley, who develops and administers archaeological heritage policies?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Both First Nations and municipal councillors are correct for selecting Stó:lō Nation (currently the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre) and other First Nations as groups who develop archaeological heritage policies in the Fraser Valley. Although Fraser Valley municipalities and electoral districts currently do not have any formal archaeological heritage policies (even though some may be in the process of being developed) perhaps some councillors were referring to informal protocol used at the local level. Although more First Nations than municipal councillors are aware of Stó:lō Nation and other First Nations' heritage policies, both sets of local governments are largely uninformed about archaeological heritage protection measures in the Fraser Valley. This result suggests that both First Nations and municipal governments would benefit from dialogue with each other, regarding the variety of existing, and developing, archaeological heritage policies in the Fraser Valley.

Summary

Local governments in the Fraser Valley have both divergent and convergent levels of knowledge regarding archaeology in British Columbia. A key divergence stems from differences in world view on archaeology between First Nations and municipal councillors. While most municipal and some First Nations representatives associate archaeology with its *practice*, a substantial number of First Nations councillors identify with the *meaning* of archaeology to their communities as evidence of their deep history and relationship to the landscape. This divide in world view is further exhibited by diverse perspectives on the origins of British Columbia's First Peoples. The vast majority of municipal

councillors ascribe a date to the peopling of the province, viewing archaeology as a science about antiquity. First Nations representatives, however, understand that their ancestors have been here since time immemorial, perceiving archaeology as a way of exploring their own timeless past. These divergent world views on archaeology need to be recognized by First Nations and non-Aboriginal communities in the Fraser Valley, when engaging in discussions on heritage issues.

In general, both sets of local governments in the Fraser Valley are relatively unaware about the antiquity and magnitude of archaeological heritage across British Columbia. However, the majority of First Nations and municipal councillors are knowledgeable about the province's legislation for protecting archaeological heritage. In the Fraser Valley, First Nations councillors are more aware of heritage policies applied by their own communities, compared to municipal representatives, suggesting that more dialogue between local governments, on community heritage initiatives, is necessary.

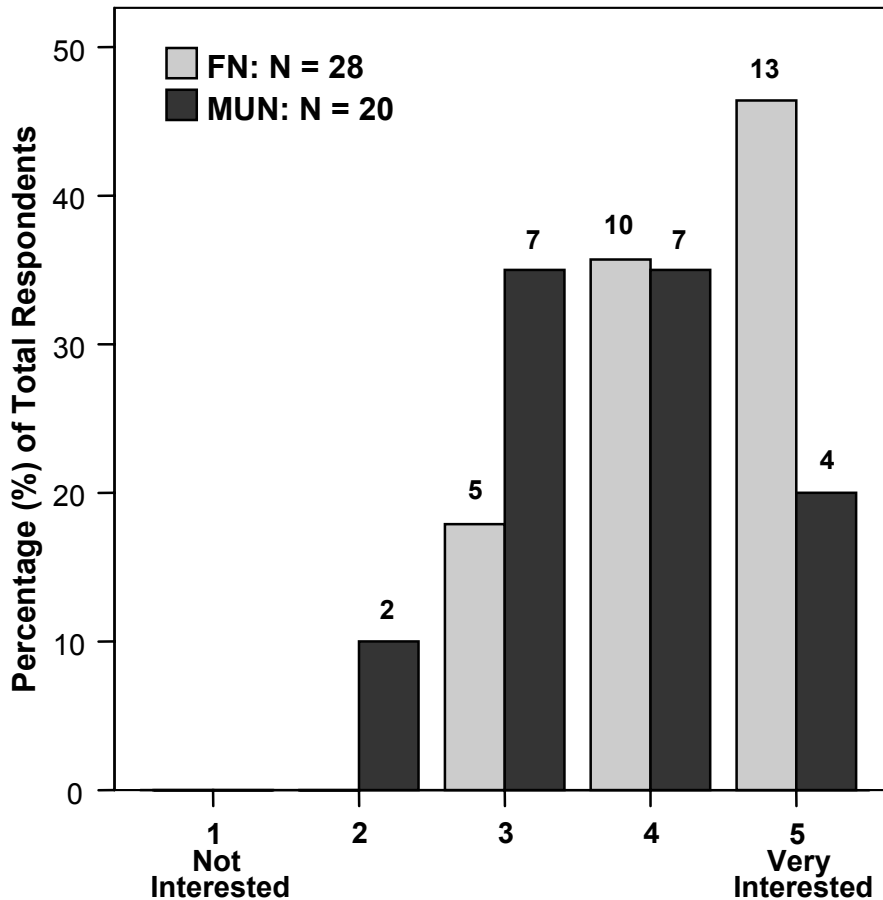
Interest and Exposure

Highlighted by responses to the survey, the theme of *Interest and Exposure* examines if local governments are interested in archaeology and have experienced archaeological heritage. Additionally, this theme explores how archaeological research can be best disseminated among local governments in the Fraser Valley. First Nations and municipal councillors addressed a series of survey questions about their interest in and exposure to archaeology (Appendix A: Survey [i.e., #9, 11, 12, 13, 14]). Interest in archaeology may seem to overlap

with perspectives on the relevance of archaeology, which was explored in the first theme. However, interest is examined in this theme under a personal lens, based on experiences, while relevance focuses on archaeology's significance to whole societies. Since local governments' interest in and exposure to archaeological heritage influences how they perceive archaeology, these opinions may affect how archaeological heritage is managed within their own communities.

The survey results show that the vast majority of local government representatives in the Fraser Valley are personally interested in archaeology. However, First Nations councillors (N=23; 82.1%) are substantially more interested in the past than municipal councillors (N=11; 55.0%), based on the selection of the top two ranks of a 5-point scale (Figure 20). Not a single respondent circled the first rank, "not interested", indicating that local governments in the Fraser Valley have some level of interest in archaeology. The average response for First Nations councillors is 4.3, in comparison to 3.7 for municipal representatives, reinforcing the perception that First Nations governments are more interested in archaeology than municipal councils. This is likely due to First Nations' personal connection to pre-contact heritage and the political value of archaeology for treaty and land claim negotiations, as discussed under the previous theme and seen in the interviews (FN-1, FN-4, FN-5, FN-6, FN-7, FN-8, FN-12).

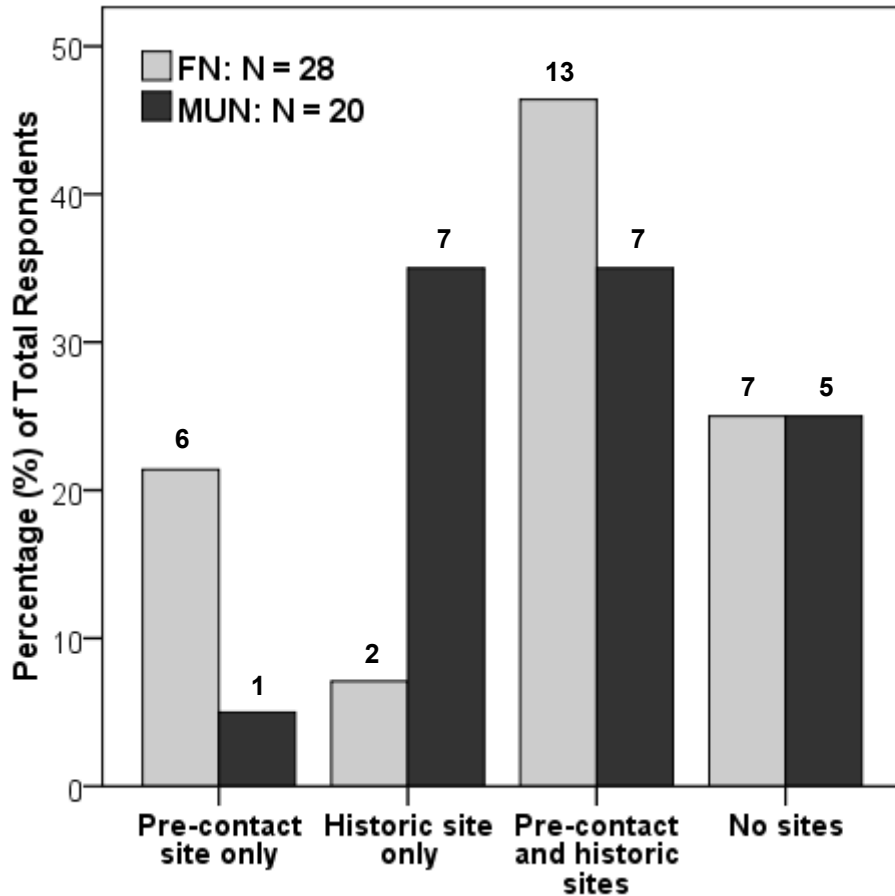
Figure 20: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "How interested are you in archaeology?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



The exposure of local governments to different types of archaeology in the Fraser Valley may impact their perspectives of local heritage. Councillors were asked if they had visited pre-contact and/ or historic archaeological sites in the Fraser Valley in the last ten years (Figure 21). Less than a quarter of First Nations representatives (N=6; 21.4%) and one (5.0%) Municipal councillor have only visited pre-contact sites, while two (7.1%) First Nations councillors and slightly more than one-third of municipal representatives (35.0%) have only experienced historic archaeological heritage. More First Nations representatives

(N=13; 46.4%) have been to both pre-contact and historic archaeological sites than municipal councillors (N=7; 35.0%), perhaps indicating that First Nations councils are more likely to have a well-rounded, informed perspective on local archaeology. However, a quarter of both First Nations (N=7; 25.0%) and municipal representatives (N=5; 25.0%) have not visited either a pre-contact or historic archaeological site in the past ten years. Aside from those First Nations (and fewer municipal) representatives who have experience with different types of archaeological heritage, these results indicate that a substantial number of First Nations and municipal councillors have primarily visited archaeological sites reflecting their own heritage. Whether these experiences indicate personal interest or even opportunity to visit archaeological sites, the extent of community representatives' exposure to different types of archaeology may have implications for the categories of heritage that are defined and included, and therefore protected, in local measures and policies.

Figure 21: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' visitation of pre-contact and historic archaeological sites. Compiled from responses to "Within the last ten years, have you visited a local pre-contact archaeological site, such as Xá:ytem?" and "Within the last ten years, have you visited a local historic archaeological site, such as Fort Langley?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Even though local governments should be aware of archaeological heritage within their communities, archaeologists working in the area also have a responsibility to share their research with First Nations and municipalities. To determine some of the best methods for the dissemination of research, the representatives were asked to rate the effectiveness of six different ways of obtaining local archaeological research, on a 5-point scale (Table 7, Figure 22). From calculating the mean rank of these methods, both First Nations and

municipal councillors think that archaeological site visits and presentations in council meetings are the best ways for them to learn about local heritage. Websites are also popular among First Nations representatives, as are newspapers for municipal councillors. Public lectures seem to be the most ineffective method for both sets of governments. The results indicate that personalized, face-to-face presentations at archaeological sites and in council meetings, although time consuming, are most effective for sharing heritage information with local governments. In addition, websites and newspapers presenting archaeological research may be more effective than conventional reports, and will likely reach a broader audience.

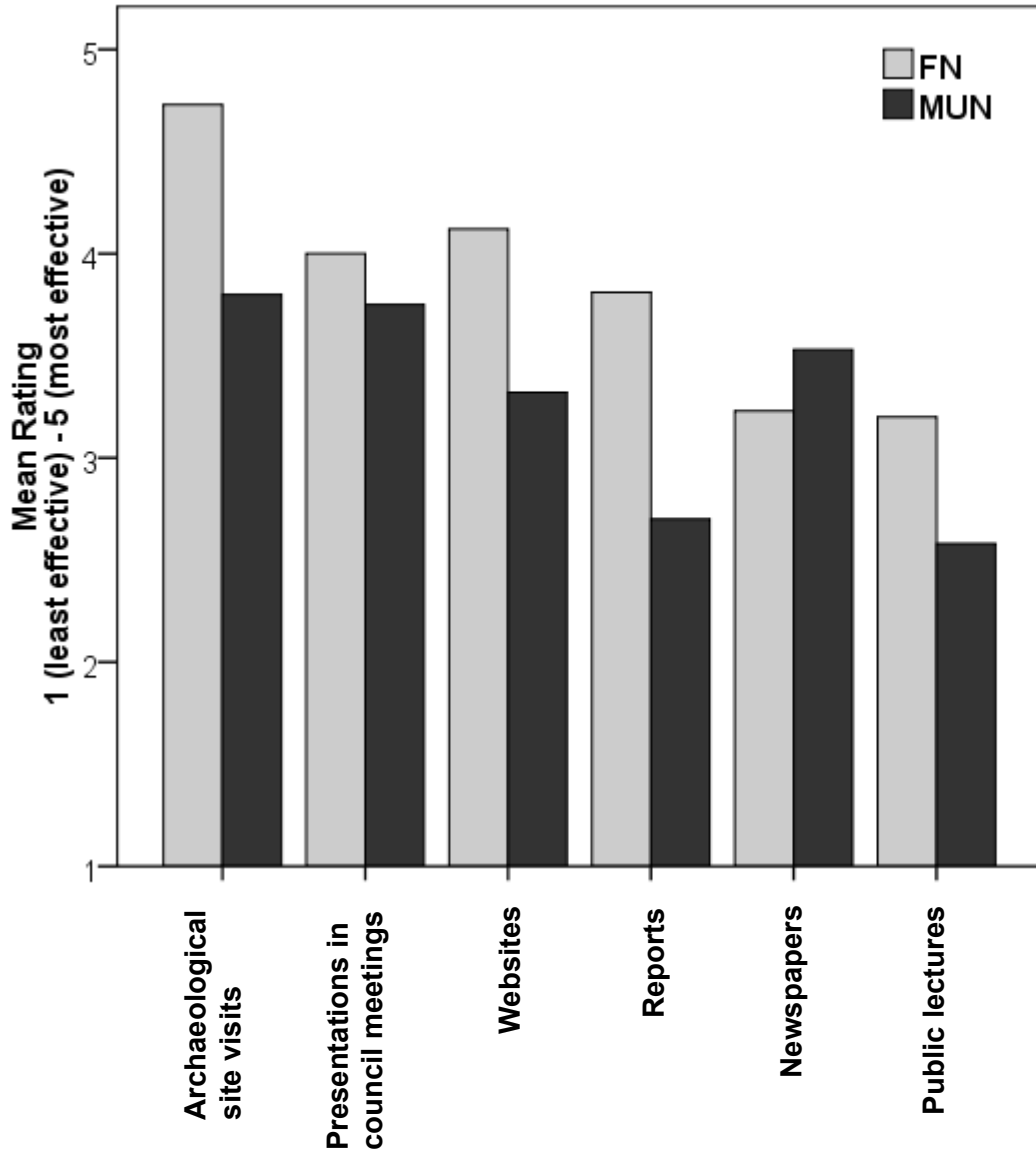
Table 7: “What are the most effective ways that archaeologists working in your community can get their research to you?” Each outreach method is ranked according to the responses of First Nations (N=28) and municipal (N=20) representatives, by average score from a scale of 1 (not effective) to 5 (very effective), and by overall rank.

OUTREACH METHOD	First Nations reps.		Municipal reps.	
	MEAN	RANK	MEAN	RANK
Archaeological site visits	4.73**	1	3.80	1
Pres. in council meetings	4.00	3	3.75	2
Websites	4.12**	2	3.32^	4
Reports	3.81*	4	2.70	5
Newspapers	3.23**	5	3.53^	3
Public lectures	3.20***	6	2.58^	6

* FN: N=27, ** FN: N=26, *** FN: N=25

^ MUN: N=19

Figure 22: “What are the most effective ways that archaeologists working in your community can get their research to you?” Each group is graphed by average score, according to the responses of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) representatives, from a scale of 1 (not effective) to 5 (very effective).



Summary

Local governments in the Fraser Valley converge on their high level of interest in archaeology, even though First Nations councillors have a slightly greater interest in heritage, likely due to their personal connection to the

archaeological past. Local government representatives have different levels of exposure to archaeological heritage, with most First Nations councillors having visited both pre-contact and historic archaeological sites, in contrast to fewer municipal representatives. Still, some First Nations representatives have only visited Aboriginal pre-contact sites while a substantial number of municipal councillors have been exposed to only historic sites, archaeology reflecting their respective heritages. As a key area of convergence, both First Nations and municipal councils think that archaeological site visits and presentations in council meetings are among the best ways to learn about local archaeology. As archaeologists, we have a responsibility to share our research with local governments and give them the opportunity to visit a wide range of heritage sites. Furthering these relationships may promote dialogue on heritage issues among and between local governments, such as the value of archaeological heritage to diverse communities in the Fraser Valley.

Value

The theme of *Value* reveals how First Nations and municipal governments in the Fraser Valley specifically view the importance of archaeological heritage for their communities. Unlike the theme of *Relevance*, which explores the importance of archaeology to societies and communities in general, *Value* focuses on particular qualities that give archaeological heritage their worth to local governments, such as cultural, educational, and political values. An array of questions on the survey examines how councillors value archaeological heritage (Appendix A: Survey [i.e., #15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 44]). A

selection of these questions, in addition to relevant excerpts from the interviews (Appendix B: Interview [i.e., #3]), are included in this section to elucidate common and conflicting values for archaeological heritage among First Nations and municipal councils in the Fraser Valley.

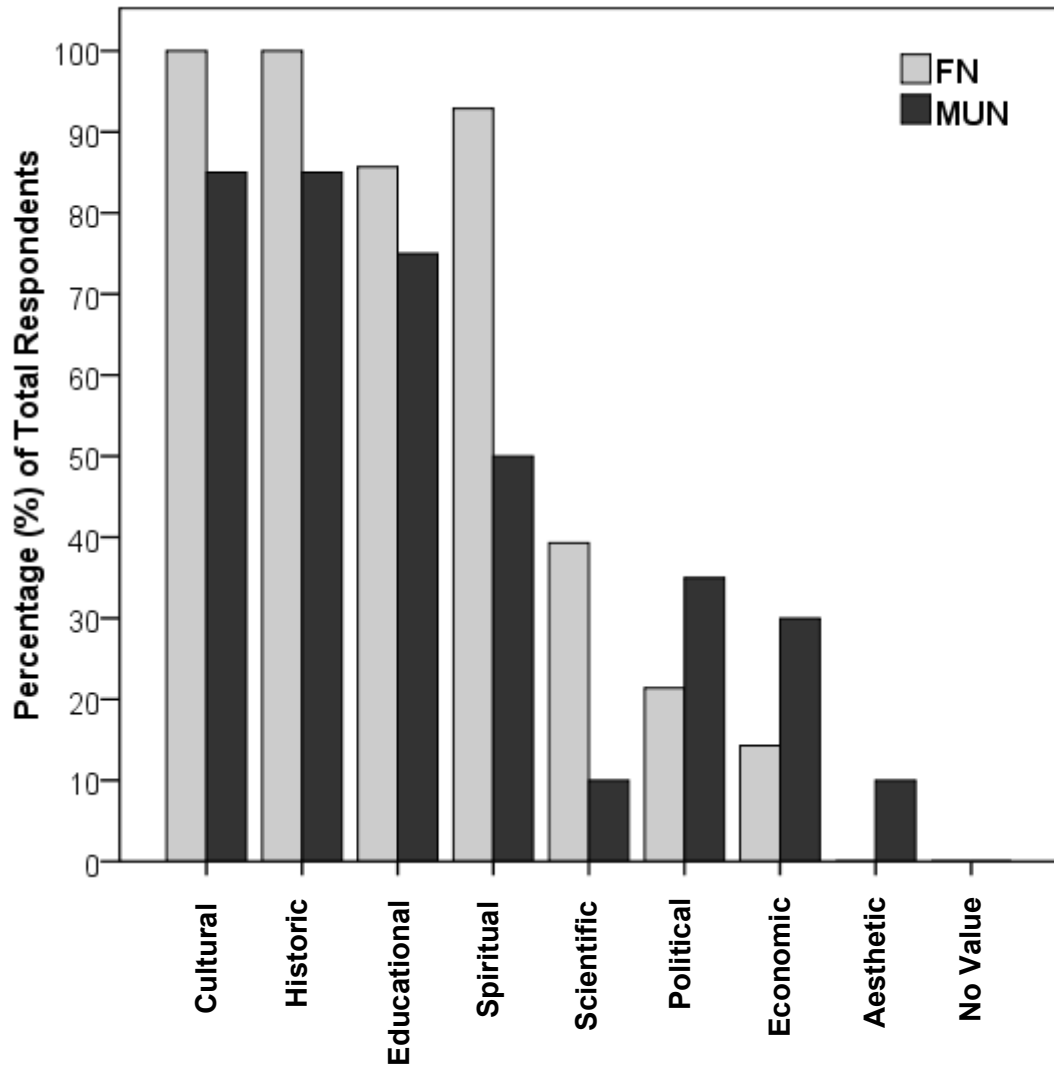
When asked to select the strongest values that local archaeological heritage has for their communities, both First Nations and municipal councillors think that archaeological sites embody strong cultural (FN: N=28; 100.0%, MUN: N=17; 85.0%), historic (FN: N=28; 100.0%, MUN: N=17; 85.0%), and educational (FN: N=24; 85.7%, MUN: N=15; 75.0%) values (Table 8, Figure 23).

Archaeological heritage also holds significant spiritual value to most First Nations councillors (N=26; 92.9%) compared to half of municipal councillors (N=10; 50%), indicating a substantial divergence in world view. A considerable number of First Nations representatives (N=11; 39.3%) also suggest that archaeological heritage has political value, likely in reference to how sites may be perceived to substantiate land claims. Few municipal councillors (N=2; 10.0%) see political value in archaeology, perhaps reflecting their lower level of awareness and involvement in Aboriginal land claims and the treaty process. Both sets of councils think that archaeology has little economic value (FN: N=4; 14.3%, MUN: N=6; 30.0%). Not a single representative selected “no value”, indicating that archaeology has some value for both sets of local governments and their respective communities. First Nations and municipal governments share a number of key values for archaeological heritage, setting a strong foundation for discussions about joint heritage management strategies in the Fraser Valley.

Table 8: “What are the strongest values that archaeological sites and artifacts have for your community?” Each archaeological value is ranked according to the percentage of First Nations (N=28) and municipal (N=20) representatives who selected it.

ARCH. VALUES	First Nations reps.		Municipal reps.	
	%	RANK	%	RANK
Cultural	100.0	1	85.0	1
Historic	100.0	1	85.0	1
Educational	85.7	3	75.0	2
Spiritual	92.9	2	50.0	3
Political	39.3	4	10.0	6
Scientific	21.4	5	35.0	4
Economic	14.3	6	30.0	5
Aesthetic	0.0	7	10.0	6
No Value	0.0	7	0.0	7

Figure 23: “What are the strongest values that archaeological sites and artifacts have for your community?” First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ could select more than one value.



Even though archaeology is perceived by both sets of local governments as having minimal economic value when compared to other values such as cultural and educational, additional survey responses suggest that economic benefits of heritage are important to Fraser Valley councillors. When asked if archaeology can contribute to the economy through tourism, the majority of First

Nations (N=22; 78.6%) and municipal councillors (N=13; 68.4%) agree or strongly agree; selecting the top two ranks on a 5-point scale (Figure 24). Only one municipal representative (5.0%) did not respond to the question. In addition, the statement, “Through tourism ventures, archaeology can create jobs for local residents”, was strongly endorsed by both First Nations (N=26; 92.9%) and municipal representatives (N=15; 75.0%) (Figure 25). Based on these survey results, local governments in the Fraser Valley appear to be supportive of economic initiatives involving archaeological heritage, with First Nations councils being the most enthusiastic. Although First Nations and municipal councillors did not initially view archaeology as an economic benefit for their communities, they recognize the potential value of local archaeological tourism and employment generated through this industry, when specifically asked about these initiatives.

Figure 24: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to the statement "Archaeology can be a viable part of our local economy through cultural tourism." Responses are on a scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree. Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.

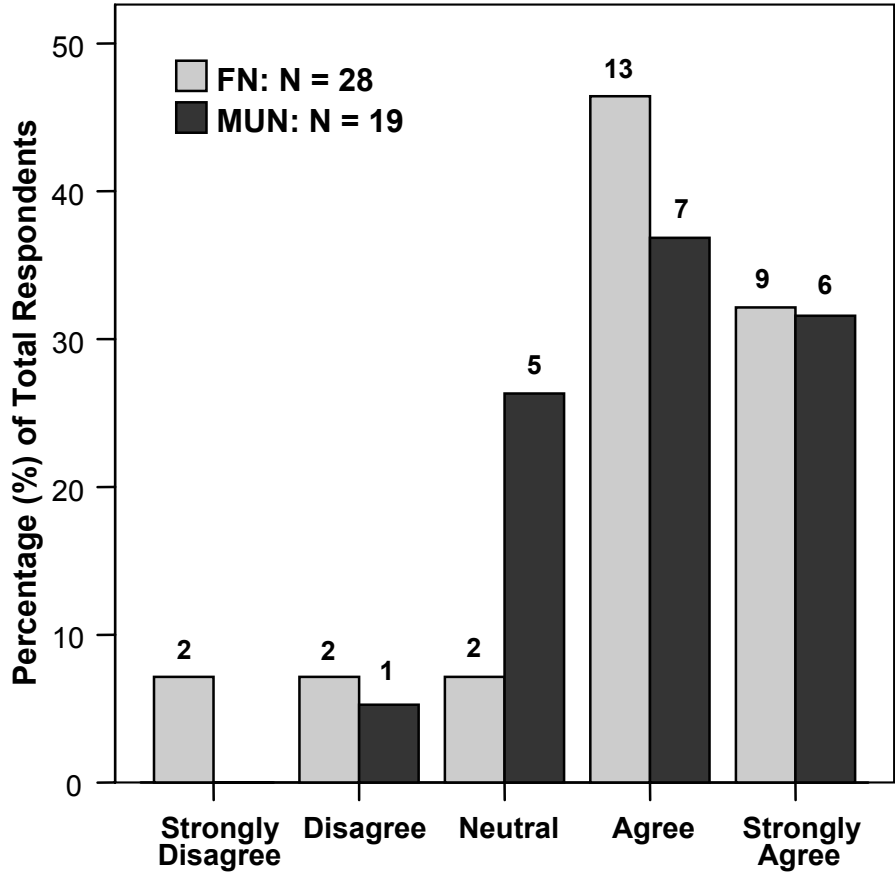
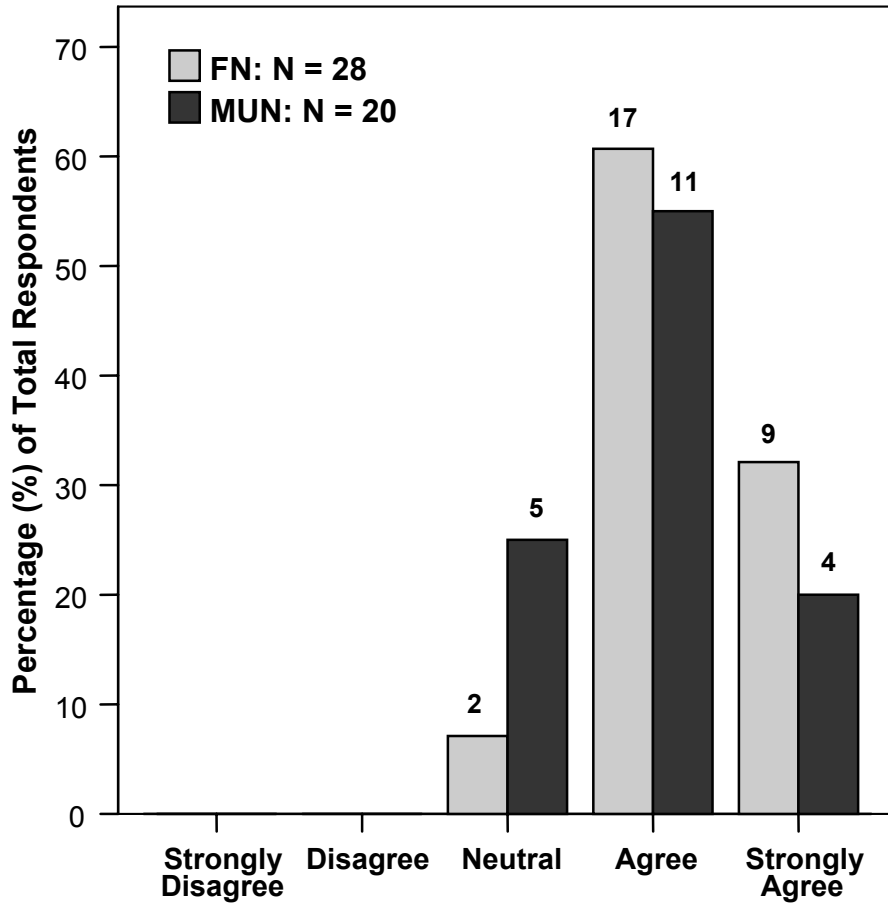


Figure 25: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to the statement "Through tourism ventures, archaeology can create jobs for local residents." Responses are on a scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree. Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Interviews with local government representatives have also provided insights into the economic potential of archaeology. As a municipal councillor enthusiastically stated:

I think if we were to manage to open up some archaeological site, tourism will come automatically, because people today are very, very interested in the past...it would have a very, very good economic spin to our municipality (MUN-1).

Even though many councillors support archaeological tourism in the Fraser Valley, a select number of First Nations councillors expressed their concern, in the interviews, about the negative impact that tourism could have on their heritage sites and their own communities (FN-4, FN-7). A few representatives noted that some archaeological sites should not be open to the public, due to their sacred and culturally powerful properties. They emphasized that archaeological tourism, for those sites that are deemed appropriate by their Elders, leaders, and community members, would have to be managed by local First Nations and follow precise cultural protocols; respecting the sites, their ancestors, and their heritage (FN-4).

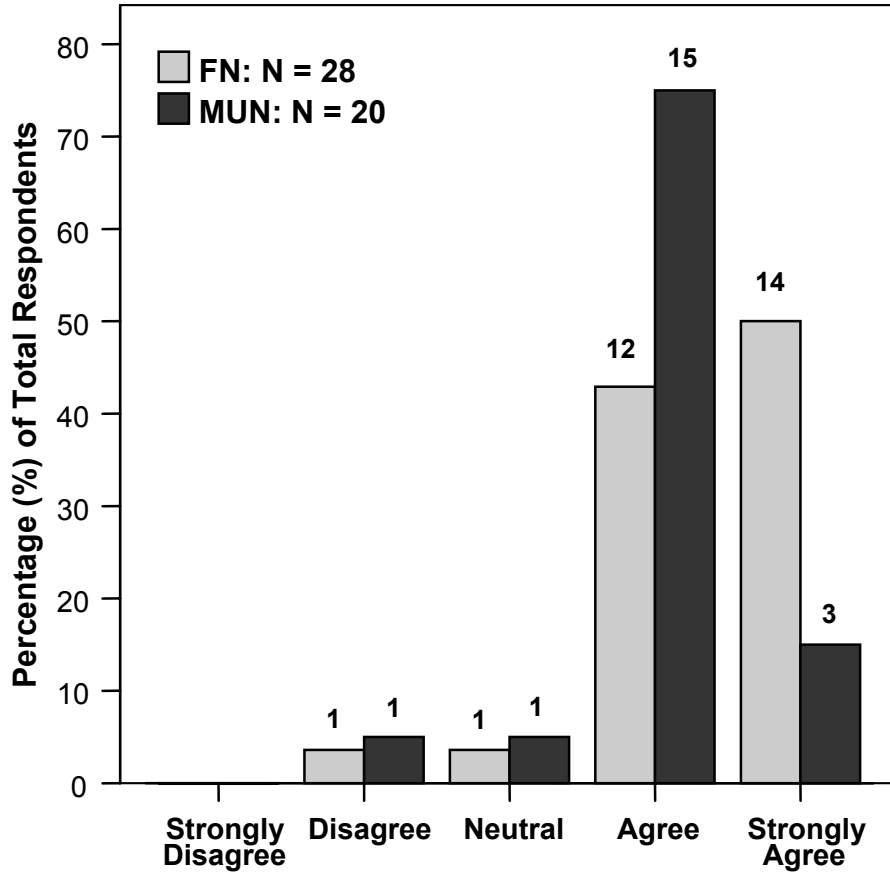
As seen in the preceding quote and in other interviews, municipal councillors have also expressed an aspiration to become involved in archaeological tourism, for the educational and economic benefits to their communities (MUN-1, MUN-3, MUN-6, MUN-11). One particular aspect of cultural tourism, expressed by both sets of local governments, is interest in a cultural centre (FN-2, FN-5, FN-6, FN-8, FN-10, FN-12, MUN-1, MUN-3, MUN-6, MUN-11), which would present the past from Aboriginal, historical, and archaeological perspectives and link the history of the region to the present peoples in the Fraser Valley. In addition to local economic benefits, both First Nations and municipal councillors think a cultural centre could educate, engage, and bring together different realms of the public, particularly younger generations who are forming their perspectives of the world around them (FN-1, MUN-1, MUN-3, MUN-4, MUN-11). As suggested by a First Nations councillor, perhaps

this method of educational outreach, in addition to mentoring programs, could encourage young Aboriginal people to become archaeologists and work for their own communities (FN-12).

To understand local governments' perception about the ability of heritage to promote respect across diverse communities, I asked councillors if learning about archaeology can lead to greater cross-cultural awareness and appreciation for cultures in the area. A very high percentage of First Nations (N=26; 92.9%) and municipal councillors (N=18; 90.0%) think that learning about archaeology promotes respect for local cultures, selecting one of the top two ranks on a 5-point scale (Figure 26). Even though both sets of local governments believe in the educational value of archaeology, First Nations councillors are significantly more supportive (Mann Whitney $U=185.0$, $p=0.024$) of archaeology's ability to increase cultural awareness than municipal councillors. According to the survey and interviews, local governments recognize that education on local archaeological heritage encourages respect, and assists in building relationships, among diverse communities in the Fraser Valley (FN-1, FN-7, FN-9, FN-12, MUN-1, MUN-3, MUN-10). As powerfully expressed by a First Nations chief:

Tourism, which is also partnered with education...can educate the public at large about us. I think it's a huge value to our young people, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and the multicultural mix that's in our communities in the Fraser Valley. I think if people understand another person's culture and background, it doesn't leave the door open to some of the prejudices that tend to creep into...people as they get older (FN-1).

Figure 26: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to the statement "Learning about local archaeology can lead to greater cross-cultural awareness and respect for other cultures in this region." Responses are on a scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree. Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Summary

First Nations and municipal governments in the Fraser Valley think that archaeological heritage has strong cultural, historic, and educational values for their communities. The degree of convergence on these values provides a solid foundation for joint heritage strategies, and may motivate future work on archaeological heritage management. Although both sets of local governments also perceive the tourism potential of archaeological heritage, many councillors

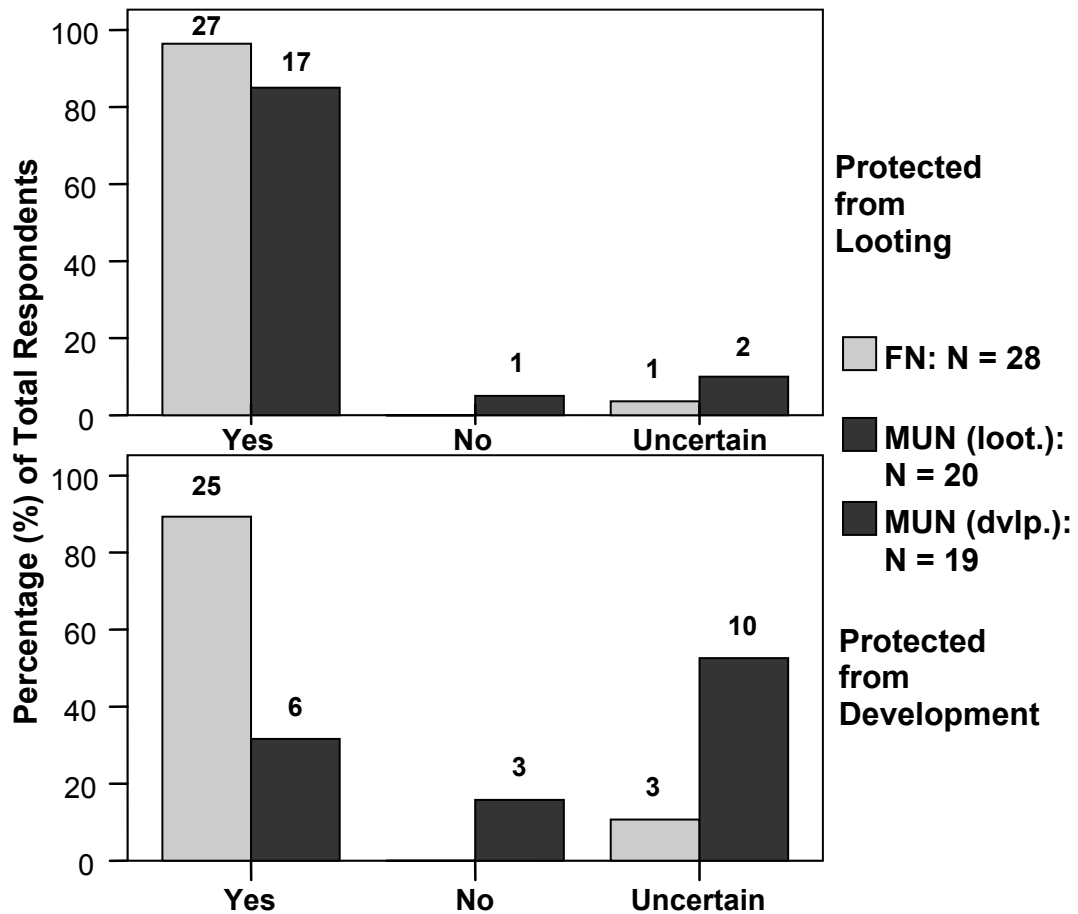
do not initially associate archaeology with economic value. In addition to bringing in revenue and employing community members, culturally appropriate archaeological tourism can educate a wide range of audiences. Both First Nations and municipal councils think that learning about archaeology can foster respect and appreciation among diverse local cultures, exhibiting yet another convergence on how local governments value archaeology. Although First Nations and municipal councillors agree on key values of archaeological heritage, their perspectives over the protection of heritage may have implications for preserving those values.

Protection Issues

How local governments view the protection of archaeological heritage not only reveals their experiences with and values for archaeology, but also their perceived influence over it. The theme of *Protection Issues* explores councillors' opinions on protecting archaeology, specifically how and what sites are impacted, their own experiences with site protection, monitoring responsibility, and penalties for destroying archaeological heritage. First Nations and municipal councillors responded to a number of questions on the survey that addressed their views on a range of archaeological protection issues (Appendix A: Survey [i.e., #27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 45, 46, 49.]). Questions in the interviews (Appendix B: Interview [i.e., #7, 8, 9, 14b,c]) further clarified councillors' perspectives from the survey, providing explanation for divergent and convergent views on the protection of archaeological heritage.

First Nations and municipal councillors have divergent perspectives on the protection of archaeological sites from looting and development. From responses on the survey, the vast majority of First Nations (N=27; 96.4%) and municipal councillors (N=17; 85.0%) indicate that archaeological sites should be protected from looting (Figure 27). One (5.0%) municipal councillor did not respond to the question which asked whether archaeological sites should be protected from development (i.e., residential, commercial, and industrial). A high percentage of First Nations councillors (N=25; 89.3%) think that archaeological sites should be protected from development, in contrast to far fewer municipal councillors (N=6; 31.6%). More than half of municipal representatives (N=10; 52.6%) are uncertain about protecting archaeological sites from development (Figure 27). First Nations representatives' support for protecting archaeological sites from development is significantly (Mann Whitney $U=117.0$, $p=0.000$) different from municipal councillors' indecisive views.

Figure 27: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ responses to “Do you think that archaeological sites should be protected from looting?” and “Do you think that archaeological sites should be protected from development?” Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Although First Nations and municipal councillors strongly think that archaeological sites should be protected from looting, local government representatives, primarily municipal councillors, are uncertain about protecting heritage sites when development is involved. Specifically addressing these results in the interviews, First Nations and municipal councillors do not support looting because they equate it with stealing and think that only an individual benefits from this activity (FN-3, MUN-3, MUN-6, MUN-9). Some councillors think that development may benefit the entire community by supporting the local

economy and is, therefore, sometimes necessary despite the potential destruction of archaeological sites (FN-8, FN-10, MUN-3, MUN-4). On the issue of looting versus development, a First Nations representative states:

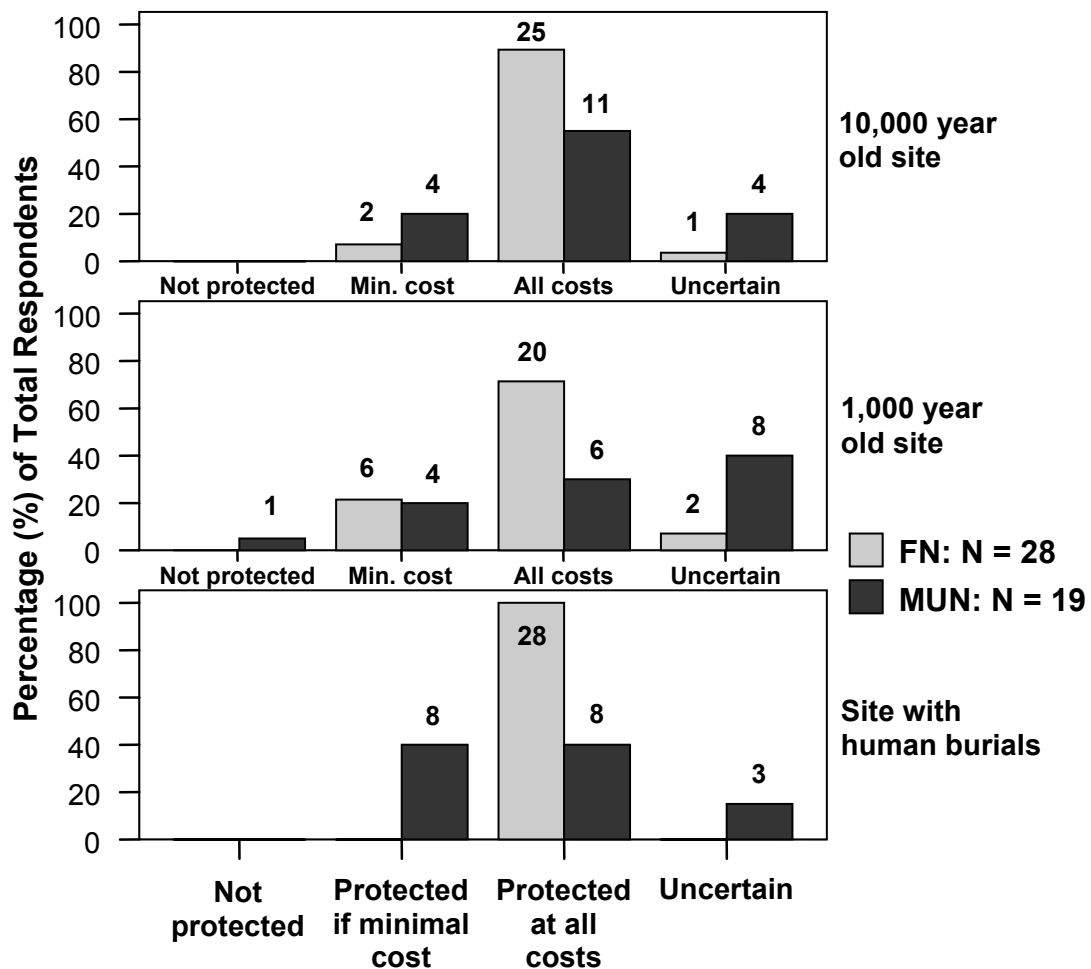
The laws need to provide some guiding principles, but I think, sometimes, development happens. We're looking at developing lands here and in the end...we'll do a lot to preserve culture and heritage. But you wouldn't want to be completely restricted (to say) if you find a site you can't develop here. You can develop huge projects while still incorporating and protecting archaeological finds or restoring sites. In terms of the looting, I think that's just a different issue. Obviously, you want to protect...your artifacts. But it gets more difficult with development. The idea comes down to balance. But I think there definitely should...be a protocol, a guiding principle...there should be some rules in place, and that seems to be what's missing (FN-10).

Although the survey results indicate that municipal councillors are much less certain about protecting archaeological heritage from development than First Nations councillors, representatives from both sets of local governments think that there needs to be balance between protecting heritage sites and responsible development.

To further explore opinions about the protection of archaeological heritage, a number of situational survey questions were posed regarding the protection of hypothetical pre-contact archaeological sites. When asked about protecting the only 10,000 year old site in the area, a vast majority of First Nations councillors indicate that it should be protected at all costs (N=25; 89.3%), in comparison to approximately half of municipal councillors (N=11; 57.9%) (Figure 28). However, when asked if this site was found to be 1,000 years old, a smaller majority of First Nations councillors think it should be protected at all

costs (N=20; 71.4%), in contrast to far fewer municipal councillors (N=6; 31.6%). Although approximately one fifth of First Nations (N=6; 21.4%) and municipal councillors (N=4; 21.1%) think that a 1,000 year old site should be protected at a minimal cost, a substantial percentage of municipal representatives are uncertain if a 1,000 year old site should be protected at all (N=8; 42.1%).

Figure 28: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to the three-part question "In the course of development, a pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological site was found in your community. Should it be protected if: a) it was found to be the only 10,000 year old site in the region?, b) it was found to be a 1,000 year old site? and c) it contained human burials?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



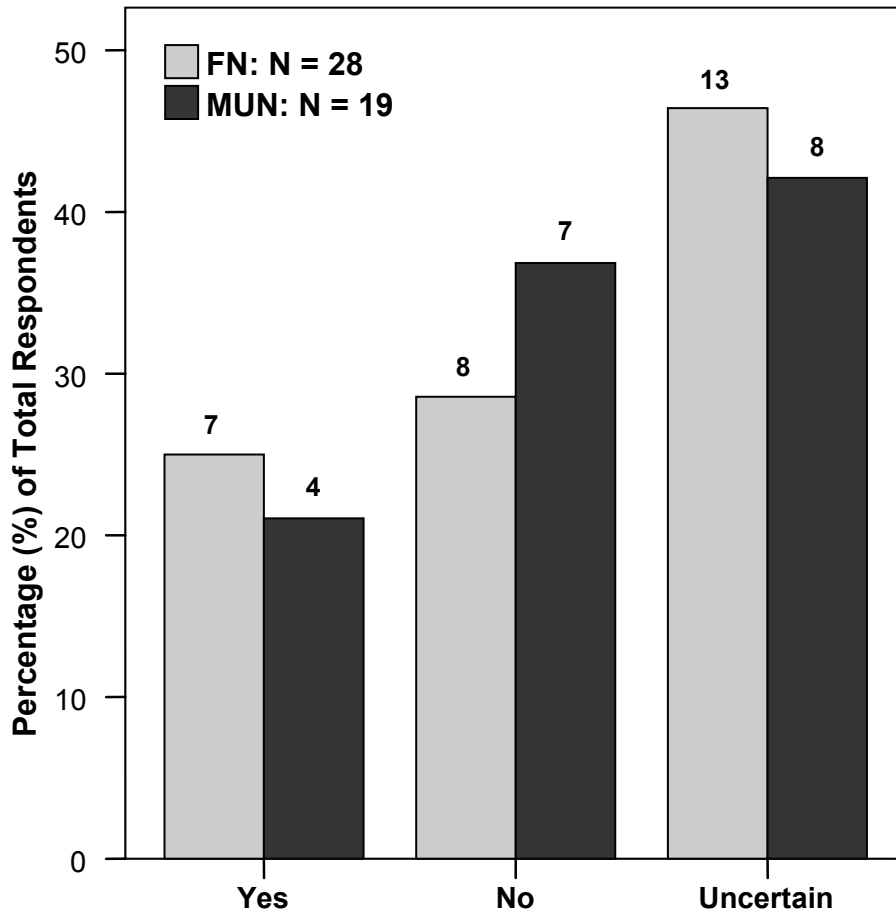
In the interviews, when asked about a hypothetical situation regarding a major, ongoing development that has unearthed one of the oldest Aboriginal village sites in the region, almost all First Nations and some municipal councillors state that development should stop and the archaeological component should be researched (FN-1, FN-2, FN-3, FN-4, FN-5, FN-6, FN-8, FN-9, FN-11, FN-12, MUN-1, MUN-2, MUN-5, MUN-11). Six councillors, primarily municipal, think that the archaeological site could be incorporated into the development and showcase First Nations' cultural heritage, or the development could be modified to protect the site (FN-10, MUN-3, MUN-4, MUN-6, MUN-7, MUN-9).

As a final part to the hypothetical situation in the survey, councillors were asked about the protection of a pre-contact archaeological site that contains human burials. All First Nations councillors (N=28) think that an archaeological site with human burials should be protected at all costs, in stark contrast to far fewer municipal councillors (N=8; 42.1%). An equal proportion of municipal councillors (N=8; 42.1%) also indicate that the burials should be protected at a minimal cost. As also reflected in the interviews, all First Nations representatives and a select few municipal councillors state that development must be stopped and the site preserved if human burials are found (FN-1, FN-2, FN-3, FN-4, FN-5, FN-6, FN-7, FN-8, FN-9, FN-10, FN-11, FN-12, MUN-1, MUN-2, MUN-3, MUN-7, MUN-9). The protection of archaeological sites with Aboriginal burials is a major divergence in perspective between First Nations and municipal councillors. Municipal representatives seem to deem a 10,000 year old archaeological site a greater priority for protection than a site containing human burials, which is of

utmost importance to First Nations councillors. However, as seen in previous results, the degree of importance given to any type of site is greater among First Nations than municipal councillors.

Although local governments' perspectives on hypothetical situations may provide valuable insights, recognizing their councils' actual involvement in protecting local archaeological sites helps to gauge their perceived influence over heritage. When asked if their council has helped to protect an archaeological site from looting or development, only a single (5.0%) municipal councillor did not respond (Figure 29). Approximately a quarter of First Nations (N=7; 25.0%) and municipal (N=4; 21.1%) councillors think that their council has protected an archaeological site, while slightly more First Nations councillors (N=8; 28.6%) and substantially more municipal representatives (N=7; 36.8%) do not think their council has been involved in this way. Most First Nations (N=13; 46.4%) and municipal (N=8; 42.1%) councillors are uncertain about their council's involvement in protecting local archaeological sites, perhaps suggesting that they are similarly unsure about their extent of influence over archaeological heritage.

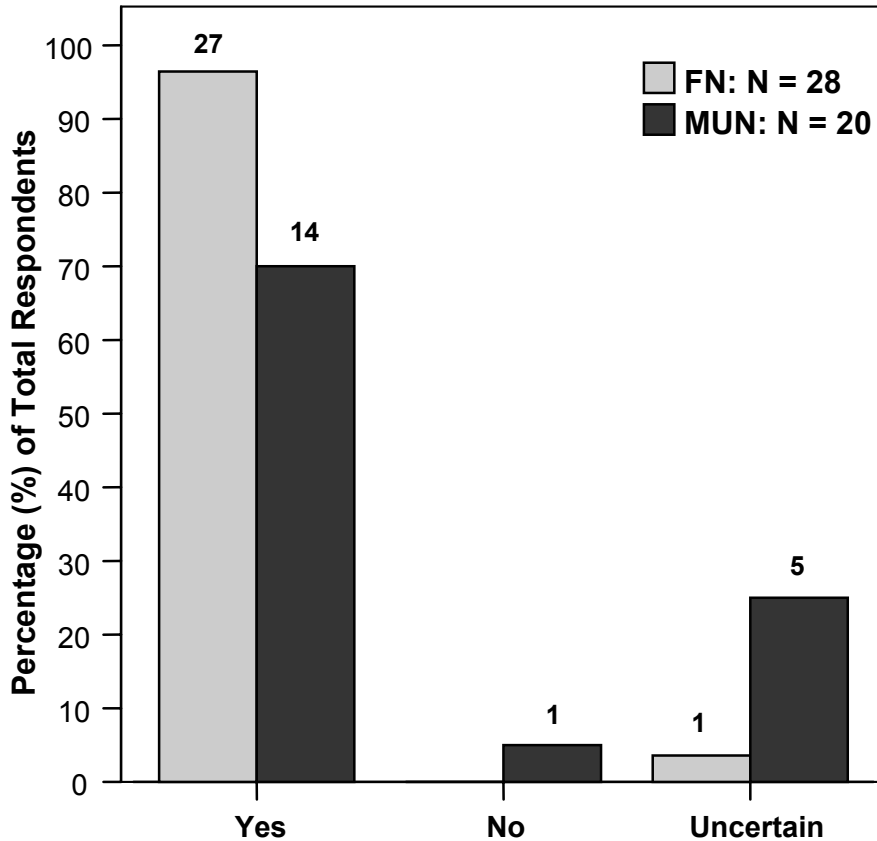
Figure 29: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ responses to “Has your council ever helped to stop an archaeological site from being impacted by development or looting?” Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



In the interviews, First Nations and municipal representatives described their councils’ specific experiences in the protection of archaeological sites (FN-1, FN-4, FN-8, FN-10, FN-12, MUN-1, MUN-2, MUN-3, MUN-7), indicating that some councillors are aware of the authority that their governments hold over local heritage. For local governments to effectively take care of heritage in the Fraser Valley, they must first recognize their influence over the management of archaeological heritage.

Councillors were asked a variety of questions regarding the importance of and responsibility for monitoring archaeological sites, as monitoring heritage is an essential part of site protection. Both First Nations (N=27; 96.4%) and municipal (N=14; 70.0%) councillors think that archaeological sites should be monitored on a regular basis, even though a quarter of municipal councillors (N=5; 25.0%) are uncertain (Figure 30). First Nations councillors, however, are significantly (Mann Whitney $U=206.5$, $p=0.012$) more supportive of monitoring archaeological sites than municipal representatives. In general, Fraser Valley local governments support monitoring archaeological sites on a regular basis, however, they have diverse perspectives on who should be responsible.

Figure 30: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ responses to “Should known archaeological sites be monitored (e.g., checking the condition of sites, creating a formal list of sites) on a regular basis?” Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Both First Nations and municipal councillors indicate that First Nations communities should be most responsible for monitoring local archaeological sites (Table 9, Figure 31). First Nations representatives also think that archaeologists, heritage interest groups, and local governments have a substantial level of responsibility, while municipal councillors suggest that larger government bodies, namely federal and provincial governments, should be more responsible than their own councils. First Nations councillors think that all of the groups, perhaps excluding the general public, should be responsible for monitoring archaeological

sites. In contrast, municipal governments do not think that their own governments, the police, or the general public, should be responsible for monitoring local heritage, illustrating divergent perspectives between First Nations and municipal councillors in the Fraser Valley (Table 9, Figure 31).

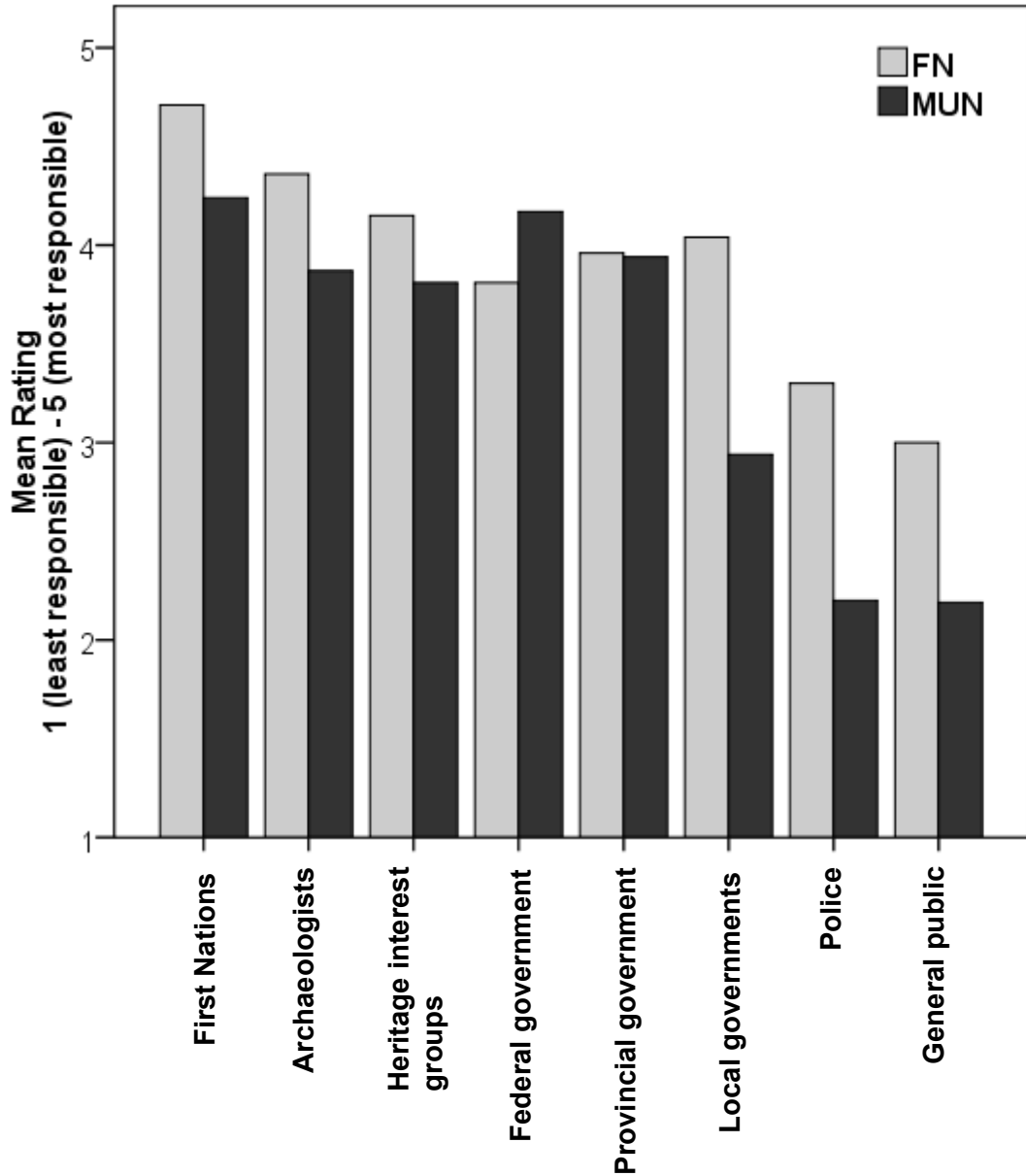
Table 9: “Who should be responsible for monitoring archaeological sites to prevent their destruction?” Each group is ranked according to the responses of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) representatives, by average score from a scale of 1 (least responsible) to 5 (most responsible), and by overall rank.

GROUP	First Nations reps.		Municipal reps.	
	MEAN	RANK	MEAN	RANK
First Nations	4.71	1	4.24 ^{^^}	1
Archaeologists	4.36	2	3.87 ^{^^^^}	4
Heritage interest groups	4.15 [*]	3	3.81 ^{^^^}	5
Local governments	4.04 [*]	4	2.94 ^{^^^}	6
Provincial government	3.96 [*]	5	3.94 ^{^^^}	3
Federal government	3.81 [*]	6	4.17 [^]	2
Police	3.30 [*]	7	2.20 ^{^^^^}	7
General public	3.00 [*]	8	2.19 ^{^^^}	8

* FN: N=27

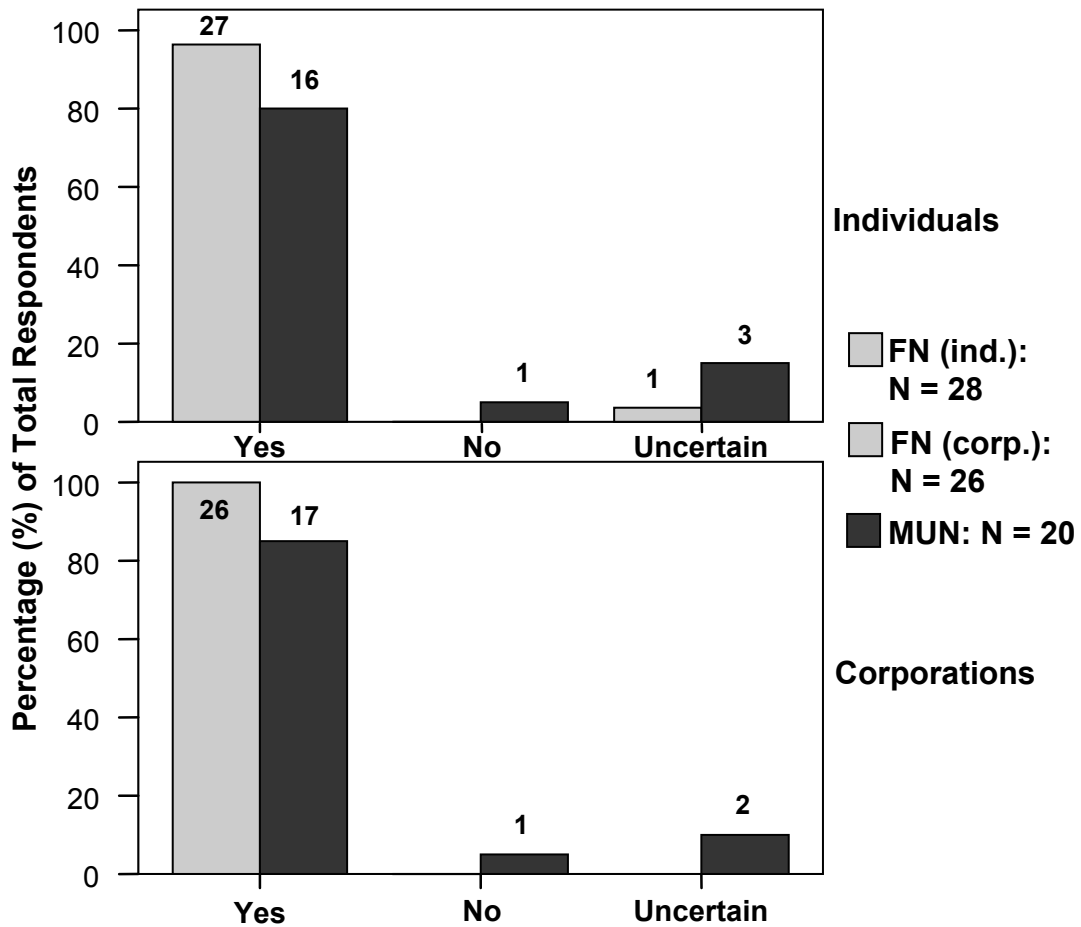
[^] MUN: N=18, ^{^^} MUN: N=17, ^{^^^} MUN: N=16, ^{^^^^} MUN: N=15

Figure 31: “Who should be responsible for monitoring archaeological sites to prevent their destruction?” Each group is graphed by average score, according to the responses of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) representatives, from a scale of 1 (least responsible) to 5 (most responsible).



Understanding local governments' opinions on penalizing perpetrators who knowingly impact archaeological sites provides additional insight into their level of value for archaeological heritage. From the survey, a strong majority of First Nations (N=27; 96.4%) and municipal (N=16; 80.0%) councillors think that individuals should be penalized for knowingly destroying an archaeological site (Figure 32). An even higher percentage of First Nations (N=26; 100.0%) and municipal (N=17; 85.0%) councillors, however, indicate that corporations who knowingly destroy archaeological sites should face a penalty, even though two (7.1%) First Nations representatives did not respond to this question (Figure 32). Both sets of local government representatives think that all violators, whether an individual or a corporation, should be held accountable for damaging archaeological heritage.

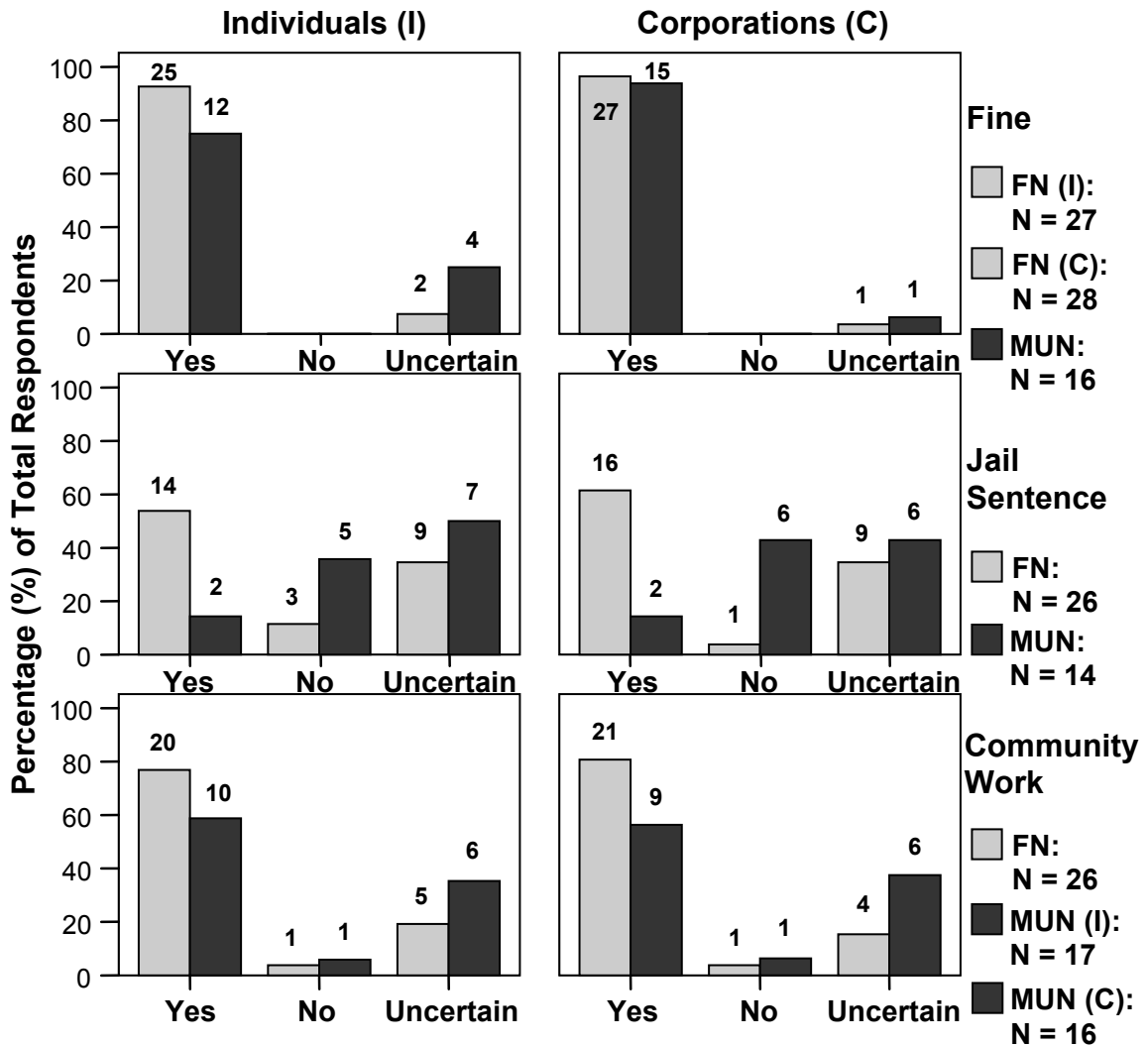
Figure 32: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to the two-part question "Should individuals or corporations who knowingly destroy archaeological sites be penalized?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



Respondents who supported penalties for those who knowingly impact archaeological sites were also asked about the suitability of fines, jail sentences, and community work for these perpetrators. For individuals who damage archaeological heritage, a high percentage of First Nations (N=25; 92.6% [one did not respond]) and municipal (N=12; 75.0% [four did not respond]) councillors think that fines are the most suitable penalty, followed by moderate support for community work (FN: N=20; 76.9% [two did not respond], MUN: N=10; 58.8%

[three did not respond]) and much less for jail sentences (FN: N=14; 53.8% [two did not respond], MUN: N=2; 14.3% [six did not respond]) (Figure 33).

Figure 33: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to the three-part question "If individuals or corporations should be penalized, what type of penalty is suitable?" a) fine, b) jail sentence, and/ or c) community work. Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



For corporate perpetrators, fines are also seen as more appropriate among First Nations (N=27; 96.4%) and municipal (N=15; 93.8% [four did not

respond]) councillors than they are for individuals, while community work is somewhat supported (FN: N=21; 80.8% [two did not respond], MUN: N=9; 56.3% [four did not respond]), and jail sentences are deemed the least suitable (FN: N=16; 61.5% [two did not respond], MUN: N=2; 14.3% [six did not respond]). Jail sentences for guilty corporations garner the least amount of support from First Nations representatives (N=9; 34.6% uncertain, N=1; 3.8% unsupportive) and, especially, municipal councillors (N=6 each; both 42.9% uncertain and unsupportive) (Figure 33). Although First Nations representatives are generally supportive of different types of penalties, overall, both sets of local governments indicate that fines are most appropriate for individuals and corporations who knowingly destroy archaeological sites.

Summary

Although local governments in the Fraser Valley collectively think that archaeological sites should be protected through monitoring and administering penalties for their destruction, they have divergent perspectives on threats to sites, monitoring responsibility, and types of penalties given to perpetrators. First Nations and municipal councillors both suggest that archaeological sites should be protected from looters, however, only First Nations councillors strongly support protecting sites from developers, while most municipal councillors are uncertain due to the economic benefits of development. While First Nations representatives support the protection of different types of pre-contact archaeological sites at all costs, particularly those that contain human remains,

municipal councillors generally think that the oldest sites hold the greatest value, and should therefore be protected.

Many First Nations and municipal representatives are uncertain if their councils have been involved with the actual protection of an archaeological site, perhaps suggesting that they are also unsure about their extent of influence over protecting archaeological heritage. However, in the interviews, participants described their council's involvement in protecting archaeological sites, indicating that many are aware of their government's influence over heritage management. The majority of councillors indicate that archaeological sites should be monitored and that Aboriginal peoples should be primarily responsible. First Nations councillors, however, are more likely to think that all groups have a level of responsibility for monitoring, while municipal representatives do not think that their own governments should play a substantial role. Both sets of local governments support penalties, in the form of fines, for those who destroy archaeological heritage; however, municipal councillors are much less supportive than First Nations of community work and jail sentences for both individuals and corporations. Regardless of these divergences, the perspectives of local governments in the Fraser Valley converge on the belief that archaeological heritage should be protected to some degree. However, it is unclear who should be responsible for managing this heritage, to ensure its protection.

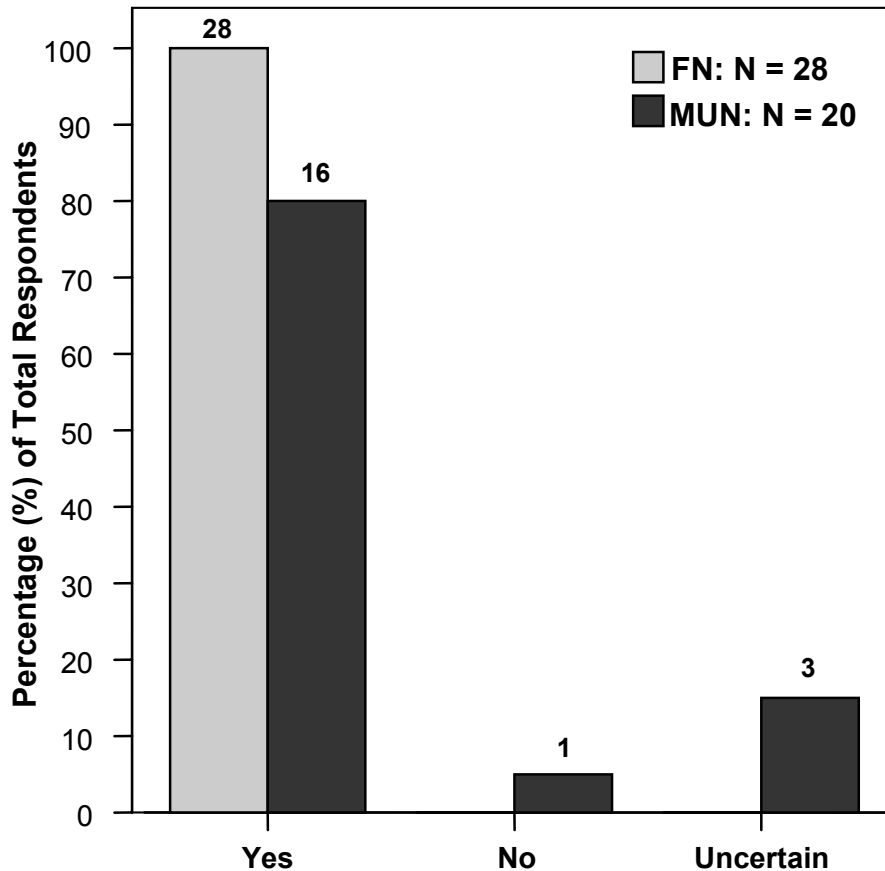
Management Responsibility

The theme of *Management Responsibility* reveals First Nations and municipal councils' perspectives on who should hold legislative, day-to-day

management, and financial responsibility for archaeological heritage in their communities. A selection of local governments' responses to the survey questions explore these management issues, in addition to their opinions on the current situation of archaeological heritage management in British Columbia (Appendix A: Survey [i.e., #25, 26, 30, 35, 48]). Excerpts from the interviews are included to clarify and elaborate councillors' perspectives of archaeological heritage management (Appendix B: Interview [i.e., #10, 11, 14a, 15]). First Nations and municipal councils' opinions on the management of local heritage has significant implications for current and future preservation of archaeological heritage in the Fraser Valley.

Assessing local governments' perspectives on cultural heritage management issues, including guiding legislation, may clarify the level of responsibility that councillors wish to have over archaeological heritage in their communities. On the survey, when asked if there should be laws to protect archaeological sites, all (N=28) First Nations representatives and a strong majority of municipal councillors (N=16; 80.0%) expressed support for archaeological heritage legislation (Figure 34). First Nations councillors are significantly (Mann Whitney $U=224.0$, $p=0.015$) more supportive of archaeological laws than municipal representatives, as also indicated by some who were uncertain (N=3; 15.0%) and unsupportive (N=1; 5.0%) about heritage legislation.

Figure 34: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "Should there be laws to protect archaeological sites?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



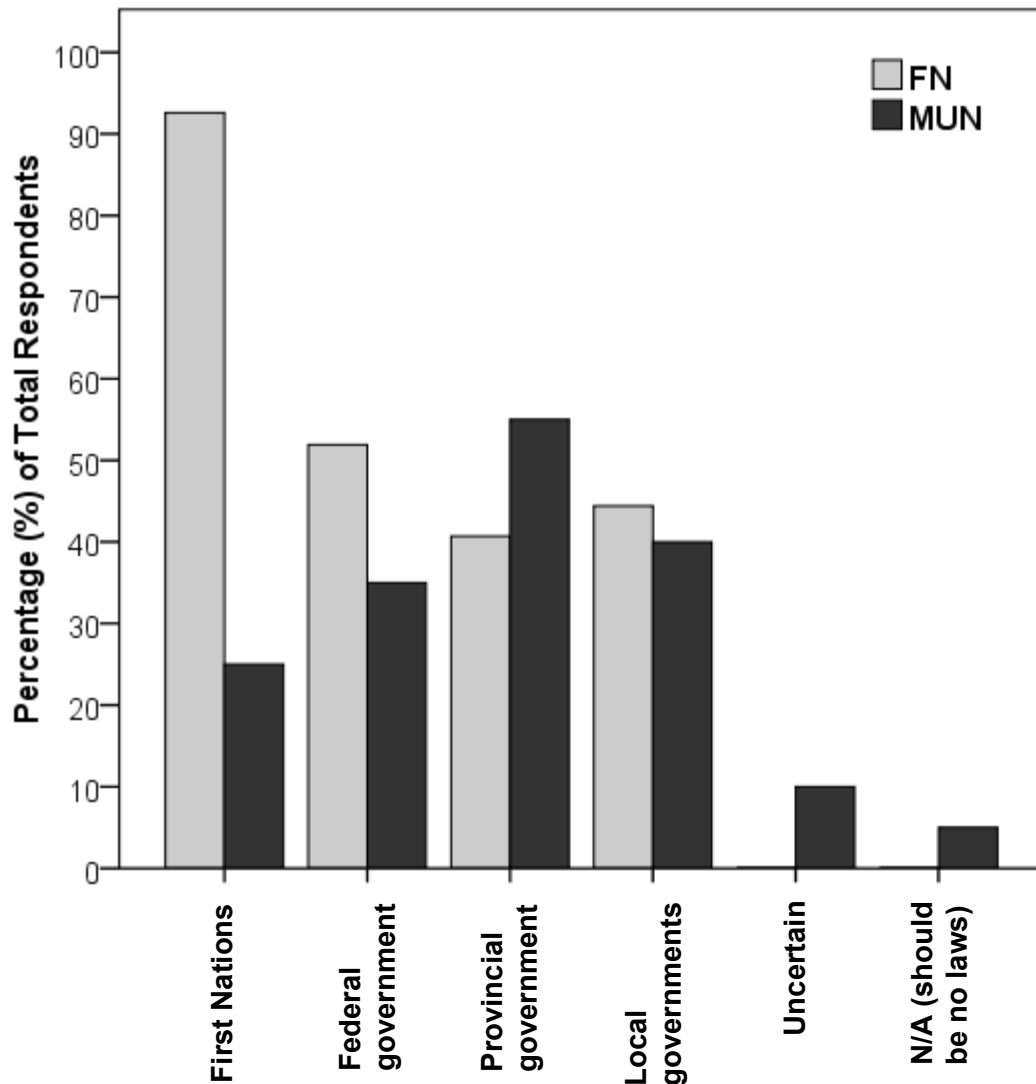
Although local governments in the Fraser Valley support archaeological legislation, they have diverse perspectives about responsibility for developing and administering these heritage laws in British Columbia. Given the option of selecting up to four distinct groups, a very strong majority of First Nations councillors (N=25; 92.6%) think that they should develop legislation, in contrast to only a quarter of municipal representatives (N=5; 25.0%) who state that First Nations communities should create archaeological heritage laws (Table 10, Figure 35). A slight majority of municipal councillors (N=11; 55.0%) think that the

provincial government should develop and administer legislation, while some municipal representatives (N=8; 40.0%) also think that their own local governments should have a role. Even though this question referred to non-federal land, both First Nations and municipal representatives state that the federal government should have a part in developing heritage legislation, which may indicate a need for more involvement from the federal government. Overall, First Nations councillors want to be most responsible for developing heritage legislation, while municipal representatives generally think that the provincial government should develop laws, rather than First Nations.

Table 10: “In your opinion, who should develop and administer heritage laws for archaeological sites on non-federal land in B.C.?” Each group is ranked according to the percentage of First Nations (N=27) and municipal (N=20) representatives who selected it.

GROUP	First Nations reps.		Municipal reps.	
	%	RANK	%	RANK
First Nations	92.6	1	25.0	4
Federal government	51.9	2	35.0	3
Provincial government	40.7	4	55.0	1
Local governments	44.4	3	40.0	2
Uncertain	0.0	5	10.0	5
N/A (no laws)	0.0	5	5.0	6

Figure 35: “In your opinion, who should develop and administer heritage laws for archaeological sites on non-federal land in B.C.?” First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ could select more than one option.

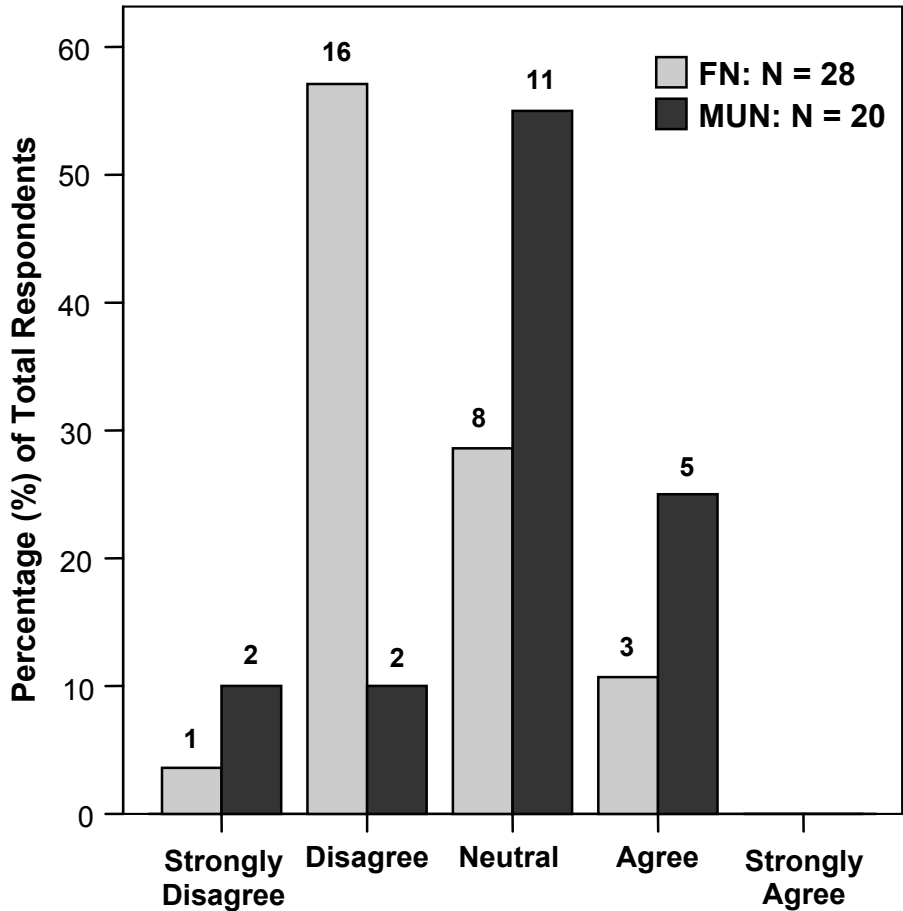


Since the provincial government has legislative jurisdiction over archaeological heritage, the councillors were asked if the province of British Columbia has been effectively managing archaeological heritage in the Fraser Valley. On a 5-point scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree, the majority of First Nations councillors (N=17; 60.7%) disagree or strongly disagree that the province has been effectively managing local heritage, while most municipal

representatives (N=11; 55.0) are neutral on the issue (Figure 36). The mean scores for First Nations (2.46) and municipal (2.95) councillors are below neutral (3), suggesting that local governments in the Fraser Valley are not satisfied with the current state of heritage management by the provincial government, even though First Nations are significantly less satisfied (Mann Whitney $U=177.5$, $p=0.022$) than municipal representatives. As one First Nations chief emphasized:

The laws around archaeology, (the) provincial laws, don't carry enough weight. They need to be...more strictly enforced. I've been told by people that they're (developers) finding artifacts and things at sites, but they're not saying anything because of the *Heritage Conservation Act*. So there needs to be stricter enforcement around those areas (FN-4).

Figure 36: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to the statement "The provincial government has effectively managed archaeological heritage in the Fraser Valley." Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



In addition, most of the local government representatives who participated in the interviews do not think that their councils have been given a clear message from the provincial government about their level of responsibility for archaeological sites (FN-1, FN-2, FN-3, FN-4, FN-6, FN-7, FN-9, FN-10, MUN-1, MUN-3, MUN-4, MUN-5, MUN-8, MUN-9, MUN-11). As frankly stated by a municipal mayor:

There is no clear message (given by the provincial government)...and I think that's because we (the federal, provincial,

and municipal governments) haven't put enough emphasis on culture and heritage (MUN-3).

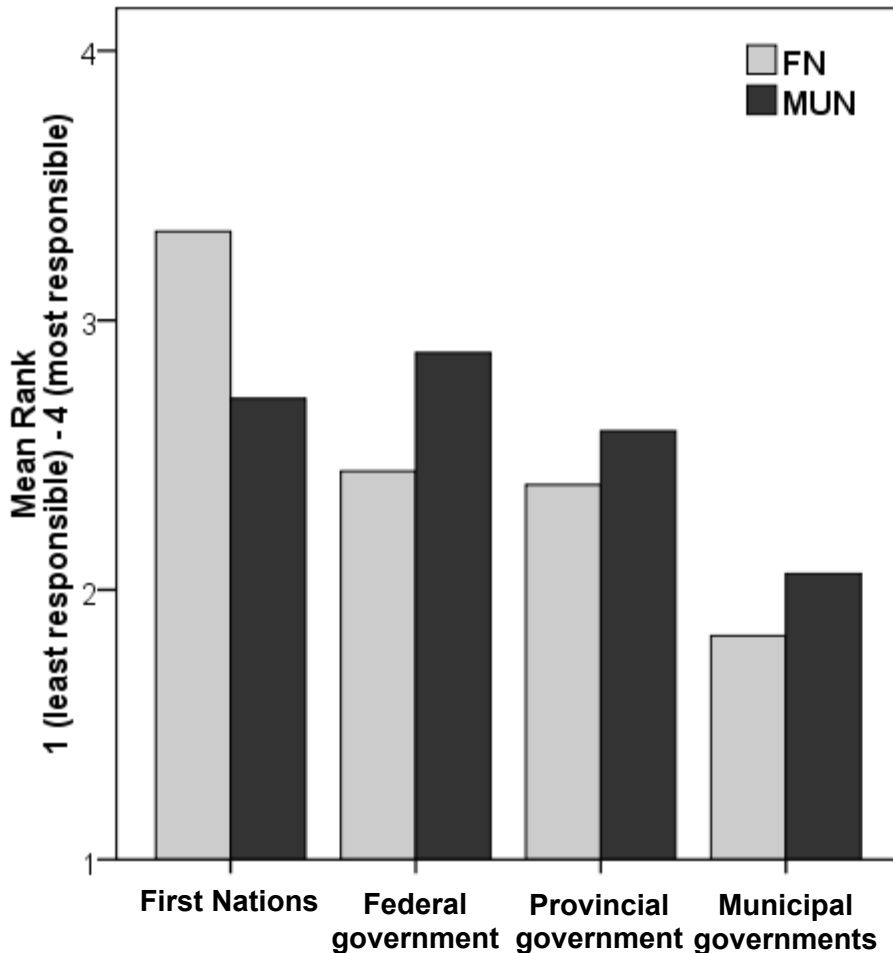
Since First Nations and municipal governments are generally not impressed with the province's management of archaeological heritage, perhaps they have recommendations regarding who should be responsible.

As with the development of archaeological legislation, local governments in the Fraser Valley have diverse perspectives regarding who should be responsible for managing archaeological sites. First Nations councillors state that their communities should be most responsible, followed by the federal government, provincial government, and municipal governments, who should hold the least responsibility for managing archaeological heritage (Table 11, Figure 37). Although municipal councillors agree with First Nations and think that their local governments should have little responsibility, they indicate that the federal government, First Nations and the provincial government should be more responsible.

Table 11: “Who should be responsible for monitoring archaeological sites to prevent their destruction?” Each group is ranked according to the responses of First Nations (FN: N=18) and municipal (MUN: N=17) representatives, by average (rank) score from a scale of 1 (least responsible) to 4 (most responsible).

GROUP	First Nations reps.		Municipal reps.	
	MEAN	RANK	MEAN	RANK
First Nations	3.33	1	2.71	2
Federal government	2.44	2	2.88	1
Provincial government	2.39	3	2.59	3
Municipal governments	1.83	4	2.06	4

Figure 37: “Who should be responsible for managing Aboriginal archaeological sites and material on public lands?” Each group is graphed by average score, according to the responses of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) representatives, from a ranked scale of 1 (least responsible) to 4 (most responsible).



Both municipalities and First Nations think that the federal government should have a substantial role in managing heritage, even though the provincial government has jurisdiction over the vast majority of archaeological sites in British Columbia. Again, this may not simply reflect a misunderstanding of jurisdiction over heritage, but perhaps a suggestion, by both sets of local governments, that the federal government should become more involved in managing heritage. Although some First Nations councillors and a few municipal representatives either did not assign a rank to each option (FN: 8; 28.6%, MUN: 2; 10.0%) or did not respond to the question (FN: 2; 7.1%, MUN: 1; 5.0%), it is still clear that First Nations councils want their communities to be responsible for managing archaeological heritage, in addition to creating and administering the laws to guide the protection of these sites. Municipal governments, however, generally do not want to be responsible for managing archaeological heritage, even though some of their councillors think that they should administer archaeological heritage legislation.

Municipal representatives are looking to a larger government body, such as the federal and provincial governments, to manage archaeological heritage, in addition to First Nations communities. In the interviews, some municipal councillors argued that a uniform government body, not individual communities, would be in the best position to manage archaeological heritage consistently across British Columbia (MUN-1, MUN-3, MUN-6, MUN-7, MUN-9, MUN-10). As ardently expressed by a municipal councillor:

I think it has to be a strong enough government authority. (The provincial government) will have some First Nations involvement

too and maybe local government if it involves that...but the provincial government has to have the hammer (MUN-8).

A number of municipal representatives think that the provincial government has already been “offloading”, or “downloading”, responsibilities on their government and they are concerned that archaeology may be next (MUN-6, MUN-8). Some interviewees stressed the importance of limiting local government involvement due to provincial jurisdiction over archaeology, while suggesting that Aboriginal communities have a vital role in managing heritage, such as this municipal mayor:

In terms of managing a site once it's discovered, I don't really see a role, other than...encouragement, that a local government would play because...the legislation that protects archaeological sites is provincial. So, I wouldn't want to see local governments put in there, but First Nations, certainly (MUN-7).

In agreement with this mayor, is a First Nations chief, who thinks that Aboriginal communities should be most responsible for managing archaeological heritage because they have a greater interest in their history than non-Aboriginal communities. However, he/ she also recognizes why municipal governments should be involved:

I think there's a bit of a...clash between First Nations and non-Aboriginal world views, where there are different value systems. So I think those that have more sensitivity to the whole scope of values involved should have more say in how it's managed. (But) I can see (us) working with all levels of government...also because...not all archaeological sites will be under Indian reserve jurisdiction, and so forth. Yeah, we'd have to coordinate and work together on it (FN-9).

A number of First Nations representatives strongly state that all government bodies and communities, especially their own, have a stake in

managing heritage (FN-1, FN-2, FN-5, FN-6, FN-10). Perhaps some First Nations councillors (N=8; 28.6%) were unable to rank distinct governments in the previous survey question because they think that everyone should be responsible for archaeological heritage management. As suggested by this First Nations councillor:

Part of the management should come from a representative of the community...an Elder, a council member, youth. I think if there was a managing body it should consist of the local municipal and provincial representatives, including a representative from the Native community. I think everybody should be equally responsible (FN-2).

There is an obvious disparity in the perspectives of local governments regarding who is responsible for managing archaeological heritage. This divergence on management responsibility needs to be recognized by First Nations and municipal councils when working on heritage issues together.

Local governments in the Fraser Valley also have diverse perspectives on who should be responsible for the cost of archaeological impact assessments (AIAs) or excavations, when a private development encroaches on an archaeological site. When asked to rate the level of financial responsibility of particular groups, some First Nations councillors and a few municipal representatives either did not assign a rating to each option (FN: 8; 28.6%, MUN: 2; 10.0%) or did not respond to the question (FN: 2; 7.1%, MUN: 1; 5.0%), and are therefore excluded from further analysis. First Nations councillors think that the developer should be most responsible, followed by the landowner, the government or public, and affected special interest groups, such as their own

communities, who should have the least financial responsibility (Table 12, Figure 38). In stark contrast, municipal councillors indicate that affected special interest groups, such as First Nations, should be relatively responsible for funding excavations, followed by the developer, the government or public, and the landowner, who should pay the least. First Nations and municipal representatives exhibit significant differences regarding landowners (Mann Whitney $U=80.5$, $p=0.005$) and developers (Mann Whitney $U=108.0$, $p=0.018$) funding archaeological excavations, with First Nations indicating these groups should pay. In the survey, an electoral director (of an electoral area of the Fraser Valley Regional District) expresses his/ her issue with individual landowners having to fund archaeological impact assessments:

I recognize that our archaeological heritage has a level of importance in our society. However, it is important that the level is reflective of the degree of importance that we collectively attach to this subject. I have strong opposition that individual landowners be expected to be financially punished for what others deem to be a priority. If society views this as a priority they should compensate the injured party.

While First Nations councillors think that developers should be held financially responsible for assessing/ excavating archaeological sites, which is typically how the current protocol is carried out (B.C. 2008a), municipal councillors are generally looking to affected special interest groups, such as Aboriginal communities, and the government/ public to cover most of the costs. As suggested by an electoral director (see preceding quote), the government, through the British Columbia public, should fund archaeological impact assessments if archaeology is deemed a priority by society. These responses

between First Nations and municipal/ electoral representatives illustrate a significant divergence in local governments' perspectives on financial responsibility for heritage.

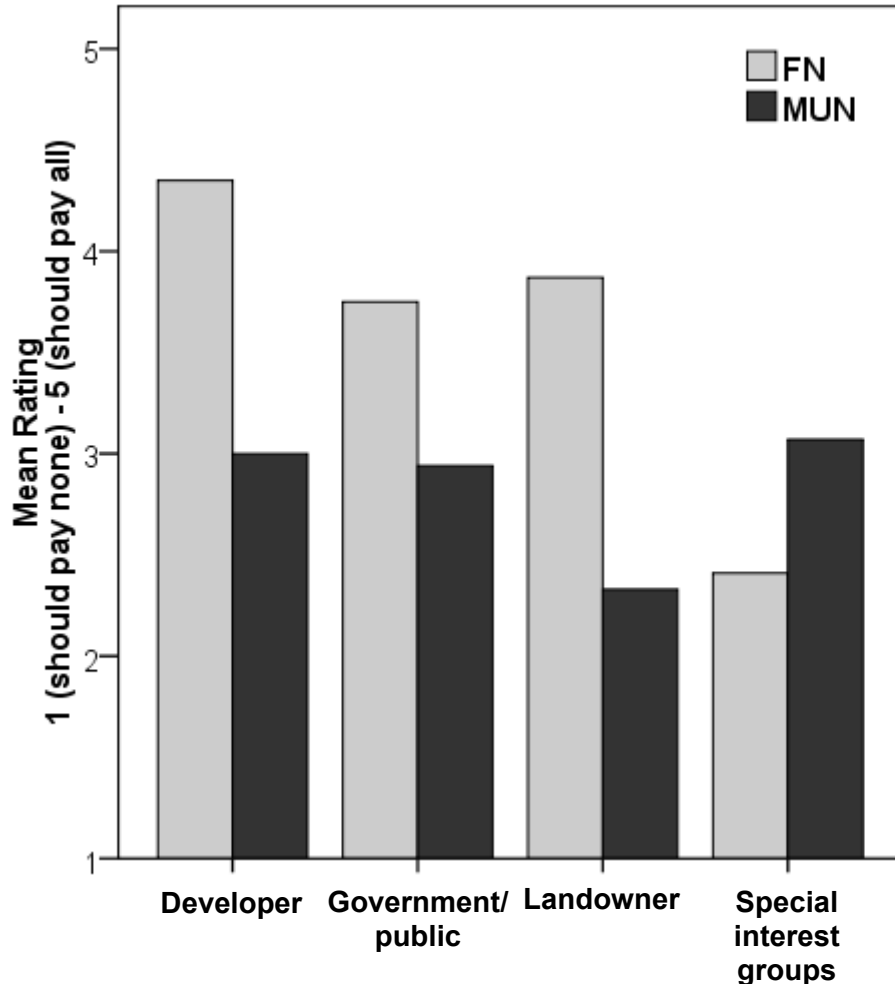
Table 12: "If excavation is necessary when private land development threatens to destroy an archaeological site, who should pay for it?" Each group is ranked according to the responses of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) representatives, by average score from a scale of 1 (should pay none) to 5 (should pay all).

GROUP	First Nations reps.		Municipal reps.	
	MEAN	RANK	MEAN	RANK
Developer	4.35*	1	3.00^^	2
Landowner	3.87***	2	2.33^^	4
Government/ public	3.75**	3	2.94^	3
Special interest groups	2.41****	4	3.07^^	1

* FN: N=26, ** FN: N=24, *** FN: N=23, **** FN: N=22

^ MUN: N=16, ^^ MUN: N=15

Figure 38: “If excavation is necessary when private land development threatens to destroy an archaeological site, who should pay for it?” Each group is graphed by average score, according to the responses of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) representatives, from a scale of 1 (should pay none) to 5 (should pay all).



Summary

Both First Nations and municipal governments in the Fraser Valley think that there should be legislation to protect and manage heritage sites. However, these two groups have divergent views regarding who should be responsible for developing legislation, managing heritage, and covering the costs of archaeological impact assessments and excavations. Although municipal

governments are more satisfied than First Nations councils with the state of heritage management, in the Fraser Valley, by the provincial government, both groups generally do not think that the province is effectively managing heritage. First Nations representatives state that they should be primarily responsible for developing heritage legislation and managing archaeological sites. Municipal councillors, however, think that the province or their own local governments should create the laws, even though they generally do not want to be responsible for managing heritage. When an archaeological excavation is necessary on private property, First Nations councillors think that the developer and the landowner should be most responsible for the costs, while municipal governments suggest that special interest groups, such as Aboriginal communities, and the government/ public should be most financially accountable. Clearly, there needs to be dialogue between local governments in the Fraser Valley regarding these divergent perspectives on management responsibility, if these communities are to work together on collective heritage issues.

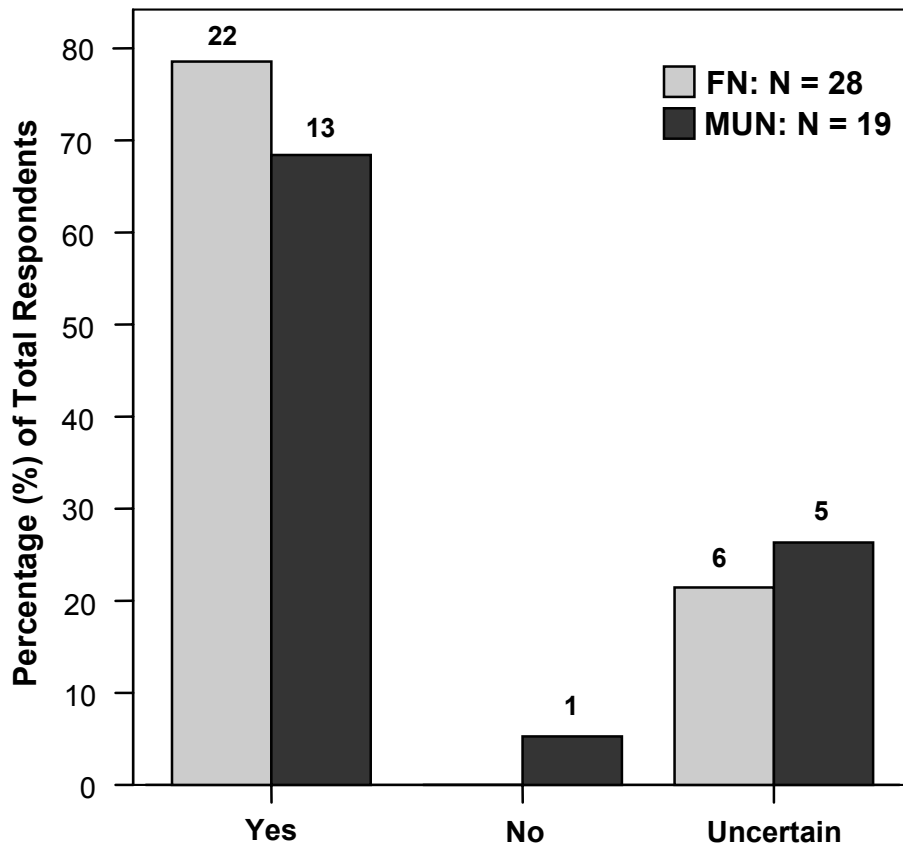
Working Together

A central component of this study is to understand the potential for First Nations and municipal councillors to work together on archaeological heritage issues in the Fraser Valley. This key theme, *Working Together*, is a product of all other themes shaped by the results of the study, based on the willingness of local governments to develop joint heritage strategies and manage heritage together in the Fraser Valley. Addressed in the survey and elaborated on in the interviews, First Nations and municipal councillors responded to two questions in

regard to their opinions about working collectively on archaeological heritage issues (see Appendix A: Survey [i.e., #50, 51] and Appendix B: Interview [i.e., #16, 17]). Understanding if local governments are interested in engaging in dialogue on archaeology, regardless of their divergent perspectives, has important implications for the future of heritage management in the Fraser Valley.

According to results from the survey and interviews, both sets of local governments in the Fraser Valley are interested in developing joint strategies for managing archaeological heritage. Although one (5.0%) municipal representative did not respond, a high percentage of First Nations (N=22; 78.6%) and municipal (N=13; 68.4%) councillors believe that a collective, local heritage policy, guiding the management of archaeological sites, would benefit their communities (Figure 39).

Figure 39: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors’ responses to “Do you believe that the development of local heritage policy for the management of archaeological resources would benefit the community as a whole?”
Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



As expressed in the interviews, both groups believe that a local heritage policy would provide guidelines for dealing with archaeological sites, which is essential for taking the guesswork out of managing archaeological heritage (FN-4, FN-5, FN-8, FN-12, MUN-3, MUN-10). However, municipal councillors such as this one, stressed that a local heritage policy should not be funded by their governments:

(A heritage policy) would systematically set the parameters and provide peace of mind to both (First Nations and municipalities). It

should not be funded by local government, (but) maybe (by) the province and the Native groups themselves (MUN-4).

During the interviews, a number of councillors emphasized that this policy would only be effective if both First Nations and municipalities created and administered it together (FN-1, FN-6, FN-9, MUN-3, MUN-8). According to a First Nations chief, local governments need to work together, at every step of the process, to develop a successful joint heritage policy:

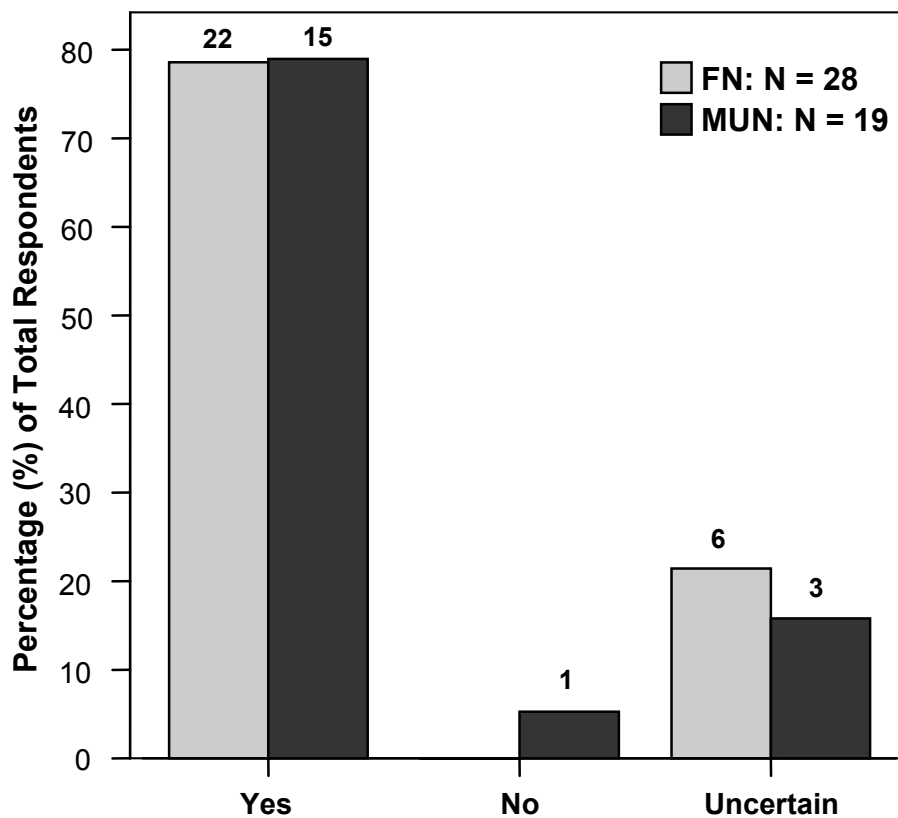
They'd have to create (a heritage policy) together in order for it to work. And they have to...as each chapter was developed, take it to the communities at large...get their endorsement, instead of creating some big thing that nobody's going to buy into. If you start creating something together like that then you can work out the kinks before it gets to the community (FN-1).

Recognition of the value of a joint archaeological heritage policy is a significant convergence of perspective between First Nations and municipal governments in the Fraser Valley, even though they are divided on who should be financially responsible for developing this policy. Other representatives, such as this municipal mayor, stressed that a joint heritage policy could only be developed through a willingness to work together and with the guidance of external governments:

We have to take baby steps first; then need to be guided by governments. I think first of all there needs to be a getting together with people (and) talking about it before you can expand on it. I think there has to be a willingness to work together and then you (could) actually start to work on what the policy would look like, and how it would operate. But I think you first have to develop the working relationship, and the federal government and the province have to come on board and give (us) some guidelines. What the scope of responsibility could be, what (time limits) they have, what regulations they have, etc (MUN-3).

Addressing the future of archaeological heritage management in the Fraser Valley, I asked councillors in the survey if their government has the potential to work with other diverse councils on the management of archaeological heritage. A strong majority of First Nations (N=22; 78.6%) and municipal (N=15; 78.9%) councillors believe that they can work together on archaeological heritage issues (Figure 40).

Figure 40: First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) councillors' responses to "Do you believe that your council has the potential to work with local First Nations/ municipal councils on the management of archaeological heritage?" Numbers on top of the bars reflect number of respondents.



In the interviews, local government representatives explained that there would likely be some “rough waters” or impediments in working together, primarily from differences in culture and philosophy and existing communication issues between First Nations and municipal councils (FN-2, FN-5, FN-6, FN-8, FN-10, FN-11, FN-12, MUN-2, MUN-11). From his/ her perspective, a First Nations chief clarifies these differences in world view between First Nations and municipal governments:

I think we have big cultural differences, maybe philosophical differences, as far as connection to the land, and the (impact) of...development...to (this) connection. It's not something that I totally understand in a scientific manner, but it's something that I've been taught through my grandfather (and the world around me)...how everything is connected, right from the snow capped peaks, right down to the valley floor, right to the ocean, and that (if) you impact one, it affects the other (even if it's) a long ways away....you know, they (municipal governments) see the importance of protecting a 100 year old building, (and) we see it just as important to protect a 10,000 or 9,000 year old heritage site, a sacred site to us (FN-4).

Even with diverse values for the land and environment, and different types of heritage sites, local governments still believe that they can move beyond these differences by learning about and recognizing each other's unique world views.

As expressed, through experience, by a First Nations chief:

Well I think it would be a big learning curve for municipalities to wrap their heads around the importance of the land to us. I think as far as the technical part of it, the bureaucratic part of it, our people are knowledgeable enough to go toe to toe as far as negotiations (are concerned), and (other) things like that. But I think it would take a bit of learning on their part, and then the Aboriginal (community) as well about municipal laws, and why they're in place. You know, I've worked in negotiations with the provincial government for a number of years, and we're beginning to start looking outside the box. It's a long process, but it's doable (FN-1).

Before First Nations and municipal governments can even begin to effectively work together on archaeological heritage issues, open communication and dialogue must be at the core of building relationships between these diverse councils. Local government representatives, such as this municipal councillor, view communication as the primary means of preventing and resolving heritage issues:

When you're dealing with something of historical importance...it's good to have as many people as possible involved...if you can communicate with everybody involved then you can probably do it very well. The real problem with most of these things that happen is that...we don't communicate. We don't tell each other what we're doing. If we could do that, often times problems are solved before they begin. Most of our problems in our past and continue...in(to) the future, are just as a result of a lack of communication (MUN-11).

Regardless of the different perspectives that First Nations and municipal councillors have on archaeology, their strong response to working cooperatively through mutual dialogue suggests that they are willing to discuss and resolve local heritage issues. Some local government representatives, such as this municipal mayor, perceive archaeology to be a community responsibility that everyone needs to take care of, together:

(Archaeological heritage) is part of our culture, it's part of our community, and we need to not try and shuffle it off, as just another thing to do. I think it's part of who we are. And especially for our kids and for those people who have a vested interest, like...First Nations communities. So I think the more we can talk about it and work together the better it's going to be (MUN-10).

Working together through effective communication is a fundamental convergence of perspective between local governments, and provides a gateway

for First Nations and municipalities to collectively manage archaeological heritage in the Fraser Valley.

Summary

First Nations and municipal councillors collectively believe that working together on heritage strategies, such as a joint heritage policy, would directly benefit their communities. Although these local governments recognize that their distinct histories and philosophies may present some challenges for working together, many representatives are hopeful about their councils' abilities to move forward on archaeological heritage issues. Communication is identified as the key to building relationships between First Nations and municipal councils, and necessary for preventing and resolving heritage concerns. Both First Nations and municipal councillors express a willingness to work together on heritage issues, providing a springboard for the effective management of archaeological heritage at a community level, in the Fraser Valley.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Through a review of key divergent and convergent perspectives among Fraser Valley local governments on archaeology, I explore how these councils distinctly situate archaeological heritage, as reflected through their respective community identities. Although First Nations and municipal councillors may situate archaeology in unique ways, I illustrate how archaeology can fit into their collective vision of the Fraser Valley, through commonalities in perspectives. Through mutual communication, relationships between diverse local governments must be built on their convergent perspectives of archaeology if they are to manage heritage together in the Fraser Valley. Although there may be logistical limitations to building effective, long-term relationships between First Nations and municipal councils, I provide a series of recommendations for local governments to move forward on collective heritage interests. To close, or in fact open, the discussion, I explore how shifting relationships among local governments and changing dynamics of heritage management may influence the future preservation of archaeological heritage in the Fraser Valley.

Key Divergent and Convergent Perspectives

Divergences

First Nations and municipal councillors have diverse perspectives on the relevance of archaeology to their communities. Archaeology is highly relevant for

First Nations representatives because they are culturally connected to their heritage, recognize the intricate links that archaeology has to a wide range of community values, and understand its role in land use and treaty issues.

Municipal representatives, who do not culturally identify with archaeological heritage, tend to view archaeology as a competing interest to development.

As expressed through their knowledge of heritage, First Nations and municipal representatives have distinct world views about archaeology. In general, municipal councillors associate archaeology with its *practice*, such as scientific research and excavations, while First Nations councillors identify with the *meaning* of archaeology to their communities, as a testament to their continuous relationship to the landscape and evidence of their deep history. Local governments' exposure to archaeological heritage is also divergent, with most First Nations councillors experiencing both pre-contact and historic archaeological sites, in contrast to fewer municipal representatives. However, a substantial percentage of First Nations and municipal councillors are only visiting heritage sites that reflect their cultural roots (i.e., Aboriginal pre-contact sites and historic sites, respectively).

Local governments have divergent perspectives on the protection and management of archaeological heritage. While the vast majority of First Nations representatives support protecting archaeological sites from development, most municipal councillors are uncertain, as they perceive the economic benefits of development to possibility outweigh the benefits of protecting archaeological heritage. Although First Nations and municipal councillors want to be

responsible for developing legislation and managing archaeological heritage, municipal representatives are looking to the provincial government or their own local government to create the laws. However, municipal representatives do not want to play a central role in managing archaeological heritage, citing issues with provincial “offloading”, lack of capacity, and funding. These divergences must be recognized by First Nations and municipal governments, to acknowledge the diversity of perspectives on archaeology by community representatives in the Fraser Valley.

Convergences

Both First Nations and municipal councillors agree that archaeology is relevant to Canadian and Aboriginal societies. In addition, both Fraser Valley governments are interested in learning about local archaeology, particularly through archaeological site visits and presentations during their council meetings.

First Nations and municipal representatives collectively think that archaeology has strong cultural, historic, and educational values for their communities. Both sets of local governments also acknowledge the economic value of archaeology through cultural tourism, and recognize that culturally appropriate tourism, such as cultural centres, can bring income into the community, employ local residents, and educate a wide range of audiences. First Nations and municipal councillors strongly converge on the principle that respect and appreciation can grow amongst diverse cultures in the Fraser Valley, through effective education and community outreach about local archaeology.

Local governments in the Fraser Valley also have convergent perspectives on the need to protect archaeological heritage. Both First Nations and municipal representatives support regular monitoring of sites and administering penalties to those who knowingly destroy archaeological heritage. Both sets of local governments strongly think that there should be legislation to guide the protection and management of archaeological heritage. In general, First Nations and municipal councillors are unsatisfied with the current state of archaeological heritage management by the provincial government. Local governments in the Fraser Valley believe that the creation and application of a joint heritage policy would be useful for establishing a consistent set of guidelines for managing archaeological heritage across the region. Furthermore, First Nations and municipal councillors express a willingness to work together on archaeological heritage issues, even though they recognize that their diverse world views may present a challenge. Heritage issues in the Fraser Valley can only move forward once First Nations and municipal governments understand what perspectives they have in common, and build a foundation of dialogue on these convergences.

Situating Archaeology, Reflecting Identity

First Nations: Holistic Framework

Primarily through discussions in the interviews, and select questions on the survey, most First Nations representatives appear to situate archaeology in a holistic framework, where archaeology is intricately connected to a wide range of community values and embedded within their traditional landscape, undivided

from other cultural use and sacred sites (Figure 41). For example, Stó:lō territory, identified in the Stó:lō Heritage Policy Manual as *S'ólh Téméxw*, is home to a wide range of cultural and spirited places, with material culture (archaeological) sites as only one of the many heritage site types (Stó:lō Nation 2003: 10-12). Although this Aboriginal holistic perspective may not be overt throughout the detailed results of the surveys, it especially became evident once I reviewed the interview transcriptions, as previously expressed under the theme of *Relevance*.

Figure 41: Representation of the holistic framework of situating archaeology, which was expressed by most First Nations representatives.



From their holistic viewpoint, First Nations councillors believe archaeology is interconnected to multiple issues, ranging from health to employment, and therefore, cannot be ranked on its level of importance. Specifically, First Nations representatives believe that archaeology is connected to cultural, historic, educational and even economic values through cultural tourism, as seen throughout the results. Viewed as “a launching point for everything else” (FN-1), archaeological heritage is seen as integral to other community issues, such as treaty. Aboriginal peoples in the Fraser Valley

continue to assert their identity through treaty negotiations with federal and provincial governments, particularly on issues of land use and governance (Schaepe 2007:234). Although not all First Nations in the Fraser Valley are unified in their treaty negotiations, or even participating in the treaty process, the foundation of all these discussions is the inherent, Aboriginal cultural connection to their “living landscape”, which archaeological heritage is embedded within.

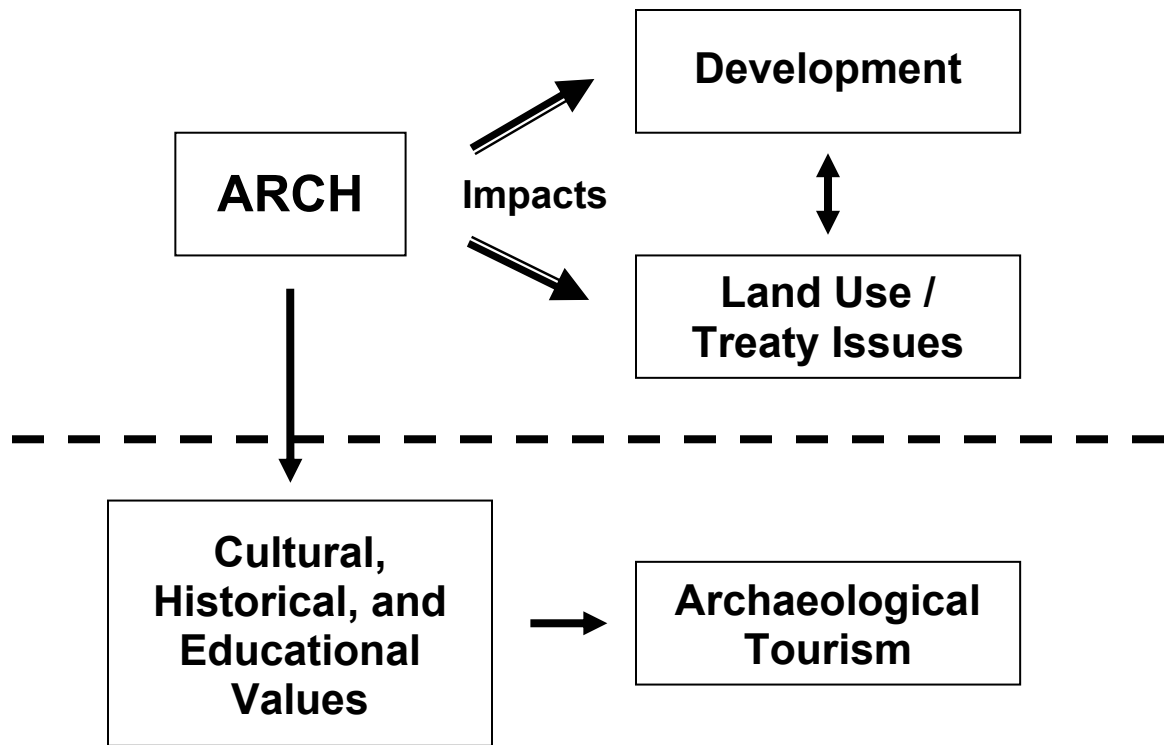
Although First Nations communities in the Fraser Valley today may have distinct political affiliations, they are culturally linked across their collective territory (Carlson 2001:24-5; Naxaxalhts’i 2007). First Nations councils are in the unique position of representing a unified culture of community members on their reservations, even though their leadership positions are dictated by Canada’s *Indian Act* (1985). However, other traditional governance roles, such as those held by tribal representatives, hereditary leaders, and Elders, continue to exert leadership across and within Aboriginal communities, alongside First Nations band councils. As expressed through a common cultural connection to their traditional landscape, most First Nations representatives in the Fraser Valley situate archaeology within a holistic framework, where all forms of heritage are intricately linked to a wide range of community values.

Municipalities: Compartmentalized Framework

In general, municipal governments situate archaeology distinctly from First Nations councils through a compartmentalized, “cause-and-effect” framework, where archaeology is perceived as an independent factor that impacts development and land use issues (Figure 42). From this perspective,

accidentally unearthing an archaeological site (the cause) acts as an obstacle to development (the effect). With increasing urbanization of the Fraser Valley, municipal governments are focused on developing their infrastructure for the rapid influx of new residents. When an archaeological site is unearthed during development, municipal representatives may immediately view archaeology (generally perceived as a provincial responsibility) as an impediment to creating this necessary infrastructure. In addition, municipal councils may perceive the implications of Aboriginal archaeological heritage, specifically land use and treaty issues, as potentially competing with the growth of their communities. While First Nations representatives generally view the landscape as a living, connected environment, rooted in their culture and traditional beliefs, municipal councils, along with provincial and federal governments, generally perceive the landscape as consisting of distinct resources to be exploited for financial gain in a commercial marketplace (Schaepe 2007:251-3).

Figure 42: Representation of the compartmentalized, “cause-and-effect” framework, which was expressed by most municipal representatives. The dashed line symbolizes a conceptual division between distinct municipal perspectives.



Municipalities in the Fraser Valley, in general, are made up relatively recent immigrant populations from a wide variety of ethnicities (Canada 2008). As such, they are unable to identify with a unified culturally based perspective, as First Nations communities are. In convergence with the perspectives of First Nations councillors, however, municipal representatives believe that archaeology has strong cultural, historic, and educational values for their communities. In addition, both municipal and First Nations councils think that these values can be effectively shared through local archaeological or cultural tourism, raising awareness of and generating respect among diverse cultures in the Fraser Valley. Emphasized in the survey and interviews, municipal councillors (in

agreement with First Nations representatives) believe that archaeological tourism also has the potential to provide community economic incentives and employment benefits for residents in the region. Ironically, municipal representatives situate archaeology as both a financial loss through development and a financial gain through cultural tourism. Although most municipal representatives situate archaeology as an economic and jurisdictional limitation, collectively, many recognize the potential for archaeological tourism to provide cultural, historical, educational, and even economic benefits to their communities.

Anomalies in Perspective

Although the majority of First Nations and municipal representatives situate archaeology according to the preceding frameworks, a small minority (roughly 5 to 10%) of councillors adopted a range of atypical opinions. Instead of embracing a perspective of archaeological heritage being integral to Aboriginal culture and the traditional landscape, a select number of First Nations representatives expressed the value of exploiting their resources and land for profit (e.g., FN-10) even if archaeological sites are impacted. The traditional world view expressed by many First Nations councillors may sometimes conflict with contemporary/ non-traditional world views represented in Aboriginal communities, particularly regarding development on Aboriginal reservations.

As opposed to viewing archaeology as a potential limitation to development, a few municipal councillors emphasized the importance of protecting all archaeological sites for the purposes of preserving the history of diverse communities and educating future generations (e.g., MUN-1). These

unique perspectives, held by a small minority of local government representatives, are at odds with the general views of First Nations and municipal councils on archaeological heritage. Not only do conflicting perspectives exist between local government bodies, but diverse views are also present *within* First Nations and municipal governments. Even though these councillors present anomalous perspectives, their unique positions may allow them to better relate to the views of different governing bodies, and perhaps, help to facilitate discussions on archaeological heritage.

Revisiting Project Objectives

An assessment of the perspectives of First Nations and municipal councillors in the Fraser Valley, through their divergent and convergent opinions, has fulfilled the original project objectives. The first objective, to describe how local government representatives value archaeological heritage, is satisfied by documenting their collective belief in the cultural, historic, educational, and even economic (tourism) significance of archaeology. The perspectives of First Nations and municipal representatives strongly converge on the value of archaeological heritage.

The second objective, to determine the influence that First Nations and municipal councillors have over archaeological heritage, has not only been explored through background research but also through opinions on the perceived influence of their local governments in the Fraser Valley. While First Nations councils exert influence over archaeological heritage through culturally rooted protection policies, municipal representatives potentially impact

archaeology through their community development decisions. Most municipal councillors may not wish to recognize their influence over the management of archaeology, as many think that it should be the responsibility of the provincial and/or federal governments. However, their influence on archaeology is inevitable in their positions as local-decision makers. In contrast, First Nations councillors demand to have more influence over archaeology and exercise more responsibility for their heritage sites. Even though both First Nations and municipal councillors have influence over archaeological heritage, their perspectives diverge on the extent of influence they want to have.

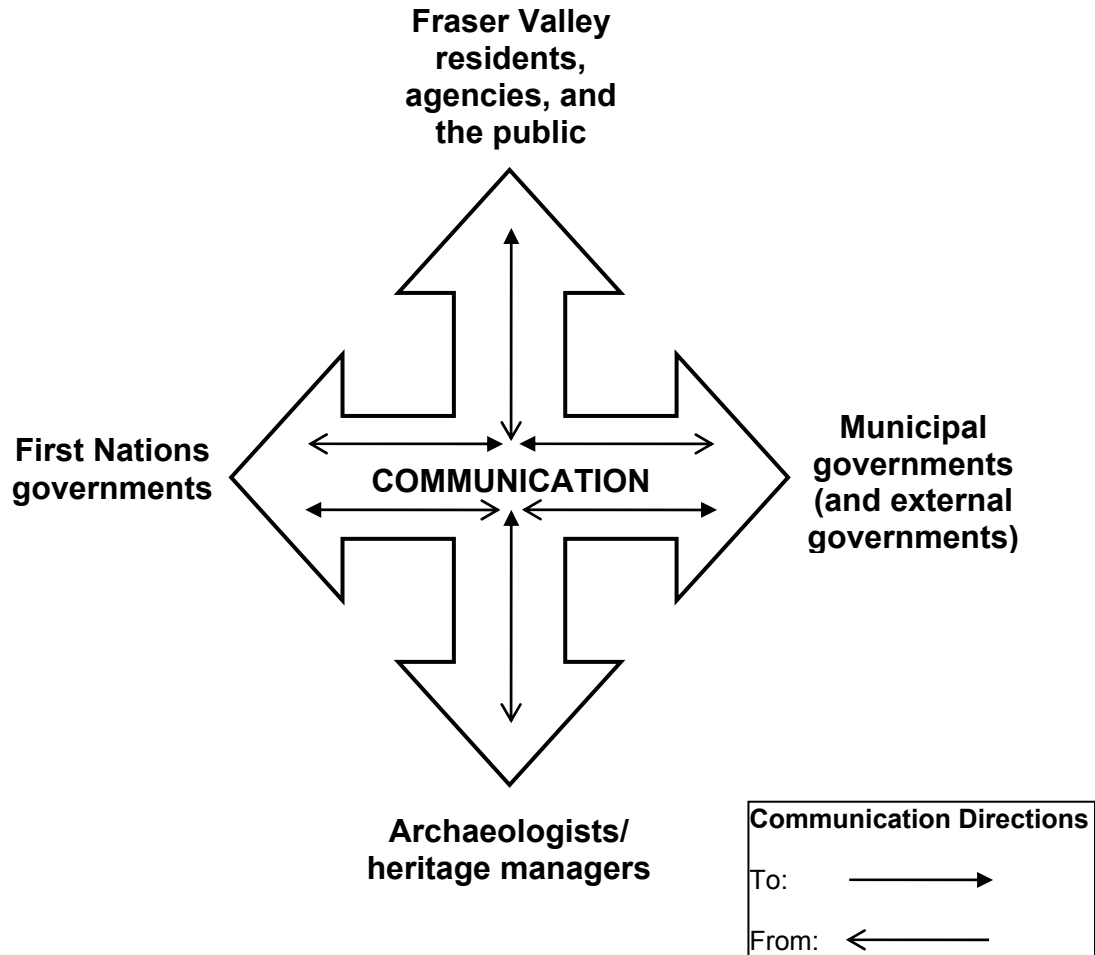
Building Relationships

Paths of Communication

As evident in the results of the study, communication is the foundation of building relationships among diverse councils and, in turn, resolving archaeological heritage concerns. For archaeological heritage to be effectively managed in the Fraser Valley, it is necessary for multiple paths of communication between archaeologists, diverse governments, and various publics, to be opened (Figure 43). The first path, starting from the bottom of the diagram, is communication between local archaeologists, heritage managers, and First Nations and municipal governments. This path, which is largely active in the Fraser Valley, involves archaeologists and heritage managers recognizing the significance of sharing information and working with diverse governments (e.g., Chehalis Indian Band 2008; Bev Kennedy, personal communication 2006; Schaepe 2007). As archaeology is under the jurisdiction of the province, the

B.C. Archaeology Branch also has a responsibility to communicate with local First Nations and municipal governments. Very recently, well after councillors' perspectives were gathered for this study, the B.C. Archaeology Branch presented information to local governments, primarily municipalities and regional districts, regarding potential local management strategies for archaeological heritage (Doug Glaum, personal communication 2007; B.C. 2008b). It is too early to gauge the impact, if any, that these communications will have on archaeological heritage management in the Fraser Valley.

Figure 43: Multiple paths of communication between archaeologists and heritage managers, diverse governments, and residents, agencies, and the public. All of these paths are necessary for effective archaeological heritage management in the Fraser Valley.



Once local governments are informed about archaeological heritage within municipal and Aboriginal jurisdictions, it is in their best interest to communicate with each other about management strategies. This is the second path of communication. As emphasized in the results, First Nations and municipal councils strongly believe that they can work together on heritage issues and think that a joint heritage policy would take the guesswork out of managing local archaeological heritage. Not only would a standardized heritage policy provide

protection for archaeological heritage through its application, but also it has the potential to prevent much of the stress and economic losses that occur when an archaeological is unexpectedly encountered. At this avenue of communication, local First Nations and municipal governments should also work with regional districts and the provincial government, even welcoming insight from the federal government, to discuss and develop heritage strategies on which all parties can agree. Since First Nations' heritage is embodied by the vast majority of archaeological sites in the Fraser Valley and Aboriginal groups have already created a comprehensive heritage policy, perhaps these documents can be utilized as a foundation for the development of a standard, joint heritage initiative.

The third path of communication involves educating residents of the Fraser Valley, special interest groups, and the public about archaeological heritage. Under this avenue local governments, or heritage managers employed by local governments, share relevant archaeological information with specific stakeholders such as developers, resource industries, farmers, and land owners, and inform them of any local policies that need to be followed (e.g., Chehalis Indian Band 2008; Schaepe 2007). A standardized, perhaps regional, process for managing archaeology, preventing impacts to heritage sites, and enforcing measures, would be highly applicable when communicating with these stakeholders. The general public is also a stakeholder group for archaeological heritage, as the perspectives of the public influence the governments who represent them through their voting rights as citizens. As supported by local governments, effective archaeological outreach and tourism allows residents,

from all backgrounds, to learn about the heritage of cultures in their communities. Belief in the value of archaeological and cultural tourism is a central convergence among First Nations and municipal governments', which also feeds into the third path of communication.

Since communication moves in different directions, diverse publics may also approach government representatives with their heritage concerns. Councillors can then seek advice from local and provincial archaeological heritage managers to effectively resolve these issues in the Fraser Valley. Through these paths of communication, local government representatives and their diverse communities can take on an active role in local archaeological heritage stewardship.

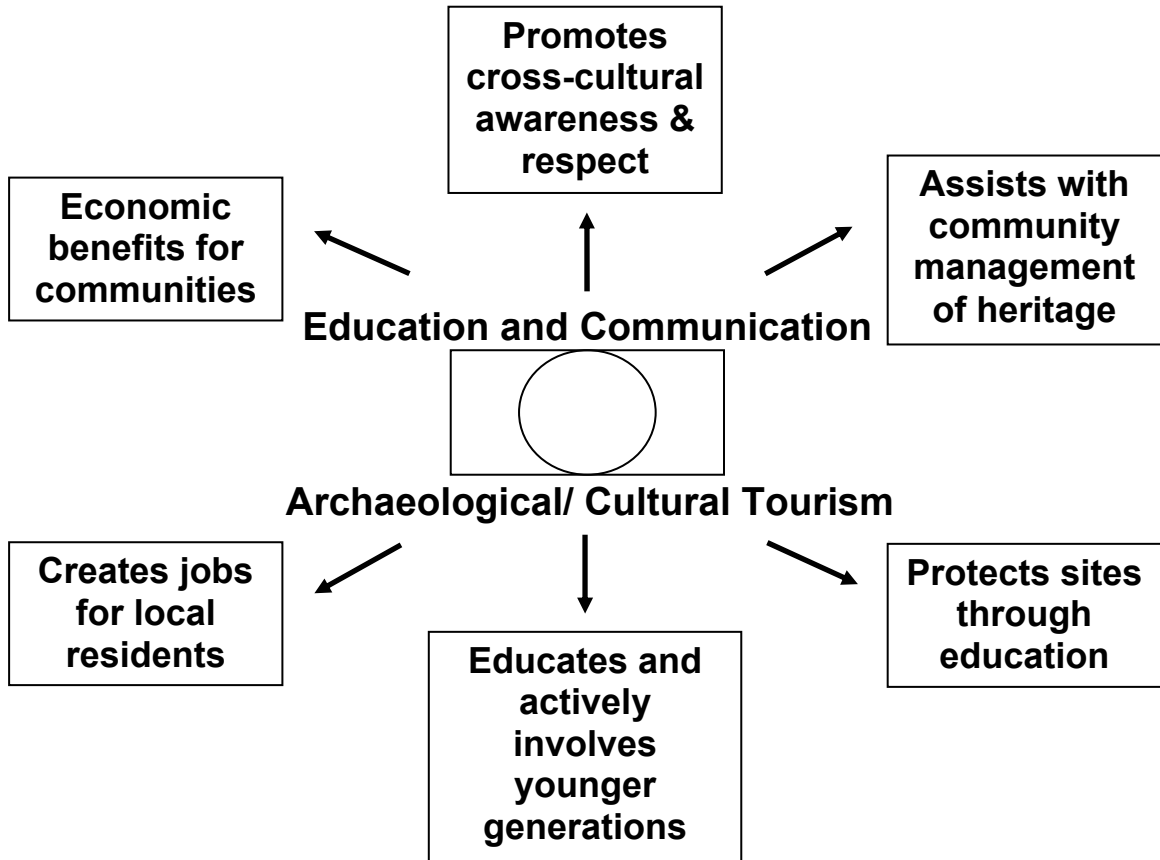
Situating Archaeological Tourism: A Unified Vision

Although both First Nations and municipal representatives situate archaeology in distinct ways, they have a unified vision of the significance of archaeological/ cultural tourism in the Fraser Valley. Through an assessment of local governments' perspectives, the goal of this study—understanding how archaeology fits into councillors' vision of the Fraser Valley—has been reached. Local governments collectively envision the role of archaeology as a way of engaging and educating many publics, fostering respect among diverse cultures, and providing economic opportunities, through cultural tourism (Figure 44). As indicated in the survey and interviews, both First Nations and municipal governments agree that archaeological sites can be protected through educating the public, who will likely support the management of archaeological heritage at a

community level if well-informed. In addition, local governments in the Fraser Valley recognize the value that cultural tourism has for providing meaningful employment to their residents and generating income within their communities, consistently emphasizing the need for cultural centres. Both First Nations and municipal councillors strongly believe in the value that archaeology has in educating and involving their younger generations. As emphatically stated by this municipal councillor:

I'm a great one to believe that you start the kids with something that will interest them all their lives. And I want that (archaeology) to be able to be brought forward for my kids' kids' kids, you know. It's not for me, it's really not for me. It's for the future. And if we don't do it now, it will be too late! It will (MUN-1).

Figure 44: Potential benefits from education and communication, through archaeological tourism, as indicated by First Nations and municipal councillors. This figure represents local governments' collective vision of archaeology's role in the Fraser Valley.



In particular, First Nations representatives recognize the significance of sharing archaeology and their history with their people, especially the younger generations. According to a number of First Nations councillors, passing on this history instils a sense of pride and awareness in youth about their culture and heritage, positively influencing community well-being. As poignantly expressed by this First Nations chief:

Some of our people, as my grandfather put it, (are) “losing track of who they are and where they really come from.” Having a connection to the land...and having the knowledge that your ancestors for generations and generations...(lived for) thousands of years of occupation in this territory...just knowing all that adds to our young people’s self esteem...and that helps more to build a healthy community (FN-4).

Both First Nations and municipal governments understand that archaeological outreach promotes cross-cultural awareness and respect within and among their communities, and has the potential to build bridges between diverse cultures in the region. Within local governments themselves, archaeological tourism acts as a bridge between First Nations and municipal councils, fitting into their collective vision of the Fraser Valley.

Archaeological tourism has already taken root in the Fraser Valley. The *Xá:ytem* archaeological site in Mission has a year-round interpretative centre, which has shared the culture, traditions, and history of the Stó:lō with thousands of people of different ages and backgrounds, for over ten years (*Xá:ytem* 2008b). Knowledgeable Stó:lō guides, such as Sonny McHalsie from Shxw’ōwhámél First Nation, also lead Aboriginal community members, local residents, and visitors on engaging and educational Stó:lō place name tours across *S’ólh Téméxw*. Sasquatch Tours, owned and operated by the Charlie family from Chehalis First Nation, offers visitors a series of memorable cultural cruises and interpretive programs, such as visiting rock art sites on Harrison Lake and Harrison River (Sasquatch Tours 2007). Although much more recent than pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological sites, the National Historic Site of Fort Langley gives

visitors the opportunity to step back into the era of a fur trade post, as it would have looked a century and a half ago (Parks Canada 2006).

Since cultural tourism is a growing industry in British Columbia (Duffy 2008; Tourism B.C. 2005), the Stó:lō Tourism Commission formed to promote and showcase Aboriginal tourism initiatives in Stó:lō territory throughout the Fraser Valley (Stó:lō Tourism Commission 2007). In addition, the Stó:lō Tourism Commission aims to communicate with Stó:lō people about the opportunities in cultural tourism and provide resources to community members who are working, or who wish to work, in this budding field. The Stó:lō Tourism Commission is also a member of Tourism Chilliwack, confirming that cultural tourism is a key convergence among First Nations communities and municipalities (Chouinard 2007). The province also seems to be highly supportive and enthusiastic about cultural tourism, providing five million dollars in funding to B.C. Aboriginal tourism over the next four years (Constantineau 2007).

Cultural tourism has a variety of benefits for diverse communities in the Fraser Valley, including education, cultural rejuvenation, environmental conservation, and economic sustainability. By sharing Aboriginal culture and knowledge about heritage with individuals of different backgrounds, visitors are left with memorable experiences that enrich their understanding of, and appreciation for, unique First Nations cultures (Kramer 2007). As an enormous benefit, First Nations traditions and stories are being kept alive through the process of celebrating Aboriginal culture with visitors. In addition, younger generations of Aboriginal peoples are learning about their own culture and

practicing their traditions by working in the industry (Mazurkewich 2007). Aboriginal eco-tourism also passes on messages about sustainability and the need to take care of the environment (Bates 2007). Finally, the economic benefit of tourism is crucial, as many Aboriginal communities involved with cultural tourism are no longer relying on government subsidies but have secured the economic sustainability of their communities (Mazurkewich 2007). Furthermore, revenue will generally filter into an entire region where cultural tourism occurs, as the area is perceived as a destination. When all these benefits are taken into consideration, perhaps the long-term educational, cultural, environmental, and economic values of heritage tourism outweigh the one-time economic windfall gained through developing over an archaeological site.

Potential Limitations of Maintaining Relationships

Although First Nations and municipal councils believe that they can work together on archaeological issues, a number of factors may limit their ability to maintain successful relationships on the joint management of archaeological heritage. First Nations and municipal representatives have distinct world views regarding the relationship between archaeology, the landscape, and multiple community issues. These diverse world views have the potential to impede discussions on archaeological heritage if local governments do not recognize their divergent perspectives from the outset.

Another potential limitation involves the relatively quick turn-around time of elected First Nations, roughly every two years (*Indian Act*, Canada 1985), and municipal councillors, every three years (*Local Government Act*, British Columbia

1996b), in office. All efforts in establishing a solid working relationship between local governments are often futile if these individuals are only present for a single term in office.

A final limitation for maintaining joint relationships on archaeological heritage involves a lack of capacity within local governments, at both staffing and financial levels (Patenaud 1994). Through gathering perspectives for this project and as expressed by councillors themselves, First Nations and municipal representatives generally have very demanding schedules, and may not have any time to give to joint discussions on archaeological heritage. As expressed in the results, specific expertise of archaeological heritage among local government representatives is also limited, particularly due to the wide range of issues these councillors need to be familiar with. In addition, sufficient funding, which is already lacking among First Nations and municipal governments, as expressed in this study, would be needed to facilitate these discussions and the implementation of any heritage strategies. For discussions on managing archaeological heritage to be productive, local governments need to recognize and tackle these potential limitations.

General Recommendations

By addressing the limitations above and selectively applying results from the study, I provide three general recommendations for local governments to effectively work together on archaeological heritage strategies in the Fraser Valley:

1. Improved communication between diverse local governments on archaeological heritage issues: This may involve bringing councils together to acknowledge their diverse world views and perspectives on archaeology, but also identify and discuss the commonalities they share. The Regional District may be an ideal body for First Nations to communicate with as they encompass both municipalities and electoral areas. These meetings could be facilitated by local heritage managers and archaeologists.
2. Establishment of a single stable body, or committee, made up of knowledgeable individuals, to address heritage concerns across the region: Potentially, this cultural heritage committee would consist of individuals representing different stakeholder groups, such as First Nations communities, municipalities, electoral areas, and the regional district, who would have experience and knowledge of local heritage issues. These individuals would not be local government representatives themselves, but hired by their representative bodies to serve on the committee. The committee could meet regularly and/ or when particular heritage issues arise, and report back to their respective stakeholder groups. Perhaps the committee could be funded through public and private grants accessible to local governments undertaking joint initiatives (e.g., U.B.C.M. 2007). The provincial government, which has legislative jurisdiction over archaeology, and even the federal government should have a role in providing regular contributions to this committee, and could

send representatives to be involved as well. In turn, this committee would give regular updates to the funding parties.

3. Development of strategies and initiatives by this cultural heritage committee, as guided by their stakeholder groups: These may include, but are not limited to—

- collectively creating, or adopting an existing, regional heritage policy;
- enacting measures to apply the policy;
- rewarding and acknowledging developers who practice due diligence by incorporating archaeological impact assessments into their planning;
- holding an open forum for the public on archaeology; and
- developing a shared cultural/ archaeological tourism plan, building on the growing industry.

As guided by the perspectives of First Nations and municipal councillors and input from local heritage managers, these recommendations provide insight into a process for the community management of archaeological heritage in the Fraser Valley. Although these basic recommendations provide a potential blueprint for the management of archaeological heritage, they can only be applicable if endorsed by diverse local stakeholders who are working toward a collective goal of heritage management.

Future Directions for Collective Heritage Management

At a time of shifting ground between local governments, through the treaty negotiation process and other joint agreements, the relevance of collective heritage management is evident. The relationships between First Nations and municipal councillors in the Fraser Valley are changing shape on account of the British Columbia Treaty Process, where some Aboriginal communities are currently negotiating a wide range of issues, including land claims and governance (Schaepe 2007). Once these First Nations communities ratify their treaties (e.g., Tsawwassen First Nation [B.C. 2007b]), their Aboriginal rights and title to the landscape may become more prominent and their guiding heritage policies can become legislation, and be recognized by external governments. The treaty process provides an exceptional opportunity for First Nations and municipalities to work together on archaeological heritage issues, as they already participate in other government-to-government discussions (e.g., lands and resource management, service delivery) as part of the process. Many other First Nations have decided to forgo the treaty negotiation route and engage in agreements with governments, agencies, and businesses, ranging from forestry to economic development (e.g., Chehalis [Leslie 2004]).

Local governments do have the potential to work together on archaeological heritage management, as they already engage in joint agreements on a range of other community issues. Since the 1990s, local First Nations and municipal governments in British Columbia have come together to sign formal agreements on such issues as joint cooperation, parks and

recreation, economic development and land use, capacity development, and resource management (U.B.C.M. and L.M.T.A.C. 2005). Beginning in 1997, the Union of B.C. Municipalities (U.B.C.M.) and the First Nations Summit (F.N.S.) have jointly organized province-wide Community to Community Forums, where First Nations, municipal, and regional community leaders have the opportunity to engage in dialogue on their common goals and the process of achieving these goals (U.B.C.M. 2008). In addition, the Union of B.C. Municipalities and the First Nations Summit offers a regional Community to Community Forum program, which provides funding for neighbouring First Nations, municipal and regional governments to discuss issues of mutual interest (U.B.C.M. 2008). This regional forum program may be an opportunity for local governments in the Fraser Valley to discuss issues of collective concern, such as land-use planning, economic development, and heritage (U.B.C.M. 2008).

One of the only local government-to-government agreements in British Columbia to explicitly address archaeological heritage management is between the District of Powell River and the Tla'Amin First Nation (2004). In this protocol agreement, both parties commit to protecting and promoting Tla'Amin and historic heritage through the formation of a joint Culture and Heritage Committee. This Committee, made up of First Nations and municipal representatives, is responsible for drafting heritage policy and managing archaeological heritage within the community. In addition, Yale First Nation and the Fraser Valley Regional District (2006) signed a Memorandum of Understanding and Protocol Agreement, which lists cultural and heritage protection as a key interest,

however, does not expand on the process for joint heritage management. As apparent from these recent agreements, there is high potential for First Nations and municipal governments, or rather, the Fraser Valley Regional District, to develop a comprehensive framework to assist in managing archaeological heritage across diverse communities.

For local governments in the Fraser Valley to work on archaeological issues together, First Nations and municipal councillors must build their relationships on common ground. Although local governments situate archaeological heritage in distinct ways, reflecting their unique identities and philosophies, they will only be able to work together and move forward on heritage issues through their convergent perspectives. Both First Nations and municipal representatives believe that archaeological heritage has strong cultural, historical, and educational values that are destined to be shared with their own communities, and other diverse publics, through effective archaeological outreach. Local governments in the Fraser Valley strongly support working together on archaeological heritage strategies, whether a cultural tourism plan and/ or a heritage policy, and understand that open dialogue and communication is necessary to maintain mutually beneficial relationships.

Communication and education about archaeology, through cultural tourism, is a key approach to bridging the disconnect between the general public and their representatives on heritage issues. An archaeologically informed public, through such avenues as cultural tourism, is more likely to influence their local level decision makers to preserve heritage sites for future generations. If

guided by their shared vision of the Fraser Valley, both First Nations and municipal governments, along with their respective communities, would be gradually moving toward the joint management of archaeological heritage through policy and cultural tourism initiatives. As voiced by a municipal mayor, local governments' collective vision of archaeological heritage management can only be achieved through a gradual, cooperative process:

You have to know where you want to go if you're going to get there. And you have to be able to define what it is that you want to achieve out of it. And that has to be compatible to the entire community, including the First Nations community. So it's a matter of us working together to find those realistic, sustainable, and appropriate steps that are going to work for everybody (MUN-10).

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Survey

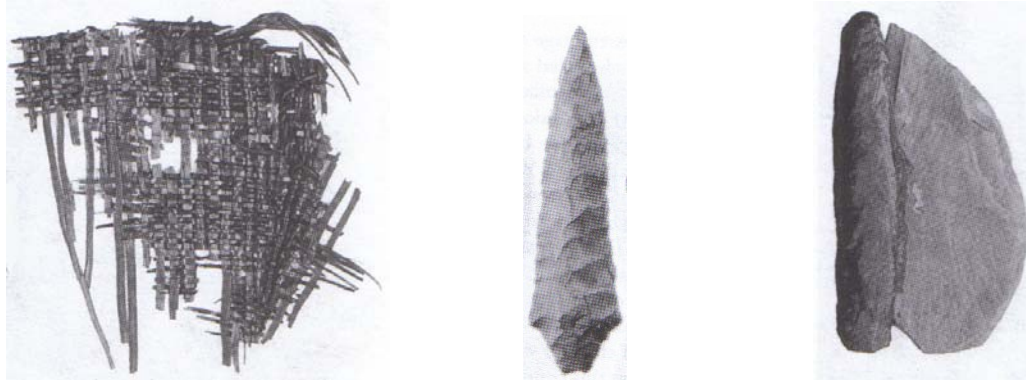
Appendix B: Interview

Appendix C: Survey Strategies

APPENDIX A: SURVEY

The survey below is the version for municipal representatives. The questions are the same for all government representatives who received the survey: First Nations representatives, municipal councillors, electoral directors, and members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) in the Fraser Valley. Only question #51 is worded differently, to suit each category of representative.

The Perspectives of Local Decision-Makers on Archaeology



(Photos courtesy of Dr. Dana Lepofsky, Simon Fraser University)

In this survey, you will find questions about:

- The value of archaeology
- Archaeological legislation and policy
- The conservation of cultural heritage
- Archaeology, First Nations, and other local communities
- Archaeology and contemporary issues
- Local management of archaeological heritage

The survey should take no more than 30 minutes to complete. We believe that you will enjoy taking the survey and find it to be relevant to current issues facing your community.

Your input is important to us because it will contribute to understanding the potential for archaeological heritage management at a community level. Thank you in advance for your participation.

SECTION A	Archaeology: Its Meaning and Value This section is concerned with your general perceptions about archaeological heritage.
----------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

1. What do you think of when you hear the word “archaeology”?

2. Do you think archaeology is relevant to contemporary Canadian society?
(Please circle number)

Not relevant					Very relevant
1	2	3	4		5

3. Do you think archaeology is relevant to contemporary First Nations societies?
(Please circle number)

Not relevant					Very relevant
1	2	3	4		5

4. How many archaeological sites do you think have been discovered in British Columbia?

_____ sites

5. How important are the following types of archaeology?

	Not important					Very important
Classical (e.g. Egypt, Greece)	1	2	3	4		5
Historic (e.g. fur trade era)	1	2	3	4		5
Pre-contact (before Europeans came to Canada)	1	2	3	4		5

6. How important are each of the following in learning about the past?

	Not important					Very important
Archival/ historic documents	1	2	3	4		5
Oral history and traditions	1	2	3	4		5
Archaeological excavations	1	2	3	4		5

16. What are the strongest values that archaeological sites and artifacts have for your community? (Check all that apply)

- | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------|
| Economic | <input type="checkbox"/> | Political | <input type="checkbox"/> | Cultural | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Scientific | <input type="checkbox"/> | Spiritual | <input type="checkbox"/> | Historic | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Aesthetic | <input type="checkbox"/> | Educational | <input type="checkbox"/> | No Value | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. Archaeology can be a viable part of our local economy through cultural tourism.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

18. Archaeology can be utilized to settle political disputes.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. Through tourism ventures, archaeology can create jobs for local residents.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

20. The proper management of archaeological heritage can be a part of a successful political campaign agenda.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

21. Learning about local archaeology can lead to greater cross-cultural awareness and respect for other cultures in this region.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

22. It is important to protect archaeological sites that are spiritual or sacred to local First Nations communities.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

23. It is important to protect local non-Aboriginal archaeological sites (e.g. an historic farmstead, European fur traders' quarters).

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

SECTION	The Management of Archaeological Heritage
B	This section is about your opinions on a variety of issues relating to the management of archaeological heritage.

24. What role does archaeology play in contemporary issues within the Fraser Valley, British Columbia?

25. Who should be responsible for **managing** (taking care of, protecting, obtaining an impact assessment for, etc.) Aboriginal archaeological sites and materials located first, on private lands, and second, public lands?

a) Private Land: Rank the following groups from 1 to 5, with 1 being the least responsible for managing Aboriginal archaeological sites on **private land** and 5 being the most responsible (*Use each rank only once*).

Landowner	_____	Provincial Government	_____
First Nations	_____	Federal Government	_____
Municipal Government	_____		

b) Public Land: Rank the following groups from 1 to 4, with 1 being the least responsible for managing Aboriginal archaeological sites on **public land** and 4 being the most responsible (*Use each rank only once*).

First Nations	_____	Provincial Government	_____
Municipal Government	_____	Federal Government	_____

30. Does your municipality have a Heritage Advisory Committee (HAC)? *If "No" or "Uncertain", move on to question 32.*

Yes No Uncertain

31. Has your Heritage Advisory Committee helped to stop an archaeological site from being impacted by development or looting?

No Yes **➔** If yes, how did they do it? Uncertain

32. Should known archaeological sites be monitored (e.g. checking the condition of sites, creating a formal list of sites) on a regular basis?

Yes No Uncertain

33. Does your community have a system for monitoring known archaeological sites within the boundaries of your municipality?

Yes No Uncertain

➔ If yes, please explain how it works.

34. Who should be responsible for monitoring archaeological sites to prevent their destruction?

	Least responsible			Most responsible	
Heritage interest groups (i.e. HAC)	1	2	3	4	5
Archaeologists	1	2	3	4	5
First Nations	1	2	3	4	5
Local governments	1	2	3	4	5
The general public	1	2	3	4	5
The police	1	2	3	4	5
The provincial government	1	2	3	4	5
The federal government	1	2	3	4	5
Other: _____	1	2	3	4	5

35. **Should** there be laws to protect archaeological sites?

Yes No Uncertain

36. In your opinion, who **should** develop and administer these heritage laws for archaeological sites on non-federal land in B.C.? (*Check all that apply*)

First Nations Provincial government
Local government Federal government
Uncertain N/A (should be no laws)

37. First Nations people should have majority control over the archaeological sites their ancestors created.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

38. An annual event recognizing the archaeological heritage in this region would benefit the community as a whole.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

39. **Are** there laws that protect archaeological sites?

Yes No Uncertain

40. Who develops and administers heritage **laws** for archaeological sites, on non-federal land, in B.C.? (*Check all that apply*)

First Nations Provincial government
Local government Federal government
Uncertain N/A (no laws)

41. Who develops and administers heritage **policies** for archaeological sites in B.C.? (*Check all that apply*)

First Nations Provincial government
Local government Federal government
Uncertain N/A (no policies)

42. In your opinion, who **should** develop and administer heritage **policies** for archaeological sites in B.C.? (*Check all that apply*)

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| First Nations | <input type="checkbox"/> | Provincial government | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Local government | <input type="checkbox"/> | Federal government | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Uncertain | <input type="checkbox"/> | N/A (should be no policies) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

43. In the Fraser Valley, who develops and administers archaeological heritage **policies**?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Municipal governments | <input type="checkbox"/> | Stó:lō Nation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Electoral districts | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other First Nations | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Uncertain | <input type="checkbox"/> | N/A (no policies) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

44. Archaeology can be used to promote First Nations cultural heritage.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

45. Only the oldest and largest archaeological sites should be preserved.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

46. Should individuals or corporations who knowingly destroy archaeological sites be penalized? (*Answer for both*)

- | | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Individuals | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Corporations | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, what type of penalty is suitable?

For Individuals (*Answer all 3*)

- | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Fine | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Jail sentence | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Community Work | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |

For Corporations (Answer all 3)

- | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Fine | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Jail sentence | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Community Work | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> | Uncertain <input type="checkbox"/> |

47. How important do you think archaeological data are for First Nations land claims?

Not important					Very Important
1	2	3	4		5

48. If excavation is necessary when private land development threatens to destroy an archaeological site, who should pay for it?

	Should pay none			Should pay all	
The developer	1	2	3	4	5
The government/public	1	2	3	4	5
The landowner	1	2	3	4	5
Affected special interest groups (e.g. First Nations, Chinese)	1	2	3	4	5

49. In the course of development, a pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological site was found in your municipality. Should it be protected if:

a) it was found to be the **only** 10,000 year old site in the region?

Not protected	Protected if minimal cost	Protected at all costs	Uncertain
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) it was found to be a 1,000 year old site?

Not protected	Protected if minimal cost	Protected at all costs	Uncertain
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c) it contained human burials?

Not protected	Protected if minimal cost	Protected at all costs	Uncertain
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

50. Do you believe that the development of local heritage policy for the management of archaeological resources would benefit the community as a whole?

Yes No Uncertain

Explain why or why not.

51. Do you believe that your council has the potential to work with local First Nations councils on the management of archaeological heritage?

Yes No Uncertain

Explain why or why not.

SECTION C	Demographics This section asks questions about individual characteristics for the purpose of comparing different demographic categories.
----------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

52. In what year were you born? 19____

53. How many years have you lived in British Columbia? _____ years

54. What is your cultural background (e.g. ethnicity, ancestry)?

55. What is your position as a local decision-maker?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| First Nations Chief | <input type="checkbox"/> | Municipal Mayor | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| First Nations Councillor | <input type="checkbox"/> | Municipal Councillor | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Electoral Director | <input type="checkbox"/> | MLA | <input type="checkbox"/> |

56. How many years have you held this position?

_____ years

57. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Elementary school | <input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some high school | <input type="checkbox"/> Some post-graduate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> High school graduate | <input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some post-secondary | <input type="checkbox"/> Technical/vocational diploma |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ | |

58. If you studied at a post-secondary institution, what was your major field of study?

59. Are you:

- female male

60. Would you be interested in visiting an archaeological site that we will be excavating this summer?

- Yes No Uncertain

61. Would you be interested in a brief follow-up interview on this topic? As with this survey, your identity will not be revealed in any future thesis, report, presentation, or publication.

- Yes No Uncertain

62. Would you prefer to have your identity revealed in future documents about this study (including the thesis, reports, presentations, and publications)?

Yes No Under certain conditions *

* If "under certain conditions", please explain the conditions.

63. Would you be interested in receiving a copy of the results of this study, upon its completion?

Yes No Uncertain

64. Would you be interested in attending a presentation about the results of this study?

Yes No Uncertain

Is there anything else you would like to tell us about the issues raised in this survey? If so, please make your comments below.

**THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO
ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS.**

Please drop off your completed survey at the front desk (unless we have made other arrangements) by **Friday, June 10** and we will return to pick it up.

Or, if you wish, please mail your survey to:

Local Decision-Makers' Perspectives on Archaeology
Department of Archaeology
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive,
Burnaby, British Columbia
V5A 1S6

If you have any further questions,
please contact Amanda King at xxxxxx@sfu.ca or at xxx-xxx-xxxx.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW

Interview Questions

The following is a set of interview questions I asked First Nations and municipal representatives in the Fraser Valley, during the follow-up interviews to the survey. This specific list is for First Nations councillors, who were asked two additional interview questions (#8a, b).

Background

1. How long have you been a chief/ councillor?
2. Have you been involved in local government in the past?

Value of Archaeological Heritage

3. Do you believe that archaeology has value for your community? How so? (i.e. educational, cultural, economic, political, spiritual)
4. From the results of the survey, it seems that archaeology is more important to First Nations and less important to other levels of government, particularly local governments. What do you think of this?
5. How important is archaeology/heritage in comparison to other community issues?
6. In the survey, many people thought that land claims were an issue in the Fraser Valley, and that archaeology plays a role in land claims. What do you think about land claims? In your opinion, what role does archaeology play in land claims? (Does the issue of land claims affect your relationship with local First Nations councils? How so?)

Management of Archaeological Heritage

7. Situational Question
 - a) With the upcoming 2010 Olympics, your council decides to build a resort on your reserve. You are one year into the project and the developers are just beginning to find a lot of artifacts. This could be one of the largest and most important Aboriginal village sites in the Fraser Valley. However, you have already put tens-of-thousands of dollars into the project. What would you do in this situation?
 - b) What if human burials were also found at this site (few, 20, 100 etc.)?
8.
 - a) Do you know if archaeological sites are protected, by law, on your reserve?
 - b) Do you believe that archaeological sites on reserve should be protected under the same law as off reserve archaeological sites? Why or why not?
9. In the survey, most people thought that it was very important to protect archaeological sites from being looted, however, less important to protect sites from development. What is your opinion on this?
10.
 - a) Who should be responsible for managing (taking care of) archaeological sites?
 - b) In the survey, most people felt that First Nations should be more responsible for managing archaeological sites than municipal governments. What is your feeling on this?
11. Do you feel that your council has been given a clear message from the provincial government about your level of responsibility for archaeological sites?
12. Are you aware of the story around the pre-contact archaeological site, Xá:ytem (Hatzic Rock), located just outside of Mission? What is your opinion of how this unfolded?
13. Are you aware of the story around the pre-contact Maccallum archaeological site, located near Agassiz? What is your opinion of how this unfolded?
14.
 - a) Have issues involving archaeological heritage been dealt with by your council (Does it come up in discussions)?
 - b) Have you or your council ever been involved with the protection of an archaeological site? Please explain.

- c) (If yes) Did you work with the provincial government and/or local municipal governments?
15. Who or what group advises you about archaeological heritage issues in your community?
16. a) Do you believe that your council could work with municipal governments on the joint management of archaeological heritage? (Would this be an easy relationship? What are the impediments, if any?)
- b) Do you think that a joint heritage policy would be useful in the Fraser Valley?
17. In an ideal world (i.e. lots of time and money, archaeology not interfering with development) how would you imagine heritage resources being managed in your community?
18. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your views on archaeological heritage?

Interview Codes

The table below provides codes for all of the interviews I conducted with First Nations and municipal representatives, which are referenced throughout this thesis.

Table 13: List of First Nations (FN) and municipal (MUN) interview participants (ID codes are assigned at random).

ID Code	Participant (FN)	ID Code	Participant (MUN)
FN-1	Chief	MUN-1	Councillor
FN-2	Councillor	MUN-2	Councillor
FN-3	Councillor	MUN-3	Mayor
FN-4	Chief	MUN-4	Councillor
FN-5	Councillor	MUN-5	Councillor
FN-6	Chief	MUN-6	Councillor
FN-7	Councillor	MUN-7	Mayor
FN-8	Councillor	MUN-8	Councillor
FN-9	Chief	MUN-9	Councillor
FN-10	Band Manager	MUN-10	Mayor
FN-11	Councillor	MUN-11	Councillor
FN-12	Councillor		

APPENDIX C: SURVEY STRATEGIES

Survey Guidelines

As a novice at survey design, I compiled the following guidelines to assist me in the construction of a questionnaire that aimed to compile local decision-makers' perspectives on archaeology. With permission, I also included a number of questions from David Pokotylo and Neil Guppy's (1999) previous survey on public opinion of archaeological heritage, to potentially make broad comparisons between the studies (David Pokotylo, personal communication 2005). The following guidelines, which are not an exhaustive listing, were gathered from a number of sources on survey development (Dillman 2000; Gray and Guppy 1999; Nardi 2003; Salant and Dillman 1994).

General Guidelines

- Recognize that how you design the survey questions influence how the respondents answer the questions.
- The various respondents to a survey must have the same understanding of what the questions mean.
- It is essential to try your questionnaire out on small groups to get feedback and see if all the individuals understand your questions in the same way.
- It is important to avoid an atomistic approach (without social context of respondent) by including questions that collect contextual information of value to the research objectives.

Formatting, Question Order, and Length of Questionnaire

- Question order is very important. Personal, demographic, and classificatory questions should be left to the end. The questionnaire should start with questions that are “interesting”, easy to answer, and related to the research topic.
- Introductions to sections effectively present the topic to the respondent and structure the questionnaire in a logical manner. This is especially essential for self-administered surveys.
- Demographic questions should be mutually exclusive and exhaustive. It is important, however, not to include too many demographic questions, limiting them to the ones most relevant to your project.

Decreasing Bias

- Avoid loaded questions that appear to imply that an attitude or particular form of behaviour is appropriate or inappropriate.
- Mix the direction of your statements so that not all the answers for a particular set of opinions lead to “agree” or “disagree.”
- Avoid forced-choice questions, where respondents are asked to choose between two options. Choices are not exhaustive and these types of questions tend to yield an inaccurate response.
- In order to assess response bias, you may want to include ‘trap’ questions that are likely to pick up those who tend to exaggerate. Using words like “never” and “always” is a way to catch social desirability and another is to include an impossible choice, such as the name of a book that does not exist.

Different Types of Questions

- Open-ended questions are usually more appropriate for interviews than for self-administered questionnaires because respondents might give ambiguous answers that cannot be quantified. Open-ended questions, however, do allow the respondent to fully express their opinion while the researcher’s assumptions are less likely to influence participants’ responses.

- You may want to pilot open-ended questions so that they can turn into closed questions, based on the respondents' answers.
- For close-ended questions, the response categories must be virtually exhaustive in covering all the major responses expected and the categories must be mutually exclusive so the respondents do not mark more than one answer. It is generally better to use narrower categories than a few broad categories. Close-ended questions allow the alternatives to be considered by the respondents and responses are uniform so recording is simplified.
- For close-ended questions, it may be useful to include an "other" selection with space for the respondent to write. Also, it may be good to include a "don't know" or "not applicable" selection where appropriate.
- If you are assessing an individual's attitudes or opinions, a good strategy is to present a statement and ask people whether they agree or disagree with it. Use a scale of opinion: "strongly agree", "agree", "neither agree or disagree", "disagree", "strongly disagree." If the goal is to see how many people are leaning on an issue, you may not want to include a middle category.
- Avoid "quiz" questions about what the respondent believes others do and feel. They are not substitutes for surveying the attitudes of the population directly.

Phrasing Questions

- Keep questions short and simple. Your goal is to have every respondent interpret them in the exact same way.
- When writing questions, avoid jargon, acronyms, technical terms, and obscure phrases.
- Some people feel more comfortable answering certain sensitive questions if they are written in categorical ranges rather than as specific numbers. For example, someone may prefer to check "between 30 and 40" for their age than write "39". For this particular example, more respondents might also be more comfortable writing their year of birth instead of their age.

- Avoid questions which use double negatives or are double-barreled, meaning that two questions are asked in one. These types of questions can confuse the respondent and they may answer in a different way from how they intended to.
- It is important to narrow the focus of your questions. For example, instead of “How often do you go to the gym?”, ask “How many times have you been to the gym in the past four weeks?”
- Soften questions which may seem threatening to respondents. Rather than asking “Did you vote in the last provincial election?”, ask “Were you able to vote in the last provincial election?”
- Avoid the use of the words *always* and *never* in questions because they are loaded words (people rarely always or never do something). It is better to phrase questions with words such as “most of the time”, “approximately”, “rarely”, or “infrequently.”
- Sometimes it may be important to clarify a word used in a question. Add clarity by defining your terms as a preliminary lead-in to the question. For example, instead of “Do you collect artifacts?”, it is better to say “Artifacts are the remains of past human activity, such as stone projectile points, pottery shards, and bone tools. Do you collect artifacts?”
- Avoid negative phrasing, which can be unclear to respondents. Instead of “Prostitution should not be decriminalized”, it is better to say “Prostitution should remain illegal.”
- If a question is asked involving a length of time, the researcher should establish a suitable time frame. People are more likely to report their past behaviour accurately when given a time frame, particularly when the behaviour is typical. Instead of, “How often do you go to a hairdresser?”, it is better to say, “In the past six months, how often have you gone to a hairdresser?”
- It is better to ask respondents to recall actual events or episodes, rather than asking them to summarize past events. For example, it is better to ask about the approximate time of day the respondent had coffee last and how many refills he/ she had.

Lessons Learned

Even after applying the preceding guidelines and testing the questionnaire, prior to distribution, I still learned a number of lessons on survey design. These lessons became apparent once I compiled the perspectives of councillors on archaeology, from the completed surveys. Based on response rates and perceived level of understanding, the most effective techniques and areas to learn from are listed below.

Most Effective Techniques

1. Numerical rate scale: These type of questions allow representatives to select a level of opinion based on a scale of numbers, typically 1 through 5, usually of more than one variable for comparison purposes (e.g., #7: How important to do you think archaeology is to the following groups? Rate from 1: not important to 5: very important). The numerical rate scale question was common throughout the survey, and was an effective means for displaying differences in opinion for different variables by mean score.
2. Descriptive scale: Participants expressed their range of agreement on particular statements in descriptive scale questions on the survey (e.g., #17-23). These questions, which are set on a scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree, had a very high response rate overall (99.1%) and therefore seemed to be effective at gauging opinion among First Nations and municipal representatives.

3. Open-ended questions: Although there were only two open-ended questions included on the survey (i.e., #1 and #24), respondents were able to express their views without being limited by a select number of options. The two open-ended questions were relatively well responded to (84.7%) and provided a wide range of answers regarding what councillors associate archaeology with (#1) and the role of archaeology in contemporary issues in the Fraser Valley (#24). As with typical closed-ended questions, these responses can still be coded, organized, and tabulated after all written answers have been categorized.

Areas to Learn From

1. Rank order questions: In general, a substantial number of respondents had difficulties with answering rank order questions over five rankings. With seven ranking options, only two thirds (66.6%) of respondents correctly filled in the rankings for Question 15, "Rank the (seven) following local government issues from 1 to 7." Those who did not assign each issue a rank left some issues missing, or wrote the same number more than once for different issues. Whether participants chose not to rank these options or were unclear about the question, I would use rank order questions more cautiously, and with less than five options.
2. Providing a numerical response: Not many councillors provided an exact numerical response when asked about the number of archaeological sites in B.C. (#4: 41.6%) and when the first peoples arrived in what we know

today as B.C. (#8: 31.3%). The majority of respondents, instead, gave qualitative responses to both questions, such as “many” to the number of archaeological sites (#4) and “time immemorial” to when the first peoples arrived (#8). Perhaps a multiple-choice question providing ranges of numbers may have been a more appropriate way to gauge knowledge about the magnitude of heritage sites and the arrival of the first peoples, since councillors may have felt pressed to give an exact number in the space provided.

3. Different interpretations of the question: The way in which representatives might uniquely interpret the wording of a question may result in an inaccurate response among participants. For example, when asked if there are laws to protect archaeological sites (#39), the interpretation of the word law might involve provincial, federal, local, or even Aboriginal law, depending on the perspective of the respondent. Also, when asked about who should pay for an archaeological excavation when private land development threatens an archaeological site (#48), some councillors chose not to respond to specific options such as “the developer” and “the landowner”, perhaps assuming they are one in the same. To prevent these differences in interpretation, I recommend being as clear, and specific, as possible in the wording of questions.

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