UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Faculty of Humanities

Archaeology

The Political Economy of a Commercial Archaeology
A Quebec Case-Study

by

Nicolas Zorzin

Excavation for an archaeological unit in northern Quebec
Photograph: *Taillon-Pellerin – Baie-James (2007)*

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2010

ABSTRACT

Capitalist logic, its impact on the practice of archaeology, and on the professional lives of those who participate within its political economy are the subject for this analysis. I have chosen as my unit of analysis commercial archaeology in Quebec, Canada. This context was chosen because of its progressive transformation from a semi, state-regulated archaeological system to one that is competitive and comparable to those found in the UK and the USA.

Commercial archaeology, as governed by a neoliberal economic system, has fundamentally altered how archaeology's contributions are brought about, maintained and disseminated. But what about those who produce archaeology, has their relationship to the profession changed as a result of neoliberal economics?

The objective of this thesis is to address and evaluate the argument against neoliberal economics and contribute to current critiques regarding capitalist economics by posing the following question: does the implementation of a neoliberal economy in archaeology sustain the accomplishment of a meaningful and valuable archaeological activity for archaeologists and the public?

Within this dissertation, an ethnographic approach to data collection permits the exploration of the experience of socioeconomic changes upon the lives of archaeologists, experience which is articulated in their own discourses. I also employ qualitative demographic and economic data, and participant observation. The characteristics of the archaeological network in Quebec are further illustrated through a comparative analysis with the system of commercial archaeology in the UK.

Research results demonstrate that the present market economy is harmful to the development of archaeological products, primarily because of the alienation of the product from the archaeologists and the public. Alternatives to the current economic system have been developed. However, these options suffer from under-funding. I propose that new models of practice for archaeology must be explored and given credence, if there is to be a perpetuation of the profession within the cultural landscape of western societies.

Contents

List of figures

List of tables

List of accompanying materials

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Nicolas Zorzin declare that the thesis entitled "***The political economy of a commercial archaeology – A Quebec case-study***" and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date: 01/11/2010

Acknowledgements

The contribution of all the participants in this research amongst whom I have lived and worked with should be made apparent in every paragraph of this dissertation. I am deeply grateful to all of them for sharing their thoughts, knowledge, aspirations and sometimes their disenchantment regarding my research.

I would most particularly like to thank my supervisor, Yannis Hamilakis, for his precious support, and my advisor: Matthew Johnson. Yannis Hamilakis has provided most valuable guidance both during my fieldwork and the writing of this dissertation. He commented thoughtfully on my writing and helped me formulate my arguments, clarify their meanings, and expand their significance.

Philippa Currie corrected the entire thesis with meticulous care and kindness. Her support was crucial in the completion of this work. In the writing and revision stages, Chelsea Woodhouse gave me thoughtful, honest, and sharp commentary as well as tough questions, which contributed significantly to the achievement of this thesis.

I would like to thank the *British School at Athens* for its financial and moral support without which the completion of my thesis would not have been possible and more specifically, I would like to thank my dear colleagues: Penny Wilson Zarganis, Sandra Pepelasis, Amalia Kakissis, and the director of the school, Catherine Morgan.

I would like to thank the close friends who helped me and supported me, without whom I would not have made it until the end: Martin Perron, Isobel Pravda, Damien Delachaux, Julie Miralves, Lyn Erisman, Ingrid Remazeilles, Bob Durette, Arianne Poulin, Isabelle Marchand, and Laure Muller-Feuga.

I am also grateful to all the people who facilitated the completion of this work by providing accommodation, sometimes food, but mostly friendship and moral support.
In Canada: Alexandra Taillon-Pellerin, Catherine Losier, Mylène Jubinville, Mylène Des Cheneaux, Nikolas and Maude Nikolakopoulos.
In England: Jesse Ransley, Kerry Harris, Clare Denholm, Babis Garefalakis, Hannah Norton, Ine Reynolds, Sébastien Nobert, Fotini Kofidou, Eleftheria Paliou, Karen Rubens, Darko Matovski, Lucy Watson, and Vasko Demou.
In France: Stanick Jeanette, Audrey Ramonich, and Sylvaine Séré de Rivière. My parents, François and Liliane Zorzin, and my close family: Jean-Claude Gracia and Hélène Galy,
In Greece: Natacha Trippé, Lena Stefanou, Fotini Methodiou, Fred Herbin, Richard Veymiers, Agapi Nikolakopoulou, Charlotte Blein, Jean-Sébastien Gros, Yannis

Soukantos, Dimitra Baikoussi, Frederique Laurier-Thibault, Tom Loughlin, and Yuki Furuya.
In Italy: Agata Meuti, Diego Meuti, and Valentina Rossi.
In the Netherlands: Charlotte Wouda, Dave Susan, Catherina Moraga Espinoza, David Dotulung, Ina Natasari and Richard Reijmers.

Definitions and abbreviations

AFAN: **A**ssociation pour les **F**ouilles **A**rchéologiques **N**ationales (1973-2002 - France): A state controlled public charity. The association was in charge of all salvage archaeological operations in French territory until 2002. It became the INRAP (See below).

ANT: (**A**ctors-**N**etwork **T**heory): Social theory and research fieldwork methodology developed mostly by Callon, Latour and Law in the field of science studies during the 1980's and 1990's.

APPAG: the **A**ll-**P**arty **P**arliamentary **A**rchaeology **G**roup (England): "*is an all-party group of MPs and Peers in the Palace of Westminster with an interest in archaeology. The aim of APPAG is to further an understanding of archaeology in Parliament and promote archaeology and archaeological education*" (APPAG online, consulted on March 18th 2010, http://www.appag.org.uk/).

Act Respecting Land Use Planning and Development (A.R.L.U.P.A.D): Since 1979, A legal act that mainly regulates municipal and regional development plans and permits in Quebec.

AVATAQ Cultural Institute (In the Inuit language, an Avataq "*is a traditional hunting float made of one complete sealskin*"): The Avataq Cultural Institute was created on November 1980 by the Inuktitut. The archaeological component of this institute only appeared in 1985, long after the establishment of the other cultural priorities as defined by the Inuit communities. For Instance, developing and preserving the Inuit language.

CÉGEP: Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel / College of General and Vocational Education in Quebec: a post-secondary education establishment exclusive to the province of Quebec in Canada. It is comparable to junior college in the USA.

CCNQ: Commission de la Capitale Nationale du Québec / National Capital Commission (Region - Quebec): the CCNQ is a public organisation acting under the control of the Quebec Government. It is the steward of provincial lands and buildings in the Quebec Capital Region, with a mandate and mission to build the capital region into a source of pride and unity for Quebecers.

CCQ: **C**entre de **C**onservation du **Q**uébec / Quebec Conservation Center: this provincial institution was created by the Government of Québec in 1979. The CCQ contributes to the preventive conservation and restoration of movable cultural heritage which bears witness to the history of the province of Québec.

Cultural Property Act (C.P.A.): Since 1972, its aim has been to protect the cultural property of Quebec.

C.R.A.: **C**ree **R**egional **A**dministration. In 1979, following the James Bay hydroelectric development, the C.R.A requested the involvement of the Cree community in the archaeological process (Martijn 1994b:4). This action resulted in the creation of a consultation committee in archaeology. In 1983, under the direction of the C.R.A., the management of archaeological activities started within the Cree communities and in 1986, the first professional archaeologist was employed.

Environment Quality Act (E.Q.A.): Legal act passed in 1972. Its function was to reduce the impacts of development in Quebec on the environment but its activity has been more effective from 1978 onwards.

Hydro-Québec: *Hydro-Québec* is a corporation in which the Québec government is the sole shareholder (Hydro-Québec 2004:2). The company produces and distributes energy mostly in Quebec, but also exports some energy to other states in north-east America. Its development activities involve dam construction and river refitting, with various environmental and social impacts.

J.B.D.C. (James **B**ay **D**evelopment **C**orporation): Created in 1971 by the province of Quebec to pursue the development of mining, forestry and other potential resources starting with the James Bay Hydroelectric Project.

J.B.N.Q.A. (James **B**ay and **N**orthern **Q**uébec **A**greement): An agreement signed in 1975 between Quebec, Canada, Hydro-Québec and the Cree and the Inuit (+ Naskapi in 1978) covering the implications of economic development, specifically the land properties and the land loss compensations.

IFA: **I**nstitute **F**or **A**rchaeologists (previously: Institute of Field Archaeologists): professional organisation created in 1982 aiming to represent the interests of archaeologists and archaeology in the United Kingdom.

INRAP: **I**nstitut **N**ational de **R**echerches **A**rchéologiques **P**réventives (2002-Present): French public archaeological organisation created in 2002 from the act, *Loi sur L'archéologie préventive* of 2001, and dedicated mostly to instances of salvage archaeology in France.

M.A.C.: **M**inistère des **A**ffaires **C**ulturelles / Ministry of Cultural Affairs

MAP2: English Heritage's Management of Archaeological Projects 2. (See details in Ch.3: 79-80).

MCCCFQ: **M**inistère de la **C**ulture, des **C**ommunications, et de la **C**ondition **F**éminine au **Q**uébec / Ministry of Culture, Communication and Women's Conditions in Quebec.

MSC: the ***M**anpower **S**ervices **C**ommission* was a public body which was assigned the task of co-ordinating employment and training services in the UK in 1973. The initiative was introduced by the Conservative party in line with the corporatist influences of the economic policy of the 1970's.

MTQ: **M**inistère du **T**ransport du **Q**uébec / Ministry of Transport in Quebec
M.V.C.: **M**usée **V**irtuel du **C**anada / Canada Virtual Museum: is an interactive space that brings together Canadian museum collections and resources in a variety of educational contexts.

NPO: **N**on **P**rofit **O**rganisation

QAA/AAQ: **Q**uebec **A**ssociation of **A**rchaeologists / ***A**ssociation des **A**rchéologues du **Q**uébec* is a non-profit association active in the archaeological community. Its main objectives and functions are: *a) To establish a permanent association of archaeologists who possess the necessary qualifications to properly serve the general public [...]. b) To define and promote a professional code of ethics and standards for the practice of archaeology. c) To study, establish, define, promote, defend and develop the professional and social interests of its members [...]. d) To print, publish, edit, sell and distribute [...] any publication* [concerning archaeology]. (QAA/AAQ web site consulted online on the 14th of May 2008).

R.A.Q. (**R**echerche **A**mérindienne au **Q**uébec): publisher of periodicals dedicated to the knowledge of the first nation's population through anthropology, sociology, ethno-history and archaeology.

Réseau Archéo-Québec : The *Archéo-Québec Network* is a "*non-profit association* [...] *dedicated to studying, protecting and developing Quebec's archaeological heritage. Its administrators devote their efforts to: 1/ thinking up original and complementary products that both encourage new and diverse publics to discover archaeology* [...]; 2/ *developing and co-ordinating activities that are likely to appeal to the general public and spark an interest in Quebec archaeology*; and 3/ *facilitating relations between Quebec's archaeological sites and other players in the fields of politics, culture and tourism [...]" (Archéo-Québec Web site, consulted online the 10th of March 2009).*

Park Canada: This is a federal organisation in charge of the management of the natural and the cultural heritage of Canada. The organisation provides archaeological services throughout the Canadian provinces, but only in federal properties and underwater contexts.

P.P.G.16: Planning Policy Guidance 16 (Archaeology and Planning): (See details in ch.3: 78-80).

SANM: ***S**ociété d'**A**rchéologie et de **N**umismatique de **M**ontréal* is a non-profit Organisation which was in charge of all archaeological activities in the historical district of Montreal until 1992. It was the equivalent of a city archaeological service, responsible for all the different operations from potential studies and excavations to analyses and publications.

SACL Inc. (Société d'Archéomatique Chronogramme-Lauverbec) : an archaeological unit (commercial).

S.A.P.Q.: Société d'Archéologie Préhistorique du Québec / Prehistoric Archaeological Society in Quebec : A student created group of volunteers and amateurs (1965), who first attempted research on the Prehistory of Quebec, and stimulated the emergence of this sort of research at the *University de Montréal*.

UdM: Université de Montréal

ULaval: Université Laval (Québec city)

UQAC: Université du Québec à Chicoutimi

UQAM: Université du Québec à Montréal

UQAR: Université du Québec à Rimouski

UQATR: Université du Québec à Trois Rivière

INTRODUCTION

Rediscovering commercial archaeology

Commercial archaeology is now a familiar topic and activity for many modern archaeologists and is well established on the professional landscape of various countries. However, one aspect of this type of archaeology remains unfamiliar: its political economy. This doctoral thesis focuses primarily on the political economy of contemporary western commercial archaeology, i.e., on the influences of a capitalist logic on the modern materialisation of archaeological activities.

Today, privatisation is affecting the way archaeology is practiced, managed and developed. Capitalism fundamentally affects archaeology through the definition of a new type of relation between the archaeologists and their clients: archaeological units are becoming service providers. In North America and Europe, current archaeological activities are carried out mostly within the private sector: in Canada, 95% of archaeological activity in the province of Ontario is practiced within archaeological units (Birch 2007:121). In England, 75% of field investigation and research work is conducted by archaeologists working in units (Aitchison & Edwards 2008:39); in Ireland 88% of archaeologists work in private organisations (McDermott & La Piscopia 2008:13), and almost 60% work in this sector in the Netherlands (Waugh 2008:29-30).

Nevertheless, this dominant and growing commercial archaeology sector is facing some problems (Clarke 1973, Cleere & Fowler 1976, Biddle 1994, Johnston 1994, Howe 1995, Graves-Brown 1997, Blinkhorn & Cumberpatch 1998 & 1999, Martijn 1998, Patterson 1999, Chadwick 1998 & 2000, **A**ll-**P**arty **P**arliamentary **A**rchaeology **G**roup (APPAG) 2003, Zimmerman *et al.* 2003, Hamilakis & Duke 2007), which in turn affect archaeologists, and archaeological organisations. Yet, assessments are not entirely negative about commercial archaeology, which has achieved significant accomplishments in the UK (Bradley 2006, Booth *et al.* 2007, Williams 2007), and developed productively where the state is still exercising some control, like in the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden (Willems 2009:90).

Problems in commercial archaeology, especially where the state exercises no control, such as in the UK, USA and Canada (Willems 2009:98), have been documented in the literature of the last three decades as well as in various direct testimonies from archaeologists within said units (Howe 1995, Everill 2007, Catling 2009, Coelho 2009, Connolly 2009, Corcos 2009). Current issues consist primarily of a loss of societal significance for the archaeological product, lack of social involvement by archaeologists, accompanied by a general loss of meaning of their work, and a widespread feeling of disillusionment within archaeological communities.

To date, these problems have been explored mainly in British and American archaeological literature. The subject matter of this literature has concentrated on the critical observations of the running of units as service providers, with particular focus on the illustration of these units' working conditions. Though these authors have described the situation and the 'crisis' in commercial archaeology (Fahy 1985, Howe 1995, Walker 1996, Mellor 1997, Andrews & Barrett 1998, Cooper-Read 1998, Denison 1999, Morris 1999), no one has approached the problem from an economic standpoint. The literature has questioned commercial archaeology's compatibility with good archaeological practices (Shanks & McGuire 1996, Darvill *et al.* 2002, Bergman & Doershuk 2003:95, Bradley 2006, Everill 2007). The arguments and identification of problems in units seemed clear, though it is still unknown 'why' and 'how' capitalist constraints could constitute a failure in modern archaeology.

Many actions implemented in archaeology over the last twenty years have essentially conformed to neoliberal rules in an attempt to align the archaeological profession with 'respectable' capitalist businesses (PPG16 1990, Cooper 1995, English Heritage 1996, Cooper-Reade 1998). Most of the changes involved the acceleration of the commodification and the professionalisation of archaeology in the expectation of automatic improvement in conditions of life for archaeologists, while raising the quality of work. It appears that the general assumption within the archaeological community - at least, the one we hear - has generally been that privatisation is unavoidable (Aitchison & Edwards 2003 & 2008, Willems 2009), and even desirable (Parga-Dans 2009).

Only a few challenged the dominant structure of commercial archaeology (Everill 2007), sometimes from a political point of view (Shanks & McGuire 1996, Duke & Saita 1998, Hamilakis & Duke 2007, Kehoe 2007), but never in terms of the economics. A few pockets of resistance against privatisation (Coppens 2003, Ralite 2003, Reddé 2003) have appeared, such as in France in 2003 (Fig. A). However,

Figure A: 'SOS ARCHÉO' - "*Protest in Paris - Naked archaeologists on TV*"
Photograph: Dorothée Derieux, June 24th, 2003.

this resistance has remained marginal. Perhaps, this is due, in part, to the failure to find a suitable alternative for archaeology other than privatisation. Nonetheless, it could also be a result of state archaeological practices reaching their limits. (Brogiolo 1996:1-12, Demoule *et al.* 1998: 2-3, Willems 2009:92-3).

In fact, archaeologists regrettably often lack the tools to understand the socio-economic and political mechanisms in which they are embedded. Sometimes they remain apathetic towards these matters, or simply do not want to compromise their positions in units; stances which are entirely understandable. As a result, different archaeological entities are now subject to unregulated economies, free-market rules and out-of-state regulations (UK, USA, and Canada only), that have given rise to poorly understood and uncontested problems. This led me to assume that the political economy of commercial archaeology had not yet been properly examined, especially with respect to an alternative political-economic model aimed at renewing archaeology's societal significance and influence.

This socio-political problem broaches a well-known sociological concept which has fallen into disuse: alienation. This idea will be used to test how archaeology's recent incorporation into the commercial branch of the economy has affected archaeological practices (Haber 2007:9-40). Alienation is defined in Marxism as: "*The process whereby the worker is made to feel foreign to the products of his/her own labour*" (Felluga 2003, consulted online). Yet, if the effect of privatisation of archaeology is to dispossess archaeologists from the product of their work or from the enjoyment of the product of their work by others, the present economic structure in which archaeology is embedded needs to be challenged.

The current capitalist model is shrouded in a climate of doubt, especially since the 2008-2010 financial crisis. Against the background of this climate, it is my primary intention in this thesis to formulate the following question: Is the application of a neoliberal political economy compatible with a viable, rigorous, ethical, and meaningful archaeological activity?

Specific objectives

To answer this main question on the relevance of the use of the neoliberal system in archaeological practices, I formulated the following sub-questions with regard to my case study in Quebec. These specific questions will be answered based on the sources and data collected in Quebec, and each question will correspond to one of my results chapters from chapter 5 to chapter 8:

a) How do field workers experience archaeology today?

b) Who benefits most from commercial field archaeology and how?

c) Is neoliberal field archaeology viable from an economic point of view?

d) What are the alternatives today, and how can they be implemented?

Research was conducted using the following plan to answer these questions. As a first step, in the first four chapters, a preliminary critical literature review of world commercial archaeology practices was necessary in order to give a clear idea of the present situation. Through the exploration of the background of Quebec archaeological history and the examination of the organisation of present archaeological activities in the province, I will locate my research by focusing on the network I studied and in doing so, I will deconstruct the archaeological network through different temporal phases; a necessary step for the analysis of the research results that follows.

As a second step, in the four results chapters, I expect to answer the questions asked above essentially through the use of ethnographic data, using the *actor-network theory* as a technique and as a descriptive/analytical tool, and Marx's 'alienation' theory as an interpretative one. I intend to explore the archaeologists' experience in Quebec (see question ***a)*** above) through a quantitative data collection combined with the direct testimonies of my ethnography. I will attempt to find out which and how individuals or groups benefit or suffer from the practice of commercial archaeology (see question ***b)*** *above)*. I aim to challenge the argument that neoliberal field archaeology is viable (see question ***c)*** above) through an economic analysis of a specific archaeological unit. Finally, I aim to define the structural alternatives for archaeology (see question ***d)*** above), essentially by using my ethnographic research results.

In brief, within this specific questioning, I intend to open up the debate on commercial archaeology, which I see as a product of the neoliberal economy. In doing so, I aim to move my research from the archaeological field into the field of politics. However, I will like to emphasise here that I do not see commercial archaeology being favoured by archaeologists, who were and are, in fact, more interested in the archaeology itself than the management, the economy or the politics of the profession. As far as I know, a professional structure in archaeology has never been initially conceived as a substantially profitable business, but rather as a way to practice a profession some individuals loved, and through which they intended to make a decent living.

From ethnographic exploration to interpretation

The main methodological tool I have used in this research is ethnography. Data collected during my ethnographic research on commercial archaeology as it is practiced and experienced in the province of Quebec (Canada), will be analysed and interpreted in an attempt to answer the question described above. To study how commercial archaeology is articulated and shaped by the current dominant political-economy, I will interpret these results within the frame of Marx's theory of alienation and within the new orientations proposed by a contemporary body of thinking called social economy (see chap.2).

To accomplish such a study, I will use the *actor-network theory*, a descriptive approach designed to map relations not just between people, but also amongst all things material (objects, organisations) and semiotic (concepts, ideas), and treat them as inseparable. *ANT* tries to explain how a heterogeneous network consisting of humans and non-humans who come together as equal actors in the network acts as a whole to achieve a particular goal. Doing so quelled my initial fear of studying a large and complex socio-economic archaeological network, one which I hardly understood at the outset of my research.

Contemporary professional archaeology is a product of 'modernity' (Thomas 2004 a&b). Now, what I suspect could be considered problematic, is that the process of modernisation establishes a separation of a rational, technical and rigorous archaeology from society, which eventually, according to Shanks and McGuire (1996), leads to an alienation of the archaeological work. Yet, it could be that this separation is now taken even further by a modern political economic device known as neoliberalism and defined by Harvey as: "[...] *a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade*" (2005:2).

The term neoliberalism is not the sole term used to describe these political economic practices. Supporters of the movement argue that these practices can simply be referred to as "liberalism", while critics often label these political economic activities pejoratively as "Reaganism" or "Thatcherism". It is criticised, in different ways, by groups of people embedded in alter-globalisation movements (World Social Forum 2008, consulted online) or various groups of left wing orientation (*International Network for Inclusive Democracy,* online; *International Socialism*, online; *New Left Review*, online; Wolfreys 2008), but also by conservative parties (Colombani 2009), intellectuals (Bourdieu 1998, 2001; Chomsky and McChesney 2003; Dale 2010, Giroux 2004), and by economists (Korten 2009, Kuttner 1999, Stiglitz 2003). Some conceive neoliberalism as the imposition of free markets on all spheres of activities of modern societies (Harvey 1999, 2003, 2005). Others identify neoliberalism with neo-corporatism (Jessop 2002:460-4, McCarthy and Prudham 2004:280, Roche and Cradden 2003:71-2), and political-economic domination by multinational corporations (Bakan 2005, Korten 2001). Neoliberalism is not a version of the liberalism found in Keynesian economics, which gives a positive role to government within a capitalist economy (Hall 1989, Skidelsky 2010). Rather, it focuses on the establishment of a stable model of economic exchange, the reduction of regulations, taxes and barriers to commerce, and the privatisation of enterprises run by the state (Niskanen 1988).

In this neoliberal framework, archaeology - which could be a source of disturbance in the process of development (judged as vital) - has been addressed by the solutions formulated nowadays by technology, and the latter can be objectively managed. Furthermore, and most importantly, this commodified and standardised method of practicing archaeology operates today within the primacy of an unregulated market which privileges technological answers, which are, according to Harvey (2005:68), fundamental principles of neoliberalism: "*This drive becomes so deeply embedded in entrepreneurial common sense, however, that it becomes a fetish belief: that there is a technological fix for each and every problem*". Consequently, I firmly intend to identify and discuss the technological answer that has been applied in archaeology, and is embodied today by commercial archaeology. This technological answer has also stabilised a specific collective of professional archaeologists, for whom activities are now shaped by the current taken-for-granted neoliberal doxa (Bourdieu 1977:159).

What I think makes this research important and particularly valuable is that the links between the application of a neoliberal political-economy and the actual critical economic, social and ethical situation of archaeology in Quebec's commercial units, have never been formulated or challenged in such terms.

Data collection in an unknown archaeological microcosm: Quebec

In order to study the archaeological network, this research will use primary sources obtained through a six month ethnographic study in Quebec using semi-directed interviews with 52 individuals; quantitative data collected through a provincial census on the archaeologist population; my own professional experiences in archaeological units; and the secondary literature available. Commercial archaeology in Quebec is well developed, but to date there has been no systematic study of this sector. As a result, I was given the opportunity to fully develop my research in an analytically promising, yet uncharted archaeological microcosm.

To assist me in the reconstruction of the network, commercial archaeology in the UK will be regularly used as a comparative agent in my interpretation of archaeology in Quebec. It has been selected for the following reasons: it is one of the most developed in the world (Wainwright 2000) and, to date, one of the most self reflective. In the past few years, academics and governmental structures have made substantial contributions to debate (Morris 1992, Biddle 1994, Symonds 1995, Aitchison 1999, Blinkhorn & Cumberpatch 1999, Denison 1999, Chadwick 2000, Aitchison & Edwards 2003, 2008, APPAG 2003 & Everill 2007). Consequently, the situation and the problems faced in the UK are now explicitly stated and explored. The existence of already well-established enquiries will help me to better comprehend my present Quebec case studies.

Consequently, I will use the UK case as a comparative tool, but my analysis differs from the one carried out with regard to the UK. Ultimately, my results and my approach should be applicable to the UK as well as further afield. Moreover, considering the major worldwide crisis experienced by the neoliberal system since 2008, the current model requires close scrutiny. Hence, my critique is not solely directed at the Quebec province, but more to the shift towards capitalist structures in western culture, and the organisation of field archaeology in general.

Origins of research in disparate identities: professional and personal experiences

Here, I should say a few words about my own academic and professional history in order to clarify how my ideas were formed and what kind of background I have drawn on. I was born in France, but I emigrated to Canada in 1999, to the province of Quebec. There, I studied anthropology at the *Université de Montréal*, in a traditional Boasian department. This education was characterised by a combination of processualist approaches in archaeology, and some post-modern influences, mostly in ethnology.

This mixed approach presented human behaviour in a more balanced way, as indicated by Trigger (2003:4-11), between the dryness of 'rationalism', and the excess of 'romanticism'. Today, these multiple influences have led me to experience a form of personal and internal multivocality (Hodder 2008:196), i.e. a form of acceptance of the eventual existence of valuable divergent voices for the interpretation of the same event. Multivocality in archaeology, which is normally used for the interpretation of archaeological fieldwork results, can also be applied to the study of archaeology itself as a profession and as a significant social actor. I was encouraged to stand back and consider archaeology as a specific sociological phenomenon with a potentially wide range of different objectives and practices, embedded in constantly evolving social, political and economic contexts.

In 2003, during my first confrontation with commercial archaeology, I was stunned by what I experienced. As an anthropologist, I could not help but observe the mechanisms which affected workers in the units positively and negatively. This experience led me to think about the various socio-economic aspects of archaeological activity which I saw then as the major causes of tension and conflict within commercial archaeology. At work, dissonance between academic and professional excavation goals as well as between my ideals and the practicalities of the archaeological work was unavoidable. It was clear that conflict was not being kindled because archaeologists were incompetent or because the units were particularly lax or specifically profit oriented, but because economic constraints, which I barely understood, were forcing everyone in the system to make critical concessions. Transformed into badly-paid technicians, archaeologists, including me, were suffering from complete loss of job satisfaction, loss of dignity, pauperisation, and isolation. Even worse, the public was largely unaware of the archaeologists' work and its potential significance, and was dismissive towards a social science with a high cultural influence potential.

Consequently, I felt the urge to distance myself from field archaeology to study the discipline and structures from a more theoretical perspective. In numerous western countries, current archaeological practices are characterised by a tacit acceptance of neoliberal ideology. However, this late development is largely unknown, overlooked or not understood by the archaeological community, and this is one of the reasons why it will be the focus of my research. Moreover, on a more personal level, another reason which could probably explain my interest for studying commercial archaeology can be found in a personal ontological despair regarding the future of the archaeology as a profession, and then, to be completely honest, my own future.

Synopsis

Background material is presented and developed essentially in chapters one and two, but also to a lesser extent through chapters three and four, which are more focused on the case of Quebec's archaeology. More specifically, chapter one, as the literature review, explores the nature of commercial archaeology and its characteristics as a profession within archaeology. I proceed with a contextualisation of the archaeological activities within their capitalist 'praxis', and succinctly compare their different forms through various archaeological structures which have developed in the western world. I then look at the present situation in commercial archaeology in more detail, with a focus on political-economic matters, and on the issues experienced by commercial archaeologists, mostly in England but also in other European countries. Finally, this is followed by a short discussion on my theoretical framework in search of an alternative to the goals and *modus operandi* of neoliberalism.

Chapter two essentially focuses on the research methodology. The methodological framework or research technique I used, the *ANT,* is presented here in further detail, as is the interpretative tool, essentially through Marx's alienation theory, which constitutes my theoretical framework. Later, I focus mostly on the conceptualisation of my ethnographic research because of its extensive use throughout the thesis. Quantitative analysis methodology will be presented in brief, but is elaborated on in more detail in each individual chapter. Different case studies from the research and data collection techniques used during the fieldwork are also examined.

Chapter three explores the sparsely documented history of Quebec archaeology in order to place the analysis of data in context. This chapter mostly describes the emergence of archaeology in Quebec and the evolution of the profession which passed through different phases from the late emergence of archaeology in the 1960s to date.

Chapter four is crucial to the understanding of the structures and the development of the archaeological network within its political-economic context, and will closely examine the legal framework shaping the archaeological network today. It ends the background section of this thesis by providing the tools to picture the constituent elements of the network under study: the object, the peoples, and the ideas, according to the *actor-network theory*.

Chapter five essentially contains a quantitative analysis of the data collected during the ethnographical research on archaeologists in Quebec. This data is evaluated and compared with some results obtained in England (Aitchison & Edwards 2008). Special attention is paid to socio-economic factors and their implications for archaeologists' lives. To do so, ethnographic testimonies are introduced to understand what the realities of archaeological activities are today (Fig. B). This will be the first step towards grounding my research on concrete quantitative data, combined with an analysis of my 'informants' testimonies, as well as the first attempt to test my hypothesis of the materialisation of alienation from work.

Figure B: 'Romance & Cigarettes' - Diggers after work in Quebec. Photograph © Nicolas Zorzin, 2005

Chapter six, entitled: “Experiencing the realities of commercial archaeology” contains the analysis of my interviewees’ experience with archaeology. The effects of commercial archaeology on people’s lives will be explored through their perceptions about the profession. The thematic approach examines a series of subjects that influence individuals in their daily lives and intimacies which appeared to be relevant to my research.

Chapter seven contains an economic analysis of a commercial archaeological unit in Quebec. The first objective of the analysis is to illustrate the relations between archaeological units and their economic environment. Other objectives are to define how the adoption of a capitalist economic system affects work and archaeologists in the field, and how it could change the social significance of archaeology by affecting the relationships between actors. The chapter is another test of the materialisation of alienation, but now targeted at the institutions themselves rather than at individuals.

Chapter eight is entitled: “Re-thinking archaeological practice”. This part uses the same ethnographic tools of analysis and the same thematic methodology of chapter six but focuses more on the political and ethical aspects of the profession. The objective is to explore, through an alternative archaeological organisation, such as a non profit Organisation (NPO), how archaeology could be practiced in a different way, following a different political-economy model, closer to ‘social economy’ and the idea of ‘localism’. A section is also dedicated to the relations between archaeology and the current First nation populations, and how the archaeological NPO model is being developed within those communities.

Finally, my conclusion presents a synthesis of the results of my research. The conclusion aims to answer the question whether or not the practice of archaeology is compatible with the neoliberal political-economy system, and, eventually, what the alternatives are today. Now, before going further in the analytical process, chapter one will initiate this research by a review of the literature on commercial archaeology.

CHAPTER 1 - Commercial archaeology: a critical understanding

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to provide an overview of the situation in commercial archaeology as it stands today.

The first part looks at the current realities of commercial archaeology, from its origins in the 1970s through to the recent developments of the last year. To fully understand this phenomenon, I will argue that that commercial archaeology is a product of the capitalist economy and should be scrutinised as such. The private archaeological sector developed through a neoliberal doctrine, especially in the UK, USA and Canada, and has been accompanied by a series of new and specific socio-economic characteristics which should be challenged all the more given the recent economic/financial crisis. To illustrate these changes, I have produced a historical and international outline for the course of commercial archaeology, mostly in the Anglo-Saxon world, followed by a comparison with areas where privatisation has only partially been applied (The Netherlands, Germany, France, and Ireland), or not at all (Greece, Hungary, and Czech Republic).

The second part of this chapter critically explores the key studies produced on commercial archaeology during the last three decades, including the most recent contributions. The English archaeology units were used as one of the major case studies to illustrate and elucidate the issues and concerns in which commercial archaeology is currently embedded. Finally, the literature review is followed by a short definition of my personal statement on the role of archaeology and of archaeologists, which forms the basis for my theoretical framework (developed in full later on in chapter two), and my research methodology.

Short definition of commercial archaeology

Two types of commercial archaeology coexist nowadays (Willems 2009:90). First, commercial archaeology, referred to as 'developer-funded' archaeology, and defined as a service to a client without direct state control, like in the USA, UK, and Canada. In England, commercial archaeology has been defined as: "*as a field archaeology run as a business, driven by commercial development and funded by the developers themselves*" (Darvill *et al.* 2002). Second, commercial archaeology can also be defined as a service to a client, but with a quality assurance of work based on state regulations, state control, and state funding involvement. This model can be found in the Netherlands, Sweden, Ireland, Germany (Willems 2009:90), and, in my opinion, to a certain extent in

France, after the opening out of archaeology to competition in 2003. The case of Quebec could be located between the two definitions, closer to the second model, but approaching the British one.

The term 'commercial archaeology' is one of the most widely accepted designations used to describe a private form of archaeological activity (Andrews *et al.* 2000:525, Chadwick 2003:97, Bradley 2006, Everill 2006:1). Others use the term 'commercial unit' (APPAG 2003:7), 'commercial excavations' (Holtorf 2005a:549), or 'contract archaeology' (Bradley 2006:2), but the term 'commercial archaeology' was selected as the preferred form for this present study. In the common language of Quebec's archaeologists, commercial archaeology is referred to with the general term 'archaeological unit' ('*Archéologie de firme*'). Most commercial archaeological activity relates to a specific area threatened by, or uncovered by construction or development. Generally speaking, commercial archaeology does not preserve the material traces themselves, but is limited to recording and capturing any data generated by activities. Thus, it operates as a preservation device by record, and rarely as a conservational or research device. The specific constraints on commercial archaeological practice are generally determined by legislation, and mostly by the rules of the market, for the purpose of providing an 'efficient and courteous' service to clients (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:40).

1.1 Archaeology as an expression/extension of capitalism

First of all, archaeology as a profession is not necessarily conceived and practiced in a way that can be expected from a typical capitalistic activity. By this assertion I mean that archaeology was never seen originally as a business aiming to sell a product and generate a profit, and I doubt it is seen as such even nowadays. Archaeology's aim is not defined according to capitalistic rules but is only defined today within them. Archaeology is still defined (regardless of whether or not it is academic, commercial or public based) as a "*scientific study of peoples of the past [...] their culture and their relationship with their environment. The purpose of archaeology is to understand how humans in the past interacted with their environment, and to preserve this history for present and future learning*" (Zimmerman 2011, consulted online). Thus, I am concerned with the effects that the existence of archaeology within a capitalist system has had since 1970.

1.1.1 Relation to capitalism

It is my belief that modern archaeological production should be contextualised within the economic and ideological framework of capitalism. It would be impossible to understand present commercial archaeology without grasping its capitalist 'praxis', i.e. all the capitalist activities or ideas capable of modifying the environment and social interaction.

> "*Capital is a process and not a thing. It is a process of reproduction of social life through commodity production, in which all of us in the advanced capitalist world are heavily implicated. Its internalized rules of operation are such as to ensure that it is a dynamic and revolutionary mode of social organization, restlessly and carelessly transforming the society within which is embedded* (Harvey 1990:343)."

From the outset, archaeology has always been used to serve different interests following the construction of modern western capitalism, feeding the requirements of different periods for ownership, identity, or colonialist and nationalist projects (Thomas 2004b:18). Archaeology has often been commodified, and it is the last period of this commodification that I wish to study: the period of privatisation. Privatisation only appeared at the end of the 1970s as the reinforcement of the neoliberal doctrine (Harvey 2003:157-158). According to Harvey (2003:157), the movement was inspired by a right-wing political economic doctrine (known as the '*Chicago School of economics*', inspired by Friedrich von Hayek, Ronald Coase & Milton Friedman) from the 1940's and was opposed to all forms of socialist and government intervention.

According to Chomsky (2011:116), this process of privatisation – mostly of services, which are initially conceived to serve the interests of the public (education, transport, health, culture) – transfers the power and control from people's lives towards private organisations; organisations which are not accountable to anyone for their acts, and which are barely controlled by state 'lax' regulations. This process leads to the transformation of the function of many institutions into mere formalities. This means that privatised actors are limited in their actions in ticking boxes of predefined reports, privileging measurable efficiency and dismissing public debate on all important aspects of life. This 'efficient' way of dealing with public services directly threatens the basic principles of democracy (Chomsky 2011:116-7). Not only a danger for democracy, neoliberalism is also paradoxically characterised by the slowing of economic growth and mostly by drastically increasing inequalities. In fact growth does not stop under neoliberalism but is redirected towards wealthy individuals/firms, while the rest of the population is financially stagnant. Even worse, according to Chomsky, the salaries of the lowest qualified employees in the USA have dipped inexorably in the past 25 years (2011:108). Even eminent economists such as Bairoch (1993) or Stiglitz (2006) are very critical about the excess of the neoliberal market economy, which seems to be the source of detrimental effects on society.

In the western world, archaeology has not remained untouched by these economic changes; in fact, neoliberalism has become the dominant model structuring archaeological activities, in the Anglo-Saxon world in particular. According to Bourdieu (1998:13), economic rationality, as defined by neoliberalism, has prevailed over political ideas and ideologies. The consequences of this are varied and merit further examination. The changes encountered prompted the search for answers to several questions: firstly, is the independence of archaeology, as a profession engaged in cultural production, endangered by neoliberalism? Secondly, is archaeology condemned to serve the interests of corporations and bureaucratic states or fold under economic and political pressure (Bourdieu 1998:43)?

In this perspective, I intend to fulfil my responsibilities as a scholar and archaeologist by directing the debate in archaeology towards the economic constraints of neoliberalism in order to challenge the upholding of the symbolic order which is the basis for the function of the present economic order (Bourdieu 1998:95).

1.1.2 A development in modern neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a doctrine, or 'doxa' which states that the market is a universal and functional model in itself, able to regulate human actions in the interests of all. The "*neoliberal doxa*" could be defined as: "*the discourse that validates globalization and economic liberalization as a particular worldview* [...], *an unquestionable orthodoxy that operates as if it were the objective truth across social space in its entirety, from the practices and perceptions of individuals to the practices and perceptions of the state and social groups*" (Chopra 2003: 419).

According to Harvey (2003:156), this belief has now been dominant in both ideas and practice for most of the world populations since the 1970s.
Some of the features of neoliberalism are that state interventions into the economy have been minimised, and the obligations of the state to provide for the welfare of its citizens have diminished (Harvey 1999, 2005). This definition of neoliberalism also corresponds and merges with the definition of expanding neoliberalisation given by Bourdieu (2001:95) as a form of unification of the world system economy, aimed at

reducing state expenditure (considered costly and dysfunctional - Bourdieu 2001:27) to the minimum, notably by targeting public services, social rights, social security and culture.

To date, the neoliberal hegemony seems to have favoured a process of *'dispossession'* defined by Harvey (2003:152) as a process accelerating the accumulation of capital by the upper class through privatisation, financialisation, management and manipulation of crises. These characteristics allowed the capitalist system to resolve its contradictions and extend its ascendancy over new domains that can sustain profitable activities (Harvey 2003: 158). Also, contrary to common belief, capitalism does not necessarily need to look for opportunities '*outside of itself*', i.e. outside of its capitalist borders (From Rosa Luxemburg's formulation in Harvey 2003:140). Of course, the idea of looking 'outside' for lucrative opportunities has been long relevant for capitalism, notably through the colonial process. Nevertheless, in the case of absence or decrease in 'outside' opportunities, capitalism can also use internal and pre-existing entities, services or industries, i.e. outside the market, which lead to the commodification of previously public or non-for-profit sectors such as transport, postal services, education and ultimately culture in general (Harvey 2003:141).

Archaeology is no exception to this rule and was mostly absorbed within the capitalist system in the 1970s, first in the USA, Canada[1] and the UK (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:39) following the impulses of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher's neoliberal policies (Harvey 2003:157 & 2005; Bortolotti & Siniscalco 2004:1). Since the 1980s these changes have spread fast through other western countries and in the rest of continental Europe[2] (Appadurai 2006:21), but under different forms (Willems 2009:90-3).

Now, archaeology can be affected by neoliberalism by a loss of 'sovereignty' (Chomsky 2011:97), i.e. a loss of control of its own activities, no longer aimed to serve the interests of the collective, but conceived to serve the interests of clients. On this matter, a few crucial points should be made clear here, in order to understand the relationship between neoliberal economics and archaeology:

> 1/ On the one hand, the relationship to neoliberalism is not necessarily sought out by anyone in the archaeological community. Most commercial units' managers are not aiming to generate profits, or simply cannot generate any substantial profits, but they intend to practice archaeology, and the best archaeology they can do.

---

[1] Public Quebec archaeology was partially privatised in 1982-3 (Martijn 2008, personal corresp.)
[2] Spain as early as 1985 (Parga-Dans 2009), Netherlands in the 1990's (Dockum & Lauwerier 2004:110), France, partially in 2003 (Reddé 2003), and Italy partially in 2002 (Benedikter 2004).

2/ On the other hand, corporate clients have no interest in the archaeological product. Archaeology constitutes a burden in the process of construction and development. The "client's" only reason to request an archaeological service is motivated by law, and by the compulsory fulfilment of a certain numbers of regulations. The product of the archaeological unit is thus a technical report releasing the "client" from its legal obligations towards heritage.

3/ This relationship between archaeological units and clients is not natural and not desired by any of the actors, but it is imposed by the neoliberal model that has forced a liberalisation of exchanges based on a model of efficiency, in opposition to the previous state model in which archaeology was often embedded. This obligation of efficiency (which is expressed in archaeology by a reduction of the costs of an unwanted activity) leads to the technicalisation of the work.

Indeed, since the 1970's western archaeology has become ever more technical and professional (Wainwright 2000:30, Roskams 2001:23-9, Chadwick 2003:99. In the first place, it seems that this professionalisation and technicalisation of work has brought various advantages, notably in the increasing quality and quantity of the recording process for data (Smith 2000:310, Garvina 2004:65).
Nevertheless, archaeology started to experience recurrent separation between the collection of the data, its processing, and its interpretation (Chadwick 2003:99, Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:39). The growth of commercial archaeology has the tendency to increase the dichotomy between theory and practice, often through lack of the tools, time and means to apply theoretical ideas to fieldwork (Chadwick 2003:98). This dichotomy then completely contradicts the basic concept of archaeology, as conceived as a 'craft' or a 'theoretical practice'(Shanks & Tilley 1992:25).

In Quebec, for my specific case-study, if commercial archaeology is conceived uniquely as a technique it is thus particularly vulnerable to modern neoliberal logic, i.e. to the logic of the mechanical attribution of financial value accorded to a service provided to the market/a client. The consequence of such vulnerability will be to reduce archaeology to a simple commodification of the past, reframed as a strictly technical device (Raab et al. 1980:539, Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:41), depoliticized and socially insignificant. In this case, the pressures exerted by the market could represent a real danger for the archaeological profession, culture, and communities by annihilating all social roles for archaeology.

Nevertheless, even after the transformation of the last few decades, archaeology cannot strictly be seen merely as another display of capitalism. Another vision should be superimposed on Bourdieu or Harvey's pessimistic version, and archaeology could also be seen as a potential form of collective 'solidarity' (Appadurai 2006:24, Jeantet 2008:24). Archaeology has and still could play a role in fulfilling the continuous thinking for many on the margins, by refusing to conform to the rules of capitalism, and by resisting the domination of commodity (Appadurai 2001:46). Having said that, it is now time to further explore the realities of today's commercial archaeology and the context in which it developed.

1.1.3 Historical outline of the development of commercial archaeology internationally

This section aims to put the UK and Quebec cases in a broader context. Before I can present the background for the UK, I need, as a first step, to give a wider vision of the different organisational systems in which archaeology can be embedded. As a second step, I will divide these systems into three main groups differentiated by the degree of advancement of privatisation of the archaeological structures. UK belongs to the first category of those systems, with the USA and Canada. These different steps in the presentation of the context in which archaeology developed, will allow me ultimately to introduce the UK case, as an element of comparison with the almost entirely unknown Quebec case.

Countries where privatisation has been fully implemented in archaeology

- **The 'developer-funded' system**

In the USA, like in any other country, archaeology was initially an instrument of power (Patterson 1995, 1999:158-9), often part of a governmental agenda for building a national narrative (Trigger 1984, Fowler 1987, Silberman 1989, Kohl & Fawcett 1995, Kohl 1998, Meskell 1998 & 2002). After WWII, the development and perenniality of archaeology became quickly and increasingly linked to macroeconomic factors and liberal economic orientation rather than political choice. On the one hand, the Keynesian period and the 'welfare state' (1945–1972) promoted the full development of archaeology within the state. On the other hand, after 1972, a more neoliberal orientation forced the development of a corporate archaeology based on the idea of the creation of economic value within the market (Patterson 1999:156).

In England, entrance into the effective competitive-tendering system took place progressively after the 1980s (Chadwick 2000, Wainwright 2000:921). For the same reasons as in the USA, and indirectly under the influence of the policy of Margaret Thatcher, archaeology changed radically from an amateur network of voluntary workers, although, since 1970, it was already in the process of undergoing professionalisation towards a privatised and increasingly professional activity. This period of change led to the emergence of new organisational structures, in an attempt to define new ways of funding archaeological activities which brought new people and new approaches to fieldwork (Wainwright 2000:909).

Privatisation, however, created a split within the archaeological community. Some, often field-workers and professional archaeologists, were somehow enthusiastic about the process of privatisation (Cooper 1995, Lawson 1993, Cooper-Reade 1998, Stone 1998 in McAdam 1999). This perception was mostly based on an effective professionalisation after the 1980s (Chadwick 2000), and on a rise in resources for salvage archaeology coming from the 'polluter pays' principle (DoE 1990), which resulted in a 'developer-funded' policy. In fact, it gave a new successful corporate appearance to the archaeological profession and considerably improved standards of work (Chadwick 2000). Others, often linked to academia, were not convinced by this transformation (Adams and Brooke 1995, Brooke 1995, Johnston 1994, Chadwick 2000), notably because of an observed lack of research in units, and widespread disenchantment expressed within the professional and commercial archaeology sector (Olivier 1996:31-33), which was characterised according to Chadwick (2000), by the general "*anger, bitterness and despair*" of field archaeologists. The development of archaeology in England with respect to this point will be closely and fully described in chapters 3 & 4, in parallel and in comparison to Quebec's archaeology to facilitate its comprehension.

- **Commercial archaeology with a state regulation system**

In 2008 a major transnational project was implemented to shed light on the varieties of archaeological practice across Europe: the *Leonardo Da Vinci* Project *(Discovering the archaeologists of Europe 2010, online).* In the Netherlands for example, the process of privatisation only started after 1992, following the implementation of the *Valetta Convention*, including an explicit '*polluter pays principle*' (Dockum & Lauwerier 2004:109-110, Bloemers 2005, Waugh 2008:11). Like the UK and USA, the Netherlands had no initial professional archaeological network. Until very recently, it was mostly populated by numerous passionate and volunteer archaeologists. The process of 'liberalisation' initiated in the 1990s was only fully completed in September 2007. It validated the transfer of most state power to local government and mostly to a dominant and growing private sector (Waugh 2008:11, Ciuchini 2010:4-5). The immediate result of this was a rapid increase in funding from developers directly in charge of selecting and paying the archaeological units for their services, as well as a rapid increase in employment opportunities for archaeologists. The government withdrew from archaeological activities, but it maintains its role in the definition and the application of a reinforced regulation, which, according to Willems (2009:93), guarantees that financial considerations will not prevail. The Dutch archaeological

network is now experiencing the positive and immediate consequences of this partial privatisation, but the network has no hindsight yet to fully appreciate the long-term consequences of such a change.
Ultimately, in these North European and North American contexts, archaeology has rarely or never been an important state enterprise and was more often the mandate of sponsors, charities and voluntary workers. In this case, privatisation of the sector was therefore not aimed at reducing state spending but rather at rendering profit from a previously non profitable activity, and also at distancing the activity from the sometime feared state control (Morgan & England 1988:988). As described below, the positive consequences of privatisation are an immediately visible growth of the archaeological network, but could it be that these consequences may have reverse effects or secondary effects in the long term?

Countries where privatisation has been introduced into the network without replacing state archaeology, which stays dominant

In France, archaeology was gradually professionalised after the 1970s, however, in contrast to the examples noted earlier, it remained firmly established within the state structure (in the AFAN, since 1973). In January 2001, under Jospin's government (left wing), archaeology was by law declared incompatible with competitive tendering. As the result of this political orientation, in 2002, salvage archaeology came under a recognised governmental entity called INRAP (Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives) (INRAP 2009, *online*). The INRAP employs more than half of the total number of the archaeologist workforce in France (around 1800 workers), followed by the other services of the Ministry of Culture, local counties, research centres (CNRS) and universities. In 2002-03, Raffarin's government modified the law, and opened the archaeological activities up to the competition. Simultaneously, it cut 25% of the INRAP budget, considerably reduced the employment rate (500 to 600 positions not renewed), and increased status precariousness (Lauzanne & Thiébault 2003:25-7).

The elaboration of the legal procedure to establish a new competitive and developer-funded archaeology based on the Anglo-Saxon model was significantly criticised by various political parties as well as by the archaeologists themselves: Jack Ralite and Ivan Renar (Ralite 2003), both senators and members of different branches of the communist party, as well as the archaeologists and academics Solange Lauzanne and Stéphanie Thiébault (2003), expressed their fears about a privatised archaeology by looking at the results of the application of a neoliberal policy abroad, and more specifically in the UK. They advocated that the most problematic issues provoked by this economic orientation were the following: within a competitive tendering system,

professional archaeologists are badly and unequally paid, itinerant, excluded from further specialisation to allow career development, and cut off from fundamental research.
According to them, competitive tendering tends to transform archaeological records into a negotiable capitalist product only aimed at the market, leading to the retention of information, in total contradiction to the requirement for publication, transfer and exchange within a scientific discipline. The popular prehistorian Yves Coppens (2003:20) also advocated that this opening up to competition demonstrated a total misunderstanding of the scientific and irreversible character of an archaeological excavation. Many archaeologists within the INRAP protested continuously against the abandonment of archaeology to the private sector (see Fig. A, in the Introduction).

The current Sarkozy government continued the reform of state archaeological services and acceleration of the privatisation process. In 2008, through the major project '*Seine Nord Europe*', the government suggested that a subsidiary and private branch be created within the INRAP. This attempt failed because of the strong reaction to it through strikes and protests (Syndicat National des Affaires Culturelles 2008:1-3). As a result, the situation remained as it had been before the project was piloted. Since 2008, 80% of archaeological activities are still being undertaken by the state, with more funding from developers through taxes based on the '*polluter pays*' principle. The remaining 20% of activities is now conducted by private units (11 units, two of which are from abroad: *Oxford Archaeology* and *Archeodunum*, three NPOs, and three consultants). Thus, to date, the vast majority of activities have been maintained within the governmental system (Ribadeau Dumas 2008). Now, the question is: is the French archaeologists' mistrust of private archaeological units unfounded? Are these protests only reactionary and based on misconceptions of the economic system or are they really legitimate concerns and fears for the future of the practice of archaeology?

In central and Eastern Europe, state archaeology is still very powerful and has only been privatised to a limited extent. The case of Germany is very particular due to its federal government structure. Most archaeological jobs are located within state, county, museum, university, and research institutes (such as the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* - DAI). Private archaeology remains marginal, though it has grown in importance since the 1990s (Krausse & Nübold 2008:8). Unlike the Netherlands or the UK, most German regions chose not to privatise archaeological activities, with the exception of Brandenburg, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Bavaria (Krausse & Nübold 2008:12-14), where activity is still subject to strict state control.

In Eastern Europe, in countries like Hungary or Czech Republic, most activities are still concentrated in the public sector, and more precisely under the control of archaeological museums: 46% in Hungary (Magyar Régész Szövetség 2008:9), and 66% in Czech Republic (Frolík & Tomášek 2008:6). Only 2% of archaeological jobs in Hungary and 8% in the Czech Republic have recently been conducted by private units. Nevertheless, this data should be interpreted carefully because, according to the authors, most private units are subcontractors, and as a result most of their employees are virtually invisible in the statistics. It could be that the private sector already occupies a larger space in the work environment. Finally, Greece is apparently the most impermeable to privatisation. In 2008, 98% of archaeological jobs were officially concentrated in state organisations. Only 2% of archaeologists work in private companies and most of these work in museums (Pantos *et al.* 2008:23). A short-term contract system for archaeologists also exists within the state system, but this is not documented in the report produced by *Pantos et al.*

This different development and orientation in European archaeology is important because it allows us to remember that the neoliberal model is not the only one that exists. At the very least, other intermediary systems exist and prosper which do not function according to the values of economic efficiency as prescribed by the neoliberal model. It should be noted that competitive tendering is one, but by no means the only structural solution for archaeology. Privatisation of the sector is obviously growing, notably encouraged, or at least made possible by European economic standardisation (Valetta Convention 1992, Art.6), but it does not mean that this solution is necessarily the best. However, it is not my desire to argue here that state systems are free of problems and are necessarily more efficient than private organisations. In fact, the heterogeneity of the European systems should encourage us to further investigate the political-economy of archaeology, and explore the transformations involved in privatisation.

1.2 Key studies and recent contributions on the political-economy of archaeology

Key Studies

Scholars and professionals have been critically addressing the socio-economic aspects of commercial archaeology since the 1980s (Trigger 1981, Patterson 1995 & 1999, Shanks & McGuire 1996, Duke & Saitta 1998, Hamilakis 1999, Chadwick 2000 & 2003, Wainwright 2000, Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001).

A key contribution which remains central to the way I comprehended my own research was that produced by the Anglo-American academics Shanks and McGuire, in 1996. Their work sparked an important debate on the modern political economy of archaeology, perceived as a potential source for division in archaeological practice (1996:77). This division was identified between two areas of activities: technical (by extension: commercial archaeology) vs. intellectual (by extension: academic). Following this primary preoccupation, the debate opened up extensively and prompted further reflection and criticism about the neoliberal political economy at large, and the subsequent professionalisation, standardisation and technicalisation it provoked (Duke & Saita 1998, Frazer 1998, Hamilakis 1999, Patterson 1999, Hodder 1999, Chadwick 2000 & 2003). This was the beginning of a new critical approach towards the neoliberal system in which archaeology was embedded, taking into consideration the economic means and economic environment of archaeological production as important variables which could potentially affect the final product of archaeology.

As a new path for reflection, it was pointed out that, from the 1970s, with the introduction of standardised procedures, evaluation criteria and routine practice comparable to industrial production, archaeology began to experience 'alienation' (Shanks & McGuire 1996:80).

A little later, Duke & Saitta (1998) argued that archaeology should not be divided by the technicalisation of commercial activities, because archaeology as a 'craft' is linked to a more personal and interpretative narrative work. The authors refused to accept the idea of technical archaeological neutrality and argued for an "*activist approach to the production of archaeological knowledge*" (Duke & Saitta 1998, consulted online). To assume this role, Hamilakis went further by relocating archaeologists in the sphere of actions of intellectuals (1999:60), and defined an agenda to deal with this intellectual responsibility by: 1/ challenging 'regimes for the production of truths', and 2/ exploring the battlefields of cultural production and consumption (1999:74).

Yet, scholars have sometimes been reproached for not providing any substantial proposals for this 'reflective and multivocal' role they envision for archaeology (Karakasidou 1999:86-90), and for the one most concerned: commercial archaeology. In the UK, the permeability of the academic and commercial sector has increased in the course of the last decades. Many freelance archaeologists such as Cumberpatch, Blinkhorn, Chadwick or Everill, while in contact with academia, have acquired significant experience in commercial archaeology of which they have been analytical and critical. This gave validity to their opinions, allowing them to be clearly heard within the circles of the British archaeology, and opening up the debate on the nature of commercial archaeological practice.

During the 1990s, many other British fieldwork archaeologists also stated that in their view commercial archaeology should be seen as problematic (Howe 1995, Sparey Green 1995, Hardy 1997, Anonymous 1998, Denison 1999). According to these archaeologists the problem originated mostly in how archaeology was funded, generally through the developer-funded system which emerged mainly through the PPG16 (Planning Policy Guidance 16) and MAP2 (Management of Archaeological Projects 2) (See details in chap.3). Furthermore, they saw competitive tendering as a system which could not guarantee quality because of the reduced cost obligations it involved. They pointed out that the massive quantity of data produced and artefacts excavated in commercial archaeology did not receive the attention it required to achieve satisfactory scientific archaeological results. Finally, they also saw a major dichotomy between their training, the responsibilities expected of them and the earnings made from fieldwork. Through their testimonies, the issues involved in the development of commercial archaeology were becoming more concrete.
The problem is that before 2000, no systematic and meticulous research had been properly conducted in the archaeological field to satisfactorily illustrate the situation.

Recent contributions

According to past research, commercial archaeology seems to be experiencing a crisis related to its commodification, recognised through the pervasive structural and financial issues in archaeological practice. Nevertheless, no one has really succeeded in explaining the nature of the fundamental economic issues experienced in commercial activities, with the notable exception of Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn in 2001, but not in extensive detail. The consequences of the implementation of commercial archaeology have been largely commented on in the United Kingdom (Lambrick 1993, Lawson 1993, Fahy 1995, Symonds 1995, Graves-Brown 1997, Mellor 1997, Blinkhorn & Cumberpatch 1998, 1999, Frazer 1998, Denison 1999, Morris 1999, Chadwick 2000) but also for other countries where competitive tendering has been introduced and debate has arisen, like in the USA (Patterson 1995, 1999), Italy (Brogiolo 1996, Benedikter 2004, Palumbo 2006), France (Coppens 2003, De Brie 2003, Ralite 2003) or Canada (Martijn 1998:180-1, Moussette 2008:viii).

Nevertheless, despite the presentation and explanation of the social cost of privatisation within the present commercial archaeology community, most of them have failed to illustrate 'how' the modern political economy of archaeology functions within the internal crisis. Competitive tendering was identified as one of the major problems faced in commercial archaeology, but no explanation was given for 'why' and 'how' this *modus operandi* of capitalism influenced the situation. However, reference should be made here to the case of "Newbury Bypass" (Eisele 1997) which illustrates and briefly explains how the planning process, within the competitive tendering system implemented in UK archaeology, failed to protect a site of national importance during the 1990s. According to Eisele (1997:2), this failure only served the 'whims' of developers, without any counterbalance for the public and protection for its heritage.

More recent research on commercial archaeology was produced by Paul Everill, with his close ethnographic study of the living conditions of English diggers (2006 & 2007); critical analyses by Kehoe of marketed archaeology in the United States (2007) and of Willems in the Netherlands (2009); the efforts of Aitchison and Edwards to describe the UK archaeological labour market (2008), and by the recent analysis by Eva Parga-Dans (2009) of the structure of Spanish commercial archaeology. It should be noted that Kehoe and Willems are academics, Aitchison (until very recently) and Parga-Dans respectively serve the interests of the IFA (Institute For Archaeologists), and the DIME (Dynamics of Institution & Markets in Europe), and Everill is to be found in between academia and private units, like many other archaeologists today.

Everill was the first to engage in a close ethnographic research combined with quantitative data in commercial archaeology, and more specifically on an unknown category of field workers: 'the invisible diggers'. Nevertheless, Everill did not intend to tackle the whole commercial network, and the entire economic implications involved in the process of privatisation of archaeology. It could be said here that I am expanding on Everill's ideas on collecting direct data on the fieldwork. Nevertheless, my approach diverges drastically from his in the subject of the study. Instead of focusing on specific actors in commercial archaeology, I decided to embrace the entire archaeological network, and most importantly, the links connecting it to the current economic system.

According to other works critical of the implementation of a neoliberal system, the privatisation of archaeology has been deemed hazardous for a fundamental reason, simply because the market only provides what people want and, in the case of commercial archaeology, what clients/developers need. Consequently, commercial archaeology will tend to participate in the process of compliance with the neoliberal doxa for profit-making purposes (Kehoe 2007:253). Such a process will be made possible by making clients, and more importantly the archaeologists themselves, believe that the past has been preserved for the future in a very scientific and 'professional' way. For this reason, archaeology in neoliberalism tends to become irretrievably commodified, serving both the immediate interests of clients and archaeological commercial units, but not the interests of society at large.

Along these lines, archaeologists could become mere assistants in the implementation of neoliberal 'politico-economic strategy' (Kehoe 2007: 262). Furthermore, from a Dutch academic point of view, Willems (2009:92-3) suggests that: "…*when the developer has the right permit, he becomes a principal to the archaeological contractor and their relationship takes the form of contract by which the principal seeks to ascertain that the work is being done as economically as possible and within a specified period of time. That, and nothing else, is the product which developer wants from the contractor*."

In contrast, a recent study conducted by the IFA in England (Aitchison & Edwards 2008) expounded another perception, less critical of the situation in commercial archaeology. Though this publication contains a rich and extremely well documented quantitative profiling of the situation of archaeologists in England, some results continue to be problematic. For example, the research was completed through the circulation of a questionnaire within the organisations employing archaeologists (Aitchison & Edwards 2008:24), but not directly addressing the employees active in the organisations. As indicated by Corcos (2009:48), this methodology tends to elide one of the major social issues in commercial archaeology: the low salaries and precarious living conditions of a vast number of archaeologists. These archaeologists or workers remain mostly invisible because of their unquantifiable nature related to the precariousness of their jobs. Nevertheless, Aitchison & Edwards highlight this fact by clearly saying that it "*was not clear in some cases whether quoted salaries were full-time equivalent or pro-rata*" (2008:71).

In the light of this fact, the results of earnings distribution in England (Table 1) therefore conceal part of the realities of archaeologists' daily life. For example, for the vast majority of commercial archaeologists, earnings seem to be located in the range of an average of £20,916 (Table 1.1). Nevertheless, as pointed out by Everill (2007:123), this is not representative of an important proportion of field archaeologists who work on short contracts, rarely full-time, and for the majority making less than the national average per year. The *pro-rata* used by organisations to reflect the earnings constitutes a major bias, distorting realities of employees which should not be ignored.

Table 1.1: Earning distribution of archaeologists by organisation basis, in England, in 2008

	National government or agency	Local government	University	Private Sector	Other
Lowest 10% earn less than	£20,578	£15,153	£15,667	£13,900	£15,500
Lower 25% earn less than	£25,840	£17,503	£19,262	£15,000	£17,010
Median	£29,523	£22,166	£23,733	£17,707	£18,903
Upper 25% earn more than	£34,000	£27,594	£30,913	£24,500	£24,316
Highest 10% earn more than	£37,136	£30,667	£38,881	£31,000	£30,000
Average (mean)	£29,694	£23,120	£26,293	£20,916	£21,276
Sample size	331	312	310	1027	256

Source: Aitchison & Edwards 2008:72 - Table 67: Earning distribution by organisation basis

Taking Aitchison & Edwards quantitative analysis further, the results concerning gender are also particularly problematic because of the absence of interpretations or attempts to explain the gender discrepancy observed in archaeological jobs (Fig.1.1). The authors do not attempt to interpret this data and it is then impossible to uncover the reasons for the massive disappearance of women in their early 30s. Is this due to the tough nature of archaeological work? Is it a combination of the desire to start a family and the unbearable precariousness of employment within archaeology? Here, the quantitative approach clearly indicates its limitations by failing to give any answers.

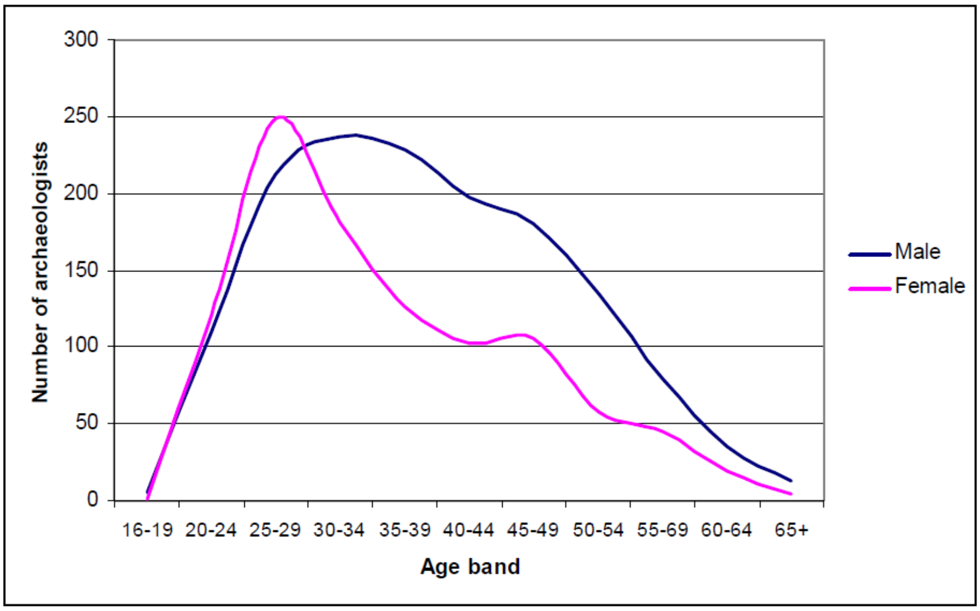


Figure 1.1: Age and Gender of archaeologists in England, in 2008
Source: Aitchison & Edwards 2008:49 - Age and Gender of archaeologists

Thus, the study conducted by Aitchison and Edwards on the archaeologist population is an important key to understanding the actual socio-economic situation, but the manner in which the report is presented tends to provide statistical facts rarely critical of the system in which archaeology is embedded. It seems that the authors see no other alternative to using a capitalist device to conceive the function of the profession. Most of the proposals by the IFA aim to increase archaeologists' salaries, define a clear hierarchy within the profession, and define a clear trajectory for a career progression (Aitchison & Edwards 2008:71).

In accordance with a neoliberal meritocratic system, an individual's career progression is determined by their commitment and results. Yet, what are the valuable achievements of archaeologists in commercial archaeology? Are they really measurable according to these criteria? In doing so, the IFA applies an uncritical corporate model for archaeology and internalises the rules of operation of capitalism as a natural mode of social organisation. But what if archaeologists, as intellectuals, as citizens, do not want such a system to be applied to the profession? Is dealing with money and management issues the only expectation of archaeologists? To be more comprehensive, this important data collection on English and Spanish commercial archaeology should have been complemented by a more reflective analysis based on human experience. This would have demonstrated the value of the ethnographic research.

1.2.1 A well documented situation: the English commercial archaeology case

In the previous section, I started with a broad consideration of international discussions of commercial archaeology. I now intend to move to the UK case in order to extend this literature review, and to provide a better overview of what is already known and discussed in a context which is not Quebec, but which is similar to it in terms of archaeological management.

As we have seen in this chapter, most of the data accessible through the *Leonardo Da Vinci* Project constitutes a crucial and major quantitative study on archaeologists on a European scale. These contributions were designed to illustrate the situation of different archaeologies across Europe today. It could be useful here to look closer at the results of these studies and their main implications and be as critical as possible, as Everill did in England in 2006, by being the first one to point out the major biases of such studies. He did so notably by quantifying the presence of the 'invisible diggers', who constitute a major pool of fieldwork workers often exempted from the official census.

Now, what are the main problems which appear to have been dominating debates in England over the last few years?

1/ Conditions of pay are desperately low compared to average salaries in England. According to Aitchison & Edwards (2008: 13) archaeology salaries increased by 12% over a five year period compared to the national average salary, which increased by 22%. A career in archaeology remains one of the lowest paid of all '*professional fields*', with an average annual salary of £17,000 in 1999 for archaeologists, but an average annual salary of £10,000 in 1999 for diggers. In 2008, an English archaeologist made an average £23,310 when employed by the state, and £20,916 in the private sector, when the national average was: £29,999 (Aitchison & Edwards 2008:71).

2/ Disillusionment amongst archaeologists has become a common issue due to the lack of opportunities for advancement, despite the fact that 100% of archaeologists over 30 years old were graduates in 2007 (Aitchison & Edwards 2008: 13). To add to this general disenchantment, the unclear distinction between people with degrees, tasks, responsibilities and salaries within firms is also problematic and causes various incidences of frustration and tension.

3/ Multi-skilled archaeologists are disappearing alongside increased specialisation in fieldwork. Archaeologists are missing the overall picture by no longer being able to process all the operations on excavations and conduct the analysis and production of knowledge. Interpretation and dissemination of results is becoming more and more uncommon.

4/ Women still appear to be under-represented in companies despite certain progress observed between 1997 and 2007: from 35% to 41% of the English archaeological workforce (Aitchison & Edwards 2008:126). Many women often work temporarily as diggers but rarely as managers. Moreover, another problem remains: the almost total absence of ethnic diversity (Aitchison & Edwards 2008:51).

5/ Precariousness and job insecurity are still major issues, particularly in fieldwork and research services, where 35% of employees are on temporary contracts (Aitchison & Edwards 2008: 84) while only 10% of other archaeologists, such as those employed in '*historic environment advice and information services*' are on temporary contracts. To avoid any distortion of reality, it should be noted that 73% of those employed in the lowest archaeological positions, i.e. diggers and site assistants, are mainly on temporary contracts. Finally, field archaeologists often work for short periods of time, rarely surpassing five years of employment for 68% of them (Aitchison & Edwards 2008: 86). They rarely benefit from holiday entitlement or sick pay (Everill 2006:257).

More details on the crisis in commercial archaeology

Salaries

The main concerns of archaeologists employed by units appear to be related to the precarious nature of employment (Everill 2006:254) which generates both low and irregular earnings, compromising acceptable quality for the standards of living. On this issue, the perception of many diggers was that only a clear career structure, with the creation of an enhanced pay scale, and a more professional approach to archaeology would be the key to higher salaries, respect and recognition from society according to neoliberal standards. Within this ideological framework, the recent IFA study of English archaeology particularly insisted on the requirement to establish a minimum salary, evaluated at £14,197 for the lowest level of qualification (Aitchison and Edwards 2008:71). As logical as this statement might sound, it still requires close examination.

The process of increasing salaries, justified by improved professionalisation, overshadows the characteristics of standard capitalist businesses (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:42). Instead of attempting to define their own value and specificities within society, commercial archaeology units agreed to endorse the values of neoliberalism to establish their role. In its vest as a commodity of capitalism, archaeology has encountered difficulties in demonstrating its profitability and the usefulness of its production. Consequently, commercial archaeology has always failed to significantly increase the salaries of its employees (Chadwick 2000).

In the United States, for example, strong status and clear hierarchy have only been applied in the last decade (Patterson 1999:166). The problem is that within this internal hierarchy the lowest 'caste' is still represented by field workers, who still earn far below the average national wage, and as many as 20% of these workers were living below the poverty level at the end of the 1990s (Patterson 1999:166-7). Furthermore, this failure to classify archaeology as a valuable professional activity means that salaries within commercial archaeology tend to stagnate. As a result, professional archaeologists are perceived as the lowest 'caste' of professionals in general. Salary issues are thus not strictly related to financial matters but involve many different aspects, such as the ideologies people stand for, and the status and the image of the profession resulting from it. Those aspects need to be explored and challenged much further in this thesis.

Precariousness

Another consequence of the commodification of archaeology is the establishment of a hierarchy within a more and more standardised profession. Most diggers become *de facto* simple workers or '*trowel fodder*' (Howe 1995:27) treated as replaceable pieces by the highest position seekers. As a result, many archaeologists, mainly with degrees and experience, seem to leave the profession quickly or to express profound disillusionment throughout their career (Drummond-Murray 1998). The numbers of women working in the field of UK commercial archaeology, highest in the 21 to 25 year-old age bracket, tend to decline drastically as they approach the higher age brackets (Scott 1998). This is apparently due to the general economic instability of fieldwork, and it is, indeed, not improving future prospects for the profession (Chadwick 2000). Precariousness is a characteristic of the neoliberal system (Bourdieu 1998:98). Archaeological units then deliberately or unwittingly take advantage of this flexible organisation of work in order to reduce their costs. In any case, this process seems to lead to the deterioration or stagnation of work conditions and salaries in a sector of the economy where unions are often absent, and regulation and protection are weak. Nevertheless, is precariousness really the result of the implementation of commercial archaeology and the rules of neoliberalism? Is the profession of archaeology intrinsically precarious or is such a state a product of other influences? In its contact with neoliberalism, could it be that the instability of the practice of archaeology has been accentuated to a critical point?

Work conditions

In 2006, a very strong reaction to commercial archaeology was expressed by an anonymous digger in an Irish newspaper; the *Irish Independent*. This statement is particularly interesting because it synthesises most of the work condition issues encountered in commercial archaeology, and the title in itself pretty well summarises the feelings of the author: "*archaeology a terrible job*". The author confides that a digger could only expect the following things from commercial archaeology: over qualification, a complete lack of respect from unit executives, the lowest paid qualified profession in Ireland, no union, and not even properly recorded archaeology (Anonymous/Irish Independent 2006 *online*).

This portrait of commercial archaeology is indeed exaggeratedly dark and does not take into consideration any of the sources of job satisfaction of the workers. Nevertheless, it would appear that work conditions will deteriorate even further than in this disastrous description, with a substantial loss of jobs in commercial archaeology due to the 2008-2010 financial crisis. Aitchison noted in January 2009 that almost 10% of jobs in commercial archaeology had been lost in the second half of 2008 in England, and that consistent job losses will continue into 2009 (Aitchison 2009:2). The author also predicts that some archaeology companies could cease activities in the course of the year, causing massive unemployment amongst the archaeology community.

Image

According to the perception of commercial archaeology by archaeologists themselves (Everill 2006: 178), it appears that 'being poor' could be part of an unwritten 'code' for a respected digger. Status and esteem could be acquired within the companies through sufferance, hard-work, self-sacrifice and dedication. This behaviour suggests that doing rescue archaeology could be a form of life ethic in itself, requiring a minimum salary for survival, but no more than that. Luxury, capitalist rules and consumption reflex appear to be shunned as much as possible within the archaeological 'digger' community, at least in the UK. The problem is whether this phenomenon reflects effective conscious political-ethical choices, or just a tradition to which everyone must conform. It is not clear yet whether internal digger ideology also applies to the new generation of archaeologists, or whether there is any generational difference. For current fieldwork archaeologists, is archaeology still a passion or just another job? The debate surrounding the image of archaeologists is thus still only in its initial stage. It is a very important aspect of commercial archaeology which must be developed further in order to clarify how archaeologists perceive their profession.

Lack of publication

In England, despite the legal framework requiring the implementation of a planning agreement between commercial archaeology companies and developers (PPG16 1990: Art. 26), some units' activities are not being published or integrated in broader research (English Heritage 1996:40, Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:39, Bradley 2006:8). In practice, the use of a technically formatted report in commercial archaeology companies involves almost no immediate production of knowledge, but only the production of data, records and archives, also called '*preservation by record*' (Bradley 2006:6), and discourages many fieldwork archaeologists from participating in academic debates (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:42). The standardised report has the advantage for the unit of reducing the timeframe for post-excavation activities, reducing negotiations with the developer by delivering a standard/neutral product, and ultimately reducing the general costs of a project.

In the actual configuration of commercial archaeology, in most western countries, publication is not a profitable operation either for the archaeology company or the developer, and consequently publication is not a priority for anyone. The tendency is to accumulate data in the event of a hypothetical future publication, but again, publication is not really part of the mission of the archaeological units. However, out of this data, some have been successful in producing major publications, as has been the case in British and Irish prehistory, by Bradley (2006:10). Nevertheless, it should be noticed that most research is conducted by academics, not by the units themselves, thus sub-dividing the research process, and taking it temporally away from its source. Nonetheless, records, which consist mostly of written reports, are rarely accessible for further studies or are simply dispersed (Bradley 2006:7). In this matter, and according to Bradley (2006:3), the situation has been judged '*disastrous*' in England.

In certain cases, postponement of publication is justifiable by the lack of knowledge of a period or area, and by the necessity for the elaboration of an overall comprehensible synthesis of research (Birch 2007:125), which will necessarily involve some data exchange, and further research (English Heritage 1996:40), not to mention a lot of effort and motivation from the archaeologists. These syntheses are now particularly difficult to fund, as there is generally a temporal distance (often many years) between the archaeological activities in the field, and the production of research synthesis. This distance renders negotiations with developers, generally reluctant to pay for research, which could take a few years to conclude, impossible. Eventually, though most archaeologists would like to produce quality publications, they do not have the time or means to do so (Willems 2009:91), unless they use their own time and funding, or funding in academia to publish (Bradley 2006:10). Too often, archaeology is reduced to a simple work activity used to generate earnings like any other business (Birch 2007:122).

It is time now to further investigate the transformation that occurred in commercial archaeology: are we simply exploiting a resource 'λ', like the hydroelectric corporations, the mining industry or forestry? The lack of publication is largely related to the political-economic structure of commercial archaeology, and could be linked to an over rationalisation, over technicalisation and thus to an over conformity to profitable neoliberal logic. As suggested recently on BBC4 by Hamilakis, this phenomenon also occurs because archaeologists are no longer responsible to the public for their actions, and are responsible instead to the developers (Hamilakis & Aitchison April 28th, 2009, online). From Aitchison's point of view, the past is supposed 'to be preserved by record' but, as Hamilakis objected, in the end the material traces of the past are destroyed. However, the following concern should be pointed out: were archaeologists ever responsible to the public? In the case of pre-war Britain archaeology is interesting in this concern. According to Stout (2008), archaeologists were arrogant in their attitude to general public and felt little need to engage with masses.

Today, the information collected, often technical and non-interpretative, will only be used in reports, and not designed for the archaeological communities or the public. In the end, what could be done or what orientation should be taken to improve the situation? If commercial archaeology fails to meet its basic obligations, what alternatives remain? The present financial crisis and the drastic reduction in building development probably provide the right opportunity for such questions to be asked.

1.3 Repositioning archaeology

Archaeology is both a technical operation and a social science. By becoming commercial, is archaeology still in a position to fulfil its role as a social actor? I am not claiming that archaeology is a central element for social change, only that archaeology should at least contribute modestly to the development of ideas and self criticism of modern societies, particularly in the climate of the supposedly 'universalist' neoliberal doxa (Bourdieu 1998:36). My thesis is that the role of an archaeologist should be an active one, notably to fight inequality, and advocate social justice (Adams 2005:434 & 436-7). This assertion comes from the fact that since the 1930s, as suggested by Stout (2008), archaeologists have adopted a certain disdain for communicating the results of their research to the masses, and considering the effects of their knowledge and interpretation of the past on the present. This practice underwent an evolution, particularly after the processualist period at the end of the 1980s, placing archaeological representations and communications in the centre of some archaeologists' preoccupations (Moser 2001:262-3). Today, on any kind of archaeological project, archaeologists can provide a critical point of view and an awareness of power issues. They can do so because they are in the position to challenge the stereotypes inflicted on the populations or groups they are working with, and also because they should be able to be appropriately reflective and responsible about ethical and identity matters.

Thus, the re-positioning of the discipline in the social sciences should allow us to relocate archaeology projects permanently in the arena of political debate and allow archaeology to play its social role. This process will ultimately provide archaeologists with a better idea of who wants what from archaeology, and for what motives, because archaeologists deal necessarily with the present, not only with the past (Holtorf 2005b:159, Hamilakis 2007b:30).

New projects for archaeology have emerged from this perspective, defined by the idea of the 'political ethic' (Hamilakis 2007b), and/or 'political action' (McGuire 2008), which could be described by different radical measures, such as:

- Criticizing the practice of commercial archaeology today as a potential device of the neoliberal 'doxa'.

- Scrutinising archaeological organisations, their networks and their socioeconomic environment, which could generate an archaeological product that will justify and sustain this device (Hamilakis 2007b: 33-4).
- Combating this capitalist alienation by reconnecting the subjective past created by archaeologists with the realities of the present world in order to promote social justice through potential contestation, education through the dissemination of knowledge, and consultation and collaboration with the populations primarily concerned (McGuire 2008:7-8).

To this end, the obvious way for me to engage in political archaeological action is to explore the political-economy of archaeological practice. This exploration will be conducted on the micro to macro scale, and from then on from the micro-politics of a community (an archaeological unit for example) to more global neoliberal economics, using the *actor-network theory* as a deconstructive technique. This is precisely what is intended with this doctoral research. The '*political-ethical approach*' (Hamilakis 2007b:35) applied in the case of commercial archaeology will allow exploration through investigation of the political economy of commercial archaeology units and their internal and external sociological, political, and economic environment.

CONCLUSION

In its current state, commercial archaeology seems to be experiencing a crisis. This can be essentially perceived through diverse economic issues, which could be related to the incorporation of archaeology within a neoliberal doxa. This transformation of the archaeological profession since the 1970s has generated tensions between the archaeological profession and the market into which it has been integrated; as well as tensions within the commercial archaeological units, between the different visions of archaeology held by the employees and their employers.

How to reconcile political-economy and archaeology? Perhaps archaeology as a social discipline should be part of the 'social economy' (Demoustier 2003, Jeantet 2008) or the 'moral economy' (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:41). With the failure of financial capitalism, and the rising voices challenging the values of the neoliberal 'doxa', new alternatives are now conceivable. '*De-Growth*', localism, community life, collaboration, or cooperation are now concepts more often mentioned as viable alternatives to the present global economy. De-Growth (from French "Décroissance") is a set of ideas, inspired by anti-capitalist, anti-consumerist and ecologist movements, rejecting economic growth as a sustainable model (See chap.8). Commercial archaeology is now a device of neoliberalism, of which I intend to critically analyse the function in this thesis. Nevertheless, I would like to go further by exploring the new opportunities offered by the social economy to reposition and rethink archaeology in our western societies.

Finally, my research, which consists of the study of an entire national/provincial archaeological network, sustained by the *actor-network theory* defined in the introduction (Law 1992), should allow me to reveal the tensions between the different actors of the archaeological network, as well as the tensions between archaeologists and the actors of the society they live in. The eventual existence of these internal tensions should demonstrate that the profession is engaged both in processes of integration, and in processes of confrontation with global capitalist *modus operandi*. Moreover, it is also important to consider that the new public arena, such as the *World Social Forum* (2008), or new social movements based on an alternative social economy, represent a new space for the elaboration of alternative conscious choices of actions (Appadurai 1996:44).

Thus, commercial archaeology is potentially embedded in processes of conformity to capitalist values but also in various forms of resistance. These processes will be illustrated within this research through my case studies in Quebec. I conducted ethnographic research among both unit managers and diggers working in archaeological units. The combination of these two tendencies should be able to be observed in human interactions, which I will study in detail in the ethnographic research presented in my results chapters, deconstructed mostly with the help of the *actor-network theory*. If conformity with neoliberal values is already attested (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:39), the existence of potential conflicts and problems related to the use of a neoliberal model still needs to be analysed and comprehended in commercial archaeological units.

CHAPTER 2 – Research Methods: conceptualising a study of commercial archaeology.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to present the methodology of my research, and to further develop and illustrate my interpretative framework, which is sustained by the deconstructive tools provided by *ANT,* and based on the analytical concept of alienation. Both are aimed at providing grounds for criticism of the current structure of commercial archaeology. In order to understand the articulation of commercial archaeology activities in the present political-economic system, three original datasets were collected in the Canadian province of Quebec. This data includes: a survey, with demographic and socio-economic data on archaeologists currently employed, seeking employment and also who opted out of the profession; economic analysis of commercial archaeology units and non-profit organisations operating in Quebec; and more importantly, interviews with 52 archaeologists or ex-archaeologists.

Extract from my field notes: [Context: 40km south of Montreal, Canada – a *Québécois* village, 2km from an Iroquoian excavation – colourful woods, rivers and fields all around – end of September 2007]

Every morning, it is more or less the same in the cottage. The archaeologists wake up early, around 6:00 am. The gregarious life starts with breakfast. Everybody looks and acts a little irritated at this early hour. Probably because their bodies are fully expressing the pain engendered by the previous day of work: back, hands and knees are aching. The diggers cover themselves with a disparate mix of warm, thick and waterproof clothes, until they all look the same, like *Bob the Michelin Man*. One after another, they pack up the lunch prepared the night before. A last check of their fieldwork bags to make sure all the tools are there: trowel, gloves, measuring tape and anti-bug spray, and they are ready for departure. In the truck, not a lot is said; they are still not completely awake and the purring of the engine keeps them in a reflexive torpor. On approaching the destination, faces light up with some kind of enthusiasm and people finally start chatting. Once in the archaeological perimeter, everybody gets to work.

Figure 2.1: Untroubled existences?
Photograph © Nicolas Zorzin - 2004

They seem to know what to do and how. They look confident and happy to be here (Fig.2.1)… despite the fact that most of them are in a precarious financial situation. Even the boss is already talking about his own future retraining because of the insecurity and the relentless socio-economical struggle that comes with archaeological work. Here, nobody knows if they will be employed in archaeology in six months time but it does not seem to matter right now. They dig their pit-hole. Reaching a certain degree of automatism, they start talking and the conversations fluctuate between bawdy jokes, philosophical arguments on the purpose and significance of life and love and, of course, methodology in archaeology as well as previous fieldwork experiences. During the lunch break, surprisingly, not a lot of words are exchanged. Most of the time two people strike up a conversation to break the silence while the others rest, 'enjoying' their wet sandwiches and cold beverages (Fig.2.2).

Everybody returns to work without waiting too long because: "*if you let your muscles get cold, you have to re-experience the pain of the morning*". They dig and dig until the "*magic number*" is reached, i.e. the number of meters squared that should be dug in a day to meet the general requirements and respect the schedule. At this stage, they clean up the field and put away the working tools that will be waiting for them here until tomorrow.

Figure 2.2: 'Enjoy the silence' - Lunch time during archaeological fieldwork. Photograph © Nicolas Zorzin - 2003

Today, hundreds of artefacts have been collected, the most spectacular ones often greeted joyfully and with discussion about the nature, date and purpose of these Amerindian cultural products. It is 5:00 pm, they are back at the dig house and the laboratory work starts right away until all the archaeological artefacts have been cleaned, classified and well recorded. Today's production is approximately twelve sets of sheets for twelve meters squared excavated. Perhaps a minor part of the history of the territory and of the Iroquoian people has been written today. Some intuitions have been reinforced and some convictions have been weakened. Maybe it was a day of work for nothing, spending the municipality budget at a loss, or a day where a few ideas were tidily assembled, in preparation for the bigger picture. Actually, it was a day of work like any other. Surprised, neighbours look suspiciously at this bunch of muddy men coming out of the improvised laboratory. It is 8:00pm, it's going to rain and it is now time for them to relax, go inside and have a drink. Nicolas Zorzin 09/2007

2.1 Social Theory background

The research fieldwork chosen for this study was undertaken in one province of Canada, Quebec, and therefore limited to a specific territory, to a specific space, geographically, socially and historically. Looking closely at my study, the core of the research is in fact more of an ethnography of science rather than a classical ethnography, considering that it is essentially studying a network, and not only one specific structure such as a governmental office or an archaeological unit.

To answer my central question concerning the viability of the implementation of a neoliberalism doxa in archaeological practice, I have chosen an approach that could sustain my research efficiently: the *actor-network theory* (Latour 1988, Callon 1986, Law 1992).

2.1.1 *Actor-Network Theory* (*ANT*)

Here, it is important to emphasise that I am using elements of the *actor-network theory* as a technique, and the wider parameters of the theory are not being deployed. This approach is relevant here given that it considers not only humans but also objects and discourses and their different interactions. These elements form a more complete heterogeneous network, which will eventually permit comprehension of the current situation in commercial archaeology, and challenge and criticise its actual political-economy.

Definitions

The *actor-network theory* can be defined as a systematic way of examining a new topic in its entirety, in other words, of thinking about all the influencing 'actors' of society that are usually omitted from scientific studies. The theory can also be defined as a study of an activity in transition, i.e. in a permanent dynamic of change. The *Actor-network theory* is therefore a theory which is not limited to an isolated examination of a specific subject of study but rather extends to all the 'actors' which contribute to its existence within its sociological space. Finally, and according to Latour, the *actor-network theory* is: "*a theory about how to study things, or rather not to study them, - or rather, how to let the actors have some room to express themselves*" (Latour 2005: 142)

Key analytical concepts:

- **Actor**: actors could be defined minimally by "*entities that do things*" (Latour 1992:241). Moreover, in this definition Latour emphasizes clearly that the most relevant aspect of this concept is not to determine which are humans or nonhumans, animate or inanimate, but to determine who or what are the actors that do things (Latour 1992:243).

Actors are then heterogeneous elements (people, institutions, procedures, law) which aim to achieve a particular goal, which could be, for example in my case, the manufacturing of an archaeological product. In this thesis, the actors of the network are archaeologists, diggers, managers, developers, archaeological units, universities, museums, charities, associations, legal acts, governmental structures, and various socio-political elements of Quebec's society and history.

- **Network**: as already indicated, a network is not only limited to social actors but embraces both people and things. It has been defined as a "*group of unspecified relationships among entities of which the nature itself is undetermined*" (Callon 1993:263). A network is dynamic and is in a permanent state of flux according to the actions and will of its components.

- **Intermediary**: an intermediary can be a written report, a service, a product, or a mathematical equation. It is believed to do no more than: "*pass between actors in the course of relatively stable transactions*" (Bijker & Law 1992:25). Eventually, intermediaries represent the links between the actors which generate and define the network itself. In others words, intermediaries are the language of the network; a language which allows the translation of actors' will and its transmission to other actors.

Dynamics of actor-networks

Understanding and being critical of the present commercial archaeology with the *actor-network theory* consists thus of attempting to comprehend its network of interactions diachronically and synchronically (chapters 3 & 4), followed by a deconstruction in more detail of specific interactions between active agents of the network (chapters 5, 6 & 7). The objective of this methodological approach is to de/co-construct the political-economy context of which archaeology forms a part. Now, how will the dynamics of my actor's-network map out? Three phases could be defined in this process: emergence, development and stabilisation. They should not be separated, but in doing so, they constitute a useful analytical tool to comprehend the evolution of the 'actor-network' under study.

Emergence

Networks are the products of the actions of actors, but networks are always the result of a previous evolving network. There is no real beginning for a network. The definition of a beginning is thus an artificial analytical step but a necessary one. The importance of this step is based on the interest and on the degree of knowledge of the analyst of the particular situation under research.

In the case of Quebec archaeology, my interest is focused on the outcome of a new organisational structure for archaeology: commercial archaeology. For this reason, I need to contextualise its emergence by identifying the previous existing actors, and by describing the mechanisms which resulted in the creation of the new domain of commercial archaeology, and this will essentially be performed in chapters 3 and 4.

Development

After its formation, a network necessarily develops in two possible directions, entailing divergence or convergence of its actors.

This aspect of the *ANT* is crucial for the understanding of the development of the commercial archaeology network. It does so because it allows for illustration of the mechanisms which resulted in the privatisation of archaeology, and in the implementation of neoliberal logic. Moreover, according to Callon: "*the network is constructed according to the translation's own logic*" (1992:84), which in my case could be related to this market-oriented logic. Nevertheless, a phenomenon of convergence, for example towards this logic, does not mean that all actors adhere to it, and aspire to the same ideal, but only that for a certain period actors' activities are easily coordinated by following this as yet unchallenged direction (Callon 1992:87).

Divergence in the development of the network is another crucial step in my research analysis because, as described throughout chapter 1, in commercial archaeology it corresponds to a period of crisis where an internal contestation appears in the networks. In this matter, it is still necessary to ask questions such as: is current commercial archaeology a 'black box', and if so, is it losing its integrity? Is the crisis described earlier able to destabilise the actual configuration of its network?

Stabilisation

If convergence has duration, this results in a stabilisation of the network, and in the eventual proliferation of the actors. In the interest of all actors of a network, the network should be stabilised in order to guarantee the perenniality of the actors' activities. To maintain the network stable, the return, or the development towards another form of network, has to be made impossible (Callon 1992:89). In other words, and this is another important point for my commercial archaeology network, stabilisation *"means that the interpretative flexibility diminishes. Consensus among the different relevant [actors] about the dominant meaning of an artefact merges and* *the 'pluralism of artifacts' decreases*" (Bijker 1997:86). Now, could it be that the commercial archaeological network is stabilised in a neoliberal logic form which has guaranteed continuity in the system, advantageous for the various actors? Alternatively, and taking the English commercial archaeology crisis I described in the previous chapter as a case in point, could it be that this stabilisation has generated a large number of conflicts and tensions within the network, which could threaten its existence, or at least, alienate the meaning of its production?

Applying *the actor network theory* in commercial archaeology

For the analysis of my case studies, I will refer as much as necessary to the *actor-network theory* in order to proceed to the de/co-construction of the commercial archaeology network. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that, as emphasised by Latour, the *actor-network theory* is pretty useless at providing an interpretive framework: "*its main tenet is that actors themselves make everything, including their own frameworks, their own theories, their own contexts, their own metaphysics, even their own ontologies. So the direction to follow would be descriptions*" (Latour 2005:147).

To be able to describe the said actor's-network, data about the fieldwork had to be collected and studied. The next two chapters centre mainly on the analyses of publications and data already available, but also partially on a very important source of data from the ethnographic research conducted in Quebec in 2007-08. But given the fact that *actor-network theory* is primarily a descriptive tool, there is a need for a further concept which will operate as an interpretative tool. This will be the concept of alienation.

2.1.2 Alienation of work

As already mentioned in the introduction, the current circumstances in commercial archaeology brought to mind the idea of '*alienation from work*' which was formulated the first time in 1844 in Marx's *manuscripts*:

> *"First, the fact that labour is* external *to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his intrinsic nature; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. [...] External labour, labour in which man alienates himself, is a labour of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Lastly, the external character of labour for the worker appears in the fact that it is not his own, but someone else's, that it does not belong to him, that in it he belongs, not to himself, but*

> *to another. Just as in religion the spontaneous activity of the human imagination, of the human brain and the human heart, operates on the individual independently of him – that is, operates as an alien, divine or diabolical activity – so is the worker's activity not his spontaneous activity. It belongs to another; it is the loss of his self*" (Marx 1844a).

We could also have used another idea often associated with modern work: '*disillusionment*' (Wilson 1998, Gutmann 2005) which could be defined as: a feeling that arises when an individual becomes aware of the fact that work is not what it was anticipated to be, especially when work is perceived as central to the building of identity. However, as suitable this concept could be for archaeological work, '*alienation*' of work works better in this research because Marx's idea is inscribed within the field of political economy.

The term 'alienation', relatively popular until the 1970s (Haber 2007:16), had been abandoned under capitalist prosperity, but has been reintroduced today (Fischbach 2009), and could be considered as central to my own reflection. The theme of alienation started to reappear in the 1990s, as more negative aspects of globalisation became more prominent. This renewed use was particularly present within cultural production (Haber 2007:22), and archaeology was no exception. The term was reintroduced in archaeology to define a phenomenon which essentially affected workers who had been fully immersed in technical and profitable tasks, and had lost most of the meaning of their 'craft'. Now, could the concept of alienation still be relevant for today's archaeology within the growing modern neoliberal system?

The broad concept of alienation defined by Marx or Fischbach might operate with commercial archaeology to different levels:
First, archaeology is a profession where the product could be particularly and closely related to the expression of the archaeologist's own *'essence'*, i.e. as a manifestation of their very existence, their identity, beliefs, and personality. Archaeologists should be able to recognise themselves in their product, and be recognised by others in their work. Archaeology seems to be anything but a basis for alienation. On the contrary, it constitutes a very strong genuinely human relation (Marx 1844b). In archaeology, the product of work is expected to allow expression of individualities, not only through the enjoyable practice of a specific art/craft excavation, analysis or interpretation, but also through the enjoyment of the elaboration of a product representative of each archaeologist's cosmology. Furthermore, the product of archaeology is not only oriented to the self satisfaction of archaeologists' individual needs for expression of

their '*essence*', but is equally oriented towards the satisfaction of archaeologists in fulfilling society's needs in understanding the human past.
Yet, could it be that the current neoliberal political economy has brought alienation to the '*essence'* of the archaeological work because it no longer considered the direct relations between archaeologists and their products? Today, commercial archaeologists produce records, data and reports which are mostly dedicated to the developers'/clients' interests, and ultimately to the making of profits for both the client and the archaeological units.

Second, the alienation of archaeology could be also understood through the deterioration of the economic abilities of professional archaeologists. As suggested above, this deterioration might not even be compensated by the practice of a meaningful 'craft', or the practice of a passion, and, economically, the truth is that wages and work conditions had never been impressive in archaeology (Patterson 1999:166; Aitchison 2004:215; Everill 2007). The realities are that archaeologists in firms seem unable to achieve economic security (ability to reach-self sufficiency and meet the basic needs), economic sustainability (ability to maintain an adequate standard of living), economic empowerment (ability to obtain financial security and retirement capability), and finally, economic prosperity (ability to have spending opportunities, to access proper education and leisure activities, and to contribute back to the community). In so doing so, instead of giving the workers a feeling of integration in society, the profession creates a feeling of exclusion and impoverishment. The profession is now embedded within capitalism, and so, is deeply influenced by the values which perceive success in terms of economic abilities and material possessions. Not only dispossessed of the practice of an important profession, archaeologists may not even receive any financial compensation for this major sacrifice, constituting a double alienation: both ethic and economic.

Thus, the dispossession of both the materialisation and enjoyment of a significant product, as well as the deterioration of working conditions and life perspectives, may have produced a state of utter destitution among archaeologists, as illustrated by the point of view of Shanks and McGuire. As early as 1996 this major theoretical contribution had already argued for a re-organisation and a re-thinking of archaeology outside of its neoliberal commodification, to instead embrace the practice of the craft. Now, my approach is close to these theoretical views, but also diverges from them because I have chosen to focus my research mostly on the ways this hypothetical neoliberal alienation operates, and how it affects workers in the field.

2.2 Methodology in ethnography

Based on a long tradition in anthropology, ethnographers have always been drawn to far away peoples and places – as far as possible from their own realities - as if the physical distance grants them an obvious proof of neutrality and detachment from their object of study. Despite major changes since the 1970s when ethnographers began concentrating on their own society, earlier habits persisted through to the 1990's. During this period, new avenues of research started focusing on marginalised groups. Ethnographers and anthropologists, such as Shore & Wright (1997), developed a new area of studies called 'political anthropology', focused on the means and effects of government politics: "*We use 'governance' to refer to the more complex processes by which policies not only impose conditions, as if from "outside" or "above", but influence people's indigenous norms of conduct so that they themselves contribute, not necessarily consciously, to a government's model of social order*" (Shore & Wright 1997:6).

This approach was a direct extension of the critical ideas developed by Foucault (1991) on neoliberal governmentality, referring to societies where power is de-centralised and its constituents play an active role in their own self-government. Following this line, instead of limiting my study to those considered to be the labourers of archaeology, the diggers, this research has privileged the whole population and the entire network of archaeologists, including directors, managers, civil servants, and senior officials.

Furthermore, as Latour & Woolgar note, it is now important to integrate the context in which science is conducted to understand the social production of the scientific object (Latour & Woolgar 1996:18). This approach has been largely applied to archaeology since the 1990s with some very important contributions (Goodwin 1994, Gero 1996, Hodder 1997, 2000, Yarrow 2003, Holtorf 2002, 2005b). Nevertheless, my critique about the work of these authors is that they have been reduced to the illustration of only one aspect of the elaboration of the archaeological product through the limited encounter between the remains of the past and the archaeologists (Lucas 2001: 15, cited in Edgeworth 2003:viii). My research project is not strictly contained within this school of thought, because I do not look closely at the way archaeology is practiced in the field, but rather how archaeology, as a potentially socially significant profession, is experienced by certain western archaeologists. In fact, my aim is to stand back from archaeological fieldwork per se, yet study archaeologists and their practice from a socio-economic angle.

In archaeology, a new approach has developed since the late 1990s which increasingly considers that the performance of archaeological activities has to be located within a certain historical and sociopolitical framework which must be systematically taken into consideration. The idea of hermetic separation between archaeology and the real world is then not acceptable, because, according to circumstances, the realities of time permeate to a greater or lesser degree into the practice and conceptualization of archaeology (Edgeworth 2003: ix, Hamilakis 2007a, chap.4). Thus, this new approach entails distancing oneself first from the study of the act of digging itself, and from our archaeo-centric vision of the discipline, and in engaging in a dialogic process with other academic fields.

Today, as a result, it has been argued that archaeology has experienced an 'ethnographic turn' (Hamilakis & Anagnostopoulos 2009:66), by focusing ever more on the various levels of social, political or economic implications which influence the practice of archaeology. This 'turn' constitutes an emerging field referred to as '*Archaeological Ethnography'*; a term already in use since the 1970's, deployed today in a new meaning, far from the original ethnoarchaeological tradition which served only archaeologists' interests. The new definition corresponds to what Hamilakis & Anagnostopoulos (2009:65) described as: "*a trans-disciplinary and trans-cultural space that enables researchers and diverse publics to engage in various conversations, exchanges, and interventions*".

This development does not apply directly to my own research, for the simple reason that I am not engaged in a study of the relations between archaeological material, the past and the present, but more of relations between the actors of archaeological activities and the socio-economic realities of the present. Nevertheless, '*Archaeological Ethnographies*' strongly echoes my own project notably in its concerns, which include, for example, the understanding that archaeology is deeply entrenched in the present, the need to hear the voices of the emergent and dissonant First Nations or isolated social groups, and the need to provide a new opening for the studies on the socio-politics of archaeology.

It is primarily with these perspectives in mind that I have undertaken this hybrid research project to examine the socio-political and economic circumstances in which archaeological activities take place. Thus, the aim here is to produce an innovative ethnography of archaeological practice by introducing the notion of *political economy* into the core of my questioning, i.e. by focusing on the study of neoliberalism as a potentially challengeable feature governing the practices of archaeology in the present, and by engaging in dialogues and critiques with the actors themselves.

2.3 The observer in question

When scrutinised, archaeology is inevitably seen through coloured glass. Yet, the colour spectrum of this glass is particularly influenced by my own stereotypes and those of the archaeological community about work culture, by the evolution of archaeological fieldwork rituals, and by selective theoretical percolations in the practice of archaeology (Edgeworth 2003: x). By intentionally using a sociological and economic coloured glass, I intend to define my coloured glass as an anthropological filter to reposition archaeology within the socio-political debate. It benefits from a detached appraisal of the system of values within the archaeological community which are often taken for granted and almost never challenged.

In this peculiar context, is the ethnography supposed to be conducted in a different way? To answer this question, Latour & Woolgar (1996:23) suggest that the best thing to do is to apply the same ethical and epistemological rules to the science as used in normal ethnography: to become familiar with a fieldwork site, and simultaneously try to remain autonomous and distant. I cannot pretend my own position was purged of any prejudice in order to make it more scientific or objective (Latour & Woolgar 1996: 27), but at least my research attempted to follow the basic rules for an ethnographic study. Simultaneously, I intended to use my own experience as a permanent participatory internal archaeological tool as well as a corroborative instrument to test my hypotheses.

I am also an archaeologist myself, but was trained in North-America as an anthropologist. For this reason, I should replace my supposed/aimed objectivity with a detailed consideration of my own position as a researcher. This position both aids and hinders my research and the conclusions that I will draw.

So what qualifies me as an ethnographer? Reflecting on this question allowed me to be aware of the elaboration of my own narrative as well as the one coming from the archaeologists with whom I had worked and discussed. It is what Latour calls: “reflexivity” (Latour & Woolgar 1996:28). However, reflexivity does not necessarily mean “hyper-relativism” (Lampeter Archaeological Workshop 1997), and does not necessary lead to the denial, or the destruction of the credibility of the profession under study (Latour & Woolgar 1996:27). Instead, reflexivity led me to see, accept and consider my own position within the archaeological network; a position which could be characterised by the following questioning: I was keen to contribute to the improvement of the situation and the visibility of archaeology in Quebec, ultimately serving the community interests, but also my own professional interests. It could do so mostly by simply acknowledging the situation; knowledge that could reduce my fears of failing to make a living from archaeology. My desire to know the situation was also motivated by assuring perenniality to the profession and, as far as I could, by participating in the improvement of the life of the archaeological community as a whole. Also, I always had in mind the idea that the main objective of archaeology should be directed towards the public, and this idea has percolated throughout the development of this thesis.

My "in between" position, from both inside and outside this specific archaeological world facilitated communication with and access to various people and offices. Access would have been difficult without my status of being both a PhD researcher in Archaeology, as well as practitioner in Quebec. Although my specific accent clearly identified me as an outsider, it actually favoured a form of tolerance and acceptance of my intrusion into the intimacy of the archaeologists' lives, dramas and hopes, without being perceived as threatening.

On the other hand, my own involvement in the archaeological network was sometimes difficult to deal with, and could have constituted an obstacle to the completion of my research project. Such problematic situations appeared mostly when my own potential future within the archaeological network could have been threatened by, for example, being overly critical about a subject or a given situation. My intentions are clearly not to accuse anyone, but on the contrary, my intentions are to be critical of a system, of the acceptance of an economic model that could be incompatible with archaeology. I have never intended to point individuals, but the problem is obviously that some individuals could interpret this criticism personally.

2.4 Data collection techniques

In light of the above, to obtain an understandable view of the socio-economic situation in commercial archaeology, I collected three original sets of data. These sets include distinctive quantitative and qualitative parts. The quantitative data collection consists of (1) a demographic and socio-economic survey involving Quebec archaeologists, and (2) an economic analysis of the financial functioning of different archaeological units. Qualitative data collection consists of ethnography using the common tools of (3) semi-directed interviews defined as a guide for determining interview topics without the use of rigid questions (Patton 1990). I also use participant observation, which I relied on as first-hand experience of the situation, and which is essentially presented in introductory boxes in each chapter to put the topics in question into context.

2.4.1 The Survey – Socio-economics of the archaeological community

This survey (See appendices A & C) has been designed to construct an original body of data in Quebec. The data collection ensures that this research, mostly ethnographic, is founded on a detailed understanding of the profession.

In 2007, a rough estimation of the professional archaeological working population fluctuated between 100 and 150 individuals. From the very beginning, I was suspicious of these demographic evaluations of archaeologists by archaeologists themselves. Consequently, the first objective was to create a new body of data based on a realistic figure of individuals and organisations involved in archaeology, essential in defining what constituted the archaeological network.
For that, I had to define what qualified an individual to be considered as significantly active in archaeology (See definition in chapter 5). To this end, I addressed the chronic underestimation of the number of people working in archaeology through a quantitative study of the population using precise criteria. For example, I included in my figures young diggers who are able to survive, on an annual basis, on archaeological contracts. After this census, the results presented a more accurate profile of the profession.

Details of the definitions, the methodology and the questionnaire itself are presented in chapter 5. A list of the archaeological organisations can be found in chapter 4, and the tables of the survey results are presented in appendices A & C. The results of this survey were compared to the national and provincial socio-economy statistics generated by *Statistics Canada* (Canada's National Statistical Agency in 2007-2008) and to the results of European surveys of recent years.

2.4.2 Economic analysis

This part is based on both the economic profiling of archaeological units and the discourses developed by the units' directors about themselves, collected during my ethnographical research. Some results were produced by the collection of quantitative data but also, when information was unavailable or could not be revealed, projections and estimations provided by the persons involved in the companies and the NPOs were used. This analysis consists of a basic 'financial statement' (Martel & Rousseau 1999) complemented by an economic analysis of the market (Le Goff 2002).

As an archaeologist, I do not pretend to fully understand the economy of archaeological units in every detail, but have attempted to produce an economic portrait of such organisations which can be understood by all, and which I will be able to analyse critically in order to test my hypothesis of the viable alternative of the social economy, instead of neoliberal rules.

The approach is economic but the interpretations of the results are filtered through the point of view of both an archaeologist and an anthropologist, aware of the specificities of archaeological operations and of the eventual social meaning and implications that they entail. The details of this analysis will be explained more carefully in the respective chapter concerned.

2.4.3 The semi-structured interviews

Collecting ethnographic data

As data from the semi-structured interviews will be used throughout the development of this thesis, the methodology used during data collection and analysis will be analysed here.

In autumn 2007 and winter 2007/2008, qualitative interviews were conducted in Quebec with a sample of 52 participants (see appendix B for the list of participants and full transcript of the recorded interviews in French).

Most of the people I interviewed were, or had previously been engaged in archaeological activities. My former colleagues and my friends recommended some of them, suggesting I interview them for their specific involvement in archaeology, whether based on their past, their present, or even sometimes because of their abhorrence of their experiences in archaeology.

Consequently, I used both 'selected' and 'opportunistic' sampling (See appendix B). For the first sampling of 'selected individuals', I followed a semi-structured interview model based on prepared themes and questions, but these remained open to any other directions and propositions from participants. The participants of this sampling covered a wide range of experienced archaeologists, from new recruit, to senior, assistant archaeologist and project manager, civil servants, academics, and directors of the archaeological companies. I also interviewed close friends in a formal way, but informal discussions were preferred, as were debates between different speakers. The selection of informants was made based on a concern for obtaining the most accurate representation of the archaeological population. To do so, I did not give only visibility to a specific group, such as managers or senior archaeologists, but to what appeared to me to be the entire archaeological network, insisting on hearing the diggers and the low wage employees. This choice was voluntary to avoid giving a voice solely to the well established archaeologists and depicting an idealistic vision of the profession. Thus, I gave myself the objective of selecting half of the sample within the employees group, to equitably balance the visions and experiences in archaeology between established and non-established archaeologists.

This selected sample had to be as representative as possible of an archaeological community. I sought to interview subjects in carefully selected groups of two to encourage debates and make the dialogue more fluent and efficient. Colleagues, associates, friends and couples were brought together. This type of interview was the most interesting and productive, creating a very friendly environment, favourable for the development of trust, and the sharing of rich stories. In the same vein, I also privileged encounters in interviewees' natural environments, i.e. at their work or at their home (See appendix B for locations). When these options were not available, I would invite them to cafes or restaurants to create a casual atmosphere.

For the second sampling of 'opportunist' interviews, I used every occasion to engage in discussions with archaeological actors. In the field, I used all opportunities to open up the conversation on my research project during the breaks, and before and after work, in order to avoid any disturbance of the archaeological operations in progress. I also interviewed people related to my research, like native representatives encountered by chance.

The constitution of such a wide spectrum of actors across the profession was conceivable in the case of Quebec given the small number of people involved professionally in archaeology, estimated at few hundred individuals in 1997 (Martijn 1998:181), compared to England where it involves thousands. This difference between the two places could be logically explained both by the difference in the total population, which is much higher in England (51.5 million vs. 7.5 million in Quebec), and by the pattern of occupation of the land, which is limited in Quebec to a southern fringe, involving reduced building activity in the vast northern area of the province.

Conducting an ethnography

Now, from the point of view of the methodology, the conducting of qualitative research with "semi-structured" interviews meant that the interview was not highly structured compared to a standard interview consisting entirely of closed questions. Nor was it unstructured, in that the interviewee is simply given a license to talk freely about whatever comes up. Using semi-structured interviews gave me the opportunity to offer topics and questions to the interviewees that were carefully designed to elicit the interviewee's ideas and opinions on the topic of interest, as opposed to leading the interviewee toward preconceived choices.

The advantages of the semi-structured interview are many and numerous. It is probably the most adequate tool for capturing how a person thinks about a particular domain. It involves a mixture of both empathy and scepticism towards the interviewees' narratives, which results in more extensive questioning of the topic at hand. This attitude allows a deeper understanding of the underlying meanings and personal interests or opinions formulated, and ultimately confirms or invalidates the hypothesis about the interviewee's beliefs (Honey 1987).

The use of structured interviews creates uniformity across the sample studied while the semi-structured interview allows a more realistic image of a situation, not restricted by personal methodological limitations. This type of interview also allows specific subjects to be broached during the interview depending on the degree of implication of the interviewee, or their knowledge of the situation. This process provides deeper penetration of certain areas of knowledge, abandoning other areas irrelevant to the research conducted.

The disadvantages of such a technique are considerable though not overwhelmingly so. First, this is a really time-consuming method: not only does it render data collection more time consuming, but it also impacts similarly on analysis. The analysis, in our case, required translation from French Quebecois to English, which also had time implications. Second, it is difficult to completely avoid two different possible biases in the interview: 1/ not asking enough, for fear of tiring the subject or 2/ suggesting too much and misdirecting the person towards one's personal point of view.

'Improvising Theory' in ethnography

> "*Ethnography is not a methodology at all in the traditional understanding of the term,* [...] *and relies* [largely] *on improvisation* (Cerwonka & Malkki 2007:20).

Bearing this in mind, the process of conducting a multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork (Marcus 1995) also requires elaboration and discussion. Ethnography is a chaotic process for the mind of a researcher, constantly oscillating between discouragement and ecstasy (Cerwonka & Malkki 2007:5). Researchers' anxiety may have originated either from ethical or ontological problems, while euphoria is often related to the interviewee's enthusiasm for the project.

For example, during my ethnographical research, I became acquainted with a substantial number of people in the archaeological network of Quebec. My interviewees were conscious of that fact. Consequently, I ended up functioning as a forum for settling individuals' scores with the archaeological community. I acted as a bridge between people, institutions, groups and opponents who rarely talked to each other. I became a *de facto* ambassador, an 'in between' entity, in charge of taking notes on everyone's grievances.

In this case, I was given the task of completing a mission, which both consisted of creating awareness of the dysfunctional system into which archaeology was evolving, and, conversely, of promoting archaeology as a healthy and up-and-coming profession. Thus, even if I presented my project to my interviewees as clearly and as honestly as possible (Cerwonka & Malkki 2007:27), the problem was indeed the certainty of the interviewees that I would follow them uncritically, and that I would naturally defend their cause. I had no intention of doing so, and this situation created personal tensions, and a feeling of betrayal of the trust of my interviewees, who would have liked to reshape my perception of realities according to their vision.

Moreover, ethnography would in any case be re-appropriated by people other than myself, no matter what my intentions were. Furthermore, the re-appropriation and the instrumentalisation of the data would be essentially conducted by those primarily interested in my research: the interviewees themselves (Bellon 2004). This situation led me to develop the following questioning:
On the one hand, if I was not to adopt an activist approach in this thesis, allowing all the voices expressed to be recognized as equally significant, the result would be a hyper relativist one, not particularly relevant and easily subject to re-appropriation.
On the other hand, if I were to adopt a particular position, and attempt to understand the situation in archaeology in order to change it, according to Bellon (2004) my ethnography would have been perhaps considered as no different to that exercised during the colonial period. Nevertheless, this last assumption is not necessarily true because it depends mostly on the agenda for change suggested, and on the way it is presented, and eventually implemented (Pyburn 2009:165).

Understanding and changing the situation were in fact some of the aims of my research. Thus, a solution to resolve this potentially problematic stance was the idea of 'ethical responsibility', by simply defining what my intentions are. Yet, in the knowledge that my main goal was to reposition archaeology in political action, I could deal ethically with this specific task as soon as my objectives were clearly identified, taken upon by myself and understood by all. As explained in the previous chapter, I essentially intended to challenge the neoliberal system as a structural model for archaeological activities, and relocate archaeology in the social scene in a place where it could play both its socio-cultural and scientific roles.

Organising the research

In very practical terms the interviews were organized as follows:

1. When I met my interviewee for the first time, I orally presented or provided an abstract of my purpose, the intended uses of the interview data, and the measures taken to protect anonymity and confidentiality. In most cases, I also previously acquired permission for digital recording or note-taking.

2. The interview was carefully planned, even if the interview itself was not really structured. To do so, I wrote down the topics and the subjects I was interested in developing, and selected the most relevant ones for each interviewee and situation.

The general themes mentioned were: career path in archaeology and personal background, tangible contemporary problems in Quebec archaeology (salaries, turn-over, pauperisation, gender representation, and so on), professionalisation, education, representativeness, research and dissemination of results, relation to the past and to identity relation to the First Nation past. In addition, the systematic use of preliminary questions concerning the personal background of the person was designed to create an informal ambiance to warm up the interviewee as well as collect some necessary information.

The final document used during the interviews as my operational ethnographical model can be seen in appendix B, but the process of its elaboration will be described later in this chapter in more detail.

3. As far as possible, I tried to develop a relaxed, comfortable environment but I was also aware of the nonverbal communication. In the interview tables, I noted down the attitude the interviewee had according to my perception, as well as my state of mind, in order to entirely re-contextualize the scene.

4. During the interviews, I used probes to get more in-depth answers or to follow up on points of interest. That said, sometimes silence was the best probe and could encourage the interviewees to continue. I also tried to avoid interrupting stories, instead making a note to probe a particular point later in the interview.

5. Near the end of the discussion, I often decreased the degree of formality of the interview especially once the digital recorder was turned off. It was the occasion for me

to strengthen relationships with interviewees and establish a much more relaxing dialogue. This process also allowed me to encourage the interviewee to open up more freely and to give me new ideas or recommend persons to contact for future investigations. Ultimately, I took the necessary precautions to be able to contact the interviewees later in case I had additional questions.

Each interview, of an average duration of two hours, was then transferred from a digital recorder to a lap-top and converted into audio files. After listening to the recordings several times and transcribing them, I selected the most recurrent and relevant themes to be translated from French to English.

Ethnographic data analysis

The process of analysis, conceived of as a "*conceptual and cognitive process*" (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:148), consists essentially of the organisation, sorting, reducing and patterning of the data collected into an interpretative narrative which answered my primary questions in a understandable way even for a non-archaeologist (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:148).

In the first place, I had only a very general idea of what I was seeking, and started with a very general model such as that displayed in figure 2.3, inspired greatly by my own experience of Quebec commercial archaeology.

During the elaboration of my ethnographic model I attempted to mix my own theoretical background with my experience of Canadian commercial archaeology. As early on as my first interview, it became obvious that the way I was presenting my research was far too abstract and already too analytical to be well understood by my interviewees (Fig.2.3). In order to facilitate dialogue, I had to restrict the material (domains) I wanted to explore with the majority of the participants. For example, one of the domains I considered essential to address within the scope of this research appeared almost irrelevant within the context of the interviews, i.e. directly challenging neoliberalism.

In fact, and not surprisingly, the global economic problems induced by capitalism were not really understood in their entirety by the interviewees, who were not necessarily interested in, or aware of, the economic structure they were involved in. Directly asking my interviewees to think about the running of their own profession or their global economic system was of course misleading and naïve.

DOMAIN	Personal patterns			
SUBDOMAIN	(1) Motivations	(2) Career path		
DOMAIN	Socio-economic patterns of the archaeological firm employee			
SUBDOMAIN	(1) Money matters	(2) Social problems	(3) Socio-economical problems	(4) Education
DOMAIN	Global Economical patterns			
SUBDOMAIN	(1) Capitalism	(2) Competitive tendering		
DOMAIN	Political patterns			
SUBDOMAIN	(1) Ideologies	(2) Identity and Nationalism	(3) Archaeological Social Significance	(4) Ethics

Figure 2.3: Predefined domains in use at the first stage of the research - hypothetical key subjects within archaeological community.

Through the collection of the data in different domains and sub-domains, I attempted to find some answers to my questions. Also, throughout the research, encounters raised some questions that I had not anticipated originally and removed others that appeared irrelevant. For example, I had thought that political issues such as nationalism and claims for independence within the province of Quebec could have had a major role to play in the birth and development of archaeology. Even so, this important aspect of Quebec history appeared not to be central compared to other factors such as macro-economic ones.

My previous assumption that nationalism and political ideologies could have played a crucial role in sustaining Quebec's archaeology appeared partially wrong or at least exaggerated compared to the influence of the economic factors. I then redirected the discourse with my interviewees and changed the wording of my questions. I also realised that the relationship with present indigenous people as well as their past attracted much interest amongst archaeologists, and I had to explore this arena much more extensively than expected. The implications of these economic and ethnic issues within the Quebec political network were surprisingly important. Consequently, I had to include more domains and sub-domains of research alongside the abandonment of others (Fig.2.4).

DOMAIN	Individual patterns			
SUBDOMAIN	(1) Motivations	(2) Career path		
DOMAIN	**Socio-economical patterns of commercial archaeology**			
SUBDOMAIN	(1) Archaeological practice	(2) Professionalization & Representativeness	(3) Research & Dissemination	(4) Education
ITEM	Wages & Salaries Turn-over Type of contracts Precariousness Flexibility	Status / Hierarchies Image Corporation Association Trade Union	Publishing	Clientelism
DOMAIN	**Socio-political patterns**			
SUBDOMAIN	(1) Relation to the past	(2) Relation to identity	(3) Relation to native past Stewardship / Ownership	

Figure 2.4: Domains in use during the research on the socio-economical characteristics of an archaeological community.

Ultimately, in terms of analysis, my items/interviews have been organised and connected to each other and to other quantitative data through a process of comparison, superimposition, contrast and incorporation to form ordered patterns classified under different themes (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:155). Patterns emerged from the interviewees themselves, as well as being inspired by prior studies, through research carried out in England over the last twenty years (see chapter 1), as well as from my own theoretical *ANT*-driven framework and my own experience of the fieldwork. Finally, the aim of this procedure was indeed to obtain the whole picture of the phenomenon under investigation.

2.5 Ethical issues

As my research involves economic data as well as personal and political statements from my interviewees, I had to define a code of ethics to protect the people involved from any harmful consequences such as financial, emotional or reputational (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:183). I am aware, of course, that codes of ethics should be permanently challenged and revised to avoid the danger of stagnation, and thus of the 'bureaucratisation and instrumentalisation of ethics' (Hamilakis 2007b:20-22).

Undoubtedly, I have to conform up to a certain point to the basic rules imposed by institutions and universities concerning the protection of the participants.

Nevertheless, protecting the archaeologists by following those rules does not deprive them of the right to act and express themselves as political and social actors, as citizens and ultimately as human beings. The aim of my code of ethics is then to protect the participants as much as possible without de-politicising the debate in archaeology.

In general, the following rules were followed during my ethnography:
- People under investigation all consented to be part of the study. They also allowed me to use audio recordings, with the exception of one case, where this was not permitted by the institution that employed the person concerned.
- Before giving their consent, the interviewees were informed - through e-mail or by phone - about my doctoral project, the concept of semi-structured interviews, the approximate length of the encounter, and the risks the research could involve for them within the archaeological profession.
- Ultimately, I undertook to respect their rights of privacy and anonymity.

For the quantitative study on salaries, marital status, age, etc. results are completely anonymous. In this part of the analysis I will only refer to 'population', 'sample', groups, patterns, but never to specific individuals (see appendices A & C). In other words data analysis was aggregate.

In the case of ethnographic research involving face-to-face encounters, I had to make both participants as well as institutions anonymous. Names of towns or archaeological site were concealed or modified to protect participants. For example: *[site]*, *[town]* or *[province]*. Nevertheless, some compromises had to be made in order to make the results understandable and meaningful. To be relevant, some information has been systematically associated with the interviews for contextualisation matters.

To do so, every time I quoted an interviewee, in order to locate him in the socio-economical space of archeological activities, I had to indicate his/her age and function in the archaeological network. In cases where their function could immediately identify the person, I had to use more general terms to describe the position in order to make recognition impossible or, at least difficult. The final code will take the following form: *James [54, Archaeological Unit Director]*. False names were used but genders of the original interviewees, age, and position were preserved, to make the testimony more relevant to the reader.

Of course, I am also aware of the small size of the archaeological community in Quebec, and the consequence this has on potential confidentiality issues. I know most of my informants, and many have been seen with me on different occasions during the research. I cannot therefore guarantee 100% certainty that anonymity will be preserved at all times. However, an attempt was made to keep the identities of all individuals confidential (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:190-1).

Nevertheless, a large proportion of the interviewees expressed the wish to be identifiable. They justified their wish by explaining that they wanted their voices to be heard, and to be clearly identified. I could have agreed to their wish, thus making my interviews even more relevant, but the problem was that identification of the interviewee would have entailed clear identification of the people mentioned in their testimonies, in discourses, which in many circumstances were very critical, sometime hostile or even abusive. The same general and consistent policy was therefore maintained for all participants to avoid direct or indirect, unexpected, and unwanted consequences.

CONCLUSION

As presented in the previous chapter, the main concern of my thesis is to study the archaeological practices in a capitalist context, and to evaluate the degree of compatibility of the archaeological activities with the attributes of the neoliberal system. In order to focus my research on the influence of the present dominant neoliberal political-economy on the practice and product of archaeology, I chose to employ the *actor-network theory* as a technique of research, and ethnography as my main methodological tool, complemented by an interpretative approach inspired by Marx's concept of alienation.

My intention in using these approaches was to depict the archaeological network in its entirety by focusing on interactions, agreements and conflicts existing between the different actors of the network. This approach aims to make the tensions between the various actors more visible to the observer, facilitating comprehension of the ongoing issues within the commercial archaeological network.

To materialise and verbalise those relationships I embarked on ethnographic research which constituted my main source of data. The ethnography essentially consisted of semi-structured interviews, but participant observation and socio-economic data also played an important part in this recollection. Through a process of filtration and classification, this data was then organised and analysed to create my own descriptive/interpretative narrative in an attempt to answer my fundamental questionings, which mainly consist of challenging neoliberalism as a sustainable economic device for archaeology, and exploring the structural alternatives which could allow archaeology to take part in socio-political action.

CHAPTER 3 – Origins and development of archaeology in Quebec

INTRODUCTION

In line with the ideas on the importance of the social and political framework of archaeology, this chapter aims to place the Quebec archaeological profession I have chosen to study in its context. For this purpose, the development of Quebec archaeology in relation to the different historical and socio-political transformations of the Canadian province will be described. This description will be framed on a temporal scale in order to give us the first dimension of the network under study: its emergence, development and stabilisation through time, the interconnections it has generated today, and the very specific, tense, not to say confrontational, relations it has created between specific actors.

Comparison with the course of archaeology in England from the 1950s up to the present time will also be made, to clarify the development of archaeology in Quebec. One could say that the two cases are too different to be compared, considering the different paths taken by the two countries through time. Nevertheless, England and Canada share a common past and a common culture, but most importantly they are both embedded (along with the USA) in a framework, where archaeology is considered as a service to a client, and where the quality of work is not the direct responsibility of the state (Willems 2009:90). As we will see, the management of archaeology in Quebec is slightly different from the general Canadian policies, but it is still close enough to the British model to be compared productively. Moreover, Quebec archaeological network organisations are now closely shadowing the English model in defining their relations, and in defining a new political-economy for archaeology.

This will lead to further exploration in later chapters of the current progressive integration of commercial archaeology into the capitalist economic system. Furthermore, the picture of the course undertaken by Quebec archaeology would not be complete without an examination of the questions related to the indigenous people and their past, which will be dealt with in more detail at the end of this chapter.

Archaeology is a newcomer to the Quebec political, social and cultural scene (Martijn 1998, Clermont 1999, 2007, Moussette 2008:viii), and commercial archaeology, as one of its devices, only made its first appearance at the beginning of the 1980s. The recent arrival of this discipline may well be the reason why proper questioning about the archaeological profession itself has rarely been encouraged in the Quebec research framework. This absence of a reflective debate was justified by most of my interviewees with the following argument: the immensity of the territory and its complete lack of archaeological data required the development of better scientific knowledge of the diverse periods of human occupation before moving on to more theoretical thinking about 'us' and our profession. I do not agree with this statement. Instead, I advocate that a self-reflective process urgently needs to be conducted in Quebec archaeology, and more specifically in commercial archaeology, in order to determine 'what the agenda is', and how and by whom it has been shaped, before proceeding further.

This reflection on Quebec's commercial archaeology should then start logically with a synthesis of the socio-political history of the environment of the discipline in order to fully depict archaeology as a component of Quebec society.

A brief historical outline for Quebec archaeology

According to the national Euro-Canadian narrative, history only started in 1534 with the arrival of the explorer Jacques Cartier on the eastern coast of Canada. Prehistory, i.e. the first human occupation in Quebec soil, started around 11-12,000 years ago. This distinction in Quebec deeply signifies a fundamental separation between two distinctive archaeological practices and ideologies: one historical and the other prehistoric. The first is closely related to provincial and federal interests and often controlled by state or semi-public institutions. The second is closely related to indigenous peoples, and mostly confined to academia and commercial archaeology, but on recent developments also to non indigenous and indigenous NPOs.

In Quebec, historical archaeology denotes all archaeological vestiges dating back to after the first contact between indigenous peoples and Europeans. Prehistoric archaeology on the other hand refers exclusively to Indigenous archaeological sites and artefacts from the very beginning of human colonisation until the arrival of the Europeans (Wright 1979). From the outset, these definitions are problematic because they create a gap in the historical continuum, and separate indigenous history from the European version. This 'epistemological laziness' (Clermont 1999:7) has tended to create a hierarchy in terms of timeframe. As a result, for many Euro-Canadians, history starts with the arrival of their ancestors, a *de facto* denial of the history of earlier populations, thus refuting the legitimacy of their current existence.

Even so, the terms 'historical' and 'prehistoric' archaeology cannot be ignored, as they are commonly used by archaeologists to define themselves, and to determine their area of expertise in Quebec. It is important for this dichotomy to be preserved as such in this research, as these two archaeologies have both had different histories and have followed different socio-political paths, which will be explained further in this chapter and in more detail in the next one.

A brief historical outline for the Quebec province

The first human occupation was attested in Quebec at the end of the last glacial period during the retreat of the ice cap (Wright 1979). The territory was slowly inhabited by indigenous populations in different waves occurring during different periods, eventually leading to the current ethnic and linguistic divisions between Algonquian, Iroquoian and Inuit groups. The prehistoric time scale was later divided by white academics into three main periods: *paléoindien*, *archaïque* and *sylvicole*, until the *contact* period.

The first European occupation was recorded in 1608, on territories in fact already occupied by Algonquian, and mostly Iroquoian populations in the St. Lawrence valley. After a slow start, from 1655 onwards the Nouvelle-France colony began to develop at a faster pace, soon rivalling the dynamic colonies of New-England on the Atlantic Coast. On-going competition between France and England and their indigenous allies for the ownership of the North-American continent finally ended in 1759 with the victory of England in the battle of the Abraham Plains in Quebec City. In 1763, with the treaty of Paris, '*Nouvelle-France'* ceased to exist and was absorbed by the British crown (Bélanger 2004). This period marked the beginning of cohabitation in Lower Canada (Fig.3.1) between a Francophone minority concentrated in the St. Lawrence valley – as well as the permanently neglected indigenous minority *de facto* annexed by treaties or by force - and a growing and economically dominant Anglophone population, mostly present in Upper Canada but also in Montreal, the future industrial and economic centre of the country.

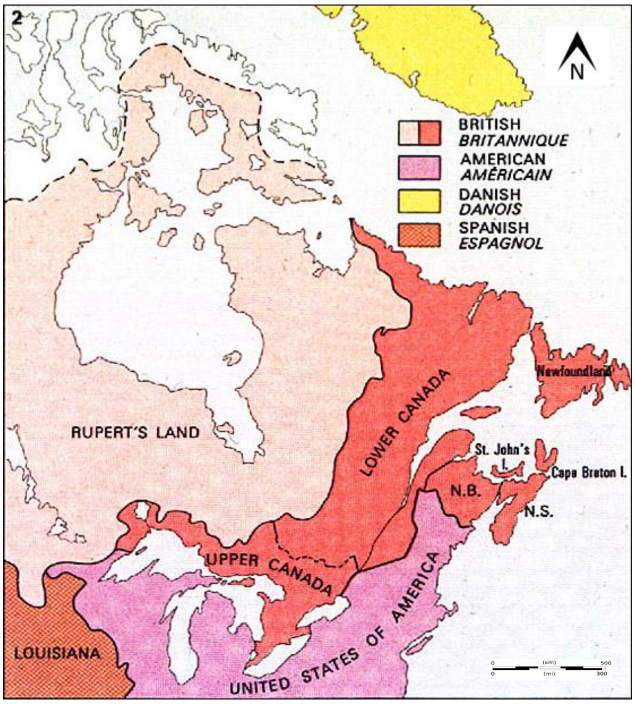


Figure 3.1: Lower and Upper Canada in 1791. Source: Economic Atlas of Ontario, W. G. Dean, Editor G. J. Mathews, Cartographer. Printed in 1969 by the University of Toronto Press.

The year 1867 saw the beginning of the confederation of Canada, into which Quebec province was immediately integrated for the sake of state uniformity. The end of the 19th century was characterized by a Francophone overpopulation of the St. Laurence Valley leading to a second wave of internal colonisation towards the north of the province, still exclusively occupied by Algonquian and Inuit populations, and by major emigration towards the northern states of the USA.

In 1960, after a period of stagnation, die-hard policy, and religious conservatism during the first half of the 20th century, the Quebec province experienced a so called "Quiet Revolution" (Handler 1988:83 & 110). This 'revolution' corresponded to a radical, fast, but non-violent socio-political transformation of a society in quest of modernity while simultaneously seeking a 'national' identity. The end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's were characterised by a rise in nationalism and by radicalisation of a Francophone fringe (Bélanger 2000a).

This was a period of political contestation and affirmation of Quebecois identity, as well as a move to protect and reinforce the French language within the province (Bélanger 2000b). The victory of the Francophone sovereignists in various provincial elections led to the holding of two referenda for independence, one in 1980 and one in 1995. Both attempts failed. Today, the province (Fig.3.2) is populated by almost 8 million inhabitants essentially concentrated in the St. Laurence Valley, 80% of whom speak French. The remaining non-Francophones mostly speak English, and are located in Montreal city and surrounding areas. Another largely ignored minority is represented by indigenous peoples who constitute around 1% of the population of Quebec, mostly English speaking today, or sporadically speakers of their own languages, or both, and who are often enclosed within reserves.

Figure 3.2: Map of the Province of Quebec today.
Source: The Atlas of Canada, John Fowler, Cartographer, 2008

3.1 History of the development of archaeology in Quebec

To fully understand the present developments and dynamics of archaeology in Quebec, I think that it is necessary to do two things: first, create some temporal distance from the present situation, and second, compare the history of archaeology in Quebec with another case. To do so, my description of the history of archaeology in Quebec starts at the beginning of the 19th century, and I compare its development with the one in England.

3.1.1 Origins of archaeology in Quebec

The stimulus for the development of Francophone human sciences is believed to have been closely related to the actions and declarations of the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North-America in 1839 (Clermont 1999:7). Following the (French) Canadian revolt of 1837 against the British occupation, Lord Durham was nominated to the post of commander in order to repress the latent rebellion and to study the ethno-linguistic situation of Lower Canada, aiming at a fast and lasting assimilation of the francophone population.

> "*Lord Durham, who wrote in 1839 that French Canadians were: 'a people with no history, and no literature', is recognized as both the 'villain and catalyst' who stimulated the beginnings of French-Canadian historical and literary self-consciousness*" (Trofimenkoff 1982:81-83 in Handler 1988:20*)*.

Even before the emergence of a structured archaeological discipline, as was the case in Europe from the 16th century onwards (Schnapp 1996: chap.2), the first expression of interest in the past was characterized in Quebec by the activities of passionate, wealthy antiquarians (Trigger 1989). A form of antiquarianism, mainly Anglophone, first appeared in the province in 1850 (Musée Virtuel du Canada / Canada Virtual Museum M.V.C. 2006, consulted online), and the start of archaeological activities in Quebec seems to correspond to this definition. However, amateur excavators were soon confronted not only with French or English colonisation sites but also with indigenous occupations.

Studies and publications were conducted for the most part by Anglophone gentleman amateurs and historians, closely linked to the activities of American and Canadian archaeologists (Clermont 1999). From 1850 onwards, antiquarianism developed extensively and the accumulation of large collections, essentially of fauna and flora, contributed to the process of the democratisation of knowledge. This process also developed slowly in the humanities such as history and archaeology (Lacroix 2002: chap. 3.2).

At the end of the 19th century, as a result of the growing interest in archaeology, two associations were created: The *Quebec Society of the Archaeological Institute of America* and *La Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique de Montréal* (S.A.N.M), anglophone and francophone respectively. The S.A.N.M., created in 1895, essentially dedicated its activities to preserving the French remains of colonisation and to showing the collections to a large public audience (Piché 1999). This period was characteristic of the very beginning of the future nationalist movement, encouraging the rewriting of history, and sustaining a process of reaffirmation of French Canadian identity (Lacroix 2002: chap.3.2):

> "*On the Québécois side, interest in archaeology was centered initially on historical remains associated with the French regime as part of a movement to provide "French Canadian" society with its own historical self-image, to conserve its cultural heritage, and to promote its nationalistic aspirations*" (Martijn 2002: 206).

This was also the period during which hundreds of monuments celebrating national heroes were constructed in Quebec, contributing to the "*construction of the French Canadian collective memory*", and collective utopia (Osborne 2001:16, Broudehoux 2006).

Finally, up until the 1960s, even with considerable efforts by Francophone Quebecers and of the S.A.N.M., archaeology and folklore studies were dominated by Anglophone researchers, mainly American, English and Scandinavians, and operating within in a colonial structure (Girouard 1970:20, Gélinas 2000:191, M.V.C. 2006, online). French Canadians and indigenous people were constrained within this colonial structure in which Anglo-American people prevailed over all aspects of research on the past, from recovery and analyses to interpretation. Nevertheless, as soon as Francophone archaeology developed in the 1970s' universities and public services, it soon became a tool for social emancipation. Archaeology was then entitled to play the role of a resistance actor, challenging the colonial order imposed by the dominant Anglo-Saxons. It gave the Francophone population a fundamental set of historical justifications to sustain a political claim for recognition and independence. This process also took place for indigenous peoples, although much later, after the 1990s.

3.1.2 Chronology of early development. Dynamics of actor-networks & comparison with the English case

A closer look at the extensively documented development of English archaeology and the less familiar Quebec archaeology should highlight the major transformations in the archaeological profession in the course of the last century. This could foster a better understanding of the socio-political dynamics that created the conditions for the shift of archaeological practice towards neoliberalism. To highlight some specific changes, I will use some *actor-network theory* methodological tools presented in the previous chapter, by focusing on the actors, which means by focusing on the ones acting, and transforming other actors.

In Quebec, the first real structured group of archaeologists appeared in the 1950's and consisted of Anglophone amateurs: the *Archaeological Association of Quebec* (1954-1962). Parallel to this, this period was also characterized by a sudden surge of interest in heritage within the Francophone community. It has been suggested that this growing interest in heritage was closely linked to the Catholic Church (M.V.C. 2006, online), which promoted research throughout the province, essentially for nationalist and distinctive identity reasons, to avoid assimilation by the Anglo-protestants. Nevertheless, at the time, archaeology in Quebec was neither a recognised profession nor an academic discipline, but merely a hobby restricted to the privileged few.

In contrast, archaeology in England was already firmly established within academic circles and, as early as the 1940s, it was on the verge of making its debut as a significant activity within the nation, as opposed to an exclusively colonial practice. This means that new developments in the discipline appeared during the Second World War, when the state first funded salvage excavations and provided employment for trained staff (Everill 2006:32). This new way of conducting archaeology came about due to the rise in rapid and numerous construction projects throughout the country, and the implementation of the '*Town and Country Planning Act*' in 1947 to regulate these activities.

After the war, English archaeology remained state-funded and gradually became more structured. However, it did not develop at a quick enough pace to flank urban expansion. As a result, destruction of heritage was a common phenomenon. According to Wainwright (2000: 910) it was only in 1954, after the discovery of the *Mithras Temple* in London, that the public became really aware of and interested in archaeological remains, and started pressurising the government to act to protect the remains of the past.

The 1960s

In England, the 1960s have been termed the "*age of innocence*" (Wainwright 2000: 911-2), because most archaeological field activities were conducted by a few benevolent professional archaeologists and amateurs (Bradley 2006:1), in an atmosphere often described as: '*friendly, chaotic and communitarian*' (Wainwright 2000: 911-2). It is important to emphasise these particular circumstances because they characterised the rise of a new sort of archaeologists, who often closely linked their work with a way of life. Such a way of life was characterised by a break with tradition from the colonial period and a tendency to distance themselves from the capitalist agenda.

Even so, this new local semi-amateur structure was judged insufficient by many, both archaeologists and non-archaeologists. The desire to practice good archaeology was real but the tools – such as money, time or equipment – required to achieve acceptable objectives, were admittedly almost inexistent. Nevertheless, because of fast economic development and the race for development and construction, archaeology slowly and informally became organised on a more and more corporatist and technical model, which was already criticized by Piggott, in 1963, who worried about the dichotomisation of archaeology between a technique aimed at 'documentation', and the intellect seeking for interpretation. The intellectual content was already judged as "*in danger of being overlooked*" (Bradley 2006:2-4).

In Quebec, the 1960s were also characterised by an important increase in archaeological activities (Clermont 2007), closely related to a process of national identity construction, which almost entirely developed into a governmental framework. In the course of this period, some of the Francophone population was engaged in a process of political re-appropriation of the territory against Anglophone hegemony in all sectors of the economy, education and culture. The emergence of a rhetoric on the identity within the Francophone community (Handler 1988:47, 84 & 103) encouraged the development of historical archaeology as one of the potential tools that could be used to justify sovereignty, of which the most obvious testimony is the reconstruction of the *Place Royale* in Quebec city according to the original, 17th century French configuration (Auger & Moss 1999), later used as a political tool for a French past re-enhancement.

Heritage management then became part of the '*Ministère des Affaires Culturelles*' (M.A.C.). This ministry was created as part of the '*cultural objectification process*'[1] (Handler 1988:14) in an attempt to provide a stronger cultural unity for the desired

[1] Process conducted by the intellectual Francophone elites of a population who had "*made* [their culture] *into a 'thing' and can stand back and look at themselves, their ideas, their symbols and culture and see it as an entity*" (Cohn quoted in Handler 1988:14).

future country: "*It is by our culture rather than by numbers that we will prevail*" (From '*le fait français*' Art.1, in Handler 1988:103). Thus, the specific socio-political circumstances of the period gave archaeology the opportunity to develop. Archaeology grew because of its potential to create a means for Francophones to redefine 'their' identity and sustain a certain regime of truth. Ultimately, it should be noted here that developer-funded archaeology did not exist during this period in Quebec. Professional Francophone archaeology was state funded, and started appearing only during the 1960s in the Ministry of Culture, as well as in the Francophone universities. Even though the methodological influences of the discipline were closely related to the dominant traditions in American cultural anthropology, well-known for their cultural relativism at the time, the emergent group of Quebec Francophone intellectuals was integrated into a more nationalistic logic. The aim of this group was primarily to understand their actual culture, to determine its characteristics and to support the development of its specificity (Gélinas 2000:190). Archaeology did not escape intact from this process.

In parallel, the period was also characterised by the creation of the voluntary, non-profit organisation, the '*Société d'Archéologie Préhistorique du Québec*' (S.A.P.Q.) in 1965. This NPO played a major role as a research catalyst, dedicated to the exploration of prehistory of North-East America, and aimed at integrating distant prehistory into the national narrative. It was populated mostly by individuals passionate about archaeology but also, quite similarly to England, by anti-conformists not necessarily interested in money or materialistic matters but more in the past and in the camaraderie of the fieldwork.

The existence of archaeology was then sustained by three major factors: archaeology programs in different universities, initial excavation schools, and the state '*archaeological and ethnological service*' within the Ministry of Culture (M.A.C.). Simultaneously, the first course in archaeology opened its doors at the '*Centre d'Études Nordiques de l'Université Laval*' in 1961, and at the '*Université de Montréal*' in 1961-2 (Clermont 1999:9, Gélinas 2000:190), to allow the training of the first Francophone professionals in archaeology.

The 1970s – Emergence of commercial archaeology

During the 1970s, archaeology in Quebec was mostly a state activity, as well as an emerging academic, state funded, one. In England archaeology was indirectly public through its funding but mostly taken care of by trusts, such as '*Rescue*', charities, universities, and county councils (Wainwright 2000:915-6). In the course of this decade archaeology in both countries was to share a similar destiny.

In Quebec, archaeology became more visible in the public sphere (Handler 1988:140, Clermont 2007). In Montreal, Quebec City and the province in general, the Francophone population became more aware of and involved in the discovery of 'their' heritage. As a result, social pressure, principally from the major cities, encouraged the government to participate in the elaboration of a policy in heritage resource management (Handler 1988: 144) which was implemented in 1972 through the '*Cultural Property Act'* (1973, for the archaeological section) and the '*Environment Quality Act',* and in 1979 through the '*Act Respecting Land use Planning and Development*' (See details in chapter 4). These acts could be compared to the '*Town and Country Planning Act*' implemented in England in 1947, which aimed at controlling and regulating the development of the country through planning permissions. In Quebec, these acts produced a rapid flurry of archaeological activity both in the James Bay (Fig.3.2) where gigantic hydro-electric dams threatened to flood entire regions in the north-west of the province and in the cities where urban development was important, such as Montreal and Quebec City. As a result, the 1970s were described as an "*exuberant Golden Age*" for archaeology (Martijn 1998:170, Clermont 2007), characterized by the convergence of many positive macroeconomic and construction factors as well as the creation of a legal framework that favoured the development of a state professional archaeology, and ultimately the appearance of the first unit at the very end of the 1970s.

In the English context of the early 1970s, the relative intellectual health of British archaeology in this period was arguably due to the diversity of institutions and its funding (amateur, public, private, academic, charity, profit-driven). Archaeology was to take on a professional orientation, especially in rescue archaeology for which state funding increased considerably. For example, the budget for archaeology rose from £133,000 in 1970 to £800,000 in 1972 (Barker 1974). In 1973, a new agenda was proposed among archaeologists for the implementation of a state archaeological service, but this attempt failed mostly because of: "*a lack of vision, mismanagement and corporate rivalries*" (Wainwright 2000:916-7). Instead, in the mid-1970's units developed and spread throughout the country, yet still dependent mostly on state funding. Some professional archaeologists, who embraced the new values of the time, began to adopt a corporatist vision, leading to the creation of the first private companies as early as 1970 (Wainwright 2000:914). This vision was in line with the emergent neoliberal doxa which gave rise to points of view such as the ones of consultants like Strickland (1993:18-20), who saw archaeology strictly as a service provided to a client within a specific niche market, and which led to the abandonment of an eventual structured, well-managed and resourced state archaeology.

Parallel to this new orientation, in 1974, the *Manpower Services Commission* (MSC) became involved in archaeology through its '*Community Program*', providing work in archaeology for the unemployed. The positive aspect of this initiative was that a considerable amount of public money was injected into archaeology, and the number of people engaged in fieldwork increased. Unfortunately, the outcomes of this involvement are questionable because the number of job opportunities for graduate archaeologists fell, as did incomes and work standards (Everill 2006: 36). This resulted in a form of indirect state sabotage, discrediting archaeology as a potentially highly structured future profession which could be part of government services. The conclusions to be drawn from the establishment of the *Manpower Services Commission* are ambiguous: on the one hand it permitted English rescue archaeology to develop but on the other it also paved the way for the degradation of working conditions, and most of all, for the integration of archaeology into the capitalist competitive system which was underway in the mid-1970s, after the failure to establish a national archaeological service.

In Quebec, archaeological activities were still mostly state managed in the 1970s. Archaeologists were slowly becoming professionals, but fieldwork was poorly financed, inadequately equipped, mostly improvised and disordered, and populated by students, adventurers or young professionals. For example, Elias [in his 50's – Unit director] commented: "As early as 1970-71, the Ministry of Culture requested that archaeological research be included in development projects. We went there but the living conditions in the field were extremely rough: we slept under tents and had no professional equipment to conduct our work; it was insane!"

As a result, amateurism, which characterised this period in the emergence of professional Quebec archaeology, contributed, according to my interviewees, to the initial positioning of archaeology at the low end of the professional hierarchy (See interview of Thomas, in Chap.5, section 2.2). No other alternative was proposed than the option of becoming another corporate activity like many others at the time. In fact, nobody asked archaeologists if they really wanted to be part of the capitalist economy, but the logic of the period did not provide any other alternative for an activity to develop other than by becoming a corporate capitalist entity. It is important to note here that this slow process of integration of archaeology into the capitalist system took place during the spread of flexible work conditions in the 1970s, described by Bourdieu (1998:96) as a tool to promote job precariousness as a fundamental rule of work. This was also a period characterised by the depreciation of all cultural domains judged to be non profitable (Bourdieu 1998:43), which in the end led Quebec archaeology to adopt a privatised form. The specific institutional imperatives in

Quebec which link capitalism on the one hand with specific archaeological work on the other will be explained further in chapter 4, section 4.2.1, highlighting the key role of Hydro-Québec in this process of linkage.

As explained in chapter 2, and in *actor-network theory* terms, a new network of actors only emerges out of an already existing one. In both English and Quebec cases, this happened through subtle changes in a young, state or semi-public archaeology, which led to the emergence of a commercial archaeology network. Some actors from the previous networks put the new one in place, following the perceived needs and possibilities at the time. Nevertheless, what this history does not indicate is which was the initial 'intermediary' that provoked the alignment of more and various actors in the new commercial archaeological network at the end of the 1970s. Was it a conscious human choice by a person or a group of people or was it the unintended outcome of the prescription of an object, such as the law? According to the *actor-network theory*, this period corresponded to the beginning of a transformation process of the archaeological actors into a neoliberal configuration, but the actors and the intermediaries who initiated this process still need to be clearly identified in the following chapter.

The 1980s – Development of the network

In this period, England and Quebec experienced a similar major economic crisis, mostly from 1981 to 1984, to which most governments reacted by amplifying and accelerating the process of privatisation of non-profitable sectors. The transformation of the profession was part of this process and was quite similar for both countries. The tendency was for both areas to switch from public or semi-public organisations to corporate management through the creation of commercial archaeology units, and to create representative entities for the newly professionalised and technicalised archaeology based on the corporate model.

In Quebec, this dynamic gave rise to the establishment of most private units after 1979: *Archéotec Inc.*, *Arkéos Inc.*, *Cérane Inc., SACL Inc.,* and *Ethnoscop Inc.* (See table 4.1, in chapter 4, for a complete list of present commercial archaeology companies). In reaction to the economic crisis and the lack of governmental support, in 1982-1983 many state competences in archaeological activities transferred to the private sector (Martijn, personal correspondence). It was, for example, the definitive end of all archaeological fieldwork conducted by the '*archaeological and ethnological services'* of the M.A.C.

The 1980s also saw the first major crisis in the brand new field of commercial archaeology. Elias [in his 50's – Unit director] confided that: "archaeology has always experienced cycles following the rhythm of the development projects [*but*] the first real crisis for us [*commercial archaeology*] happened as early as 1983-1984...", i.e. not even five years after its creation. Most of the new archaeology units were already encountering serious financial difficulties, and faced bankruptcy. Because of the rapid changes in the practice of archaeology, archaeologists were totally unprepared to deal with the rules of the market and most of them were lacking the tools, or were not interested in adapting to free market competition.

The reaction, inspired by a corporatist model aiming for recognition, professionalisation and improvement of working conditions and salaries, came from the archaeological community itself, notably with the creation of the *Quebec Association of Archaeologists* (QAA):

> Elias [in his 50's - Unit Director]:"In 1979, we had to group together to defend our [*archaeologists*] interests. We founded the QAA because the archaeologists [*of the brand new units*] were becoming marginalised within the archaeological discipline. [...] We wanted to enhance the professionalisation of our work."
>
> Joshua [53 - Unit Director]:"We wanted an association [Q*AA*] entirely corporatist with very high fees to have the necessary means of action. [...] We wanted to take the price of our service up to be able to increase the salaries of all the workers. [...] We also planned to define a salary grid according to experiences, tasks and diplomas."

In the definition of its aims, the association was quite similar to the IFA in England, and had for its primary purpose the promotion of the profession by any means possible, notably following the ever more popular concept of '*sustainable development*'. Nevertheless, because of a major difference in scale in terms of population members and funding, the QAA will never be able to be as powerful as the IFA, and never really succeeded in significantly influencing the functioning of archaeology in Quebec. Today, the QAA has fewer than 80 members, representing less than 30% of the active archaeologists in Quebec (see appendix A).

In the 1980s, England also experienced a crisis with its economy (Wainwright 2000: 923). Paradoxically, in contrast to Quebec, this period witnessed a significant increase in the numbers of commercial archaeology units. Of 35 archaeological units at the start of the 1980s, numbers grew to 250 in the 1990s (Darvill *et al.* 2002). The profession rapidly adapted to the rules of the new economic order. In hard times the archaeological community reacted to the situation with a series of internal initiatives to counter-balance the negative effects of the crisis, essentially by standardising and professionalising archaeology and its product. This was the starting point for the process of the voluntary commodification of archaeology.

Following this capitalist logic, in 1982, the *Institute of Field Archaeologists,* now called the *Institute for Archaeologists (*IFA), was created "*to define the standards required for professional archaeologists*" (Everill 2006:36-40). To compensate for the lack of credibility and professional status of archaeology in the 1970s, a *Code of Conduct* was ratified by the IFA in 1985, regulating ethics, conservation, reliability of information, publications, and work conditions (IFA 2008 website). However, the IFA often seems to have been judged by diggers to be more of a tool to serve the interests of archaeology unit managers rather than an effective aid for archaeologists working in the field (Corcos 2009:48). This reaction is not surprising, knowing that the IFA chose not to challenge the rule of neoliberalism, but instead to conform to the expectations of the market. Archaeologists began to perceive the technicalisation and the fragmentation of their work. This trend was acknowledged by some in a critical sense (Gilchrist 1991:496, Shanks & Tilley 1992: xxi, Blinkhorn & Cumberpatch 1998, Chadwick 1998, 2000, 2003, Andrews *et al.* 2000:526), while, in the case of IFA members, such recognition was simply reflective of the IFA agenda itself (Andrews & Barrett 1998, Bradley 2006:1-13). Nevertheless, real awareness and protest against this process was actually only to appear mostly in the 1990s (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:39).

The 1980s corresponds to a typical period of 'development' for commercial archaeology networks. The economic crisis in both countries had the particular effect of generating fast and strong convergence towards the new network's values. Whether this involved conscious decisions from the actors or not, it resulted in the embracing of the neoliberal model and the image of a respectable corporate business using sustainable development as a new social technology to justify and promote their existence. It is also the period of the re-definition of goals which were heavily influenced by the developers (clients of the archaeological companies). These actors shaped or transformed the archaeological actors in order to obtain a product which conformed to their expectations. This process was the initial movement towards stabilisation of the network, which occurred simultaneously with the beginning of a latent protest of some professional archaeologists against competitive tendering, pointing out the risks of inadequate changes in archaeological practice.

The 1990s – Stabilisation of the network

This period was characterised by a clear separation between the ways in which archaeology, and more specifically commercial archaeology, was conducted in both England and Quebec. Nevertheless, the various changes resulted in a similar process of

stabilisation of the network in both countries. On both sides of the Atlantic, the economy was affected by a deep crisis between 1990 and 1996, and severe recession between 1990 and 1992.
In Quebec, as no radical initiatives had been taken to improve the practice of archaeology, and due to a lack of means, the 1990s marked the onset of the 'dark age' (Martijn 1998). University programs and staff were reduced, and jobs in commercial archaeology tapered off, as did archaeological entities themselves. As the result of budget cuts, notably in the municipality of Montreal, the archaeological fieldwork activities of one of the last semi-public organisations were wound up: the Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique de Montréal (*SANM)* stopped works in 1992, as did the non-profit organisation *Archéobec,* due to a lack of contracts, and thus sufficient funding.

In fact, during this period of economic crisis, heritage was '*no longer considered a priority*' (Martijn 1998:178). The '*cultural objectification*' period had come to an end (Handler 1998:14) essentially because the economic crisis had drastically slashed sources of funding and provoked rejection by the government of all activities judged to be costly and unprofitable. Parallel to this, another reason for the end of the '*cultural objectification process*' could be found in the decline of claims for independence within the Francophone proletarian population, who had finally been admitted to the ranks of the emergent middle-class (Meadwell 1993:210-12).

This period has also been modestly described as '*introspective*' for archaeology (Clermont 2007, consulted online), but it was a very difficult period for archaeologists in general. The decline of most archaeological activities in the north of the province forced archaeology units, mostly specialised in prehistory, to focus more on urban activities, essentially on historical archaeology, and mostly in Quebec City and Montreal. There was also a shift towards historical archive studies, and many archaeologists converted to other professions in order to survive (Gélinas 2000:198, Clermont 2007, consulted online).

As a first attempt to counter-balance the crisis, archaeologists and other actors in the heritage sector developed new areas of expertise and proposed new outlets for the archaeological product. For example, the first archaeological museum in Montreal was created in 1992: the *Museum Pointe-à-Callière*. A well crafted campaign for education and communication was deployed around Quebec through the *Réseau Archéo-Québec* (Desrosiers 2007:35-37), and through a network of museums and interpretation centres (Binette 1999:243-246). Nevertheless, according to Martijn, an important characteristic of the young Quebec archaeology professional sector is that it was extremely adaptable (Martijn 1998: 181), or should we say 'flexible', in a capitalist sense?

The archaeological network in Quebec seems to have been on the verge of dissolving during this period. The situation was even more precarious for the network of commercial archaeology. As a reaction, many actors entered various processes promoting the profession which gave archaeology the necessary visibility to the public, to ensure perenniality and development. The process was successful and stabilised the network. This was a period when actors could have called for a return to the previous situation, to a state archaeology service, as was the case before 1982. Instead, the survival and stabilisation of the network made an eventual return further impossible. By a process of differentiation and complexification of competences, the actors developed the network of commercial archaeology much further, notably by conquering the territories of history and urban archaeology. By becoming more heterogeneous, the network became stronger and then naturally resisted competing translation by other actors. It has still maintained its corporate shape today.

In the 1990s, the English archaeological community was characterized by a desire to put a definitive end to the previous non-professional era. In reaction to the second economic crisis, British archaeology underwent a fast 'upgrade' to conform to the requirements of the economic market. This decade was characterized by a massive introduction of archaeological activities into a "*planning process*" (Wainwright 2000:926), and into developer-funded activities, within the free-market economy. Inspired by the development of 'green' ideas, the '*polluter pays*' principle became an accepted value for commercial archaeology (Graves-Brown 1997) and brought direct funding from developers or building contractors. It was the advent of developer-funded archaeology which sustained state disengagement in favour of private companies and reinforced the position of archaeology units as service providers to a client.

This state disengagement materialised through the elaboration of policies by the British government in an attempt to let the sector regulate itself. The expected reforms were to come in 1990 (DoE 1990) with the "*Planning Policy Guidance 16*" (PPG16), which introduced and systematised the use of private units, while drastically reinforcing work standards. According to some French senators, it made English archaeology the most liberal system in Europe (Sénat 2004), but also one of the most organised in terms of salvation archaeology and '*preservation by record*' (Bradley 2006:6). This reform immediately drove down the costs of units and kept them competitive. Nevertheless, it has the unexpected consequence of diminishing the quality of archaeological work, notably by the emergence of failures in material analysis, and in publications related to an explosion of information (Sénat 2004, Bradley 2006, Everill 2007), which could have the potential to reveal major long-term curation problems (Bradley 2006:7).

PPG16 also had positive effects and some considered that it should be taken as a revolutionary concept for the management of archaeological activities. It is believed to have harmonised the relations between local authorities, developers and archaeological units. It has also been considered an efficient tool for the successful balancing between the requirements for development, and the need for research and conservation of archaeological heritage (Davis et al. 2004:4). In fact, these guidelines are still used as a reference today in British archaeology as well as a role model of development in many other western countries like Quebec. Many consider that the PPG16 made great headway in providing a framework and a structure for commercial archaeology, increasing the number of jobs, promoting the conservation of artefacts, and forcing a rise in salaries (Aitchison 1999:39-42, 2004:207).

Nevertheless, the effects of the implementation of this reform were not necessarily positive, and have often been strongly criticised by many different scholars and practitioners within the sector (Biddle 1994, Blinkhorn & Cumberpatch 1999, Chadwick 2000). PPG16 did not challenge competitiveness in the least. Rather, it established the principles of the competitive system with relative ease and haste. Malpractice did not diminish as expected. In reality, the opposite took place because the dominant neoliberal practice primarily focused on client satisfaction rather than the achievement of a good archaeological product for the benefit of the community. Thus, the major problem related to PPG16 seems to be the drift towards the idea of shifting the responsibility for archaeology to the client, in this case the developer, who paid for the rescue operations (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:40). The effect of this relationship was that archaeology units were increasingly financially dependent on their clients, and thus susceptible to fulfilling clients' needs to secure their own precarious financial situation. Even more problematic was the fact that there was no reason for clients to be interested in the archaeological product unless it facilitated the speeding up of the construction process at a limited cost, i.e. through the production of a minimal report and archive validating or authorising the completion of construction, and inevitably the destruction of the material past (Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:41).

In this context, it should be noted that the clients had no reason not to feel that they were doing the best thing with regard to the archaeology. From a legal point of view, they fulfill their obligations towards heritage. From the client point of view, it is normal to feel completely in the right in this process. Knowing that they have no competence to master archaeological activity, they trust both the law to regulate archaeological activity, and archaeological firms to produce a good product. However, the problem is often that the diggers or archaeologists involved in these projects feel that they are not necessarily producing good products because of the context of production (Everill 2007:131-3), which is the construction sector, heavily oriented towards speed, efficiency, and technical answers to technical problems.

In 1991, the *Management of Archaeological Projects* (*MAP2) English Heritage*, attempted to resolve the major problems caused by the PPG16, which was that most funding was reduced or diverted from reports and archive budgets to be injected into fieldwork (MAP2 1991: para.5.3). This diversion phenomenon arose because it was easier to justify concrete fieldwork archaeological activities than unquantifiable post-excavation research aimed at publication (Bradley 2006:7-8) to clients. Furthermore, according to some authors (Andrews, *et al.* 2000, Lucas 2000:6, Cumberpatch & Blinkhorn 2001:39), the separation of recording from interpretation ruined the basis of archaeological practice by discouraging reflexivity and intellectual production. MAP2 aimed thus to rationalise and systematise a certain number of steps to guarantee the quality of archaeological work. It did so by the application of four steps: proposal, decision, data-collection, and review, within the five main steps of a running project: planning, fieldwork, assessment of potential for analysis, analysis and report preparation, and dissemination. Nevertheless, the impact of MAP2 has been very limited as most excavations concerned limited sites which generated fragmented data, mostly insignificant in the wider research framework, or difficult to interpret. In the end, research and discussion continued to be sacrificed for the benefit of speed and cost-reduction (Greene 2002:105). It should be mentioned, however, that the interactions between actors of the network were not only regulated by the rules defined above, but were also influenced by regulatory bodies such as English Heritage, and by private charities like the National Trust.

The case of English archaeology in the 1990's is thus typical of a drastic process of stabilisation of the network. Through social technologies, such as the '*planning process*' or '*polluters pays*' concepts - largely inspired by '*sustainable development*' green ideas - the network generated more and more defined rules (*PPG16, MAP2*) as well as regulatory bodies (English Heritage, I.F.A), which resulted in the network following a clear trajectory to guarantee its survival. This process resulted in strong stabilisation of the network, and can be compared to the construction of a '*black box*', which contains a sealed network of people and things. During this period the '*intermediary*' between units and developers was clearly defined as a product heavily technicalised and formatted for the needs of the developers. Thus, the new intermediary (product, service or report) redefined the relations between the two main actors of the network (units and developers) by imposing a new language orientated towards economic efficiency and profit reliability. Even if the issues related to such a 'translation' had been identified after the implementation of the *PPG16*, the attempts by archaeological actors to modify the 'translation' through the *MAP2* had only limited repercussions. The stabilisation of a highly standardised archaeological product served the immediate needs of both actors: archaeological units and developers, but seems to have failed to fulfill archaeologists' goals and expectations.

The major difference between the Quebec and the English systems is that no clear legal or associative framework has been implemented in the Canadian province to date. In fact, a combination of two entities (*QAA & Archéo-Québec Network)* and various acts from the Ministry of Culture play the role of a supervisory body. Consequently, many archaeologists in Quebec, particularly in commercial archaeology, still demand greater professionalisation and standardisation of archaeological activities to conform to neoliberal corporatism, in the belief that this is the only guarantee for future and natural improvement of the situation. This claim consists of a continuation of the stabilisation process of the network.

The recognised weaknesses of Quebec's archaeological legal system led in 2008 to a reform of the *Cultural Property Act* within the *MCCCFQ* (Ministère de la Culture, des Communications, et de la Condition Féminine au Québec / Ministry of Culture, Communication and Women Role in Quebec.) (Duguay – Livre Vert 2008:3), which is still ongoing, and for which modification should be implemented after 2010. However, the direction (convergence or divergence towards a neoliberal model) in which the new act will move is still unknown. Some of my interviewees expressed concern while others expressed enthusiasm for further state disengagement. Nevertheless, interests now seem directed at a reinforced relationship between developers and commercial archaeology companies, based on the English PPG16 model, consisting of the systematisation of the concept of 'developer-funded' archaeology. According to Daan [in his 60s, chief archaeologist – urban civil servant]: "commercial archaeology in Quebec is now in a process of transformation along the lines of the British corporatist example".

Legislation is a strong 'black box' and plays a crucial role in the shaping of the network. The process of amendment of one of the major acts governing archaeological activities in Quebec is a rare opportunity for the actors to question the stable relationships between the actors of the network. The '*Livre Vert'* consists then of the reopening of a 'black box', and could provide an opening for the proposal of alternatives to the actual network configuration. Already some dissident actors, such as NPOs, represent potential alternatives, and are perceived as threatening for the entire commercial archaeology network.

Nevertheless, it seems that the preferred direction by most archaeologists and managers is exactly the same as that followed in England, which tends to seal the network in its neoliberal logic. It does so by making the use of social technology devices systematic, and by multiplying the actors in convergence with these values. The force and potential of the divergent actors, however, should not be underestimated, and I will explore as part of this thesis whether the transformation process towards liberalism can be challenged. Already, some actors are providing services and products different from those produced by commercial elements (with some rare exceptions), such as archaeological initiation for schools, public presentations, guide services on urban fieldworks, or research collaboration with universities. Does this divergence have a future?

3.1.3 A specificity of Quebec Archaeology: the First Nations peoples' past

As an important number of archaeological activities have been conducted in non-urban areas of Quebec, in regions essentially inhabited by indigenous people, this situation has paved the way for a colonial type of archaeology which has been generating tensions and social injustice within Quebec society since the 1960s. As late as 1999, the situation was still depicted by one of the most important Quebec prehistory archaeologists as worrying:

> "[Indigenous people] *want to participate in the future of the province but the demographically predominant groups find it difficult to incorporate these partners into a common project of solidarity. [...] This integration will only be possible when our differences are no longer perceived as an obstacle to the construction of harmony*" (Clermont 1999:20-21, personal translation).

So, what role did archaeology play in the unbalanced relationship between Euro-Canadians and indigenous people? Who did the archaeological product benefit? Furthermore, the actual tendencies in the practice of archaeology in Quebec should be explored, and especially those that could create mutually beneficial collaborative archaeologies identified (Colwell-Chanthaphonh & Ferguson 2008). Is commercial archaeology really a good candidate for this task?

Finally, following the *ANT* logic, and because First Nations' organisations influence, challenge, and transform other actors, they are important agents in the archaeological network and should be taken into consideration.

From the 1960s to the 1990s

The case of Quebec is unique. Its particularity stems from the fact that an ethno-linguistic group of peoples - French speakers - has been simultaneously involved in a process of resistance against another dominant group - English speakers - as well as in dealing with the internal resistance to assimilation of a neglected and denied minority: the indigenous people. Francophone and First Nation groups used to be perceived as subservient (Meadwell 1993:220). After the emancipation of the 'Quiet Revolution' in the 1960s, the Francophone group gradually became dominant in Quebec province. Ironically, Francophones then had to deal with an embarrassing indigenous heritage, which tended to put the First Nations in a position of resistance quite similar to the earlier Francophone fight against the British occupation. To resolve this problem, in the 1960s Quebec political leaders developed a cultural heritage policy, which materialised with the foundation of the '*Ministère des Affaires Culturelles*' (Handler 1988:102). The M.A.C. aimed to unite the population of the province through a common collective past, initially denying the indigenous past. The existence of approximately 11-12,000 years of prehistory before the arrival of the Europeans (Tassé, 2004) contradicted the national narrative or at least contributed to an uncomfortable feeling of injustice towards the indigenous people. Until the 1970s, in fact, indigenous heritage was completely obliterated (Gélinas 2000:191), in accordance with the nationalist agenda of homogenisation and cohesion of the national narrative (Handler 1988:6,191 & 194).

In contrast, after the 1970s, Quebec political and intellectual actors, and many archaeologists such as Charles Martijn, Laurent Girouard, Michel Gaumond or Norman Clermont (Martijn 1994a:2), adopted a new approach with a clearly defined valorisation of the indigenous past of Quebec. Nevertheless, this new approach did not necessarily clash with the previous idea of completeness of the nation (Handler 1988:177, Martijn 2002:206). In fact, in the 1970s, studies into the indigenous past were developed, but the indigenous people themselves remained mainly isolated from these processes (Martijn 1988:14, Moreau 1994:71, Gélinas 2000:191-2). Even large scale projects like the James Bay development did not succeed in really including the indigenous population in archaeological activities (Martijn 1994b:7).

Change has only come about after the creation of two important archaeological entities in today's Quebec archaeological landscape:

1/ the *Avataq Institute* directed by Inuits from the Nunavik; 2/ and the *Cree Regional Administration* (C.R.A.) led by the Cree, mostly located around the James Bay (Fig.3.3).

After the 1980s, and following the impetus of Charles Martijn, some archaeologists adopted new ways of exploring prehistoric heritage in Quebec, mostly by adopting a collaborative attitude with the present indigenous populations, and not only with 'their' past. For example, these individuals tried to find out and describe the stories of indigenous people by using three complementary sources of data*: "archaeology, oral tradition of the elders, and historical records".*

In this process, the community's elders played a big part in the investigations (Denton 2001:2). This dynamic is a very positive example of an ethical development for future indigenous archaeology in Quebec, which has been developing in the USA since the 1990s. In many academic circles in America, the classic confrontational discourse about the ownership of the past has been abandoned and focus shifted instead onto the new phenomenon of collaboration (Little & Shackel 2007, Colwell-Chanthaphonh & Ferguson 2008). This ideological shift has paved the way for new methodological avenues and new approaches to the conception of the role of archaeology (Hodder 2002, McDavid 2002, Smith 2004, Sabloff 2008), and has defined the new expectations of the archaeological product.

The expectations of this approach are mainly to restore an ethical and fair practice of archaeology to serve both the practitioners of science as well as its subjects, instead of the interests of the developers, who are mainly the clients of commercial archaeology. Now, what is of most interest in my case study of Quebec archaeology is whether the dominant commercial archaeology is in a position to fulfil these demanding objectives.

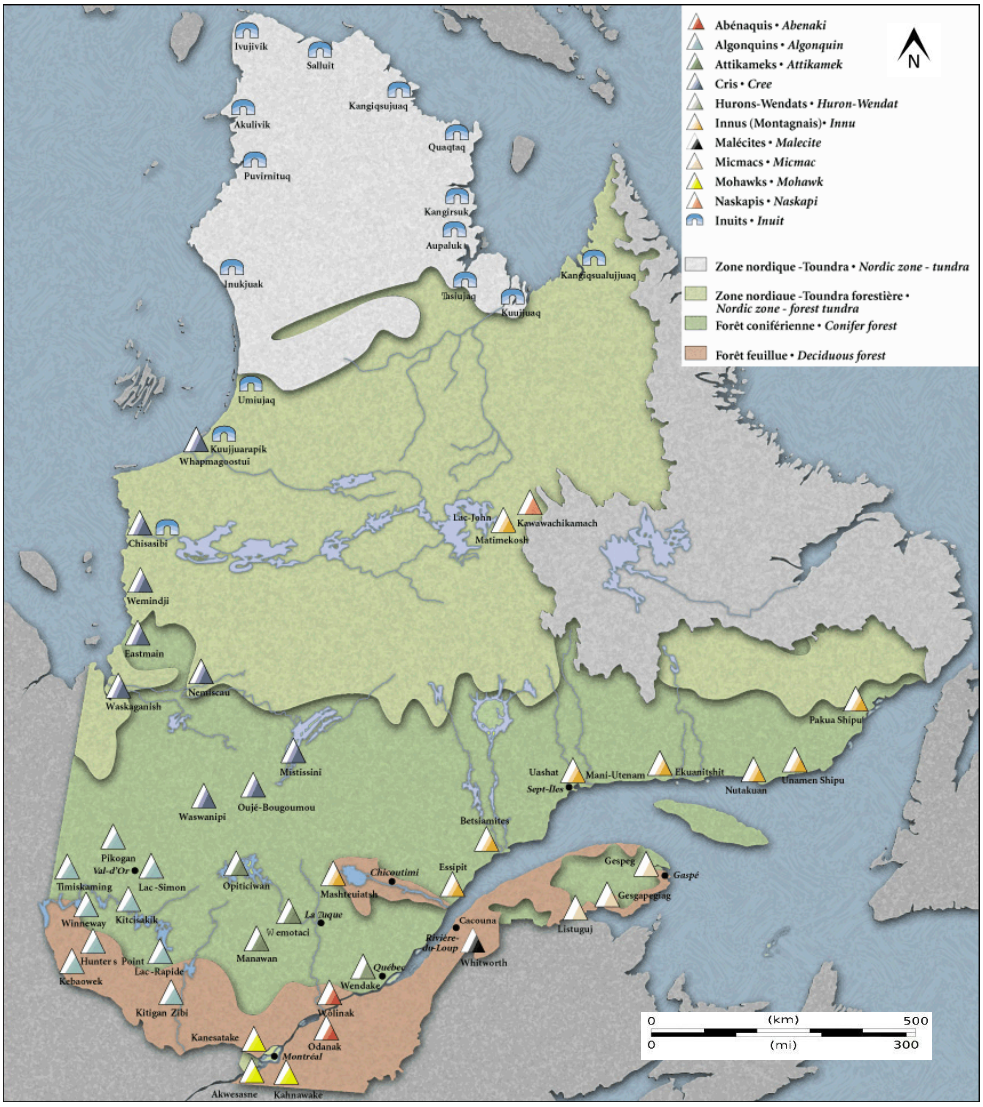


Figure 3.3: Location of major First Nations communities in Quebec
Source: Ville de Montréal – Le Jardin des Premières Nations
(http://www2.ville.montreal.qc.ca/jardin/images/nations/carte_q2.gif)

The situation today: not enough results?

Several changes have appeared in Quebec archaeology over the last years (Martijn 2002:208) through a more systematic application of collaborative practice and by the creation of indigenous institutions responsible for 'their' past, but still often under the supervision of 'white' professional archaeologists.

Now, according to Martijn, one of the most eminent, and one of the first professional prehistoric archaeologists in Quebec employed by the former *Services d'archéologie et d'ethnologie* (Tremblay 1998), 'white' archaeology has always been plagued by a problematic behaviour. Most Quebec archaeologists have recurrently been unable to see archaeology other than from an academic point of view (Martijn 2002:209). Thus, all (potentially political) actions that could lead to the use of archaeology for purposes other than 'objectivist' science, such as social, educational or economic roles have generally been disregarded in Quebec until very recently:

> Laura [29, Archaeologist / Digger in Commercial Unit]: "[...] I learned about the social implications of archaeology during fieldwork, but never in the class rooms [*of the University*]."

Martijn also reasserted that indigenous people are not interested in this 'objectivist' past as it has been presented by most archaeologists, but that they are now more than conscious of the cultural, and economical value of archaeology (Little 2002, Little & Shackel 2007, Colwell-Chanthaphonh & Ferguson 2008). In practice, archaeological activities have succeeded in providing employment and sometimes in sustaining the implementation of tourist centres (Martijn 1988:21). Not only a source of financial advantage, the past was also becoming a growing opportunity for the indigenous people to sustain land claims (Downer 1997:28), and to facilitate negotiations with the Quebec government on different issues affecting their life.

On this subject, the *James Bay & Northern Quebec Agreement* elaborated by the Quebec government and signed in 1974 between the Cree & Inuit indigenous populations (Fig.3.4) and the state organisations in charge of the development of the region provided a framework for territorial and financial compensation issues (e.g.: 22.8 million $CAD for the Inuit in 1990) (Rapport Annuel 1994:8, legal document online; JBNQA 1974:5, online). Nevertheless, the JBNQA objective was primarily to organise the appropriation of the land and rationalise the exploitation of resources by Euro-Canadian corporations (hydro-electricity, water, mines and forests). Thus, archaeology has participated and still continues to participate in a neo-colonial process of dispossession by appropriation (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:3) essentially through the practice of 'mercenary' commercial archaeology. Yet, nobody can pretend to ignore the purpose of the JBNQA because the agreement is not ambiguous about the intentions of the government, which clearly aims to free Quebecers of guilt by compensating the indigenous people for their loss, while reinforcing the dynamic of exploitation of the north: "*This Agreement has enabled us to accomplish two great tasks to which the government committed itself. It enables us to fulfil our obligations to the native peoples who inhabit our north, and to finally affirm Quebec's presence throughout its entire territory*" (JBNQA 1974:5, online).

Indigenous groups in Quebec are now considered to be in a Quiet Revolution, i.e. simultaneously involved in a process of emancipation, demographic growth, and of construction of their own ethnic narrative (Clermont 1999:19). Archaeology obviously has a role to play in this process. As a result, an Indigenous archaeology has been slowly implemented in Quebec since the 1990s. However, the Canadian archaeologist McGhee is critical about the implementation of this type of archaeology in North-America. According to him, Indigenous Archaeology: "[...] *led to problematic assumptions that have negative consequences for both the practice of archaeology and for the lives of those who identify themselves as Indigenous*" (McGhee 2008:579). He suggests that archaeologists unwillingly need to accept interpretations of the past 'patently false' (2008:594), instead of "*discussing potential contributions to knowledge of the past*" (2008:579). In his view, Indigenous Archaeology should be removed from the academic discipline of archaeology (2008:595).

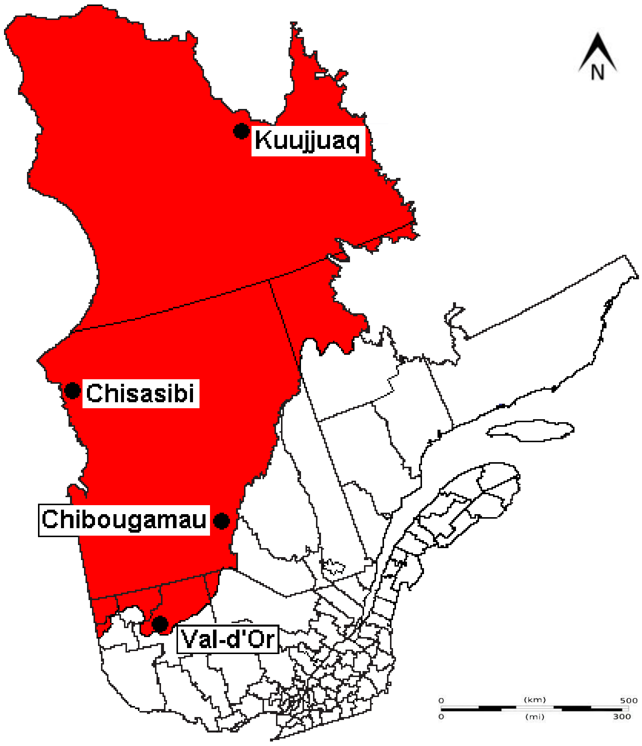


Figure 3.4: Territories and First Nations communities involved in the James Bay Agreement (1975).
Source: (Carte du Nord du Québec (territoire visé par la Convention de la Baie-James et du Nord québécois de 1975).
http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:NordQu%C3%A9bec.png
The copyright holder of this work released it into the public domain.

In response to this article, Silliman and others (Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al.* 2010) suggested that, on the contrary, the collaborations between white American and Indigenous archaeologies, and the "*considerations of both past and present have made these archaeologies better on both fronts*" (2010:218). Silliman sees McGhee's outlook as reductionist, limiting Indigenous Archaeology to a simple "*manifestation of Indigenous epistemologies*" (2010:218). For Silliman, the recognition given by Indigenous Archaeology does not essentialise cultural practices, but "*rather encourages a contextual understanding of those within a political and historical reality.*

CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to contextualise the research conducted in Quebec, essentially from 1) a chronological perspective, and particularly focused on 2) the recent effects of privatisation on archaeological practice. This description critically attempted to illustrate the development and transformation of the archaeological profession.

1) Within Quebec's archaeological history, it seems that there are clear differences between historical and prehistoric archaeological practices and interests. Before the 1980s, during the "*cultural objectification period*" (Handler 1988), historical archaeology seems to have played an important role in Quebec society by reinforcing the positive vision of collective unity and national maturity. In parallel, it is both historical and prehistoric archaeology that contributed to integrating other pasts into the national narrative in order to maintain a sustainable degree of national homogeneity. Nevertheless, the official agenda which attempted to use the past as a sovereigntist and emancipator tool ended during the 1980s. According to Meadwell (1993:212-3) this political project had lost ground because the Francophone community enjoyed better life conditions within the depoliticised neoliberal framework, which provided an effective counterweight to any 'sovereigntist' political movement, provoking demobilisation and deradicalisation.

After the 1980s, during the period of state disengagement, most economic activities were opened up to competitive tendering and the state retracted from the management of cultural heritage, principally in prehistoric activities. The major events of this period included Hydro-Québec's requirement for working with corporate entities, which resulted in the emergence of commercial prehistoric archaeology.

2) It is important in this chapter to emphasise that archaeology in both Quebec and England has lately engaged in changes generated by the disengagement of the state or charities, leading to the effective privatisation of archaeology. Even after two major economic crises during the 1980s & 1990s, commercial archaeology has continued to become increasingly more dominant. At the same time, it has experienced major organisational, ethical and purpose definition problems, for which almost identical corporatist solutions have always been suggested and sometimes implemented, supposedly to improve the situation.

In England, *PPG16* and *MAP2* have in fact been the archaeological materialisation of this corporatist and neoliberal ideology, which has however been demonstrated to be only a partial success through the last two decades. This was notably because it tried to justify the archaeological activities to the contractor through technicalisation and systematisation of the so called ‘preservation by record’. This process has generated a huge amount of information, creating major problems of data management, and preventing thus the use of this information for interpretation and publication. Regardless of its faults, this is obviously the model that is currently followed by Quebec commercial archaeology in its search for recognition and perenniality.

Furthermore, the major fact that should be underlined here about the relationship between archaeology and indigenous people is that the integration of First Nations within the overall archaeological network in the present is hardly a reality. An objectivist approach to Quebec’s prehistoric archaeology has led to it becoming the norm in academic and in professional structures, totally refuting the socio-political significance that archaeology could have in the present. Though prehistoric archaeology is still largely dominated by Euro-Canadians today, the denial of the socio-political scope of archaeology is now receding, thanks largely to the impetus of Charles Martijn and to the indigenous people themselves, who have engaged in their own research about the past in collaboration with archaeology.

Most archaeological activities in Quebec are currently performed by units and this dominant commercial archaeology does not seem to be in position to participate in social improvements, often due to subordination to client interests. These aspects will be examined as a component of my ethnographic research in later chapters.

CHAPTER 4 – The archaeological network of Quebec

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to complete the description of commercial archaeological activities in Quebec following the *actor-network theory* approach developed in chapter two. The previous chapter focused on a temporal analysis of the emergence and development of the archaeological profession, and on various socio-political changes in Quebec and England. In this chapter, my objective is to conduct a more detailed description and inevitably deconstruction of the development of the commercial archaeological network in Quebec, and more specifically to scrutinise its period of transition into a capitalist network during the 1970-80's.

The majority of North-American archaeological activities are now conducted within the sphere of commercial archaeology, as is the case in Ontario (Birch 2007: 121) or Quebec (Fig.4.1), where most archaeologists work in units or as consultants (M.V.C. 2006, online). An exploration of the network in which commercial archaeology is embedded should provide a better picture of the links amongst the actors on the Quebec archaeological network, which are responsible for the current commercial archaeological product.

To start with, I will present the archaeological network through some essential quantitative data of its organisations, and its archaeologist population.

Moving on from this, I will examine in detail the legal and structural framework which shaped the archaeological network through the development of a divided prehistoric and historical archaeology in Quebec.

Figure 4.1: Sun shining on a commercial excavation in Quebec
Photograph © Samuel Ostiguy-Leonard - 2008

4.1 Archaeological organisations

Overview of archaeological activities in Quebec

As stated in the previous chapter, Quebec archaeological activities have traditionally been classified into two periods, and described by two terms: 'historical' and 'prehistoric'. Currently, both historical and prehistoric archaeologies are mainly practiced through four types of structure:

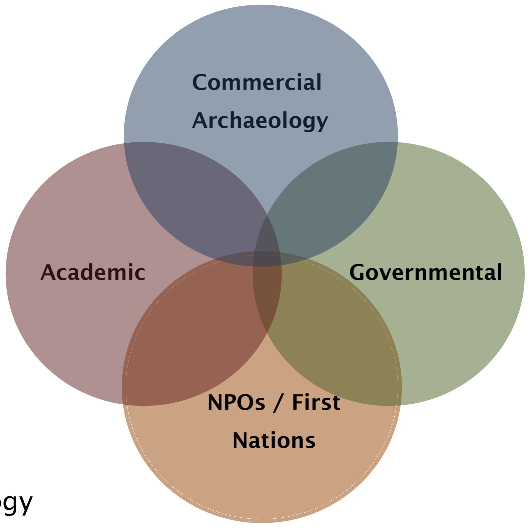


Figure 4.2: The four main sectors in Quebec archaeology

- In Quebec, commercial archaeology units or independent consultants are business entities offering archaeological service to a client. Activities mostly consist of 'rescue' archaeology, which involve the performance of an archaeological act (not necessarily an excavation) aimed at *in situ* protection, or the extraction of the remains of the past before their eventual alteration or destruction by a developer.

In urban contexts, archaeological activities are predominantly performed within the framework of historical archaeology, while in more distant regions archaeology companies are generally occupied with prehistoric archaeology interventions. Most clients of commercial archaeology promote specific development projects (e.g.: buildings, roads, dams, mines, etc.), and could be corporations, developers, private clients or various governmental divisions.

- Governmental institutions essentially fulfil the role of regulator by providing a legal framework for archaeology, and, in theory, by providing the means and the human resources to make this framework applicable in the field. The principal government actors are the Ministry of Culture (*MCCCFQ*) and the Ministry of Transport in Quebec (*MTQ*), which are responsible for the management of archaeological resources. Their role is actually related to the definition and selection of heritage, the selection of the archaeological units, geographical delimitation of protection areas (such as the reinforced 'historical districts'), and the archiving of archaeological records and reports. As public archaeological services are no longer active, the *MCCCFQ* and the *MTQ* will be two of the major clients for commercial archaeology.

On the other hand, the specificity of the Canadian confederation is to divide the territory into provincial and federal domains. At the present time, underwater remains and Canadian state land properties are federal responsibilities, not provincial. The federal government uses a state archaeological service, which operates within *Parks Canada*. Much more than a simple regulator, *Parks Canada* provides the resources for planning and conducting excavations, analysis, and publication of material, but only for material under federal jurisdiction.

- The academic sector can be classed into two different categories of activities: university and museum/interpretation centres. Universities actively apply basic research and promote training for future potential archaeologists and anthropologists, but do not run any commercial units. Museums are entities which display archaeological material and discourses, and are only occasionally involved in archaeological excavations for educational purposes.

- NPOs are charities, associations, and independent non-university research centres. They are more active in the archaeological fieldwork but they have specific focuses, mainly related to the indigenous populations, such as the Inuit (*Avataq*) or the Cree (*C.R.A.*), to a remote region such as Abitibi-Témiscamingue (*Archéo-08*), or based on an innovative and non profit oriented structure, such as in Quebec City (*Artefactuel*).

Number and type of organisations

During my fieldwork in Quebec I conducted an extensive census of organisations believed to employ archaeologists. The results of this census are presented in Appendix A. Data was collected in the course of direct interviews as well as e-mail correspondence with the different archaeological organisations. However, in this chapter, the data from my quantitative analysis only serves to introduce my case study, and the analysis and methodology will only be developed and presented in chapter 5.

According to my census, there are 42 organisations that employ the services of archaeologists (Tab.4.1 & Desrosiers 2006). Academic and museum activities represent the majority (40%) of this total.

Nevertheless, most of these academic/educational entities only employ a handful of archaeologists, and are not necessarily representative of all archaeological activities. Despite the fact that it only represents 28.5% of all organisations, commercial archaeology is becoming dominant both demographically (Tab. 4.3) and financially (Fig.4.5 right).

Location of the principal organisations involved in archaeological activities

Almost all archaeological organisations are located above latitude 50°North, except for the *Regional Museum of the Côte-Nord*, in Sept-îles, and some activities conducted by the *Avataq Institute*, in the Inuit city of Inukjuak (Fig.4.3 & 4.4). The reason for this southern concentration is simply the absence of Euro-Canadian populations in northern areas. The city of Montreal numbers 52.5% of all organisations involved in archaeology in Quebec (Fig.4.5 & Tab.4.2), and employs 62% of the archaeologists inventoried (Tab.4.2). The two major urban regions of Montreal and Quebec City account for 73.5% of all archaeological organisations, and 91% of Quebec's archaeologists. The absence of archaeological entities in numerous regions (Fig.4.4) does not mean that no archaeology is practiced in these areas, but only that the archaeology will often be conducted by organisations from other regions, mostly from Montreal.

Table 4.2: **Regional distribution of archaeological entities and of archaeologists**

	Montréal / Montérégie	Québec / Capitale Nationale	Saguenay Lac-St-Jean	Abitibi-Témiscamingue	Côte-Nord	Bas Saint-Laurent	Outaouais	Other Regions	TOTAL
Number of Organisations	22	9	4	2	2	2	1	0	42
% of organisations by region	52.5%	21%	9.5%	5%	5%	5%	2%	0%	100%
Number of archaeologists	164	77	4	8	3	5	4	0	265
% of archaeologists by region	62%	29%	1.5%	3%	1%	2%	1.5%	0%	100%

Source: Personal data collection; see appendix A (Population)

Archaeological sectors according to number of archaeologists and number of archaeological interventions

In Quebec, 54% of the archaeologists work in the commercial sector, with only 27.5% and 16.5% involved in governmental and academic/educational structures respectively (Tab.4.3). The majority of Quebec archaeologists are thus active in commercial archaeology (Fig.4.5, left), but these figures are still not representative of the realities of archaeology in Quebec.

Table 4.1 – Quebec's Organisation basis

	Organisation basis	Number of organisations	Name of Organisations
Governmental & Para-Governmental	**Federal government**	1	Parks Canada
	Provincial government	4	Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine (MCCCQ) Ministère des transports du Québec (MTQ) Centre de la Conservation du Québec (CCQ) Commission de la Capitale Nationale (CCNQ)
	Local authorities / Cities	2	Montreal Quebec City
	Corporation	1	Hydro-Québec
Academic	**Universities**	6	Université de Montréal (UdM) Université Laval (U Laval) Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) McGill University Université du Québec à Rimouski (UQAR) Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (UQAC)
	Museums	9	- Archéo-Topo - Canadian Museum of Civilization - McCord Museum - Montreal Museum of Archaeology - Pointe-à-Callière - Pointe-du-Buisson Archaeological Park & Droulers/Tsiionhiakwatha - Site de la Nouvelle-France - Musée de la Civilisation Museological Complex - Musée Régional de la Côte-Nord - Centre d'histoire et d'archéologie de Métabetchouane
In between	**Non-Profit-Organisation / Research Institute / Publication**	5	Avataq Recherches Amérindiennes Archéo-08 Artefactuel Cree Regional Authority (C.R.A.)
Commercial	**Private Sector / Archaeological Units**	5	Archéotec Inc. Arkéos Inc. Ethnoscop Inc. Patrimoine Expert Inc. SACL Inc.
	Private Sector - Others	7	Archéodesign enr. Archéofact enr. Archéomania enr. Archéophone enr. Ostéothèque de Montréal Inc. Ruralys Subartique enr.
	Others	2	QAA / AAQ Réseau Archéo-Québec
Total		42	100%
	Total Governmental	9	21%
	Total Academic	17	40%
	Total Commercial	12	28.5%
	Total Others	4	9.5%

Linked to...

Source: Population census (Winter 2007-2008)

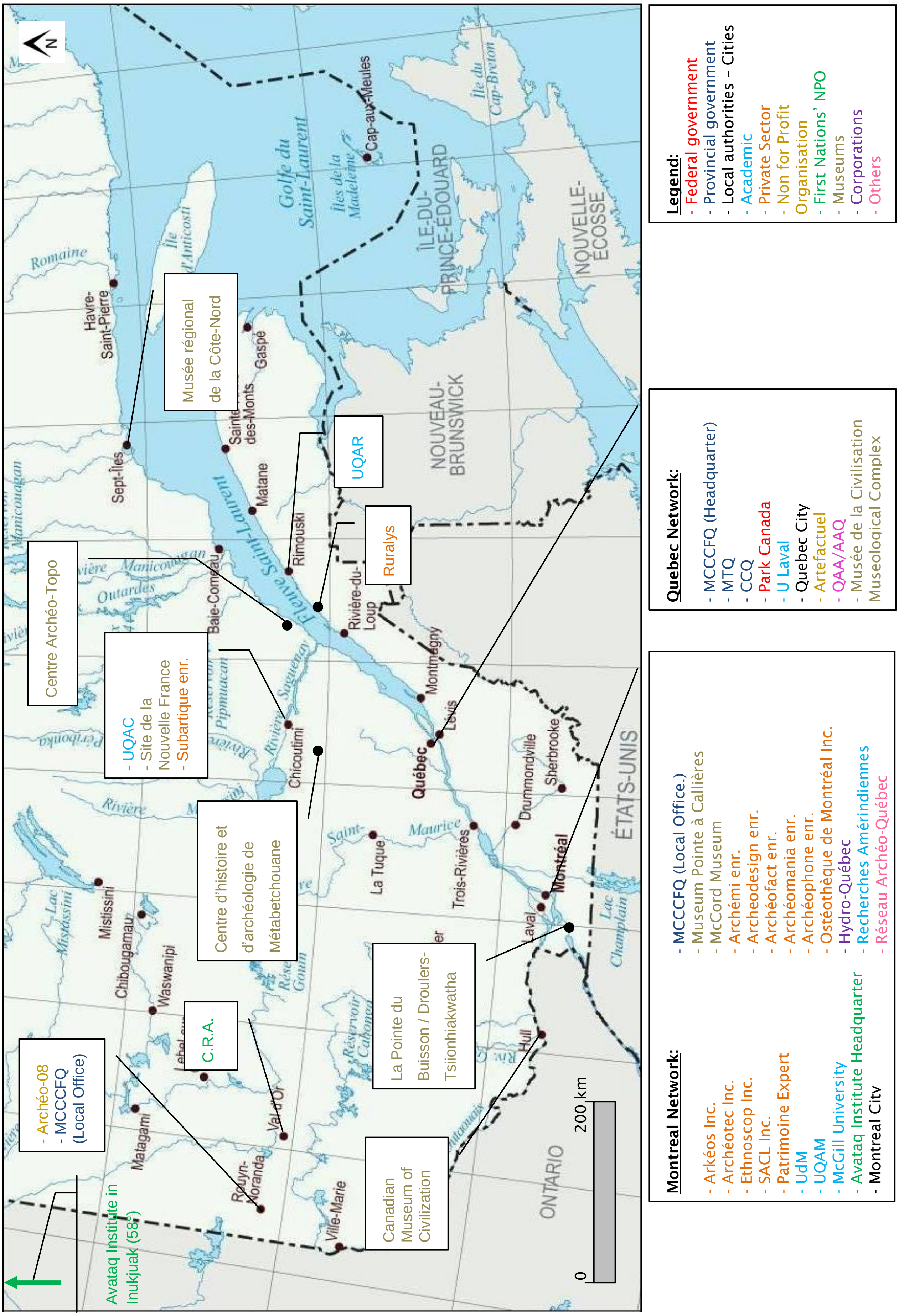


Figure 4.3: Location of main entities involved in archaeological activities in Quebec.

Sources – 1/ Original blank map: *Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune - Direction générale de l'information géographique, © Gouvernement du Québec; Dépôt légal - Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 3 trimestre 2006.*
2/ Own elaboration through the information collected during my data collection in Quebec, 2007-08.

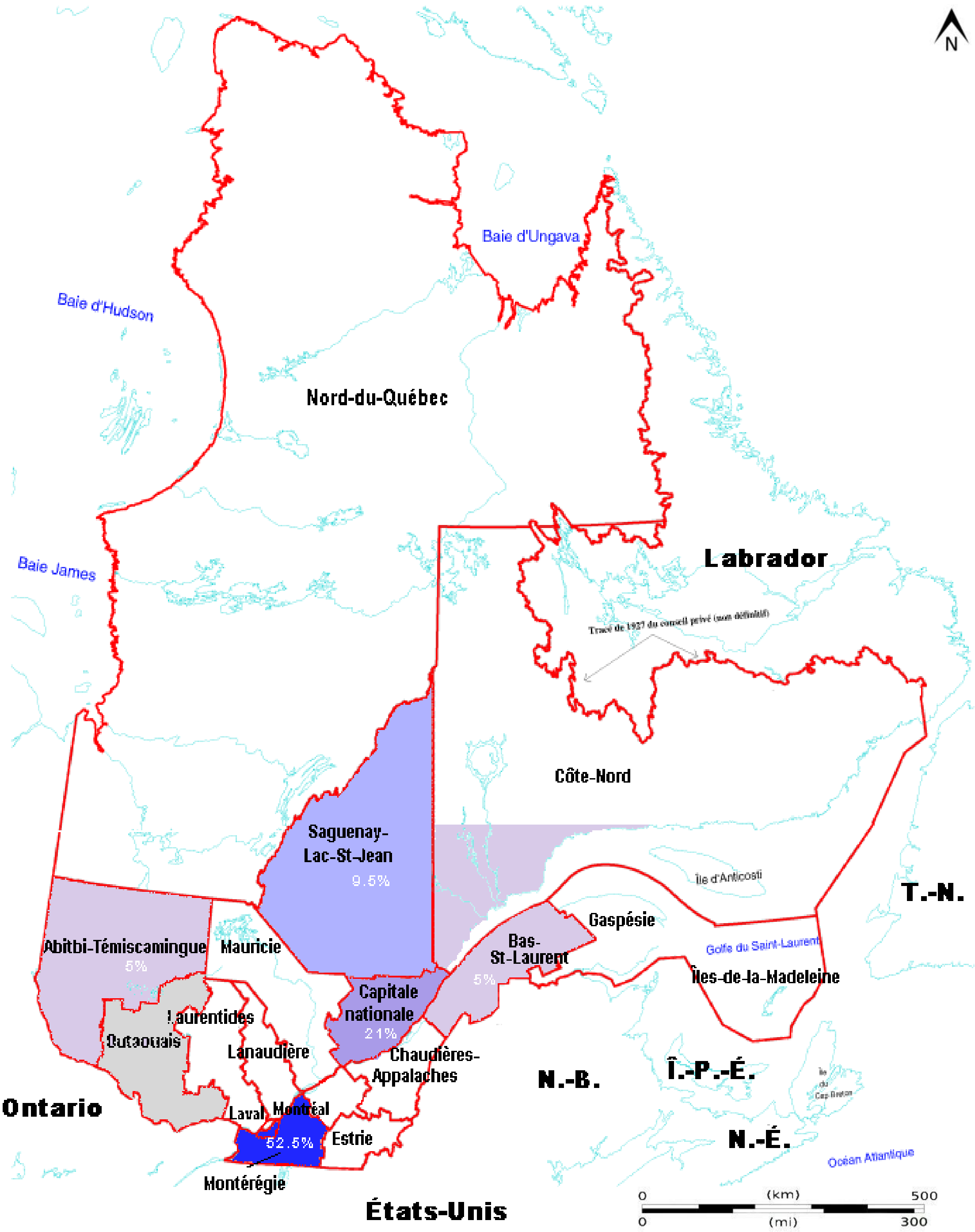


Figure 4.4: Regional distribution of archaeological organisations

Sources: 1/ Blank Regional Map: Ministère des Ressources naturelles, Service de la cartographie, 2001 © Gouvernement du Québec. Dépôt légal – Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 2/ Own elaboration through the information collected during my data collection in Quebec, 2007-08.

Table 4.3: Sector distribution of the main actors (Archaeologist population)

	Commercial Archaeology	Governmental & Para-Governmental	Academic & Museums	Others	Total
Number of archaeologists	143	64	47	10	265
% of Employees by sector	54%	24%	18%	4%	100%

Source: Personal data collection; See appendix A (Population)

In fact, to have a realistic view of archaeological activities, archaeological fieldwork should be emphasised (i.e. activities that include surveys, excavations, analysis and reports), compared to administrative, educative, or conservation activities. To do so, I used the data provided by the *MCCCFQ* about the numbers of permits delivered during 2008 (Tab.4.4). The results are illustrated in Figure 4.5 (right):

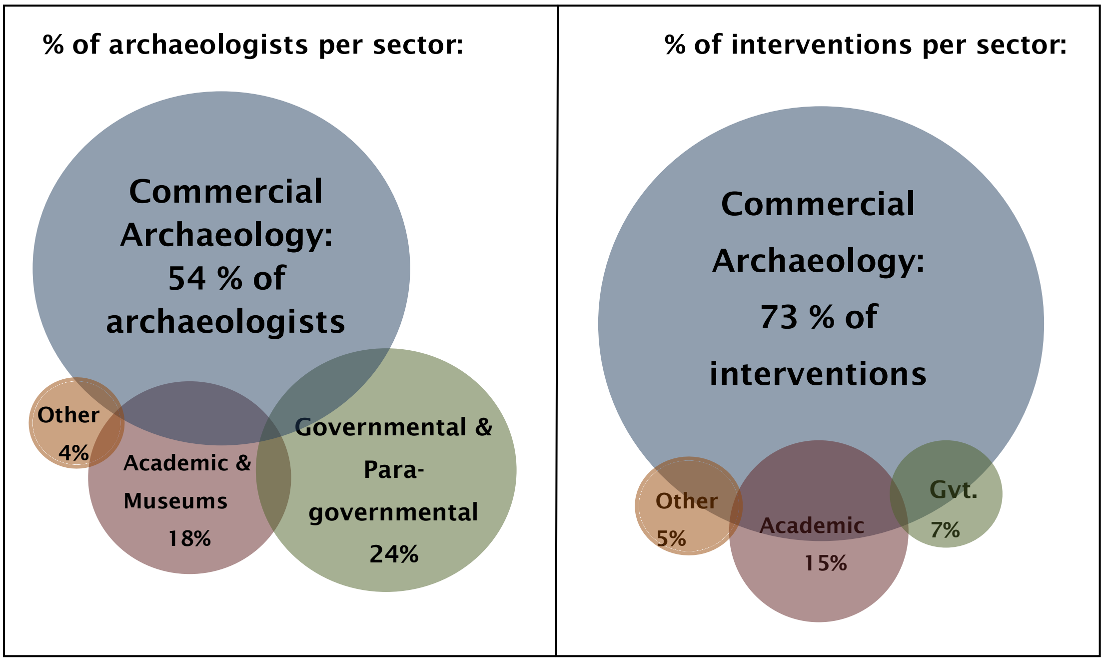


Figure 4.5: Sectors of archaeology in Quebec. Source: Tabs. 3 & 4

The results indicate that for 2008, 73% of archaeological field interventions in Quebec were conducted in the commercial archaeology sector. Though commercial archaeology only represents ≈30% of the archaeological organisations in Quebec, it provides 54% of archaeology jobs, and the vast majority of archaeological activities.

After having clarified the present status of Quebec archaeology, and established the predominance of commercial archaeology on the professional landscape, the relationship between the commercial archaeology product and socio-political powers and tensions still requires further examination.

Table 4.4: Number of archaeological permits delivered in 2008, per sector

2008	Commercial Archaeology	Governmental & Para-Governmental	Academic & Museums	Others	Total
Total Permits	73	7	15	5	100
% of permits by sector	73%	7%	15%	5%	100%

Source: Tableau du suivi administrative des demandes de permis de recherche archéologique, *Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et la Condition Féminine*, Québec, 2008, 8p.

General description of the management system of Quebec archaeology

In Quebec, commercial archaeology is largely dominant. As illustrated in chap.1, archaeological activities are considered to be a *service* in Quebec, so archaeological units are allowed to compete with each other. However, commercial archaeology in the province is not entirely a free market system like in the UK or in the USA. Regulations are still controlled by the province/state to guarantee the quality of the work. Similarly to the Dutch model (Willems 2009:90) *quality control* is sustained by law, which is applied by local or provincial authorities. Provincial/state control is even closer to the systems found in Germany and in Sweden (Willems 2009:92), where the state directly selects the units that will perform the contracts for a client. Selection takes place through the *competitive tendering*. The state also issues archaeological permits for every intervention. This management system will now be investigated in more detail, especially through the financial involvement of the actors, and through its regulations.

Funding organisations and financial participation in excavations

In Quebec, the major investors in archaeology are *Hydro-Québec* and the *Ministry of Transport* (*MTQ*), which are both para-governmental and governmental entities respectively (Fig.4.6), and which provided 37.24% of the funds used in fieldwork archaeology from 2004 to 2007 (Tab.4.5). These two major investors are followed closely by municipal and para-municipal players - essentially the *City of Montreal*, and *Québec City*, but also other municipalities around the province - representing 27.51% of the funding. In third position, *MCCCFQ* investments amount to around 600,000$ per year, with a slight tendency to decrease (Tab.4.5). These three major investors are public players and represent 77.15% of the total funding used in fieldwork archaeology, i.e. in 3/4 of cases in commercial archaeology (Tab.4.4).

The remaining investments could be considered marginal, and mostly characterised by high fluctuations in funding over the years.

Table 4.5: Total financial participation in excavations

	2004-2005	% (2004-2005)	2005-2006	% (2005-2006)	2006-2007	% (2006-2007)	$ (AVG 2004-2007)	% (AVG 2004-2007)
Government & para-governmental	1 490 550 $	21.28%	1 702 600 $	59.63%	2 473 698 $	46.16%	1 888 949 $	37.24%
MCCCFQ	633 450 $	9.05%	628 125 $	22.00%	624 669 $	11.66%	628 748 $	12.40%
Municipal & para-municipal	2 544 650 $	36.34%	277 700 $	9.73%	1 363 785 $	25.45%	1 395 378.33 $	27.51%
First Nations Organisations	570 300 $	8.14%	60 000 $	2.10%	332 500 $	6.20%	320 933.33 $	6.33%
Academic establishments	86 220 $	1.23%	121 375 $	4.25%	155 020 $	2.89%	120 871.67 $	2.38%
Private firms	208 950 $	2.98%	47 270 $	1.66%	266 499 $	4.97%	174 239.67 $	3.44%
NPOs	70 400 $	1.01%	15 000 $	0.53%	74 664 $	1.39%	53 354.67 $	1.05%
Federal*	1 398 300 $	19.97%	3 100 $	0.11%	68 500 $	1.28%	489 966.67 $	9.66%
TOTAL	**7 002 820 $**	**100%**	**2 855 170 $**	**100%**	**5 359 335 $**	**100%**	5 072 441.67 $	**100%**

Source: Laflamme, MCCCFQ, 2008 (*including Terrasse Dufresne in Québec City)

These fluctuations could be explained by the dependence of archaeological activities on the continuation of development activities around the province. They are a very important feature of commercial archaeology activities, demonstrating the extremely unstable nature of the profession, strongly dependent on the health of the global economy, and industrial demand for natural resources, mostly present in the northern area of the province.

According to these results, most archaeological activities are indirectly financed by the citizens of Québec (≈80%) through the different ministries and municipalities (Fig. 4.6), or directly by the major semi-public corporation: *Hydro-Québec*. This fact is crucial in determining the responsibilities of the archaeologists towards their clients (clients who are, in this case, the public at large). Yet, if the taxpayers fund archaeology, then archaeologists should feel that their primary responsibility lies with them. In its actual capitalist configuration, commercial units almost exclusively provide services for clients or developers, the products of which have virtually no regard for the interests of the public. Public interests should primarily be fulfilled by providing a direct access (archaeological sites) or indirect access (popularisation) to the past. At this point, an important question arises: how can commercial archaeology, mostly funded by public money but structured as a profitable business, fulfil its social, ethical and financial obligations?

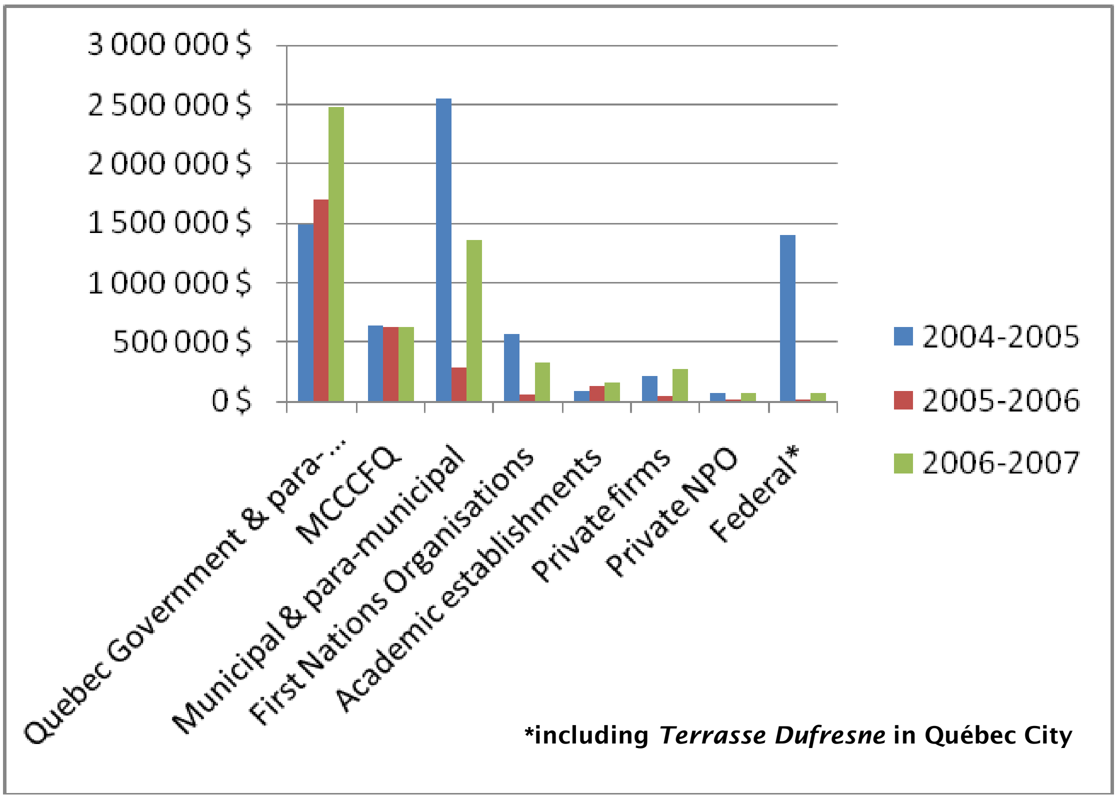


Figure 4.6: Total financial participation in excavations
Source: Tab.4.5 - Laflamme, MCCCFQ, 2008.

The funding structure of the Quebec archaeological network also represents a fundamental difference with the English system discussed in the previous chapter, which is now essentially 'developer-funded'. Though *Hydro-Québec* is predominantly state controlled, it is now more of a corporation/developer prioritising profits, the complete opposite to that of a state branch serving the public's interests, and thus closer to being a 'developer-funded' entity. The present tendencies are in fact characterised by the adoption of a 'developer-funded' strategy in Quebec, shadowing the English model. This process aims principally to avoid the deliverance of state permits for excavations, and thus to strictly limit interactions between the client and the archaeological service provider. This process could also drastically decrease public funding, and thus cut off one of the actors in the network: the public.

To date, interactions between actors could be summarised as follows (Fig.4.7):

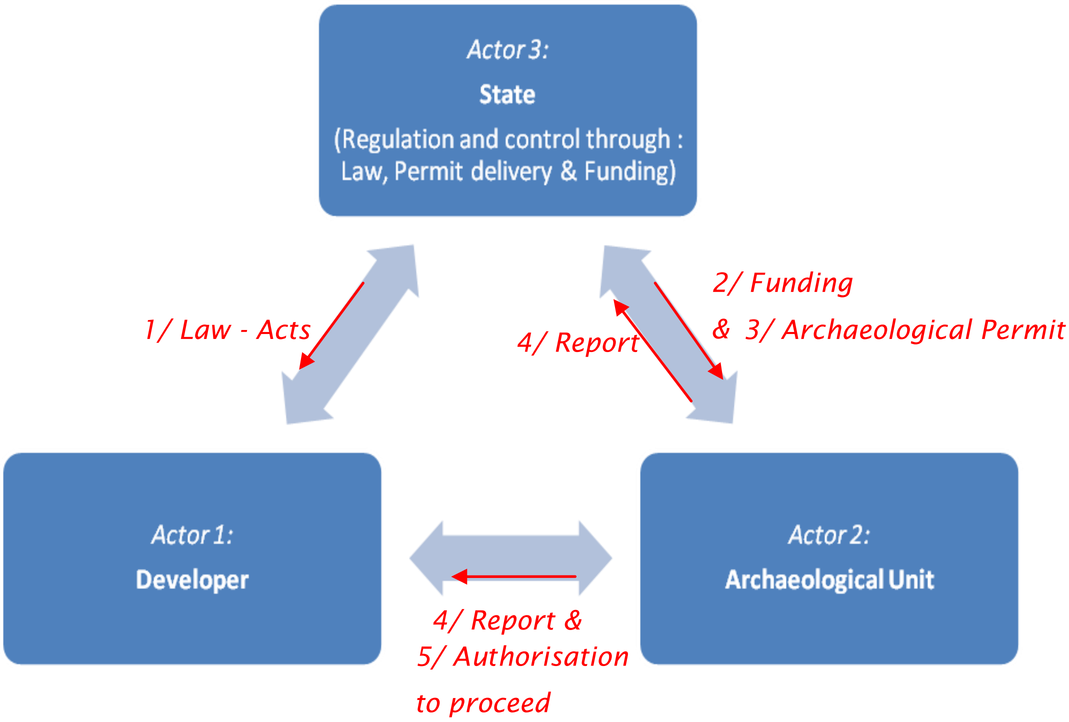


Figure 4.7: Current relations between actors and intermediaries which connect actors into a network in Quebec.

In the actual network configuration, the state shapes most of the relations between the actors through five intermediaries: 1/ the law is a stable device which justifies, suggests or imposes the use of archaeology on the developer; 2/ state funding provides most of the financial means for the archaeological units to operate; 3/ archaeological permits allow the state to retain control over how archaeological activities are conducted, and by whom; 4/ the archaeological product is illustrated through a report destined for the developer and the state which in the end provides the authorisation for the developer (5/) to proceed or not proceed with its building activities.

The result of implementing a 'developer-funded' model is illustrated in the following figure:

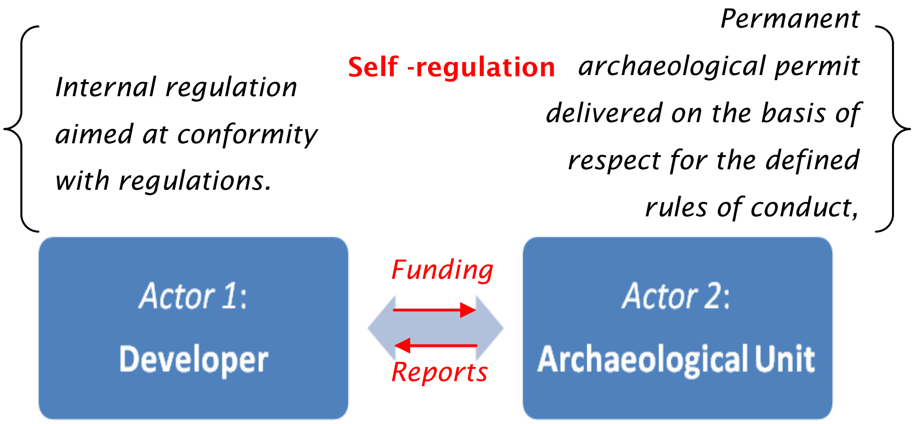


Figure 4.8: Future & hypothetical relations between actors and intermediaries, after the adoption of a 'developer-funded' policy.

In doing so, most of the intermediaries between the state and the other actors have been reduced, or replaced by self-regulatory procedures, to conform to the neoliberal logic which places trust in the market to solve the needs of society. The result of such a transformation is reducing actors to a dual relation between a customer and a service provider, with or without minimalistic control or state intervention.

Yet, this process of change in progress in Quebec, already established in England, appears to have provoked various tensions. These tensions, embedded in today's paradoxical perceptions of the purpose of archaeological activity, one of which conceives archaeology's primary intention as a public service, while the other asserting the principle goal of archaeology activity must manifest itself in terms familiar to that capitalist ideology. Such divergence has generated fierce opposition within the archaeological community between the interests of the archaeologists (heritage protection, knowledge production, development of a scientific career, and even the promotion of social harmony or social justice), and those of developers (speeding up of archaeological interventions to increase profitability, obtain conformity with legal regulations, or to justify land use). On this subject, Willems (2009:93) emphasises the dangers of such a competitive, unregulated system, always at risk of allowing financial considerations to prevail without adequate government control over the quality of work. Willems is not saying that there are no high standard in the USA or UK (quite the opposite; see PPG16 and MAP2 in chap.3), but only that such a mechanism makes the archaeological activities much more dependent on the contract defined with the developer (Willems 2009:92-3).

This discussion will now focus on the tensions between actors which slowly gave shape to the current archaeological network. To do so, I would like to take a closer look at the regulatory tools materialised through law. Besides, as I explained in chapter 2, the particularity of the law is to operate as a 'black-box' that shapes and stabilises the relationships of the actors within the network. Thus, in the descriptive process I am engaged in, emphasis will be given to the improvements and failures of the Quebec legal framework (which corresponds to various attempts of 'translations' by different actors according to elements of the *actor-network theory*), essentially through regulations ('intermediaries'), and through the analysis of the voices of my interviewees ('actors').

4.2. The legal framework

Definition of a legal framework

According to Peacock and Rizzo (2008:145), a legal framework also called '*hard regulation'* is*: "a non-financial tool, imposing restrictions or modifications on the activities of economic agents in line with government policy objectives. The main objective of regulation is the control of the stock of heritage, both from the quantitative and qualitative point of view. The fulfilment of this objective is usually pursued through a wide set of instruments: listing or registering archaeological sites* [...], *and imposing limitations on the use of land affecting heritage buildings.* [...] *Owners are obliged to comply with regulatory rules and penalties are imposed for non compliance.*" This general definition of a legal framework for archaeology is theoretical and can't be applied as such in Quebec. For example, the *hard regulations* in Quebec are particularly problematic, and need to be studied further. Also, as we saw previously with the UK case, the absence or the lack of *hard regulation* is often compensated by '*soft regulations'* (Peacok and Rizzo 2008:145). These are the self-regulatory tools for archaeological units (Fig. 4.8), defined by codes of practice or guidelines. Now, how is the Quebec triangular system regulated today? As established earlier, Quebec is engaged in a triangular system, so *hard regulations* should balance the system, but is it the case? Finally, are the *soft regulations* playing any role in Quebec?

Development of the legal framework in Quebec

To understand the legal constraints within which commercial archaeology has emerged and is currently evolving, we need to explore the relations between developers and commercial archaeology, and more specifically to study the development of the regulations that defined/shaped these relations.

Since the 1960's, the legal framework has been primarily prompted by development in both prehistoric and historical archaeology:

- Prehistoric archaeology experienced an economic and political dynamic related to the northern exploitation of natural resources, involving destructive and invasive land development.
- Historical archaeology followed a different socio-political path related to urban and infrastructure development.

For this reason, the discussion in this chapter will maintain the traditional dichotomy between these two archaeologies, despite the fact that, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the value of this division is highly questionable.

The law does not make an explicit distinction between prehistoric and historical archaeology but does so implicitly. In fact, over the years, two distinctive acts essentially became the protectors of one or the other archaeologies. The law was not principally designed to do this, but it was the way archaeologists were using these acts to justify their interventions that slowly made the division effective. Today, the *Cultural Property Act* is essentially used in urban contexts, mostly for historical archaeology, while the *Environment Quality Act* became the major legal tool for activities conducted in remote areas, and thus mostly for prehistoric sites.

Now, how does the law or *hard regulation* define the archaeological value of a property or a site in Quebec? According to *Art.1* of the *Cultural Property Act* (1972), an 'archaeological property' is minimally defined as: *"(f) a property indicating prehistoric or historic human occupation*" and an 'archaeological site' is defined as: (g) "*a place where archaeological property is found*". *Division II* of this act (*Art. 35 to 44*) forms the legal framework which defines how archaeological remains must be considered, and eventually excavated. The law essentially and minimally defines the conditions of deliverance for archaeological permits to archaeological organisations (private units at 73%, see Tab. 4.4), and the obligations involved, such as the publication of an annual report. It also makes clear that every accidental archaeological discovery must be reported to the ministry (*Art.41*), which *'may'* order the suspension of works, allow archaeological excavation, and eventually order amendment to construction planning (*Art.42*). Here, the use of the term 'may' in the definitions of the powers of the Ministry classes archaeology as a recommendation rather than a legal obligation, its principal weakness today. Ultimately, this fact will make its application outside the already well defined 'historical districts'[1] where legal control is actually effective, extremely difficult. Doing so, the *hard regulation* system of Quebec turned into a soft one,

[1] *Art.1 (h) historic district: "a territory designated as such by the Government because of the concentration of historic monuments or sites found there".*

weakening one of the branch of the triangular relations (1/) between the different actors of the archaeological network (Fig. 4.7).

Outside the 'historical districts' of today's urban areas, the alternative is to use *Art.31.9* of the *Environment Quality Act*, which has been used more often in archaeology for prehistoric sites. This act is then the principle legal lever for archaeologists to force the performance of archaeological research in unrecognised patrimonial areas, i.e. principally in northern zones, mainly with prehistoric or more recent indigenous sites, and often with *Hydro-Québec* or other corporations as a developer. The law attributes a legal value to heritage only if it is already recorded in the ministerial offices, but it does not protect potential future archaeological discoveries, or most rescue archaeology conducted by the units.

In fact, the regulation ascribes value to material traces of the past through the attribution of various states of decreasing values and then of decreasing constraints for the developers or owners (MCCCFQ 2009, online). The values are attributed by the following terms: '*classified*' (627 cases, for which the sites are permanently protected, even from archaeologists); '*protection area*' (area around classified monuments, places or objects, which gives a maximum range of 152m, within which archaeology can be conducted); '*recognition*' (179 cases) and '*citation*' (541 cases, which define elements of heritage, but do not require the systematic use of archaeological interventions in cases of disturbance); '*district by decree*' (10 historical & 4 natural, which benefit from a legislation perceived as relatively efficient in its support for the performance of salvage or preservation excavations in cases involving construction or digging activities); and '*heritage, archaeological & historical sites*' (267 cases, for which the obligations of protection are minimal and depend mostly on municipal decisions).

In Quebec, the ancient material traces protected by law are rarely the property of the state and are mainly private properties. This network of legal protections covering the province should be a powerful tool for archaeologists to be included within the development projects. However, in reality, what do the law and the classification of heritage do for archaeology? 'Scheduled' goods cannot be affected directly by excavations. Only the 'protection area' around it can, but this surface is often nonexistent or extremely limited in range excluding any sort of digging activities. 'Recognition' and 'citation' are tools to help the owners protect their goods with the help of the state, but do not or rarely include archaeological interventions. Finally, only the 14 districts and the defined heritage sites have real importance in terms of legislation. These very limited selections of heritage do not provide any strong support for the archaeological actors. In this matter, the supposed *hard regulation* is weak.

Furthermore, and we saw in the previous chapter, no real codes of practice or guidelines have been successfully imposed on the archaeological network, even with the efforts of the QAA to do so. In the end, the law does not fulfil its role of *hard regulation* and there is no real effective *soft regulation* to compensate for this lack. This weakness of the regulation system will be crucial to understand the current issues in Quebec archaeology.

4.2.1 Conditions for the creation of a legal and structural framework in prehistoric archaeology

The information from my ethnographic data seems to indicate that the beginning of a legally reinforced and structured heritage framework for prehistoric sites is linked closely to the northern hydro-electric development of the province in the 1960s and 1970s.

The development of prehistoric archaeology is closely related to the '*Environment Quality Act'* of 1972, promulgated in reaction to hydro-electric expansion. The *Environment Quality Act,* which regulates evaluation and examination of environmental impacts, suggests that developers include archaeology as one of the numerous environmental components it has responsibility for. The problem, in comparison to the English case with *PPG 16* and *MAP2* regulations, is that it provides the funding for archaeological projects conducted by archaeological units, but does not define the obligations for study, analysis, publication and the dissemination of knowledge. The unit is legally obliged to produce a report, no more. Consequently, most funding is directed at the fieldwork. Because of the principle of competitiveness, units have no choice but to charge what they are supposed to charge according to the rules. Units are thus expected to generate data and archives, allowing the corporation/client to remain within the law. The application of the *Environment Quality Act* is thus close to a 'polluter pays' principle but with extremely limited responsibilities for the developer, thus providing a minimal product for archaeology. Nevertheless, this act is believed to have been the first real driving force behind the creation of structured prehistoric archaeology, provided in the past by the former *Archaeology and Ethnology Service* and the *S.A.P.Q.*

In 1978-79 the *Hydro-Québec* Corporation imposed a specific financial framework by setting up a competition system, and by requiring that all subcontractors be incorporated companies, definitively transforming archaeology on prehistoric sites into commercial archaeology. This represented a shift from state archaeology regulated by law, towards a commercial archaeology regulated by the same law, but controlled by the market. In what follows, I will address the circumstances in which the development of hydro-electricity project occurred, as these deeply influenced the structural framework of the actual network of archaeology.

Historical contextualisation: hydro-electric development

In the 1970s, the start of northern Quebec archaeological activities corresponded to that of the James Bay hydro-electric projects (see location on Fig.4.9) under the control of the *JBDC* (James Bay Development Corporation), and was inspired by the ideas of the liberal politician Robert Bourassa. His idea was to modernize the country by exploiting the natural resources of the territory (Aquin 1987:157), which resulted in a development project that had three different important socio-political objectives: active participation in the industrial growth of the province, reinforcement of rising Francophone engineering and construction activities, and support for the colonisation of the North (Meadwell 1993:220). The hydro-electric development projects were then originally conceived as a powerful financial tool closely related to the 'Quiet Revolution' objectives, ultimately providing the necessary financial means for sustaining the process of political emancipation for Quebec. In this process, archaeology became part of the vast hydro-electric network. Now, how did it integrate as one of the components in this energy industry?

As a first step and according to Elias [in his 50's - Unit Director], it was the *JBDC* in the 1970s that made the necessary efforts to introduce environmental protection concepts into company policies, in line with new federal government policies. It is important to note that these initial steps to include environmental management in development projects were closely related to the desire to make Quebec conform to western standards, particularly those concerning the environment. This process then materialised with the adoption of the *Environment Quality Act* in 1972, aimed at the protection of Quebec's natural and archaeological heritage in remote areas.

As a second step, the James Bay hydro-electric development was taken over by the *Hydro-Québec* Corporation in 1974 (JBNQA 1974), during which period engineers-managers realised that environmental impact studies were extremely complex. *Hydro-Québec* started recruiting new teams in environmental fields, such as biologists, chemists, geologists, and sociologists to comply with the obligations enforced by the *Environment Quality Act* and by the internal high standards defined by the corporation itself.

Archaeology was forcibly introduced during this period as a part of the environmental protection process in an effort to establish its legitimacy to the corporation Hydro-Quebec. This result was achieved namely by Laurent Girouard, a sociologist employed by the corporation, who's interests pertain, in particular, to the relation of indigenous populations to activities of this corporation. According to Elias, taking note not just of the environment, but also those who previously inhabited the environment, resulted in the incorporation of archaeology within the corporation's planning process for various projects. However, Hydro Quebec never preformed archaeology. They made the choice to hire only those professional archaeologists who remained outside of the corporation's sphere. (Burroughs 2004:92-3).

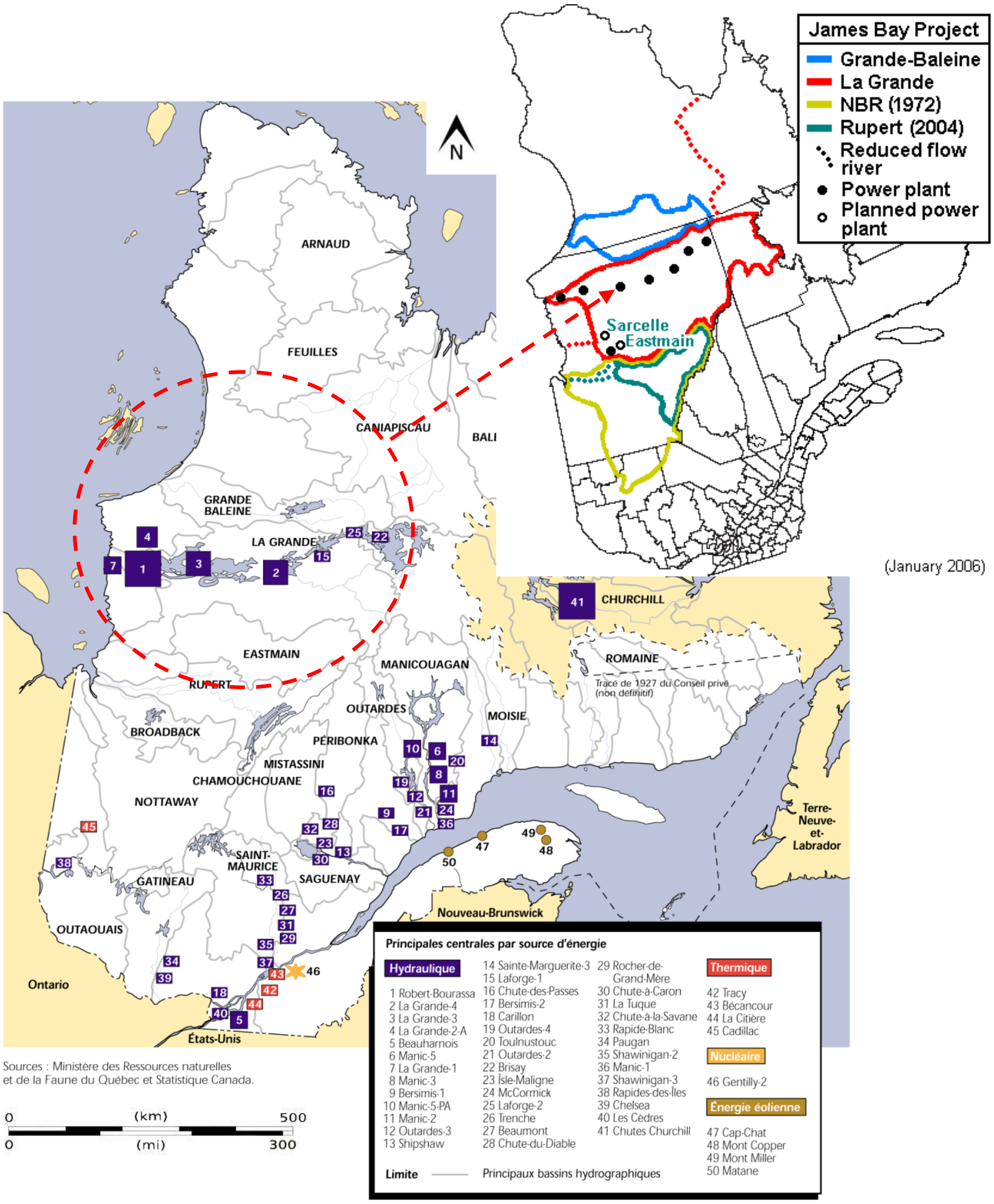


Figure 4.9: Hydro-electrical developments and other electricity centres (2005) & James Bay Project (2006)
Source: Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune du Québec et Statistique Canada, 31-12-2005.

After 1978, internal corporate policies required the company to engage in business solely with incorporated subcontractors. This choice resulted in the mechanical creation of all major archaeological units between 1979 and 1982. From that point onwards, prehistoric archaeology was to be practiced mainly by private units and consultants, and only occasionally by NPOs or indigenous organisations. In 1982, after the completion of the privatisation of prehistoric archaeology, the M.A.C. withdrew from the James Bay activities and disengaged completely and definitively from its financial support. Almost simultaneously, the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s brought with it a drastic reduction in hydroelectric development (Martijn 1994b:6). As a result, the period of prosperity for prehistoric/commercial archaeology was suspended. The consequences were devastating for the brand new sector of commercial archaeology. From then on, prehistoric/commercial archaeology was always to depend on northern private development projects, and mostly on Hydro-Québec development projects.

The view expressed by Elias and Sarah about the significant role played by *Hydro-Québec* in the integration of archaeological activities into the planning process gives a lot of credit to the corporation, and this interpretation needs to be nuanced and supplemented. In fact, Ruben [41 – Archaeologist - Hydro-Québec] also emphasised that prehistoric archaeology had effectively emerged in northern Quebec after the introduction of another legal agreement, hardly mentioned in archaeological discussions: the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* ratified in 1975. As explained in the previous chapter, this agreement was the first major treaty between Euro-Canadians and the indigenous peoples after the various treaties of the 19th and 20th centuries. It followed the announcement of the plans to build the hydroelectric network system in the northern Quebec. The lands eventually flooded were inhabited essentially by the Cree and Inuit (Fig.4.4 & 4.9), who were then the ones primarily concerned.

According to Ruben [41 – Archaeologist - Hydro-Québec], the agreement provided the real orientation for the archaeological evaluation mechanisms that have been implemented since then. The act is important as it was the first time that indigenous communities and 'their' past had been taken into consideration. The integration of prehistoric archaeology into the developer's planning was therefore essentially the result of negotiations between indigenous people and Euro-Canadians to reduce tensions arising from the use of the lands. The integration of archaeology was thus eventually facilitated in the corporation policy as a form of compensation.

Now, the motivation to include social responsibility within the framework of this corporation's ideology is hardly virtuous. Some capitalists were aware of the fact that economic growth generates social and environmental as well as financial effects. They then started to valorise these secondary effects in order to avoid resistance both internally (workers, engineers), and externally (clients, state, local communities, first nations), because they would otherwise have paid dearly for this oversight. In a cynical way, corporations like Hydro-Quebec thought about these factors, and claimed to be favourable to a social compromise, the only way to avoid social conflict (Jeantet 2008:20-21). This social 'responsibility' marketing approach allows corporations to promote a positive image of their activities, essentially focusing on certain aspects to create the clean, understood and respected image of so called 'sustainable development'.

To sum up, prehistoric archaeology (Fig. 4.10) in Northern Quebec seems to have emerged, and later to have been systematised into its commercial configuration for three principle reasons:
1/ the emergence of archaeology was the result of political (through the *M.A.C.*) and scientific will (individual or collective, through universities and the *S.A.P.Q.*), correlated to rapid modernisation of the province, which led to the introduction of the *Environment Quality Act* in 1972, and which in legal terms introduced prehistoric archaeology as a significant actor in Northern Quebec development.

2/ the establishment of archaeology is also linked to the tensions arising from the hydro-electric developments. These tensions were essentially related to land ownership issues between developers and indigenous people. For the loss of land, the indigenous people were to be awarded financial compensation and guarantees of protection for both natural and patrimonial resources through the *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement* in 1974-5.

3/ the continuing presence of prehistoric archaeology, after the 1975 takeover by the *Hydro-Québec* Corporation, could also be put down to in-company pressures and the 'goodwill' of the company in its quest to establish irreproachable high standards of procedures. This early engagement could nevertheless be seen as part of a classic marketing plan of a neoliberal corporation, aimed at using respectability to obtain the space to do whatever required in order to sustain growth, using '*sustainable development'* as the ultimate and irrefutable argument. After 1978, the transformation of prehistoric archaeology operations into commercial units was also brought on by the *Hydro-Québec* Corporation through its policy of dealing solely with incorporated subcontractors, transforming the emerging archaeological actors into a brand new

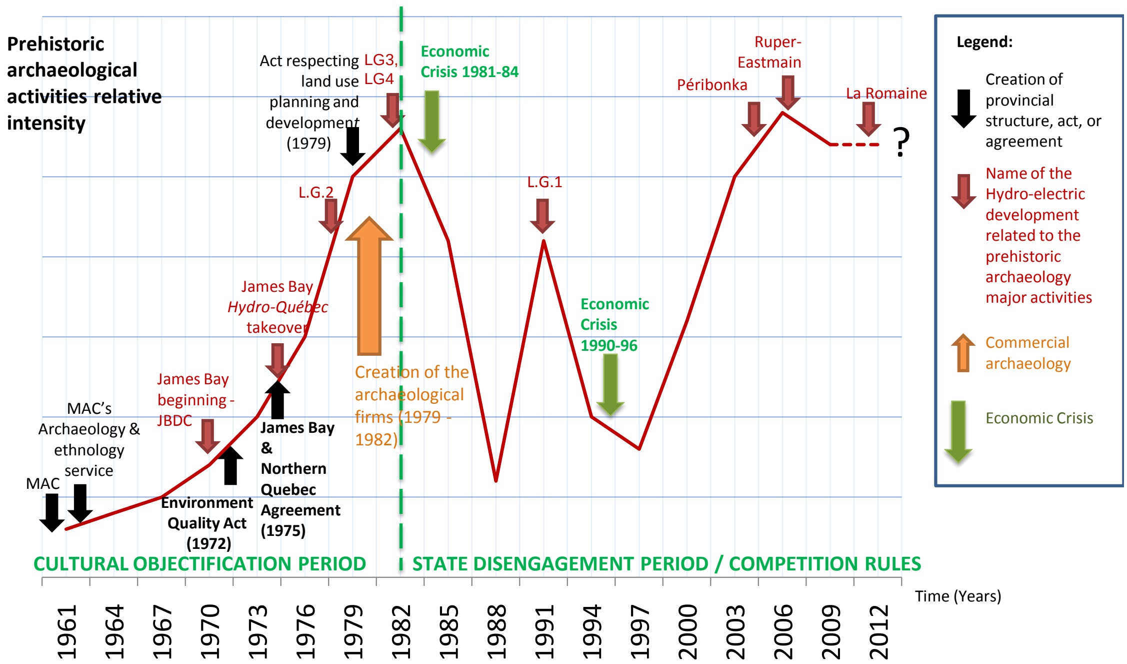


Figure 4.10: Chronology of the development of prehistoric archaeology in Quebec / 1969 - 2008

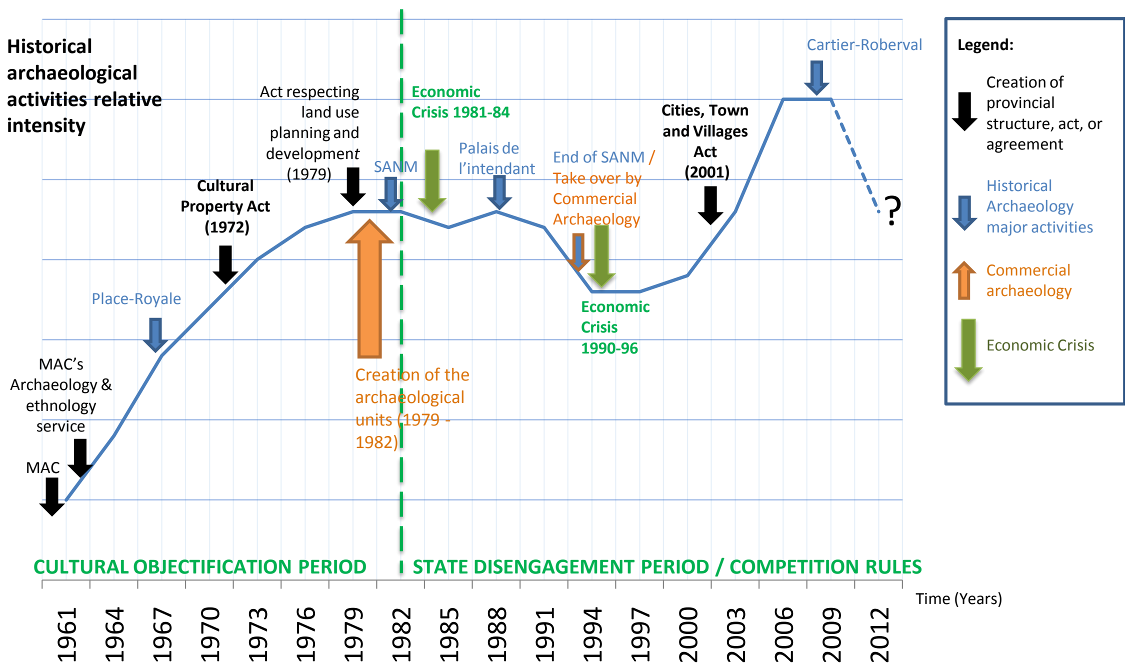


Figure 4.11: Chronology of the development of historical archaeology in Quebec / 1969 - 2008

capitalist network, and creating a new set of relations between the corporation and the archaeologists, i.e. a client/service provider relationship.

According to the *actor-network theory* approach, during this period of development of the archaeological network, the Hydro-Québec actor thus translated most of the pre-existing archaeological network into a neoliberal one, modifying the relations between actors, by both defining new goals of efficiency and profitability, and by rejecting the social and camaraderie values which once prevailed. This translation consisted thus in a forced (but not necessarily planned) transformation of a non professional network into a corporate and professional one. It was a successful 'translation' considering that most of the archaeology practiced in Quebec is now conducted by units (Fig.4.5).

Prehistoric and commercial archaeology today

Thirty years after the elaboration of a legal and structural model for prehistoric archaeology and later for prehistoric/commercial units in Quebec, archaeology is now being called into question by the *Hydro-Québec* Corporation itself. Ruben [41 – Archaeologist - Hydro-Québec] confided that: "As organizations evolve and the leadership changes, we are constantly being called upon to explain and justify the need for archaeological interventions".

According to this archaeologist the main reason for this threat to prehistoric archaeology is that: "Corporate philosophy has changed. Today, nobody hides the fact that the company is to produce more electricity for export (Hydro-Québec 2008:23 online) and that the main objective will be to increase profits. We have entered an era when engineers are less and less empowered, and advocates and economists are taking control of the company's destiny."

As a consequence, the structural model of commercial/prehistoric archaeology elaborated in the 1970s and the 1980s is now at risk. In terms of my own research, the weakening of this structure is crucial to the understanding of the modern concerns encountered in the practice of commercial archaeology, on which I will focus in the following chapters.

As demonstrated here, prehistoric archaeology was initially the product of political and scientific will, but its later commercial form was defined by the elaboration of *Hydro-Québec*'s own standards. However, the corporation now appears to be reducing its archaeological responsibility to the basic minimum. As archaeology was traditionally supported by the *Hydro-Québec* Corporation, there was no requirement for a *hard regulation*. The consequences of this are that, as described by Ruben, archaeology is today systematically being subjected to review and could, if *Hydro-Québec* lawyers could find the gap in the legal framework, vanish completely from the development planning process.

4.2.2 Conditions for the creation of a legal and structural framework in historical archaeology

The organisation of historic archaeology in the socio-political landscape of Quebec has quite a different tale to tell. This process was initiated earlier than for prehistoric archaeology, and can be classified into three phases (Fig.4.11):

1/ As mentioned in the previous chapter, a long process of 'cultural objectification' of the French past had been developed in the Quebecer Francophone community by the 1960s. Archaeology was then naturally integrated into the political agenda to serve the rewriting of the national narrative, and it became one of the components of the *M.A.C.* in its attempt to unify the hypothetical future nation.

2/ In a later phase, the status of heritage was officially approved with the establishment of a legal framework promulgated in 1972 through the *Cultural Property Act,* with the addition of a stronger archaeological component in 1973. Until this date, no legal obligations governed archaeological remains and the protection of the past was only guaranteed by political and scientific will.

3/ The last phase happened at the very beginning of the 1980s, and was characterized by a quick disengagement of the state in all cultural areas in reaction to the economic recession. This situation created the conditions for a progressive takeover of most historical archaeology interventions by commercial, initially prehistoric archaeology.

Historical contextualisation: from cultural objectification to state disengagement
Up to the end of the 1960s, culture had been increasingly sustained by the Quebec government, in the sense that the development of a national identity was the responsibility of the state, especially in the face of the threat from other strong national identities such as their American neighbour (Handler 1988:81). Nevertheless, it was only in 1972 that the protection of material/tangible heritage was integrated into a legal framework through the introduction of the *Cultural Property Act*, believed to have been the major boost for archaeology (Clermont 2007).

In 1975, the elaboration of a national cultural policy seems eventually to have been a complete failure, considering that the *M.A.C.* was to remain an insignificant ministry within the growing bureaucracy of the government (Handler 1988:110). As early as 1965, Laporte, then head of the *M.A.C.*, was already fatalist about the effects of the growing neoliberal doxa within all spheres of society: "*It isn't possible in a domain such as this one* [culture] *to speak of efficiency as it is in other domains, nor to produce results which are immediately tangible and perceptible*" (quoted in Handler 1988:112).

Alongside the effects of the economic crisis, this failure contributed to the progressive disengagement of the state. Even so, in the 1970s, historical archaeology was still integrated within state structures, and the state *Archaeology and Ethnology Service* of Quebec survived until 1982-83. Furthermore, in the early 1980s, the non-profit organisation *SANM* associated with the municipality of Montreal became the most important player in archaeology for the 'historical district'. In Quebec City, teams of archaeologists were also included within the permanent municipal structure.
In contrast to this, after the two major economic crises of 1981-82 and 1990-96, the *M.A.C.* withdrew considerably from archaeological fieldwork: *"We noticed that priorities were changing; support was disappearing and professional positions were not renewed"* (Clermont 1999:16 - personal translation). The *Archaeological and Ethnological Service*, created in 1961, was disbanded and the number of archaeologists hired by the state decreased considerably over the years.

In 1992, a major event in historical archaeology was the termination of *SANM* interventions in Montreal city, then to be taken over by the prehistoric/commercial archaeology units. This termination was decided by Claire Mousseau, head-director of the archaeological section for the city of Montreal at the time, who provided the support for commercial archaeology to fully participate in the building and development process. Now, even the last public archaeological structure of the municipality of Quebec City is today being progressively supplanted by commercial units.

Present situation in historical archaeology: failure of the *Cultural Property Act*?
Today, the management of Montreal's archaeology has been hard hit by the absence of Claire Mousseau (recently deceased), who exerted a key intermediary function between the developers and archaeological units. She had forced the former to include archaeology early in the planning process, and thus sustained the perenniality of the activities of most archaeological units. Today, her absence has permitted an astounding failure within this legal framework, which illustrates that with the absence of the fear she inspired, sites are vulnerable to developer's whims. A site's protection depends now on economic and political factors. (See interview of 'Rhys' in Appendix B).

Firstly, without the permanent pressure she exerted on developers, it seems that the profession is now losing ground. The true perception of archaeology by developers has now been revealed: no longer fearing eventual legal retaliation or financial penalties, archaeology has been relegated to the position of a trifling detail, ignored as much as possible by developers. As illustrated earlier, the *Cultural Property Act* does not offer adequate protection for heritage. It fails to make archaeological activities legally compulsory, and creates a nebulous notion of archaeology and of client responsibilities. Consequently, the need for archaeological work prior to development is now being called into question within the development planning system by both the construction industry, and by the managers in private or public institutions dealing with archaeology.

The *Cultural Property Act* is thus considered a failure by most archaeologists as it does not offer sufficient support for archaeological activities. The most common criticism of the *MCCCQF* stemmed from its incapacity to reform the *Cultural Property Act,* which has remained almost unchanged since 1972-73. According to the majority of the members of the archaeological community I spoke to, it should now be subject to major modifications. To do so, in December 2007 the government produced a proposal to review the obsolete law. The major problem identified by state archaeologists in the *Cultural Property Act* is that most archaeologists work against the will of developers and building contractors, instead of being engaged in collaborative activity. As a result, work conditions are poor and do not facilitate the practice of a 'craft' archaeology. Furthermore, the annual report made compulsory by the law is the only real production of the units. Ultimately, this generates an over accumulation of reports and archaeological material on Quebec past, without almost any dissemination and popularisation of knowledge (Quebec Government du Québec – "Livre vert", 2007: 51-2, online).

Today, the major entities using this *Cultural Property Act* are essentially the Montreal and Quebec City councils, and the *MCCCFQ* branch offices, mostly as a tool to justify hiring commercial or NPO archaeological units to perform archaeological interventions. In development-instigated fieldwork, the law operates as a management device. Nevertheless, Rhys [46 - archaeologist for the City of Montreal] also confided that the *Cultural Property Act* was not satisfactory, and that the proposed reform was too evasive on the subject of archaeological activities: "The new law aims to decentralize the ministry's already weak powers over municipalities and property developers, and this could lead to a situation where the Ministry of Culture will have no control over global archaeological activities. The database could be split up and municipalities will have to absorb the cost of this transfer as well as provide the necessary time for treatment of the data".

The *Cultural Property Act* is almost the only legal lever for archaeologists to negotiate with developers in urban areas, but according to the archaeological community, this lever is not powerful enough to guarantee good archaeological practice. The oversights contained in this act directly affected the positioning of commercial archaeology in terms of hierarchical powers within Quebec public and private developers' organisations. This weakness characterises most of the relationships between archaeological units and the rest of the network today, and has contributed to the problems experienced by the archaeological community.
My next objective in the section that follows is then to explore the effects of including archaeology within the neoliberal system without the protection of a strong legal framework.

4.2.3 The structure of commercial archaeology from an archaeologist's perspective

I would like to give a voice to the central characters in the development of the archaeological profession: i.e. the archaeologists themselves. In this case, the archaeologist voices to be heard are the creators of some of the commercial archaeology companies founded at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s.

To start with, and according to Elias [In his 50's - Unit Director], no political will was ever directed, or was only directed for a very brief period in the 1960-70s, at the creation of a state structure for archaeology with permanent teams in charge of the research: "In Japan, Denmark or France, there are structures set up by the state to perform studies of potential, inventory or important heritage developments, but in Quebec, the state never wanted such a costly structure".

As illustrated in this chapter, in 1972, the legal framework created a niche for rescue archaeology. In accordance with the progressive disengagement of the state, this type of archaeology became commercial as early as 1977-78 for prehistoric archaeology, and after 1982 for historical archaeology (but more intensively after 1992). To explain this political disengagement of the state Joshua [53 - Unit Director] believed that: "neither 'péquistes'[1] nor 'liberal' governments wanted to take responsibility for archaeology as this would entail the creation of permanent archaeologist positions,

[1] From the separatist political party: '*Parti Québécois*'.

salaries, the definition of a collective agreement and the engagement of every employee until the age of retirement". For him, that "was the major reason why the successive governments of Quebec definitively abandoned the idea of a state archaeology, with the thought that the M.A.C. would retain control of archaeological activities through the mere issue of fieldwork permits". This state disengagement is a source of great concern for today's archaeological community, as the state attempts to regulate archaeological activities, rather than archaeological resources, which should be their prime responsibility. This peculiarity means that the state regulates activities through the deliverance of permits but it does not regulate the products of archaeology. The product is then regulated by the market, and thus commodified according to the expectations of the clients.

After the completion of its transformation from a state archaeology to a commercial form in the 1980s, archaeology became part of the market, albeit a very specialised one. According to Martin [51 - Unit Director], the market's specificity stemmed from the fact that: "We [archaeologists] practised archaeology just because we liked it! Out of choice, we tried to insert ourselves into a market we knew nothing about, and a market that did not welcome us. The reason for this rejection was because we did not increase the capital gain of our clients. In fact, the developers [such as building companies] are still reluctant to give us the archaeological legal mandate. It is often at the last minute that they do this, and only when they realise that there is no other way. This situation creates a very peculiar dynamic and odd relationship with the developers".

In 2008, the consequences were, in the words of Joshua [53 – Firm Director], that: "Despite the major development projects in Montreal [...] we still do not hear anything about archaeology. If one of the promoters of these projects started to challenge the legal justification for archaeology, we would be in big trouble. We got used to being integrated onto projects right from the outset, but this is no longer the case. Archaeology can now be postponed to the end of the project, as was the case twenty years ago. If the economy is going well but there are no projects for us that means that something is going very wrong".

Finally, these testimonies highlight some important facts: the initial disengagement of the state seems to have provoked a rapid and perhaps incongruous insertion of an unprepared professional sector into the market. In fact, according to unit directors, they did not create units in order to make profits, but simply to be able to practice archaeology. It is clearly through improvisation and adaptation that archaeologists had to learn how to follow the rules of neoliberalism and adapt the profession to it. Thus, the emergent archaeological actors of the 1960-70's have been transformed by legal state engagement (creation of stable intermediaries: acts), state disengagement in terms of structural support for archaeology, and by the contractual obligation created by *Hydro-Québec* to become corporate, into their present unit form.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to further develop the understanding of an archaeological network in which the essential of archaeological interventions is conducted in commercial archaeology. To accomplish this goal I deconstructed the archaeological network through its 'development'. I described both the supremacy of commercial archaeology in fieldwork, and the weakness of the regulation in which archaeology was developed in the province. These facts paved the way for the elaboration of a minimalistic archaeological product, often commodified for the interests of the clients/developers, at risk of unbalancing the Quebec triangular system (Fig.4.7). Furthermore, despite the fact that commercial archaeology is conceived as a profitable business and included in the market, I demonstrated that most funding comes from state organisations. This fact is today a major source of contradiction and tensions when defining the goals of the profession, torn between both the responsibilities towards the interests of clients, and the interests of the population in general.

In more detail, the origin and further development of the legal and structural framework has been divided between prehistoric and historical archaeology (which were initially distinct networks) as follows:

- The prehistoric archaeological actors developed primarily in the north of the Quebec province mostly because of the hydro-electric expansion of the 1970s. Following the new preoccupation of '*sustainable development*', this fast development resulted in state elaboration of two major acts related respectively to the protection of the environment, and the protection of the indigenous people's interests: the *Environment Quality Act* in 1972, and the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement,* in 1974. In the period of acceleration of privatisation of all sectors of economy, i.e. after 1975, prehistoric archaeology became part of the *Hydro-Québec* Corporation policies, which expanded following the development of this industry. Prehistoric archaeology was then 'translated' by *Hydro-Québec* into a new actor, and a corporate one. This process resulted in the creation of the private archaeological subcontractors in 1979-82. Almost thirty years after this change, facilitated by the weakness of the law, this incorporation into the market has resulted in an internal crisis, resulting for the developers in challenging the relevance of conducting archaeology, and for the archaeologists in questioning the value of commercial archaeological results.

- Historical archaeology had a longer tradition than prehistory, but only became legally regulated in 1972 with the application of the *Cultural Property Act*. After an attempt to concentrate the archaeology in the state or semi-public system as early as the 1980s, after 1992 many historical archaeological activities became commercial. That is to say that after an attempt to stabilise the historical archaeological network in a centralised state system, the actions of various actors in the 1990's resulted in a drastic transformation into a new structure, based on the neoliberal model.

To regulate this new network, the application of the *Cultural Property Act* was expected to serve the public interests by protecting archaeological remains, but it failed to accomplish its mission in sustaining the legitimacy of the archaeological units' work. The act was conceived to provide the legal means for cultural heritage managers and archaeologists to negotiate with developers. Nevertheless, the actor 'translation' has been mostly allowed in one direction, from developers to archaeological units, without the necessary regulatory intermediaries which could have brought balance by defending the interests of archaeology and archaeologists. Today, the Quebec archaeological network, whether prehistoric or historical, tends towards a 'developer-funded' model based on the UK model, sustained by the absence of *hard regulation*.

The preceding chapter and this chapter have been mostly a critical description of the processes involved between different abstract actors of the archaeological network, which has predominantly consisted of things or ideas, such as units, governments, or political-economical tendencies and choices. In the next chapter, I intend to focus more on the quantitative analysis of data on human actors, whose voices have been largely neglected up to this point.

CHAPTER 5 – Critical perspectives on quantitative data from the Quebec archaeological network

INTRODUCTION

The two previous chapters explored the structure of Quebec's archaeological network in its various historical, sociological and economic dimensions, and provided an interpretative background to facilitate the comprehension of the present political economy of archaeology in Quebec. This chapter examines the present realities of the archaeological profession in Quebec based on an analysis of the results of quantitative data collected in winter 2007-2008, which will be compared to the situation in UK described by the IFA (Aitchison & Edward 2008). In contrast with the research conducted in the UK, my results were examined analytically as well as critically.

In this chapter, the quantitative data collected are fundamental to the repositioning of the network under study within its socio-economic environment. Without data to illustrate the "who" and "what" of the archaeological network under study, the current research would have remained too abstract. Quantitative analysis of the organisations and their human agents permitted me to depict the network as a corporeal entity rather than a vague and faceless entity supposedly present in Quebec society.

To date, extensive research on the subject has been conducted in the United States (Zeder 1997a, 1997b, Patterson 1999, 2005:375-77), in England (Everill 2006, 2007; Aitchison & Edward 2008), and in eleven other countries of continental Europe, under the research project entitled: '*Discovering the archaeologists of Europe*' introduced by the *European Commission* through the *Leonardo Da Vinci II Fund* (See chap.1). According to this organisation, the aim of this Pan-European research was to: "*examine archaeological employment and barriers to transnational mobility within archaeology across twelve countries of the European Union*" (2009). This definition should be seen as problematic. It identifies a unidirectional purpose for this transnational research, which appears to reinforce the continual integration of archaeology into a "free" market, but does not necessarily try to promote an understanding of the archaeological work, or even find alternative and sustainable organisational structures for the archaeological systems. The terms 'barrier' and 'mobility' assume that archaeology can be treated like any other market-oriented transnational business (Sassen 2003). This definition disregards and misunderstands the nature of archaeological work. According to Coppens (2003:20), archaeological excavations are irreversible by nature, based on methods specifically developed to each archaeological context and thus, not easily exportable. It also neglects regional geographic/ecological factors, variations in historical paths, differences in methodological approaches to archaeology, and linguistic barriers.

This quantitative data analysis performed on the population of European archaeologists could have illustrated some of the major socio-demographic characteristics of the profession; it could have also helped to identify some of the issues affecting the lives and work of archaeologists. However, much of the research has clearly not sought the implementation and consequences of the neoliberal system within archaeological activities (except for Everill 2006, 2007). To compensate for this lack of explanation, after a presentation of the general methodology at work, most of this chapter will explore the following subjects: total archaeological population, age range, gender balance, type of employment contracts, earnings, and the general perception of the job by archaeologists.

After establishing a more concrete framework for the archaeological network through quantitative data interpretation in this chapter, the next chapter presents an in depth investigation of the relationships between individuals, organisations and the various tensions existing within the actors of the network. Such an analysis becomes possible only through ethnographic research. This chapter first and foremost aims to describe the socio-economic environment of archaeology in Quebec. It should be noted that the *actor network theory* methodological framework is still being employed here, but will be integrated into the structure of the chapter through de/co-constructing the network through the description of its main actors. I hope that such an analysis will allow the major tensions between actors and the sources of said tensions to be exposed.

5.1 General Methodology

Problem of definitions

Before going into the details of the methodology of this quantitative data collection, it is important to clarify a major issue of definition in order to answer the following question: to quantify an archaeological population, what would a reliable definition for a 'professional archaeologist' be? To avoid the current neoliberal tendencies for hyper-specialisation, and fetishisation of technical competencies, I would prefer to define a professional archaeologist as someone who simply makes his or her living from the practice of archaeology, or from a closely related professional activity. This broad definition allows me to consider the large majority of actors which play a role in archaeology from right across the full range of the professional hierarchies.

Nevertheless, in Quebec the definition of an archaeologist has been subject to certain strict criteria, notably through the QAA and the MCCCFQ, considerably reducing the number of individuals qualifying for this 'title'. The 100-150 archaeologists identified to date (Martijn 1998:180) have been principally defined by the following formula: "*individual who possesses the theoretical, methodological, technical and ethical education in archaeology able to complete an archaeological study*" (QAA 2010, online). The definition also implies that an individual is usually considered an archaeologist by his Quebecer peers if he or she can qualify for an archaeological permit/licence. To obtain a permit, an individual may have completed an MSc or a MA in archaeology or anthropology, and worked for two years supervising archaeological excavations, or three years working on specialised fields related to archaeology (QAA 2010, online).

Permits are generally given to the archaeologist in charge of the archaeological intervention, even if the archaeologist is employed by a unit. As we now know, 73% of archaeological excavations are conducted by units or consultants (See chap.4), 35% of these excavations in the private sector are registered in the name of a unit, and 65% of the rest are done by the family names of the archaeologist in charge (MCCCFQ 2008). The permits given to the unit are often a way for units to be able to engage people who do not qualify for the official title of archaeologist. They often engage and officially appoint 'unqualified' persons because of the scarse availability of archaeologists who fit the QAA definition.

The permit is delivered by the MCCCFQ, which uses the criteria of the QAA defined earlier, therefore only to the category of individuals called archaeologists. The two other categories in the hierarchy created by the QAA are 'Associated Members' and 'Student Members', but this status does not confer any sort of legal recognition on the individuals themselves. This creates the conditions for the creation of a pool of undifferentiated workers who could be young undergraduate students, veteran technicians without any diplomas, or graduate students (BSc or BA) with or without any experience in archaeology.

The actual definition of an archaeologist in Quebec is far too restrictive and obliterates a large sector of the population involved in archaeological activities. This important percentage of neglected population is labelled with the generic term: technician ("*technicien*" in French), which defines individuals working in different organisations (private or public), mainly on short term contracts, and at various levels of competence and responsibility, including laboratory activities, and even sometimes fieldwork supervision.

> James [32, Digger / Assistant Archaeologist in Commercial Archaeology & NPO]: [...] "at the unemployment benefit office, I arrived in front of the lady in charge and had to define what my status was. I saw that I was registered as a 'technician in archaeology'... but this does not correspond to my definition of the task. In its place, I wrote that I was an archaeologist!"

What really characterises the term 'technician' in Quebec? According to the official definition of the word (*Ministère de l'Éducation, Loisir et Sport, online*), this denotes any individual who has completed a three year technical program in college, and subsequently obtained a post-secondary diploma in technical studies (*DEC*), not a degree from a university. As a matter of fact, the training and title of 'technician in archaeology' does not exist in the Ministry of Education's listings of technical training qualifications. Thus, the reality is that this only denotes archaeologists trained at universities, who may sometimes be considered apprentices, but there are definitely no technicians in the profession.

This problem of definition obviously poses a problem for social recognition. The absence of a clear legal definition has created the conditions for the long lasting isolation of diggers, both within and beyond the archaeological community, rendering their existence almost invisible. Thus, to avoid such biases in the present research, the definition selected for an archaeologist is: any individual who possesses the appropriate, sufficient and recognisable academic knowledge to practice archaeology; who is involved in a profession directly related to archaeology, who is able to live or financially survive in this profession on an annual basis, but who is not necessarily a full-time employee.

This definition encompasses undergraduate students, for whom the unique source of annual funding comes from contract activities in units. Even if they do not continue to work in professional archaeology later, they will be replaced systematically by other undergraduate students in the same positions. Thus, there is no permanence of people but there is a permanence of low-qualified contract positions in the units. These positions, characterised by low salaries and precarious contracts, constitute a pool of archaeologists or apprentice archaeologists, who must be taken quantitatively into consideration. This approach will explain the major difference between the estimated population of archaeologists and the population I identified during my research.

Population

In winter 2007/08, I decided to expand my research in order to base it on a more realistic understanding of the Quebec archaeological network. To do so, in addition to the ethnographic data collected with my 52 interviewees, I engaged in a census of the total population active in archaeology. The small size and familiarity of the community allowed me to compile a database of individuals occupying different positions in the profession. The database was then populated by asking for lists of staff in different organisations, as well as by meeting people directly during fieldwork or ultimately by contacting them by e-mail, telephone or through aggregate web communities such as *Facebook©*. The objective was to avoid the restricted lists provided by the different organisations, which did not always include part-time or occasional contract employees. This oversight could have created a distortion by decreasing the total amount of people working in archaeology, and drastically diminishing the number of young and non-permanent employees involved in the archaeological operations.

In comparison to the English or American archaeologist population, the Quebec population is very limited in terms of numbers. Consequently, it was conceivable to look at the entire population during this study, and to contact almost every Quebec archaeologist during my different research trips, conferences, fieldwork activities, and mostly during community activities such as post-excavation bar meetings. For this fundamental reason, no online survey was implemented and direct contact and collaboration with institutions was preferred instead.

Archaeological units, ministries, universities, associations or municipalities, and friends all helped me to contact the people involved in archaeology in order to extract the basic data which allowed me to identify some of the characteristics of the archaeological network. Initial investigations concerned the following information requirements:

- Date of birth
- Highest qualification/diploma obtained
- Name/type of employer
- Type of contract relating them to the archaeology employer

Most of this data was already available on the internet through various governmental, professional, and public publication sites. My quest was principally aimed at confirming certain information or completing any missing details. The data was then compiled in an Excel table which has been provided in Appendix 1: Population. After construction of the database was complete, I was now in a position to provide a valid picture of the Quebec archaeological profession based on quantitative data and complemented with ethnographic data collected directly on-site.

Sample

The methodology used for the sampling of my population required a more elaborate questionnaire to collect more detailed socio-demographic and professional data from my subjects. Data collection was undertaken as follows: after encountering interviewees, I asked each to provide extra information, if they were willing, about themselves by completing a questionnaire.

The questionnaire was sent by e-mail in a Microsoft Word document. After completion, the questionnaire was sent back and each document classified with a reference number (See Appendix 3 – Survey Result). No personal information was requested or recorded. In a few months, I obtained 52 positive answers which constituted a sample of the archaeological community, and one rejection, based on the fact that the subject of research was depressing the individual. The questionnaire that was distributed covered the following data entries:

Socio-economic data	
Gender	Male/Female
Age (in Dec. 2007)	
Ethnicity	White Caucasian / African / Latin-American / Asian / First Nations
Country/Province of Origin	
Mother Tongue	French / English / Other
Marital Status	Married / Divorced / Single / Widowed
Children (Nbr.)	
Housing	Owner / Tennant
City of Residence	
Professional data	
Position in Archaeology	
Years of Experience (in years)	
Qualifications (Degree)	B.Sc / M.Sc / Ph.D / Other
Currently working	Full Time / Part Time / Contract
Type of organisation	
Employer / company(ies) name	
Salary (CDN$/Hour)	$
Salary (CDN$/Year)	$
Student Debt ($)	$
Perception of the job	
Do you live from Archaeology?	Yes/No
How do you judge your situation in archaeology?	

Figure 5.1: Questionnaire – Socio-economic and professional data for Archaeology

Completed forms were saved in Microsoft Word but the data was transferred into an *Office Excel* table (See Appendix 3 – Survey Result), and the figures in the chapter devised.

5.2 The results

5.2.1 Archaeologist population

Estimated size of the workforce

As we saw earlier on in the chapter, the number of individuals active in Quebec archaeology was evaluated at 100 to 150 individuals by the community itself. The results of my research revealed that at least 282 individuals (Tab. 5.1) were active in archaeology and managed to make a living from it. Thus, it is conceivable to consider that the Quebec archaeologist population could be estimated at around 300 individuals involved at various levels of competences and lengths of employment.

Table 5.1: Estimated archaeological workforce by organisational type

Organisation basis	Number of organisations	Number of archaeologists	% of archaeologists by organisation
Federal government	1	24	9.0%
Provincial government	4	24	9.0%
Local government – City	2	9	3.4%
Corporation	1	2	0.75%
University	6	31	11.7%
Museum	9	9	3.4%
Non-Profit-Organisation Research Institute	5	21	7.9%
Private Sector – Unit	5	117	44.1%
Private Sector – Other	7	14	5.3%
Consultant	/	12	4.5%
Other	2	2	0.75%
Total	42	265	100% (94% of total pop.)
Total (All individuals)	42	282	100%

This list presents the census of a minimum of 42 organisations that employ archaeologists full-time, part-time and on short term contracts. Of the 282 archaeologists surveyed, I identified one or various employers for 265 of them (Table 5.1). Of this total, 117 archaeologists (44% of the population) work for the five major private units in archaeology, i.e. *Archéotec*, *Arkéos*, *Ethnoscop*, *Patrtimoine Expert* & *S.A.C.L.* By decreasing order, the other major employers for archaeologists are universities, federal and provincial government, and NPOs.

In comparison with the nearby province of Ontario, the number of units and consultants in the private sector in Quebec is low: 24 entities compared to around 50 in Ontario (The Ontario Association of Professional Archaeologists, 2010). Population density and total population are higher in Ontario than in Quebec (respectively three times, and 1/3 superior), and could partially explain this difference. Nevertheless, we could have expected a higher number of archaeological entities in Quebec, especially knowing that, in a territory 1½ times the province of Ontario, archaeological interventions in Quebec are similarly accounted for by the private sector, (73% of interventions in 2008, see chap. 4), and based on construction, development and economical growth policies. Furthermore, archaeology was expected to be highly developed in a province where culture, heritage and its popular appeal had played a central role in creating identities, especially national identity throughout the 20th century (Handler 1988: 81-108; 140-158).

Aside from the small size of the archaeological network in Quebec, the most important point to be considered in this demographic census is the differentiation between a 'core' of recognised archaeologists (recognised by all), and the mass or 'the periphery' of undefined numbers of individuals working within the profession. "*The current trend in labour markets is to reduce the number of 'core' workers and to rely increasingly upon a work force that can quickly be taken on board and equally quickly and costlessly be laid off when times get bad*" says Harvey (1990:152). This economic trend is characteristic of neoliberal policies, and also appears to have been applied in archaeology, but the consequences of such an application need to be examined in detail.

Age range and gender

Basic demographic data produced interesting results, precisely because they did not fall exactly within the range that one might have expected. My survey results suggest that a large sector of the population working in archaeology had been neglected, more specifically those in their 20s, often employed on short-term contracts (Tab.5.4). Through this age and gender discrepancy of the population, a fundamental characteristic of the current situation in the archaeological profession was revealed: the radical disengagement from archaeology of numerous individuals in their early 30s.

Studying the entire population in detail indicated the relative youth of Quebec archaeologists and apprentice archaeologists (Fig. 5.2), but also that women dominated the profession for the age group between 20 and 34, their work force diminishing radically after 35. Figure 5.2 graphically illustrates the dramatic drop in all staff numbers for persons in their early 30s. This fact is not unique, and was also demonstrated by Everill in 2006, in the UK (2006:86-89). Women in archaeology dominated the workforce in their early 20s, but were almost completely absent after their 30s.

Table 5.2 Age and gender of archaeologists in 2008

Age (years)	Male		Female		Total	
20-24	1	0.8%	6	7.5%	7	3.5%
25-29	22	18.3%	27	33.8%	49	24.5%
30-34	13	10.8%	21	26.3%	34	17.0%
35-39	10	8.3%	3	3.8%	13	6.5%
40-44	11	9.2%	9	11.3%	20	10.0%
45-49	15	12.5%	4	5.0%	19	9.5%
50-54	26	21.7%	3	3.8%	29	14.5%
55-59	13	10.8%	5	6.3%	18	9.0%
60-64	5	4.2%	2	2.5%	7	3.5%
65+	4	3.3%	0	0.0%	4	2.0%
Total	120	100%	80	100%	200	100%
					represents 71% of the total population	

In Quebec, men are almost as numerous as women at younger ages, and they also experience a radical decrease in manpower between 30 and 44. Nevertheless, the major difference with women, in terms of employment, is the strong concentration of active male archaeologists in the 45 to 60 year age bracket. This strong concentration is not necessarily a latent gender inequity issue, but can essentially be attributed to the initial entry into the market of archaeologists in the early 1970s, occupying most of the new universities and governmental positions, and also to the creation of most of private units during the end and beginning of the 1980s.

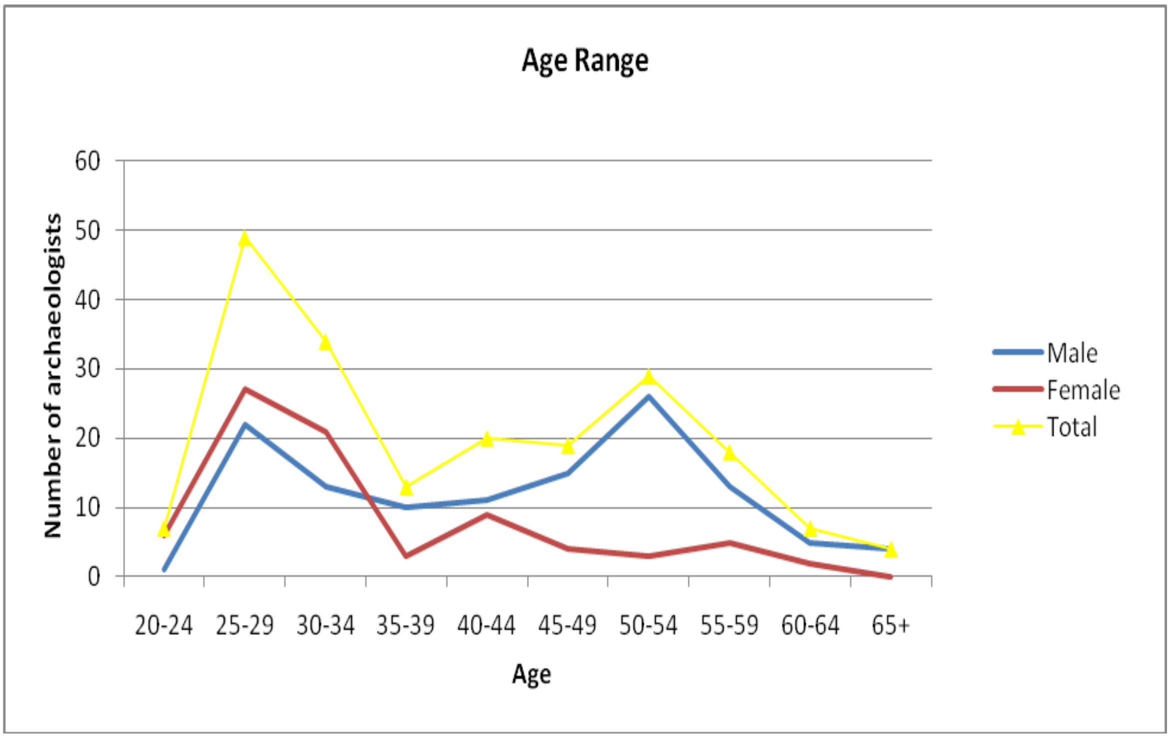


Figure 5.2: Age and gender of archaeologists in 2008 Source: Tab.5.4.

In the case of women, there are many other reasons that could explain their fast disappearance in their early thirties. Some of the struggles experienced by women in their late twenties can be illustrated by the experience reported by one of my interviewees, echoing those described by Everill (2006:85-6):

1/ Creating a family, if this involves pregnancy and eventually a long absence or a reduced length of available time for work, there is no guarantee that status will be maintained within the unit, and it may even impede or exclude any return to the profession.

> Chloe [30, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained]: "[...] ask yourself why girls do not stay in the profession? [...] If you are out of the company for a while, you have simply lost your position. For example, *[name of a woman]* was always in charge of potential archaeological studies, or at least, always assistant archaeologist on excavations. She got pregnant, left, and when she came back onto the work market, the units offered her digger jobs! She had to start from scratch again, without any other options."

2/ The perception of there being fewer future perspectives for women than men in the profession could be explained by the rough, precarious nature of the job, and an expected or experienced sexual discrimination.

> Chloe [30, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained]: "[...] when you had to deal with construction people, someone told me that: 'you need to have a strong character because the work environment is extremely sexist'. The *[bosses]* start with the assumption that a guy will have more chances of being respected than a girl. I think that affected us a lot, especially in cities. The question is always if the guy using the excavator will listen to you!"
>
> Luke [37, Consultant Archaeologist]: "It is unfair not to give you responsibilities because of that... but it is true: the work environment is rough and sexist. [...]"

Comparison of the data contained in Figures 5.2 and 1.1 (chap.1), i.e. of the age and gender similarities and differences between the Quebec case and the English case for the same periods (2007-8) reveals the following:
First, young, Generation Y archaeologists (between 20 and early 30's) in both countries present a population peak within the archaeological workforce. The corpus of this population corresponds mostly to young diggers and positions requiring minimal qualifications within the archaeological network.

Second, in both countries the employee population falls in the early 30's, though markedly differently in Quebec compared to England. In Quebec, we see that both male and female archaeologists almost disappear from the corpus, which means that Generation X has almost no presence in Quebec's archaeology. The male population has a stronger presence than the female at this age. In England, the scenario is the same but the big difference is that the fall in population numbers only affects women. The male population remains perfectly stable until the 40's bracket, while women lose approximately 60% of their population by the time they reach this age bracket. In Quebec, for the baby boomers, when the population is simply decreasing slowly as people get older, retire or change their career, there is a concentration of males between 40 and 60 years old who dominate in terms of numbers, and by extension, largely dominate the entire corpus.

If we now scrutinise the age range by activity (Fig. 5.3), it is clear that most archaeology positions in academia and the government are dominated by persons between 40 and 60. As demonstrated previously, this majority is essentially composed of men (Fig. 5.2). Nevertheless, in NPOs and mostly commercial archaeology, the 25 to 34 year-old bracket dominates the sector in an overwhelming majority, most of whom are women.

Finally, if we look closer at the age range in commercial archaeology (Fig. 5.3), this sector presents the highest frequency of people disengaging from archaeology in their thirties. After five to ten years experience (Everill 2006:89), most employees quit commercial archaeology, and are rarely to be found in other sectors of archaeological activities. This disengagement is the major obvious problem that appears quantitatively through this analysis in Quebec.

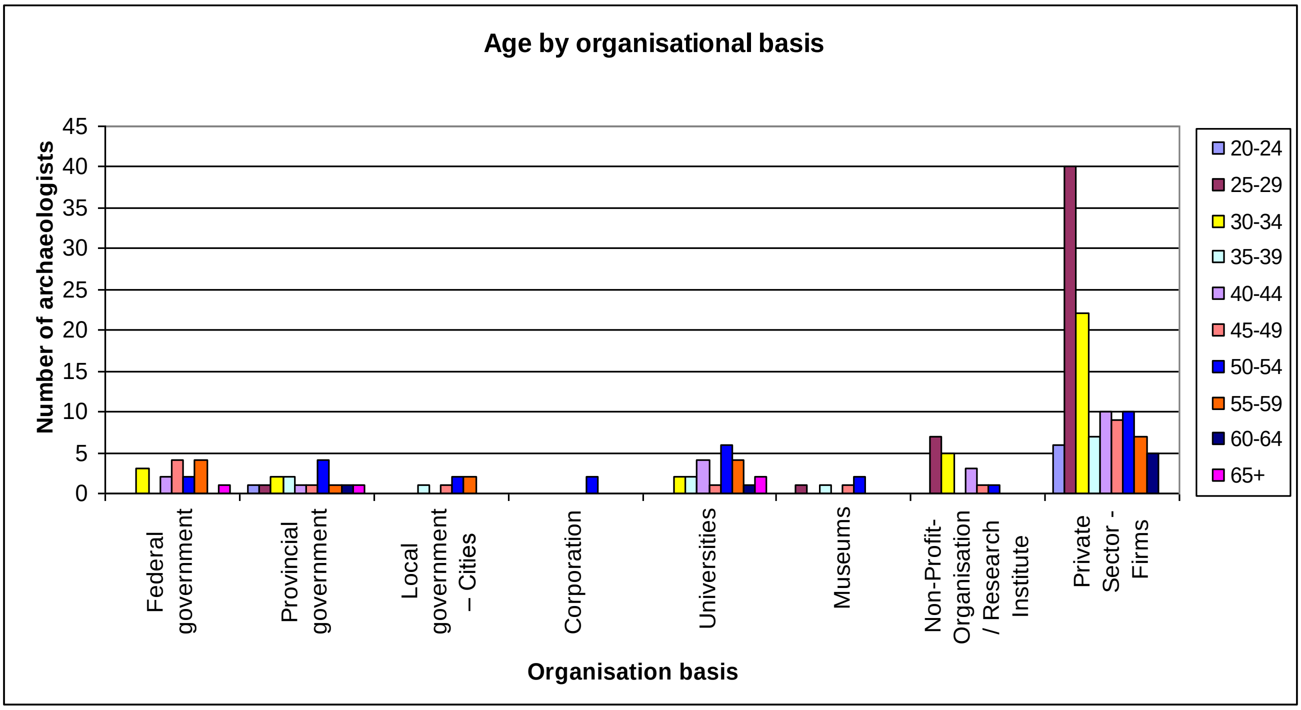


Figure 5.3: Archaeologists by age band and organisation basis.
Source: My collection data.

This has had many consequences for units, which suffer from a lack of transfer of knowledge and '*savoir-faire'* (know-how) between employees. It also presents a major problem with continuity in a profession which involves long-term research. On the other hand, disengagement could also be an economic advantage for the units, which could permanently recruit new staff on short-term contracts, without the problem of maintaining big teams involving high costs during periods when activities are at a low. Job precariousness could be then the only guarantee for units to be able to survive economically, which could constitute a major dilemma within commercial archaeology, between favouring the development of competences for archaeologists, sustaining a positive development of the profession, and guaranteeing the economic viability of the unit.

As indicated by the quantitative results, it seems that the principal reasons for disengagement from the profession are related to the precarious nature of maintaining status within the profession and the hazardous and often difficult progression of one's career. However, this hypothesis will only be touched upon in this chapter and explored in-depth in the next through an analysis of ethnographic data.

Full-time, part-time employment and short-term contracts

Over the last three decades, one of the most immediate consequences of the systematic implementation of neoliberal policies in all sectors of the economy has been, according to Bourdieu (1998), a generalisation of precariousness. This phenomenon has materialised through short-term contracts as the new intermediary redefining the relationship between employees and employers (Bourdieu, 1998:98).

In England, according to the results presented by Aitchison and Edwards (2008:87), the situation does not seem too worrying in terms of employment type of contracts, considering that individuals employed 'full time' represent more than 60% of the work-force. Nevertheless, these results mask the realities reasserted by Everill (2007) and Corcos (2009:48), when they emphasised that an important proportion of the work-force in archaeology is mostly invisible, and is particularly affected by precarious conditions of life and work.

In Quebec, the precariousness of jobs seems to have become the rule today, in particular for the commercial sector (Fig. 5.4). In 2008, my data collection shows that 54% of jobs occupied by archaeologists were short-term contracts (Tab.5.3), i.e. without any guaranty of continuity on an annual, monthly or weekly basis.

Table 5.3: Full time, part-time work and contracts, all staff

	Full-Time		Part-Time		Contracts (short-term)		Total	
All staff in Quebec	100	39%	17	7%	136	54%	253	100%
All staff in England	1644	61.5%	331	12.5%	699	26%	2674	100%

Source: My collection data & Aitchison & Edwards (2008:84 & 87)

Disparity of treatment is very important within the archaeological community of Quebec (Fig. 5.4). The data collected revealed that those employed in the public, academic, or museum sectors were less affected by short-term contracts. It was essentially the commercial archaeology and the NPOs which displayed the highest percentage of this kind of employment and most of the precarious positions.

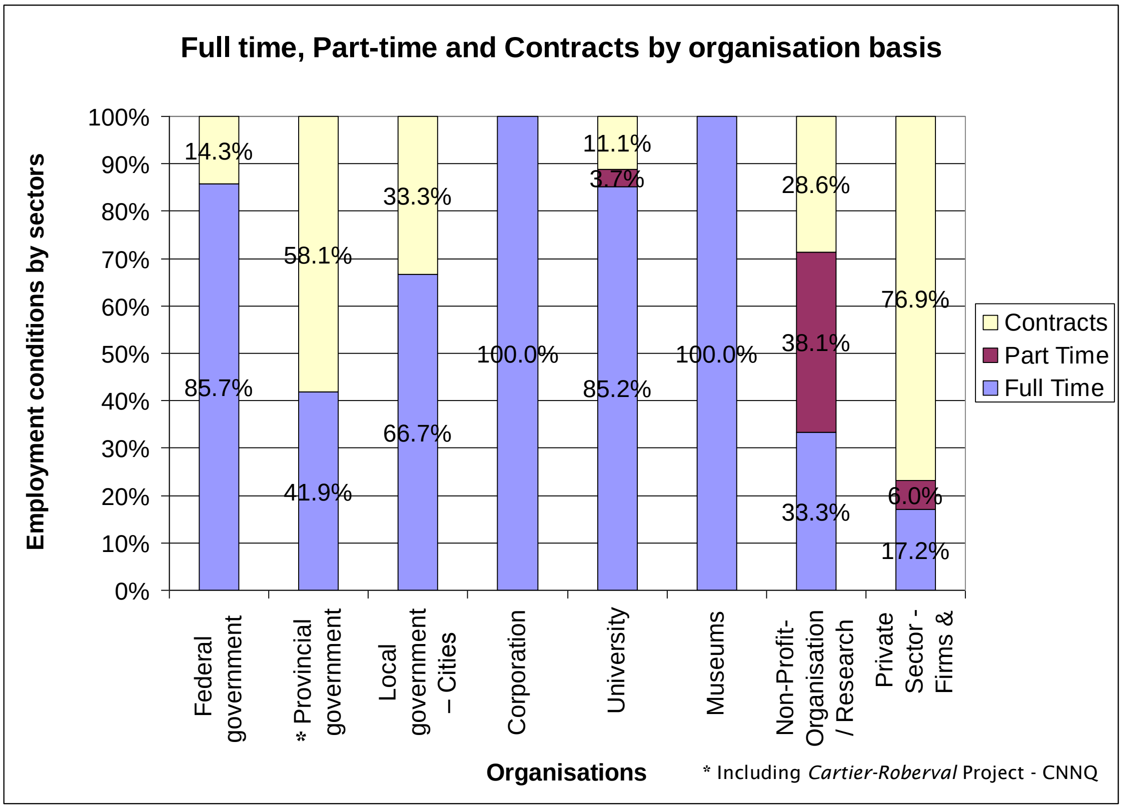


Figure 5.4: Full time, part-time work and contracts, by organization.
Source: My collection data.

Nevertheless, distortion was present in provincial government employee figures, but this distortion was circumstantial, mostly generated by the CNNQ through the *Cartier-Roberval* archaeological project since 2007. Without this project, the provincial public institution would have presented more or less the same figures as the other public organisations, i.e. around 70% of employees working full time. Precariousness is thus essentially present in commercial archaeology (Fig. 5.4), with almost 80% of jobs conducted through short-term contracts, and in NPOs, where a large number of employees are part-timers (38%) or on short-term contracts (29%).

Staff Qualifications

Another important fact in Quebec archaeology is the over-qualification of professional archaeologists (Table 5.4). In England, 50% of archaeologists possess a BSc or a BA, 21% a Master and 10% a PhD or a DPhil (Aitchison & Edwards 2008:55). In Quebec, as presented in figure 5.5, almost 50% of active archaeologists have a Masters degree, and almost 20% a PhD.

Tab.5.4 Highest Level of Qualification achieved, number and % of Quebec's archaeologists

	Anthropology/ Archaeology		Other		Total	
Post-doctoral qualification	3	1,8%	0	0.0%	3	1.5%
Doctorate (PhD or DPhil)	32	19,5%	5	12.5%	37	18%
Master's Degree	80	48,8%	16	40.0%	96	46.8%
Bachelor's Degree	50	30,3%	15	37.5%	65	31.7%
A level, and CÉGEP (Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel / College of General and Vocational Education in Quebec)	0	0,0%	4	10.0%	4	2.0%
Total with qualifications	164	80,0%	40	19.5%	204	99.5%
No qualifications					1	0.5%
TOTAL					206	100%
					Represents 73% of the total population	

It should be noted that archaeologists are part of a highly educated category of the population. This could be related to the fact that only the Masters degree can guarantee access to the status of archaeologist, and permits for digging. Nowadays, the unexpected effect of such a policy seems to have been to saturate the profession with highly qualified individuals, creating a discrepancy between roles occupied in the profession and competencies. This fact is also a major factor reinforcing disillusion and departures from the profession in the early 30s bracket. An advanced academic education is not a problem *per se* because it contributes greatly to giving the students the opportunity to develop a critical understanding of their environment. Nevertheless, it becomes problematic (for the current network/system) when students are expecting some return on that, that is to say: a long-lasting and positively progressing position in archaeology. High levels of education in archaeology can thus be an indication that the professional system has already greatly exceeded its capacity to absorb new professionals, forcing a systematic drop in the socio-economic status of workers.

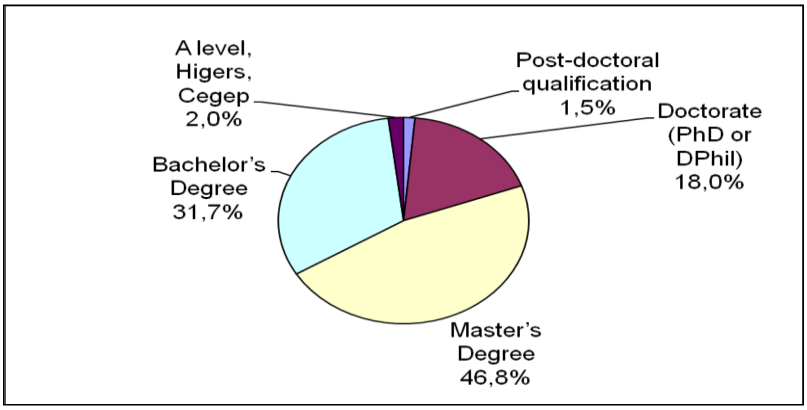


Figure 5.5: Highest Level of qualification achieved by archaeologists in Quebec.
Source: **Tab.5.4**

5.2.2 A sample of archaeologists

Salaries and earnings

In 1992, Rocheleau & Filiatrault emphasized that archaeologists' salaries were significantly lower than those of other professionals in Quebec (comparable in terms of education, level of responsibility and fieldwork practice). Have earnings for archaeologists improved, or have they continued to deteriorate during this period? In contrast to what has been suggested by authors in 1992, archaeologists in Quebec have yet to receive a definition articulating what, in fact, qualifies one to practice and be considered an archaeologist. Today, what characterises positions in Quebec archaeology is the absence of cohesion and of the use of a clear vocabulary. Most archaeologists interviewed, in particular those from the private sector, could be hired for an array of positions with varying salaries and responsibilities, all during the same year.

Table 5.5 Salaries (per hour) in 1990, expected in 2008 (after inflation), and established in a sample of archaeologists in 2008

	Technician (Non qualified)		**Level 1 (Diggers)**		**Level 2 (Assistants)**		**Level 3 (Archaeologists & Managers)**			**Public Sector**		
	Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Avg.	Max	Min	Avg.	Max
Salary in **1990** (in $CAD)	10$	14.9$	14.9$	21.9$	21.9$	27.8$	27.8$	/	32.5$	/	/	/
Minimum salary expected in **2008** (*after inflation: average annual inflation rate (%) = 2,05%.)	**14.4$**	**21.5$**	**21.5$**	**31.5$**	**31.6$**	**40$**	**40$**	/	**46.9$**	/	/	/
Salary established through my sample (**2008**)	**≈ 16$**		**18$**	**20.3$ (Avg. answer)**		**27$**	**22$**	**33$**	**42$**	**27$**	**42$**	**≥50$**

Source: Table established with data from Rocheleau & Filiatrault 1992; Banque du Canada, 1995 – 2009 © & my own data collection with 40 archaeologists in 2008.

The correlation between level of competence defined by the authors and position within units has been unstable through time. In fact, from technician to Level 2 (Table 5.5), the status of individuals can change a lot, from the different type of contracts used, and from the different unit or organisation employers. Because of this constant variation in earnings, it is difficult to know how salaries have evolved for these categories of workers.

> Me : "[...] in archaeology, we go up and down [of status] pretty fast. Changes in positions, tasks and salaries are very frequent. In terms of stability, how do you deal with that?"
>
> Alan [34, part time Lecturer / Digger in commercial archaeology]: "We know that [when we enter the profession], but do we really realise all the implications it involves when we are twenty two years old? In the beginning, when you make your first $30,000 per year (≈18,000£/year), it seems pretty good, but what you do not know yet, is that there is a high probability that you will make the same money for a long-time or even less in certain circumstances. It can become particularly frustrating!"
>
> Maya [28, PhD Student / Digger in commercial archaeology]: "When someone working in archaeology gets an opportunity to work outside the archaeological network, often during periods of unemployment, and the new job offers stability, and even sometimes double amount of your usual salary, it makes sense that people should opt out of archaeology!"

Table 5.6 Average earnings in the province of Quebec in 2008

	National	Graduated	Technician	Professional	Manager
Average salary - 2008	20.03$/h	27.77$/h	20.03$/h	29.12$/h	31.25$/h

Source : Established with the data made available by: '*Institut de Statistique du Québec' 2009, online.*

The lowest salary recorded for the less qualified and less experienced individual in my sample (more or less comparable to the definition of a technician in 1992) was 15.50$ in 2008. Compared with expected salary levels (with an average inflation of 2.05% per year), this salary seems to correspond to the expected range (14.40$/h to 21.50$/h), albeit in a lower tranche within this estimation. However, this salary is much lower than the average national salary for the socio-professional category of 'technicians' (Table 5.6). In the methodological section of this chapter it was pointed out that individuals working in archaeology cannot be considered technicians (according to Quebec legislation), and are all 'professional' with different levels of competences. It is a matter of concern that many active apprentice archaeologists (mostly graduates, see Fig. 5.6, and in their mid 20's, see Fig.5.3) are still paid less than the large majority of other socio-professional categories in Quebec. The only categories of employees with lower salaries in Quebec are those with no diplomas, often between 15 and 24 years old, working in the service industry (including catering), commerce, and the construction industry (*Institut de Statistique du Québec* 2008, online).

For levels 1 to 2, salaries appear to be even more of a problem today (Table 5.5). Taking into consideration inflation, earnings for these categories of professionals should be between 21.50$/h and 40$/h. However, the average salary for these categories today is 20.30$/h. Many of the young members in this category (typically those with MSc. degrees, and some years of experience) make between 18.50$/h and 19$/h. This data indicates that those occupying intermediary statuses within the professional categories of archaeology have witnessed the deterioration of work conditions since 1992.

The average national earnings (20.03$/h) are almost on a par with levels 1 and 2 (20.30$/h), which constitute the large majority of the workforce. Furthermore, if we compare this category (Level 1 and 2) to the national average for 'graduates' (27.77$/h), and to the national average for 'professionals' (29.12$/h) (Table 5.6), the gap between the earnings of archaeologists and other professional categories is substantial. Low salaries are an issue for the archaeologist population, but not necessarily the major one. The precariousness of the profession is the more pressing issue, as there is no guaranteed continuity of payments of these low salaries.

The lowest salaries are also associated with short term contracts (Table 5.7), which are concentrated in commercial archaeology positions (Fig.5.5). Taking into consideration all the different types of contracts, 42.5% of the individuals who answered my questionnaire are making less than 20$/h, less than the national average.

Table 5.7 Salary/Hour distribution in the sample

Salary in $	Full-Time archaeologists		Part-Time archaeologists		Short-Term Contracts		Total	
15 to 19$	4	22.2%	3	100.0%	10	52.6%	17	42.5%
20 to 24$	2	11.1%	0		3	15.8%	5	12.5%
25 to 29$	1	5.6%	0		4	21.1%	5	12.5%
30 to 34$	1	5.6%	0		1	5.3%	2	5.0%
35 to 39$	4	22.2%	0		1	5.3%	5	12.5%
40 to 44$	2	11.1%	0		0		2	5.0%
45 to 49$	1	5.6%	0		0		1	2.5%
+ 50$	3	16.7%	0		0		3	7.5%
Total	18	100.0%	3	100.0%	19	100.0%	40	100%

Quantitative analysis: a materialisation of precariousness

As illustrated by the numbers, the precarious nature of commercial archaeology can no longer be disputed. Salaries are one of the main visible measureable and evident expressions of tension present within the profession. Without being the cause of underlying tensions, these are the consequence of the application of a specific political-economic model. In the network, opinions on this matter are extremely varied, but all subjects testify to a long standing socio-economic problem which needs to be understood in archaeological units. As a first step, I will now let the archaeologists express themselves on the subject, giving a shape to the major tensions within the network under study, thus highlighting the threats to its stability:

Me: "Why are people paid around 15$/h" *[≈7£/h] [in commercial archaeology unit]*?
Edward [40, Archaeologist / Digger in Commercial Archaeology]: *"[corporation/clients]* could easily pay 17$/h for the job, but if the unit pays 17$ at *[place]*, the unit will be also obliged to pay 17$ in *[city, for others type of contracts]*!"
Me: "the problem is that it keeps salaries low. 15$/h is not a lot of money."
Edward: "Yes and no. There are people who are pretty happy with that kind of salary. At '*Starbucks*', they pay 8.5$/h *[≈4£/h]*..."
Me: "Yes... but the problem is the following: can we compare archaeology with a temporary catering job?"
Edward: "Ok, it is not just a temporary job, but it is a summer job or a student job for so many people."

Brian [37, Laboratory activities in Public & Commercial Archaeology]: "Surprisingly enough, I work in archaeology! Despite the fact that my salary is below the *[national]* average, it does not bother me so much, and I am lucky my girlfriend makes good money. If you get involved in archaeology in the hope of making the same salaries as engineers or other professionals who have a MSc... it would be very disappointing not to make 50-60$ an hour *[≈28-34£/h]*. When people hear what my salary is (around 15 to 17$/h) they say I should be making at least twice that amount, but I answer: "look! It is March, and I am lucky because I am still working in archaeology!" My expectations are maybe lower than others but in the end, I am less negative about the work. So many are pissed off, and frustrated because of the salaries."

Joshua [53, Unit Director in Commercial Archaeology]: "Since 1994, salaries should have increased from 20 to 25%, just to keep up with inflation. I am curious to see how salaries have evolved, as I am sure that we are now making less than we could have made in the 1980's. If I was 25-30 years old, I do not think I would choose to work in archaeology. At the time, we did not think about money matters but the circumstances were probably more favourable. Today, I feel that living conditions are in perpetual downfall, though this is a good period for archaeological activities. In the unit, a diggers' salary is about 18.50$ *[≈10£/h]*. For the person in charge of fieldwork, it is around 28-30$/h *[≈16£/h]* for a young fellow, and could reach 40$/h *[≈22.50£/h]* for an older one. It is not a lot considering that most of them have a MSc or a PhD, and often 25 years experience of fieldwork. It is definitely not enough! In addition, we don't even have work security while in other sectors, after completing enough hours of work, you can go and retire. For us, we have to make bank deposits and save up our own money for retirement."

Ruben [51, Archaeologist for a Corporation - employing units as sub-contractors]:
"The major problem is caused by competition, which explains why the units are keeping salaries low. Compared to other kinds of specialists with the same level of education, the salaries are far too low and even, sometimes, I ask the units to increase their rates… but most of the time they answer that salaries cannot be increased because of the competition. Some efforts were made to improve salaries when *[unit director]* was on the administrative board of the QAA. These had some effect for a while but fell through pretty quickly. Following the closure of some *[archaeological unit],* I thought offers would go up… but not at all! A young person with a BSc working as a digger being paid 20$/h is quite normal. If he is paid 16$/h I think this is unacceptable, and even less acceptable if the diggers have a MSc or a PhD… it is quite ridiculous! Unfortunately, I cannot spend my time asking them to increase their rates while my management in *[corporation]* asks me to reduce my own costs […]."

Thomas [50's, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained as an archivist]: "One of my ex-colleagues, who often worked in *[place]* with *[archaeological unit]* was digging on really interesting sites *[in the 1980's]*. One day, the cartographer working with him told him: "you archaeologists are a bunch of stupid amateurs because when it was time to negotiate, you were the specialists in archaeology, and it was you who had the upper hand. It was you, at that time, who should have negotiated salary rates equivalent to those of engineers. You have expertise that nobody else has! Unfortunately, it is probably too late to change things now, unless the government decides to do it voluntarily […]."
Me: "…by increasing its costs! I doubt it has any interest to do so. *[…]*"
Thomas: "When we were going to the James Bay, we realised, as archaeologists, that we were making much less money than biologists or any other professionals in environmental sciences or culture. It seems that we are still perceived both by government and people as scruffy. Often, we have an MSc or PhD, but still no professional recognition."

If the origins of the low salaries in archaeology could be traced back to the 1970's and explained by the lack of self-confidence of a new profession (see chaps. 3 or 4 and Thomas above) - still not established enough to ask for equivalent salaries to engineers (which is the status legitimately or not claimed by most archaeologists) - this does not explain why such an unbalanced situation has been maintained to date. During the interviews, Ruben put forward an interesting hypothesis, which will be tested further with the economic analysis in chapter 7, which considers the competition between the units as the primary factor behind the permanency of low salaries and poor or precarious working conditions for many employed in this sector.

What effects did this generalised precariousness have on the archaeological profession?
The data collected and presented here seem to indicate a profession governed by the precept of precarious working conditions (Harvey 1990:147-152; Bourdieu 1998:95-101) implemented in most capitalist economic systems. According to the quantitative results of this chapter, the age range (Fig.5.3), and most specifically the massive departure of archaeologists in their early 30's (Tab.5.4 & Fig.5.3), show that the precariousness has deeply affected archaeologists' careers. This uncertainty precludes any kind of rational expectations for the future, dispelling any hope of progression within the profession. For archaeology to progress, ongoing investment of time and energy on the part of its actors is required to ensure its continued existence as a profession, but this can no longer be achieved at the expense of individuals' own life projects.

Through the population census, I demonstrated that at least half the workers in archaeology have been ignored or neglected within the archaeological community (Table 5.1). This population has *de facto* become a 'reserve army' (Bourdieu 1998:96, personal translation), especially considering that most of them are employed in commercial archaeology on short-term or part-time contracts (Fig.5.5). This phenomenon has contributed to instilling in every worker the feeling that he or she is replaceable, and that his or her right to work is a sort of privilege (See *Brian* interview), and a fragile and permanently threatened one at that. The effect of out-casting part of the workers in archaeology has been amplified by the surplus production of graduates (Fig.5.6), which means that highly educated and well trained individuals can be found at the lowest level of competences and technical qualifications in units.

The current prevailing precariousness of working conditions in archaeology means archaeologists cannot perceive their future within the profession, the *sine qua non* condition for making rational choices for oneself. Without the option of rational choice, archaeologists are no longer prepared to challenge the present system of organisation. Instead, most archaeologists simply abandon the profession, and the ones who remain resign themselves to the idea that working in archaeology is indeed a privilege.

Through the fear it generates, precariousness acts directly on those it affects ('the reserve army' of archaeologists), and indirectly on everyone else in the archaeological network, clearly inhibiting any kind of reappraisal of the current professional archaeological organisation. As elaborated by Bourdieu (1998:98), private companies which use flexibility as a model of human resource management are deliberately exploiting job insecurity, which they reinforce. Units therefore try to reduce their costs, enabling this reduction by putting the archaeological workers at a permanent risk of losing their jobs. This way, all activities within the archaeological unit are subjected to the effects of precariousness.

In order to temper Bourdieu's criticism of a neoliberal work structure, it is important to emphasise the testimony of the city civil servant Ruben and the unit manager Joshua, which put the 'deliberate' aspect of the systematic use of flexibility in the units into perspective. Many could have expected archaeological unit managers to justify the use of low salaries within their units in order to maintain the unit's competitive character (which is partially the case, as we will see in chap. 7). In contrast, one of the directors of the archaeological units seems to have been one of those who had battled over the past twenty years (according to Ruben - see above -, and confirmed by the archives of the QAA 1992), for an increase in salaries and improved global standards of life for the archaeological community.

Yet, this managerial approach is not motivated by a will to avoid the use of flexibility in the units, but is the characteristic of a neoliberal belief which accepts the idea that profits for a private company must benefit the whole working community. According to the director, and as developed in the previous chapters, the only way to improve the situation is to conform to the given values of the neoliberal system by increasing prices for clients, and justifying this rise by a commonly understood commodification (as defined by the mainstream business, i.e. by defining a value for things, products, ideas), in order to increase salaries for the entire archaeological community (Rocheleau and Filiatrault 1992):

> Martin [51 - unit director]: "[...] If the salary of the employees was fixed at a higher rate, we [*unit*] would make more profit [*because the price charged to a client corresponds to double the value of the employee salary*]. In our best interests, our employees should make more money. When the employee makes a modest wage, the entire archaeological community is penalised. [...] Now, the problems are the

following: if the salary of the technician were 25$ per hour, we [*unit*] would no longer be competitive ... Joshua [53 – unit director]: [*because*] no deal exists between the different units, or with the other actors involved in archaeological activities."

Professionalisation and technicalisation have as a result become important values for unit leaders, as well as to many archaeologists seeking recognition and improved work conditions. The new hobby-horse thus becomes 'efficiency', defined by: financial profitability, observance of the regulations, and client satisfaction (Bourdieu 1998:46). This common belief could work on a short term basis, and for a happy few in the archaeological network. As demonstrated in this chapter, the realities of the archaeological profession confirm the existence of a relatively privileged 'core' around 100-150 archaeologists, but many archaeologists or workers in archaeology are still experiencing precariousness, insecurity and frustration in their job.

Level of Satisfaction

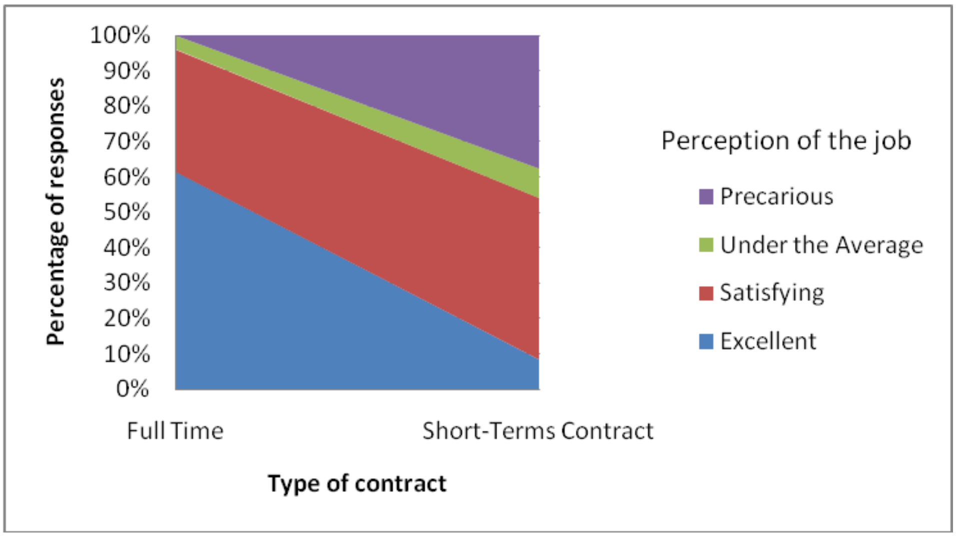


Figure 5.6: Level of satisfaction expressed in the questionnaires for a sample of 50 archaeologists.

In the questionnaire distributed, my interviewees answered the following question: how do you judge your situation in archaeology? Not surprisingly, the levels of satisfaction in the sample are correlated to the type of contracts by which the individuals are related to their employers.

The 'full time' archaeologists - who represent 39% of the population in Quebec (see Tab. 5.3), are the 'core' of the archaeological network, precisely because they are employed 'full time,' with permanent status, thus playing a central role in the long-term future of archaeological entities. Most of these individuals work in governmental offices, universities, corporations or museums, and enjoy relative job security,

insurance, pension, opportunities for career progression and various other miscellaneous fringe benefits. It is certainly, then, not surprising that a large majority of my informants viewed their own situations as 'excellent' (=60%) or 'satisfactory' (=35%).
The short-term contract and part-time workers in archaeology, who represent 61% of the population in Quebec (see Tab.5.3), and 80% of whom work in commercial archaeology, are the 'periphery' of the archaeological network. This periphery could be divided into two different sub-groups (Harvey 1990: 150) (see Fig.5.6): the 60% who see their situation in archaeology as 'excellent' (10%) or 'satisfactory' (50%), and the remaining 40% who consider their situation 'below average' or 'precarious'.

The first sub-group consists mostly of short-term contract workers working on a long-term basis, which means this sub-group is also working 'full-time' but without all the advantages and the same recognition accorded to the 'core' group.

The second peripheral sub-group consists of a more flexible contractual group, which includes part-timers, fixed short-term contract workers, and temporary staff. This sub-group provides great numerical flexibility to archaeological units. In the short-term, this flexible employment framework can be mutually advantageous for both employees and employers (Harvey 1990:151), but in the long-term, most archaeologists appear to abandon the profession precisely due to the recurrent problems generated by precariousness in the last sub-group (Table 5.1). The lack of job security eventually undermines the motivation of the working archaeologist population until it almost completely changes careers in its 30s (see Fig.5.2 & 5.3)

Evolution of the profession from an *ANT* methodological framework perspective
This mainly quantitative description of the present situation in commercial archaeology seems, according to the actor-network theory approach, to correspond to a 'reassessment' of the network 'stabilisation' phase, as described in chapter 2. A 'stabilisation' phase describes an attempt to maintain the network stable, and to avoid any return or development towards another form or any previous forms of network (Callon 1992:89), such as state or cooperative archaeology. Reassessing the current network does not necessarily imply active resistance against it, which is indeed difficult to conceive given the precarious nature of the job described in this chapter.

In fact, and this point is essential in my case study, the stability of the network is now endangered because if archaeologists often abandon the profession or dissociate from it by minimal involvement, this is not because of an intentional resistance against the market economy. This creates the conditions for a possible collapse of the network as it exists today, but without a conscious individual or collective will to do so. When the baby-boomers retire, the absence of a properly trained and motivated replacement (Generation X) could simply result in the disappearance of most archaeological units. The actual situation in commercial archaeology could be described as a ‘period of loss of integrity’ for the profession resulting from the precariousness of archaeologist jobs, and thus could be considered as a period of material and moral crisis for archaeologists.

The situation could explain the absence of propagation of the economical model of the archaeological unit in Quebec. Growth should have been visible through the creation of new units as is the case in Ontario. Almost no new units have been created in Quebec since the beginning of the 1980’s. The rare new ones have remained marginal, or disappeared. According to my interviewees, the financial situation is not responsible for this lack. Apparently, there is space for more archaeological units, especially in some regions where archaeology is still absent (Laval, Laurentides). An initial explanation for this lack of development could be the crisis within the network, which is ruining the ambitions of those who intend to develop a business in archaeology. This hypothesis will be explored in the next chapters.

CONCLUSION

According to the findings in this chapter, flexibility/precariousness has become an important feature of work in the commercial archaeological network. The transformation of archaeology into a commercial device aimed primarily at serving client interests (as shown in the previous chapter), also provoked an adjustment towards commercial and competitive rules, and has ultimately led part of the pool of fieldwork archaeologists to be marginalised within their own profession. This marginalisation, mostly economic, has been illustrated here by the progressive detachment of archaeologists from their task, which is no longer considered significant but is perceived as a simple job that could or should be abandoned easily because of the precarious status it confers. The numbers of people leaving archaeology have risen since flexibility/precariousness was instituted, and consequently the salaries and perspectives of workers have been kept particularly low within commercial archaeology.

Finally, the aim of this chapter was to quantitatively investigate the effects for archaeologists of instituting a neoliberal political-economy in archaeology. The data demonstrated that the neoliberal configuration of work as characterised by flexibility has affected the workforce by transforming many archaeologists into a precarious and marginal group. This group presents a tendency to opt out of archaeology early on in the career, reinforcing the neoliberal model of organisation by permanently renewing lower qualified positions, maintaining earnings low, while exerting high economic pressure on the whole community.

In contrast to the common belief that a neoliberal competitive system could be beneficial for both employers and employees, this chapter has demonstrated that a significant number of individuals working in archaeology is in fact suffering from the present political-economy of modern archaeology, i.e. mostly commercial archaeology.

The next chapter explores the realities of archaeology in Quebec, concentrating on the personal experiences of archaeologists as they are articulated through their own narratives.

CHAPTER 6 – Experiencing the realities of commercial archaeology

[…] *Assis su' l' bord d'mon trou*
J' me creuse la tête
J' pense au bonheur des gens
J' sais ben qu' ça va pas durer
Ç'a l'air qu' ça prend des sous
Pour faire la fête
À qui appartient l'beau temps
L'hiver l'été durant

L'été c'est tellement bon
Quand t'as la chance
D'avoir assez d'argent
Pour voyager sans t'inquiéter
Pour le fils d'un patron
C'est les vacances
Pour la fille du restaurant
C'est les sueurs pis les clients

On dit qu' l'hiver est blanc
Comme un nuage
Mais ça, évidemment,
Dans l' chalet près du foyer
Dans l' fond c'est salissant
Au prix s' qui est l' chauffage
Y a pas pire moment d' l'année
Quand t'es pris pour t'endetter

Faut qu' j' m'en retourne dans mon trou
Creuser ma peine
J'ai vu l' surintendant
J' peux rien t' dire en attendant
Le jour où ce sera nous
Qui ferons la fête
Imaginez l' printemps
Quand l'hiver sera vraiment blanc

[…] Seated next to my pit hole
I rack my brain
I think about people's happiness
I know well it won't last for long
It seems that it takes cash
To party
To whom belongs the nice weather?
Winter throughout summer

Summer is so good
When you have the luck
To have enough money
To travel without worrying
For the son of a boss
It is holiday time
For the daughter of the restaurant
It is sweat and clients

Winter is said to be white
Like a cloud
But that, obviously,
In the cottage near the hearth
In the end it is dirty
At the price the heating is
There is no worst moment in the year
When you are stuck in debt

I have to go back to my pit hole
All my efforts directed at the digging
I saw the supervisor
I keep quiet, waiting for
The day when it will be
Our turn to party
Imagine the spring
When winter will be really white

Paul Piché[1] (1977) Song: 'Heureux d'un printemps'.

---

[1] Paul Piché, born September 15th, 1953 in Montreal, is a' chansonnier' *Québécois*, political activist, environmentalist and renowned Quebec sovereigntist. Piché studied archaeology at the University of Montreal and participated in two excavations at the James Bay during two summers. In 1977 he recorded his first LP, *À qui appartient le beau temps*, which sold more than 100,000 copies, which contains a recording of this song: '*Heureux d'un printemps*' evoking his archaeological experience.

INTRODUCTION

As presented in the previous chapter, commercial archaeology, though dominant in Quebec, falls short of appropriate standards for the practical development of archaeology as a discipline. Having established this, I must now examine the ability of commercial archaeology to satisfy not just the goals of the discipline, but the goals of archaeologists. Is commercial archaeology able to bring satisfaction to archaeologists, and produce an archaeological product that can give meaning to their existence as practitioners?

In search of an answer to this question, this chapter examines the interviews with the archaeologists conducted during winter 2007/2008 which form the basis of the main data I have chosen to study, some of whose results I intend to present here. Through the voices of my interviewees I will present a picture of the archaeological profession as it is perceived and experienced today.

After the socio-economic analysis using the quantitative approach developed in chapter five, network issues shall now be examined from a more human standpoint. This chapter will explore the present difficulties encountered by archaeologists within commercial archaeology, and, more generally, the struggles experienced by archaeology as a profession embedded in the neoliberal system. As shown in this chapter, within the Quebec archaeological network one of the ongoing impacts seems to have been a substantial disillusionment of the workforce about their activities. My main concern is therefore to explore this disillusion, and the role played by the progressive incorporation of archaeology into the competitive system.

First, I will briefly present the methodology of this ethnographic research, outlined briefly in chapter two. More details on the ethnographic process will be added to facilitate the comprehension of the interview process. Secondly, in order to understand how the archaeological profession has been affected by its commodification, the present situation must be compared with the initial expectations of archaeologists from their profession. To do so, I will let the archaeologists express their visions of archaeological work, and how it has been or is a source of dreams, inspiration, satisfaction and fulfilment. Finally, I will illustrate and comment on the sources of present dissatisfaction within the community, through various testimonies of work experience. For this task, I will use five different aspects of the concept of alienation illustrating its materialisation within archaeologists' activities.

Extract from my diary: [Montreal (Canada) - May 2005]

Friday, a sunny afternoon. On the terrace of a cosy apartment in the 'Plateau' district, I am relaxing with my friends and roommates. I finally obtained my Masters Degree in archaeology. It is only a piece of paper, but I am quite proud of this accomplishment. Even if I know it is a little naive, I hope it will help me to improve my career. In Quebec, this is a prerequisite for obtaining an archaeological permit. Until this enhancement comes, this week I am shovelling earth in the city centre for an archaeological unit. It has been hard but I will be able to pay my rent, my groceries and even some little extras this month. By the time I have opened my drink, my cell phone starts ringing. A man introduces himself. He is from one of the archaeological companies I know in Montreal. He is apparently in a hurry. This archaeological unit is probably contacting me because I sent in my CV recently, but I have never really met anyone there. Like all diggers, I regularly send an updated CV to let the companies know that I am on the market. Indeed, he wants to know if I am available Monday morning to reinforce a team which already started working two weeks ago. "Great!" I have no contracts scheduled for the next few weeks and my financial situation is not good, so I could use the extra income. Without further explanation, the manager gives me an address and the exact time I have to start work: 7:30 am at a specific subway station. "Ok!" I say. I am happy because the excavation is in town, so I will be able to have a 'normal' life by coming back home every evening.

Monday morning, I wake up at 6:00 am. Indeed, I do not want to be late for my first day of work with a team I do not know. Everyone else is sleeping in the house so I try to keep it quiet. I pack my bag with the material and the food I have prepared. I check if my trowel is inside because I never work with a borrowed one. Most diggers do the same. It is too personal. Anyway, I probably will be shovelling soon and my trowel will be of no use. No time for breakfast, I will eat something on the go. To reach the fieldwork site, it takes ten minutes by bus followed by twenty minutes on the subway. The price of the monthly travel pass is far too high lately, so I am using a fake discount card in order to pay 50% less than normal. I really cannot afford the regular price without cutting down on food or beers with friends. It is a shame but I really want to have a minimum standard of living, by any means, even illegal ones. I jump inside one of the blue wagons of the subway. On the orange line, the 'metro' passes through the central business district. The closer we get to the centre, the more I am surrounded by people dressed in suits, focused on reading the free newspapers they got at the entrance. Everybody is trying to avoid eye contact. This is the perfect opportunity for me to have a long look around, unnoticed. It is particularly fortunate that I am dressed as a tramp with ripped pants and jumpers. I do not really fit into the environment. I was in good mood this morning but suddenly I start to feel odd. Why am I the only one dressed like that here? Well, I guess it is because workers have cars and they do not live downtown. But wait a second… am I a worker? Anyway, today, I am really invisible! Thirty minutes before my appointment, I reach the station. From afar, I can see that a construction project is in progress across a huge area. It is obviously an old industrial site which has a network of tracks. I do not know anything about the site and I have no idea what to expect there. Walking by the entrance to the site, I cross the path of other diggers. Some are friends from the university, others are new faces. All are identifiable by their odd clothes.

A short while later, the team is complete. Almost immediately, the archaeologist in charge asks one of the assistants to take the newcomers to a specific area of the site. During the walk, we try to obtain as much information as possible about our work and about the nature of the archaeological vestiges we are looking for. The answers are elusive. On the spot, a backhoe loader is already operating. We are in the middle of a house of an English doctor, dating back to the end of the 19th century. Within the vestiges of the walls, broken glass bottles are visible all around as well as pieces of metallic pipes. “Shovel!”, says the assistant archaeologist; shovelling it is and shovelling it will be for the next few days. After the first hours of excitement, the pain slowly makes us forget about archaeology and about the questions we had this morning. The team is assigned to different areas of the site. It seems that we are in the less sensitive zone… probably because being new nobody trusts us or because nobody took the time to look at our experience or diplomas anyway. We are just part of the pool of diggers, no more. At lunch time, we all meet together inside the shacks. We do not mix with the construction workers. We look like them but we do not communicate a lot with them. I take a chance and talk about the subject. At a cigarette break, someone finally confides that if we talked to them and if they knew how little money we made and how badly we are socially protected, they would not respect us. Ever. I look down at my steel-toe boots. I do not feel great.

That same week, a friend contacted me to work on a night shift in an office downtown. I accepted and started doing database management from 7:00 pm to midnight. It is rough but after a muddy and exhausting day of digging, spending some time in front of a computer is no big deal and it requires no more mental exertion than the excavation. So, I go back home, take a shower, remove the dirt under my nails, and take the subway again to reach the office. I do not know if I am going to bear the daily thirteen hours of work, but I go on. I do not know what my situation will be in a month, so better work as much as possible now. I have student debts to pay and still a life to build, and I am already at the end of my twenties. Nicolas Zorzin 05/2005

6.1 Methodology

As stated in chapter two, this research is not the first to use ethnography as a means to study the practice of archaeology. In the last fifteen years, this approach has only been used on a few occasions and has been almost exclusively developed in the Anglo-Saxon world (Morris 1992, Moser 1995, Edgeworth 2003, 2010, Everill 2006, Hamilakis & Anagnostopoulos 2009). This approach towards the activities and realities of archaeology has brought a new vision of archaeology more focused on the different actors involved in the archaeological network (including local populations), and those responsible for the generation of archaeological products.

To date, my study is the first to use a panel of detailed semi-structured interviewees covering the full range of archaeological practitioners, including academics, public servants, managers and diggers. This ethnography takes a semi-structured approach in which four basic themes were suggested during the interviews. Occasionally, and at the request of the interviewee, this list was e-mailed up front before the encounter. Every section of this preparatory document contained figures or examples to illustrate the main subject in order to obtain comments from my interviewees. The different topics used were adapted to each interviewee, according to age, position, experience, gender, and the most relevant subject for discussion.

The general topics were as follows:

1 - **Personal historical background**:
- Origin of the interest in archaeology
- Career path

2 - **Modern socioeconomic questions in Quebec commercial archaeology**:
- Pay and contract system
- Monetary insecurity and any consequences (bankrupt, divorce, alcoholism, etc.)
- Debt spiral
- Turnover in companies
- Gender
- Social marginalisation
- Financial recognition

3 - **Archaeology as a profession**:
- Perception by archaeologists
- Public image
- Education, university training
- Research, analyses and outreach
- Professionalisation and representation / union (QAA)
- Future orientations

4 - **Archaeology and politics**:
- Capitalism and archaeology
- Relation to the past and national identity
- Relation with the First Nations past and present: Equality and social justice / Ethics

It is important to highlight that interview data collection was not a rigid and predetermined process, but subject to ongoing review. For example, during the transcription process and analysis of the interviews I realised that the quality of exchanges improved in proportion to a more systematic implementation of a conversational atmosphere. The first interviews were particularly biased due to their impersonal nature. This initial detachment could be explained by my isolation from archaeological fieldwork experienced while living in England carrying out the first stages of my research. As a result, the first week of interviews was far less spontaneous than later weeks. Most were aimed at meeting the needs of my interlocutors, who were interested mainly in the intentions of my research. However, the use of more planned dialogue in the beginning also greatly reduced my own anxiety and helped me to gradually gain confidence with the interviewing process. After the fourth/fifth interview, I felt more confident and relaxed enough to begin applying the principles of the semi-structured interviews developed in chapter 2. A prime example of what I consider a good interview could be the one conducted with Laura & Stephen.

I met Laura during archaeological fieldwork eight years before the interview took place. Through many excavations and common friends, we developed a strong friendship. The second interviewee, whom I did not know, relied mostly on the trust my friend had in me, and this relieved the tension of the interview. For this discussion I accepted their invitation for dinner, and the conversation started naturally around the table, quickly forgetting the presence of my audio recorder, which stayed 'ON' for more than three hours:

> Me: "Do you mind if we start with your own adventures?"
> Laura [29, Archaeologist / Digger in Commercial Unit] & Stephen [29, Digger/Assistant Archaeologist in Commercial Unit]: *[laughs]*
> Me: "…well, I mean, your archaeological experiences…"
> Laura: *[pause / thinking]* "Where do you want me to start from?"
> Me: "let's start chronologically… with your initial motivation. Where did the idea [*for archaeology*] come from?"
> Laura: "Hey! Are you recording already?"
> Me: "Sure! We are ON!"
> Laura: "You didn't say action! *[laughs]*"
> Me: "ACTION! *[laughs]* come on, let's go, this is serious now *[laugh]*"
> Laura: "ok! Honestly, someone already asked me why I am doing archaeology today, and I remember that I didn't know what to say. In contrast to the mainstream I don't think I had always wanted to be an archaeologist, but when I

> had to make a career choice I found it attractive and exciting. I was just curious! Then, when I turned seventeen I chose Humanities at the *Cégep* with an anthropology and archaeology component. Later, at the university, I remember that our *[prehistory lecturer]* said that we *[the undergraduate students]* were mentally ill!"
>
> Me: "[...] and that there were three hundred of us [*in the amphitheatre*], but that only ten of us would stay on to do a Master, and around one to do a PhD!"
>
> Laura: "It was a real shock to hear that from a lecturer. I remember friends around me being totally depressed. But I took that as: "Ok, my man!" *[as a challenge]*.
>
> In fact, I had never thought of archaeology *[as a profession]*, but later on, my parents told me that when I was a kid, I used to spend all my time playing in the soil, and that I loved digging. In the village I come from, there was a museum with major historical features [...]. So, when I think about it, there is probably something about history that had already been part of my life for a long time. I have to confess that I used to dig holes in the backyard of my house because it was full of old pottery [...]."

The most productive interviews were the ones organised with two individuals, such as the one above. Archaeologist couples were particularly interesting given their propensity to argue, fight and confront each other with difficult subjects that had affected them at a certain point in their archaeological career. Associating colleagues was also a great help in opening up the debate. Nevertheless, I realised quite early on in the ethnographic process that interviewees had to be at the same stage in their career to avoid any tension or retention of information. I interviewed young employees in commercial archaeology together, as well as archaeological unit directors, or academics. When such associations were impossible to organise, I tried to facilitate an open discussion by inviting the interviewee to a familiar café, where the individual felt at home. With most of the unit directors, archaeologists in corporations and archaeologists working as civil servants, I was received in their office. As soon as the privacy of the discussion was guaranteed, most of the interviewees were willing to participate freely in the debate. With some unit directors, encounters were repeated to further comprehension of the topics I wanted to study.

On average, each interview lasted around two hours. Recordings were on a *Panasonic IC Digital Voice Recorder* with lap-top transfer using *Panasonic Voice Editing 1.10A Premium* © for transcription, translation, and analysis. For the purpose of articulation as explained in chapter 2 in detail, interviews were classified by key theme and codified according to an ethical framework.

The corpus consists of 52 individuals (See appendix B) as part of a total population estimated at 282 individuals, i.e. 18.5% of the archaeologist population of Quebec. The average age of interviewees was 41.5, against a total population average of 40.3 years old. The proportion of men and women was 76.9% and 23.1% respectively. In the archaeologist population, this ratio is more balanced: 58.9% and 41.1%, but the difference I experienced could be explained by the disappearance of most women from the profession after their thirties, and by current male predominance in most key positions. The phenomenon is particularly strong in commercial archaeology as well as in the academic sector (See chapter 5).

Finally, a few words should be added here about my own implication as an archaeologist in the network under study during the process of interviewing. My interviewees and myself were often passionate about archaeology in our open dialogues. Some comments could be interpreted as heated, angry, or biased. As explained in chapter two (see section 2.3), I am aware of my own biases and my own potential interests within the archaeological community. Nevertheless, my own comments or testimonies in the interviews could be taken as the ones of a participant like any others. Within the analysis, I am capable of being critical regarding my own immediate opinions expressed in these interviews. However, here, I fully accept the pervasiveness of my own biases.

6.2 Thematic Analysis - the Results

In most of the encounters of my ethnographical research, recording started with the following questions to warm up the dialogue: "*why are you an archaeologist, and, as far as you know, when did you decide to become one?*" As explained before, this methodological choice drastically reduced the formality of the exchanges, especially when subjects were strangers. This was part of the process implemented to open up a free dialogue, closer to the semi-structured interviews I was aiming for (See chap. 2). This first

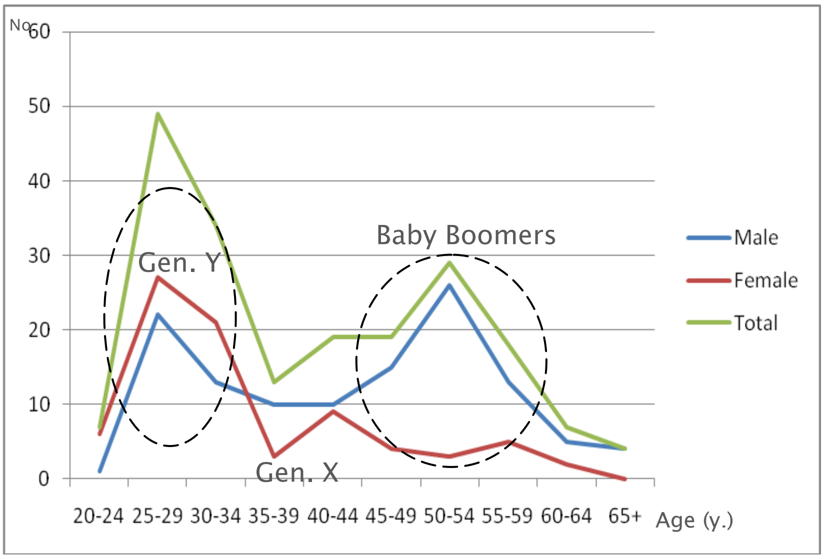


Figure 6.1: Two distinct demographic groups in Quebec archaeology

step produced a rich and unexpectedly complex source of data on archaeologists and collective and individual narratives and thoughts which I would like to present here.

In the corpus of archaeologists, different groups of individuals can be distinguished according to the demographic data analysed in the previous chapter (Fig. 6.1), and according to the tendencies observed within my ethnographical results. The quantitative results established a clear division between the 'Baby boomers', comprising individuals between 44 and 62 years old, (born between 1946 and 1964) and the 'Generation Y' or 'Millennials'; between 20 and 32 years old (born between 1976 and 1999) (Thielfoldt & Scheef 2005) in 2008. The generation in between, commonly called 'Generation X', is almost totally absent from the archaeologist corpus (Fig.6.1).

Apart from these generation differences, the results of the ethnography drew another line of division between two categories of professional archaeologists: 1/ the 'dreamers': individuals for whom the first desire to become an archaeologist originated during childhood or teenage dreams; and 2/ the 'latecomers': the ones who discovered archaeology later, and adopted it as a profession by chance or late conviction. This division is not necessarily related to age and both the young and the first generation of archaeologists could be part of these distinct groups. Nevertheless, the tendency indicates that a large majority of the 'dreamers' come from the Baby Boomer generation. In contrast, most archaeologists nowadays experience ambiguous feelings about their work, and all sort of dissatisfaction. But what exactly is the problem nowadays? How did the profession evolve from one generation to the next?

6.2.1 Some visions of archaeologists' aspirations

The dreamers' vision

Notwithstanding the initial common fascination for archaeology of most my interviewees, such as Thomas [50's, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained as an archivist]: [...] "there is a magical side to archaeology, because remains are hidden beneath the soil, and one never knows what to expect! There is also this sense of rebuilding the past from the bits and pieces recovered", the most important phenomenon which characterises the early development of archaeology appears to be the drastic change in perceptions about work, by becoming a source of personal fulfilment. This change has developed since the end of the 1960's in the western world.

> Alan [34, part time Lecturer / Digger in Commercial Archaeology]: "Remember what happened at James Bay in the 1970s. *[name]* was smoking joints, and composing songs next to his trench. Many were hippies, drug addicts and nationalists! It was really the period of the '*Flower Power*', and of the '*Vive le Québec Libre*!'[2]."

In the interviews, archaeology was rarely referred to as a job, but was considered to be more like a passion which evolved, unexpectedly for most of them, also into a career. For the first time, individuals from the Baby Boomer' generation had the opportunity to create an object/ a profession which corresponded in the outside world to something in their own world, and they embraced it. Work was no longer conceived as a burden or a fatality, but more as a means for following a dream, or fulfilling the precepts for a new way of life.

> Sarah [50's, Archaeologist – Ministry of Culture]: "To me, archaeology offered a form of solidarity which was rare in other jobs. [...] There is a warm human aspect that makes a little community of workers bond together. This characteristic particularly influenced my choices when I started working in fieldwork archaeology [*in the 1970s*]. I found human relations very unique and intense".

The latecomers' vision

Of the 'Generation Y' interviewees, many of the individuals active today in archaeology came to the profession late on. They also shared the same dreams as the previous generations, but came to archaeology in quite different ways. Among the interviewees, many young archaeologists had not particularly seen themselves as predestined for archaeology, but became archaeologists after a direct experience with the activity. Their attraction to archaeology was more based on firsthand experience; an experience which embodied a mixture of desires for intellectual, physical, and non-office-based activity, a non-daily routine job, and a renewed social experience. So even if this generation came later to archaeology, maybe because they were not the precursors, one of the fundamental arguments for their dedicating their time to its practice still appears to be related to its high propensity to be meaningful, less to the community at large as it tended to be in the 1970s, but more to the worker itself.

> Peter [31, Archaeologist/ Administration in Commercial Archaeology]: [...] "Archaeology seemed to be the aspect I liked in history: direct contact with the

[2] "Long live free Quebec": well-known and divisive sentence delivered in Montreal City Hall by the French president Charles de Gaulle, July 24, 1967.

> material and the opportunity, a little selfish, to be the first one in contact with the past".

Many archaeologists emphasised the personal satisfaction that archaeological practice can procure through bodily experience. In this subject, Edgeworth (2003:87-89) focused greatly on the intimate relation established between archaeologists and their objects of study through the use of the trowel. The trowel was defined not only as a versatile instrument but also as a very personal object - the only one archaeologists take back home – which can symbolise the skills and experiences of a digger, not to mention its emotional value. As suggested by Edgeworth (2003:90), the trowel has been integrated into the repertories of bodily actions: "*it becomes an extension of the body – a means of communication with the environment in the same way that the arm or the hand is*".

> Michael [no-longer working in archaeology; retrained as a singer]: "Archaeology was a work experience that I loved physically... [*recalling memories*] ...the earth on the trowel, slowly... I loved the smell, the perfume of the soil. I remember on the [*site*], I was in charge of digging up some fireplaces. We did a vertical cut on it, and then, the perfume of each layers was different... it was wonderful!"

Archaeology: a vocation?

For most of my interviewees, archaeology is thus not just a job, but is often conceived as a way of life, sometimes a voluntary choice to live on the margins, a rejection of the global ideological dogma of the times, a political choice, an identity seeking process, or simply a bodily experience. Especially in North America during the 1970s, archaeology surfed on the waves of social liberation by becoming a concrete alternative way of life, combining practice of a craft with contact with nature; a quasi spiritual and material link with the past, resituating gregarious life and fellowship.

Archaeology became a device for experimenting with new spaces for freedoms, and allowed participants to make a modest living from it. James [32, Digger in commercial archaeology] confided that he considered that this ideological use of archaeology was now fading and belonged to the old generation of 'dreamers' described earlier. He defined the 'Generation Y' as more rational, individualistic, dealing with archaeology more as a form of technical work like others, but asserts that it still takes some passion and craziness to stay in archaeology even today. Whatever happens, according to him, archaeology could never be a job like any other, but more like a vocation.

Now, whether archaeology as a chosen profession was the consequence of one's hopes and dreams or a choice opted for at a later stage, the aspirations of those currently involved in archaeology appear to correspond to the definition of a non-alienating activity.

Non-alienated work could be defined by the following two characteristics (Haber 2007): 1/ a strong bond exists between the worker/archaeologist and the concrete object of his work.

> Charles [28, Assistant archaeologist mostly in NPO and commercial archaeology]: "when I had an opportunity with the [natives NPO], my work in archaeology became particularly fulfilling because it allowed me to relate the study of the past with a real physical contact with the forest, and a real cultural contact with the Cree and their elders."

2/ the archaeologist can take responsibility for his/her professional activity. Work becomes a tool for an individual to achieve personal goals and a means to access happiness within a form of completeness. A human being can recognise him/herself in their daily environment, and can attribute meaning to his/her life.

> Charles [28, Assistant archaeologist mostly in NPO and commercial archaeology]: "From a very personal point of view, there is great intellectual satisfaction to be derived from the practice of archaeology, and it is also a pleasure to be working in the woods. This is what I like about archaeology! Nevertheless, personal pleasure is not enough, and what I also like is participating in the dissemination of archaeology amongst the population and amongst the first nation communities. This is an essential and meaningful part of the mission for me!"

The vision for archaeology as a profession which emerges from the interviews illustrates a perception of work not merely as a tool for financial survival. It appears to embody hope for discovery, self accomplishment, or simply fulfilment in a non conventional activity involving outdoor and physical work as well as an intellectual activity. Their reasons are many and various but many people just work in archaeology because they love archaeology. A passion for the profession is shared by many, but what are the realities of the fieldwork and of the daily life of those working in this field?

6.2.2 Advent of an alienated profession?

Here it will be useful to recapitulate how I have defined and framed the concept of alienation in the context of my case study in Quebec.

Alienation could minimally be defined as an individual experience – an experience both ordinary and frightening – which consists of not being able to recognise the self in the work done. Instead, one feels estranged from one's work. The term alienation then depicts a feeling of dissatisfaction with work performed. This is a deep and disturbing phenomenon, and individuals can lose themselves, preventing their work from reinforcing the self.

Taking a closer look at this phenomenon, how can presence of alienation be revealed and documented within the archaeological network? My attempt is to make this concept appear more corporeal by examining its presence in peoples' narratives. The tendency towards alienation became apparent among my interviewees through: 1/ the fragmentation of their thought processes; 2/ a lack of means and the time to perform well 3/ proletarianisation; 4/ a sense that work has no meaning; and 5/ excessive personal commitment. All five of these characteristics are contained within the concept of dispossession of the self, that is to say: alienation.

Fragmentation of thought processes

This is a new form of alienation related to modern phenomena: the capitalist configuration of work tends to subdivide tasks to the point at which they lose all meaning for employees. Instead of refocusing on the long-term effects of their work, the contemporary way of interacting and working provokes a serious dispersal of interests and concentration with respect to abstract long term objectives (Eltchaninoff 2010:52).

> Ruben [51, Archaeologist, Corporation employee]: "Many young archaeologists behave like any other employees, and leave work at 5:00pm, without the drive or passion which should inspire them to do more! They are no longer involved in their profession and their work culture is very different. When I was digging with *[name]*, *[cut],* we never went to the bar for a '5:00pm to 7:00pm'; but instead, went to look at the aerial pictures to see what we were going to do the following day. [...] There really is a generation gap! That doesn't mean I was ready to work an 80 hour week on a 30 hour salary, but at least we had some motivation. [...] Today, when I meet the teams on the fieldwork, most of the time the diggers do not know what they are doing within the project; they don't read anything, not even the previous archaeological reports."

> Me: "Ok, but everyone seems to offload their responsibilities onto others *[exasperated]*. Bosses reproach diggers for not making an effort but employees reproach bosses for their major lack of communication. [...] From another point of view, I also heard that some diggers do not want to fill their heads with these concerns, and that many of them only want to dig or work on archaeological material."
> Ruben: *[astonished]* "...but the diggers are, in general, from the anthropological department in the *Université de Montréal*. *[disappointed look - Pause]* ...at the same time, I understand that work conditions are not necessarily easy to deal with."

Here, it is the flow of thought which is affected. Individuals find it difficult to concentrate for long periods on the same subject. This produces resignation amongst workers, limiting their job to a narrow frame of activities, reducing involvement to the *minimum*, resulting in a falling off of interest in understanding the archaeological processes, analyses, results and implications involved.

> Stephen [29, Digger/Assistant Archaeologist in a Commercial Unit]: "The problem in the company is that everyone works on their own little task, without any vision of the overall picture. I never felt like I was working on a specific project, but I felt as if I was working on a specific task. I clock in, I clock out... and I feel like a worker." [...]
> Laura [29, Archaeologist / Digger in Commercial Unit]: "Yes, and furthermore, I know very well what I am best at and what I should be hired to do, but there is no attempt to use our competencies to the best advantage. That makes me mad *[really mad]*!"

Thus, instead of focusing individuals on the long lasting investment in a specific archaeological query, the present capitalist configuration of work tends to scatter research. The multiplication of tasks, without time being taken to connect the dots between the different implications of their results, is threatening the identity of the self within work.

A lack of means/ time to perform well

> Edward [40, Archaeologist / Digger in Commercial Archaeology]: "One summer, I had the opportunity to work as a project manager, culminating in the production of a report. I accepted the post. However, my final report was never accepted because it did not satisfy the head of the archaeological firm. The manager was expecting a technical report, but I produced a critical one,

> describing all the difficulties encountered in dealing directly with the client, in a remote region of Northern Quebec/Labrador. [...] Here is the short story of what happened: it was a week long contract. I was supposed to make an archaeological inventory on the location of approximately a hundred pools of a mining company [*the client*]."
>
> "To find the remote location of the future drilling spots, I had no satellite telephone, and no GPS. When I arrived, the spots had still not been officially defined... Armed only with a map, I found some spots where the land had been cleared. As soon as the mining company employees realised I was able to find the locations without their assistance, they stopped the clearing activities, waiting for me to go ahead. [*This means that a decision was made to undermine the archaeologist's work, apparently judged as harmful for the mining company*]."
>
> "At the same time, I remember feeling under pressure from my archaeological unit, while absolutely nothing was done on the field... I tried to be cooperative, but walking around the zone, I found an area potentially exceptional for moose hunting, in slightly elevated tundra. Everybody was telling me I would not find anything, even my archaeological unit director, but I found an outcrop of sedimentary rocks (cherts), and an obvious zone of passage. I did my work as best as possible, and I found sites! It was insane to authorise the mining company for free use of the entire territory concerned after only a few spots had been checked."
>
> "[...] I think the mining industry tried to obstruct the location of finds as much as possible and tried to obtain the widest possible permit for a zone considered free of archaeological material. In the report, I wrote that the zone had a lot of potential but I had only been asked to do a technical report. To force me to write the technical report, the archaeological unit put my future contracts on hold... or re-allocated them. [...]"
> "I tried to write a new report, but every time I sat in front of the computer, I could not help feeling that this manipulation was to facilitate matters for the mining company. I decided I was could not do this job without support, and ended up sending an e-mail to the archaeological unit saying that I no longer wanted to continue working as an archaeologist."

Today, the lack of means for accomplishing a specific task in the long term is being experienced more and more frequently in different socio-professional categories

(Eltchaninoff 2010:48). Archaeology is obviously no stranger to this problem, especially when it comes to commercial archaeology. Flexible hours, periods of inactivity combined alternatively with periods of intense activities, and the necessity to adapt to multiple changes of positions and changes of companies, weaken the idea of the attainment of a valuable craft. It is then impossible to perceive archaeological work in long lasting terms.

This situation experienced in professional/commercial archaeology is a fundamental and very problematic case of alienation because it spreads dissatisfaction. According to Marx (1844a), work constitutes an external and material expression of the self: 'you are what you make'. Thus, if the product of the work is perceived as partial or hurried, the worker/archaeologist will then feel disenchanted, careless, poorly talented, or will see himself/herself as imperfect, unethical or as a failure. This feeling of having no means or time to accomplish a specific work is a major problem in archaeology because of the high necessity for long term studies to understand a complex phenomenon. In the end, this lack of time and means undermines one's self-esteem, and could lead to dissatisfaction.

Finally, the employers themselves, whether they are an archaeological unit or a developer, appear to be the ones preventing archaeologists from performing their tasks. The archaeological firm is responsible for this situation, but its main obligation is to satisfy the needs of the clients in a competitive environment. The clients are paying for the archaeological expertise, but their choice to hire an archaeological firm depends on the rules of market competition, so their decision is based on the minimisation of time and money (see chap. 4). This characteristic of free-market competition automatically reduces the time and the means given to archaeologists to accomplish their work, as the pressure for them is simply to obtain contracts and assure perenniality.

Proletarianisation

> James [32 – Digger / Assistant Archaeologist in Commercial Archaeology & NPO]: "[...] today, my goal is to retrain professionally as a school teacher, essentially because of the major financial problems encountered in archaeological units. I also want to free myself from the actual professional *[commercial]* framework, to be able to dig, and only dig for fun! I am not into analyses or impact studies... I know it is important.... but it's absurd because all artefacts will end up uselessly on shelves anyway without any research or any publications. The work is done purely because it has to be done but nobody uses it. We work in a void, a one way street to nowhere! I just want to be able to

> dig once in a while, even for free! I just want to dig out 'things'... The truth is that I am in a relationship now, and we need to make a living at some point!"

Disillusioned but very clear about what his priority in life should be, James prioritises a good standard of living. Archaeology would be relegated to a simple hobby if happiness and family life were to suffer. Many of the 'Generation Y' interviewees, who shared the same initial desire for adventure and mysteries, are much more rational and realistic than the previous generations, mostly because of different economic realities.

> David: "[...] because we want to be paid, the older generation tends to look on us as lousy fellows...! [...] What is paradoxical is this common idea that the older ones are fighting for better recognition of the profession, while the young ones are just looking to make more money. [...] But for us, nothing is easy and we have to fight to survive, with our debts, with everything getting more expensive, and with a social system in decline... it is thus understandable that we should be more 'interested' in money!"

This requirement to be productive or efficient in order to serve economic interests and sustain their own survival dispossesses many workers in archaeology of the means to understand the projects to which they contribute. This could be perceived as a process of proletarianisation which corresponds to a loss of *savoir-faire*, a divorce from what is done at work and the comprehension of what is accomplished through this work. Thus, the permanent economic struggle in which archaeologists are involved today is a major factor in dispossession of the profession. This economic instability prevents archaeologists from focussing serenely on their work and developing a long-standing and transferable know-how.

Consequently, individual skills are eroded, and 'de-skilling' (Harvey 2006:31) takes place, resulting in a separation of 'intellectual' from 'manual' labour. Competition and the search for relative profits (by both the client and the archaeological unit) raises the productivity of labour at the same time as it devalues and depreciates it (reduced to time/price values), to say nothing of the loss of dignity, sense of control over the work process, and the necessity to conform to the dictates of the client's needs by fieldwork archaeologists.

Work stripped of all meaning

> Laura [29, Archaeologist / Digger in a Commercial Unit]: "When you work for a company, you never manage to tie up the loose ends [*of the archaeological process*]. In my opinion, the failure to publish findings by companies also

> explains the overt lack of respect for companies by universities, and [*by extension*] us."
>
> Chloe [30, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained]: "[...] there are major reasons why I gave up on commercial archaeology: there were almost no analyses and publications because of budget constrictions. Almost every winter, I was unemployed. I had almost no opportunities to work all year, unless I agreed to clean artefacts or do inventories. Some archaeological companies do a little more analysis but, as a general rule, no analysis is performed! The person in charge of the project makes his report and that is all. Nothing is really developed in any great depth, and thoughts go no further. It is also almost impossible to integrate research teams. I was under the impression that my brain was totally unexploited. I even managed to forget my cultural sequences... i.e., I was no longer able to recognize the different types of artefacts because I was not using any of my competencies! *[angry tone]* I was almost ashamed to say I was an archaeologist. I did not feel my work was rewarding in any way. Also, the work environment was extremely competitive and people would do anything to demean each other. Between assistant archaeologists and technicians *[diggers]*, the game was ugly! They were bitching all the time, it was ridiculous! *[furious]."*

Worse than the inability to articulate archaeologist activities within a scientific and social overall picture, it is now a common occurrence that work has lost all meaning, resulting in total nihilism. In fact, what Laura or Chloe produce, the way they accomplish their work, even the aim of their activity, all is becoming unintelligible to them. Instead of deriving any satisfactory meaning from what they do, their work is performed mechanically, as it has lost any significance. Today, the fragmentation of the production process and specialisation of work has made this kind of damage commonplace. When the importance and rigour of archaeological fieldwork operations is contrasted with the futility of its aims, workers are unavoidably exposed to a crisis surrounding its meaning.

Furthermore, competition for work appears to be accompanied by competition within the workplace. This internal competition, sometimes even stronger than that between private firms, is the basis for permanent battling between employees, destroying any form of solidarity or human values, sometimes with an indescribable psychological violence. Cynicism towards work, which seems to be a characteristic of our times (Bourdieu 1998:98), is directly related to the political-economic choices which facilitate it, impose it, and even reward it. This cynicism appears to contrast strongly with the visions of solidarity and harmony of the archaeologists described earlier in this chapter.

> Edward [40, Archaeologist / Digger in Commercial Archaeology]: "As soon as I became distanced from my initial dream of archaeology, I saw my archaeological activities just as a task to be performed. It acquired a purely financial aspect. If I want to continue in archaeology I will have to maintain this financial and food security vision to avoid disappointment."

In the end, and according to Edward, if the retraining option is not followed (as is the case with the large majority of individuals– see chap. 5), the only rational way to survive is to decrease expectations from work, and to learn to respect, even in the most humble and absurd tasks, the hypothetical usefulness of work in serving external and material needs, or even to respect the potential intrinsic beauty of any work. Nevertheless, when the external requirements (those of the clients) are absurd, only serving specific interests, or using archaeology as a commodity, without any production and dissemination of knowledge (due to the lack of activities such as interpretation and synthesis, publication, conferences, or public exhibitions), this clearly amounts to alienation from work.

Excessive personal commitment

> Thomas [50's, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained as an archivist]: "[...] it is nice to have fun at work, but on 20,000$ *[≈10,500£]* per year, with kids, student debts, and a doctorate, sounds terrible! It is alright when you are in your twenties and single, but, later, it becomes far too difficult and everyone starts looking for something different. In fact, at around thirty the pressure increases and radical decisions must be taken."

> Chloe [30, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained]: "When I was in the *[anthropology]* department, I don't even remember the number of volunteer fieldworks I did! Even worse! Sometimes I had to pay to work on a fieldwork project! It is insane to do that to students who are in debt, and who find it difficult to get work for more than six months a year."

Thomas and Chloe's discourses channel their criticism towards what they see as excessive personal commitment to the archaeological profession, which could partially explain the tensions created mostly within archaeological units between 'Baby Boomers' and 'Millennials', as well as between the 'core' and the 'periphery' of the workforce (see chap. 5). Nonetheless, the debt spiral related to the imposition of a vision of studies seen as a personal '*career-enhancing*' commitment (Hamilakis

2004:289), in return for the low incomes provided in commercial archaeology for most young practitioners (See chap. 5), are now a major cause of the drastically reduced levels of personal commitment to the profession.

> David [29, Archaeologist / NPO leader]: "[...] my doctoral supervisor already advised me not to have a baby before the end of my PhD because she did it this way… *[break]…* but archaeology is not that important!"

The desire for fulfilment from work at any price can have perverse effects. Alienation can thus appear as the result of a naïve belief that archaeological work can only be good for the development of the self. In the new capitalist configuration of work, managerial tendencies encourage employees to give everything to their work, putting their private life and their health at risk (Stiegler 2009). This capitalist idea of systematic excessive personal commitment by employees appears to merge well with the archaeological mentality, initially relying more on passion for their work, than strict technical and profitable performances. Alienation, through the requirement for excessive personal commitment to a profession where career development is apparently very limited, can thus create a situation in which disenchantment can grow at a very fast rate. Nevertheless, if 'Baby Boomers' sacrificed a lot for archaeology, it seems that the 'Millennials', or at least some of them, are now rejecting this type of self-inflicted alienation.

CONCLUSION

In Quebec of the 1970's, professional archaeology was born at a time of social change, rooted in the sexual and the 'Quiet Revolution'. The first archaeologists/anthropologists in Quebec sought an opening out of the world, including a more general approach to the understanding of humanity's past, and, by extension, the advent of a more humane world. Professional archaeology, often practiced as a dedicated and passionate activity, embraced austerity and hard working conditions, and was embedded in a political, collective or individual agenda, orientated towards various aspects of human emancipation (egalitarianism, nationalism, the search for an identity, essentialism, or new age). Ultimately, many archaeologists sought freedom, companionship, intellectual stimulations as well as outdoor activities, that is to say a sustainable, but alternative way of life.

Nowadays, from this ideologically rooted archaeology, the tendency in archaeology has been to become apolitical and increasingly less personally significant for archaeologists. Based on the testimonies of my interviewees, what exactly happened after the 1980s to change the profession so drastically from the practice of a craft, to an alienated profession?

In its early development in the 1960s -1970s, archaeology seems to have been experienced as striving towards utopia. In seeking to understand the past, individuals gave meaning to their present. Archaeology established itself within this process of existential research, and more importantly, allowed individuals to continue their personal and marginal quest, while paradoxically facilitating their social integration. In other words, at the end of 1970's, professional archaeology permitted archaeologists to practice their art while complying with the basic rules of capitalist society, which requires people to work, and make a visible decent living. However, even those adhering to a so called 'Flower Power' mind-set, transformed archaeology into their ally. This momentary encounter was, at the time, one which only served the self-interests of individuals who sought to "open their horizons," and not necessarily to produce a tangible archaeological product. The '*Flower Power*' utopia percolated into the next generations, but it became a well known illusion, from which young archaeologists are trying to distance themselves today. The 'Generation Y' obviously knows and believes that archaeology can be a fulfilling passion, but also knows that it would not be able to sustain the current standard way of life, especially as a worker in commercial archaeology. Archaeology is then seen as a fallen utopia, still better than any other job in practice, but unable to sustain the basic standards of contemporary life.

Furthermore, what effect has the process of privatisation produced on the transformation of the initial utopia from one generation to another?
According to the results of the ethnography presented in this chapter, one idea seems to be central throughout: alienation. This alienation of commercial archaeology seems to have taken on different characteristics and dimensions.

First, following Marx's ideas (1959), archaeologists working in commercial archaeology, either as workers or as archaeologists, have demonstrated alienation from both their work and the products of their work. Through the standardisation and technicalisation of labour, archaeologists began to lose control over their production, and then ceased to be autonomous entities, with no significant social or political effect. Commercial archaeology contributes to the exacerbation of this phenomenon by dispossessing archaeologists of both their initial ideological/ethical way of life, and their archaeological production, limiting their activities to simple technical operations, not giving them the means to proceed to analysis or interpretation of data, until the production of a critical and complex set of thoughts.

Second, another dimension of alienation, commonly present in this chapter, has been the social exclusion of commercial archaeologists through a combination of constant social and financial indignities produced by the systematic implementation of a form of social Darwinism, i.e. the application in archaeology of a ruthless capitalist system regulated by competiveness. In fact, archaeologists have not only been dispossessed of the control of their work but also of their social recognition. After the absorption of archaeology by the capitalist 'doxa' through the creation of private units in exchange for substantial concessions in their alternative/marginal way of life, archaeologists were expecting to see a general increase in their revenues, and improvement in work conditions. Instead, archaeologists were rewarded with a double blow: 1/ alienation of their profession, and 2/ no long-lasting improvement in work conditions.

The alienation of work through commodification has clearly generated materialist or ideological reasons for archaeologists to give up on commercial archaeology. In fact, the contrast between the initial concept of archaeology by the archaeologists who conceived it as craft serving society, and the present commodified practice in units, probably makes the alienation even harder to accept. Alienation has reached a point that, according to some of my interviewees, the profession itself could be at risk, mostly because of the erosion of the '*savoir-faire'* induced by massive abandonment of the profession.

Thus, to the question "how do field workers experience archaeology today?", in the Quebec case this answer would be: as highly challenging and trying.

By severing direct relations between archaeologists, their product, and the rest of society, the archaeological product of commercial units has been confined to interaction between non personified companies, and thus limited to the exchange of products and/or services (see also chap. 4). Within the archaeological network, commercial archaeology is then forced to stop dealing with people, dealing instead with the abstract corporate sector, which in the end has reduced fieldwork archaeologists to being merely subservient to developers' needs and coping with legal requirements. In these circumstances, archaeologists are no longer producing anything for themselves or for society, and their production only makes sense if it is orientated towards exchange, considered a fundamental, and natural outcome for the archaeological product (Fischbach 2009: 203).

Having said this, these relations are thus not necessarily voluntarily tied or sustained and occur as soon as the producer (the archaeological unit) no longer understands the social significance of its own work. This mechanism has been defined as a '*transfer of* *passivity*' (from French: '*transfert de passivité*') by the contemporary philosopher Fischbach (2009:204). The concept was described as follows: "*producers no longer work to satisfy their own needs: each of them works thinking that what is produced necessarily serves the interest of some others* (personal translation)". That is to say, archaeologists working in units situated within a neoliberal society have the goal of satisfying the needs of developers, rather than what they were educated to produce. Instead, archaeologists manifest a hope for the future study of artifacts, data analyses, and publications. Needless to say, all these hopes can often remain hypothetical. However, archaeologists cannot consciously adhere to the requirements of clients, as clients have different needs to those who practice archaeology as a "craft." Nevertheless, archaeologists respect their client's regulations in the hope that one day, what is produced will serve for something unrelated to monetary gains and losses.

This mechanism, specific to the competitive organisational model, has thus created all the conditions for the practice of an alienated work in comparison to its original modality and aims. To tie up the ends of this political-economy analysis of commercial archaeology, further exploration is still required in order to challenge the competitive system chosen for archaeology, a task which will be carried out and discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: Economic analysis of an archaeological unit

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the economic structure of a commercial archaeological unit and compare its organisation to that of a normal business, a company based on the generation of profits through commercial exchange. The challenges commercial archaeology faces within its economic structure, preventing it as a business from burgeoning financially within a neoliberal economy governed by profitability, competition and economic growth, will also be examined.

In this chapter, I used economic theories of analysis with the aid of ethnographic data to deconstruct the economic processes affecting archaeological units. Doing so, I intend to examine the archaeological unit from an economic point of view, while being aware and critical of the limits of such an analysis (Patterson 2005:376). In this case, the economic network is illustrated through the identification of the intermediaries between actors, represented by immaterial and tangible links such as law, acts, contracts, budgets, money, mathematic equations, which could impose a transformation of the archaeological network.

After presenting the general methodology, I shall then proceed with the analysis of my case study. This investigation will be divided into two sections, one focusing on costs, and the other on demand. Following this economic deconstruction, I will assess how the economic structure of the network can contribute to materialisation or alienation within commercial archaeology.

7.1 General methodology

In order to proceed with the economic analysis, the following operations were performed: during my fieldwork, a preliminary analysis of a specific unit was performed, focusing on cost, demand, and competition. The hypothetical results were then sent to unit managers. After the document had been studied and reflected upon by the coordinators, we met together several times to confront our perceptions of the economic realities of commercial archaeology. These interviews provided the basic material to criticise and challenge the way archaeology is practiced today within capitalism. This chapter is thus a combination of economic notions and ethnographic data aimed at the study of a social phenomenon. The views and opinions of unit directors and local government coordinators were recorded and have been presented throughout the chapter.

7.2 Analysis of costs within an archaeological unit

7.2.1 What is the purpose of a cost analysis[1]?

Cost analysis is considered to have the following objectives: to control and manage - focusing both on the means of the company and the competencies of its workforce - and understand and decrease the costs entailed in a professional organisation, be it private, public or associative.

After its systematic application throughout the private sector during the 1990s and onwards, cost analysis is now a very popular process in the public sphere, where the containment of costs is an absolute priority for the neoliberal model of efficiency and profitability. Cost analysis is one of the major tools currently employed to measure the performance and efficiency of an economic entity, including its abilities to fulfil its objectives. The question is whether there are specific economic features of archaeological activities? What is the nature of the archaeological product within the company from an economic point of view? Is this archaeological product compatible with commercial exchange?

The product of a unit

The archaeological unit studied in Quebec, [The Leaf], offers expertise in prehistoric and historic archaeological knowledge, scientific documentation, heritage and methodological know-how, which clients cannot or do not want to master. The unit occupies a privileged niche created, as demonstrated in chapters 3 and 4, initially on the impulse of the *Hydro-Québec Corporation*, in parallel with the dismantling of the emerging governmental and para-governmental archaeological structures. In Quebec, this niche is framed by certain laws and rules, but, according to the vast majority of practitioners, legislation does not appear to be rigorous enough to guarantee the systematic pursuit of archaeological activities during construction projects (see chap. 4). According to Alexander [50 - Archaeologist Consultant]: “[...] in Quebec we destroy archaeological sites all the time because of the weakness of the Cultural Property Act”, and Harry [49 - Federal government servant] suggested that:” If we want more rigid and systematic rules for the material heritage, we should first reinforce the law and the regulations.”

---

[1] **Cost analysis** refers to the detailed element and evaluation of each component of cost proposed by an organization for a particular activity.

The final product delivered by units can take different forms: a study of potential interest, development of a site, cultural material analysis, but most frequently entails a simple archaeological report following an excavation, including: summary of interventions performed, plans, pictures of the field, and, if necessary, recommendations to the developer about what should or not be done.

7.2.2 Costs analysis

Two types of costs should be here differentiated within the unit:

[The Leaf]

- **Fixed costs**:
  - Commitments in terms of salary:
    - Administration: 2 coordinators (in charge of seeking contracts, offers of service, budget regulation, coordination and cohesion of production), and 3 other permanent employees (1 administrative secretary, one in charge of editing, 1 cartographer-surveyor).
    - Archaeology: 4 permanent archaeologists, on temporary contracts.
    - General charges, social charges, insurances and development.
- **Variable Costs**:
  - Commitments in terms of salary: 1 to 60 employees on contract (and subsequent charges)
  - Transport, gas, board and lodging, rentals, etc...

  Costs entirely covered by the developers

How are costs and prices for a product defined within the archaeological unit?
Figure 7.1 illustrates a skeleton contract (left) compiled by Hydro-Quebec in 1981, which is still used today, to determine the costs paid by developers to archaeological units. In this respect, Joshua [53 – unit director] emphasised that "it is only by scrutinising the [skeleton] contract that we can understand that the surcharge applied covers fixed costs almost exclusively, and all others costs we do not even think about. People think that the overheads - which amounts to more or less double the employee's salary [2.35 exactly] - are applied to generate profits, but it is in fact mostly the only way to maintain the structure viable. This surcharge allows us to complete our mission, and ultimately allows us to make some profit".

			SIMULATION								
									A hypothetical contract with Hydro-Québec (3 months)		
			DIGGER	ASSISTANT	ARCHAEOLOGIST	DIGGER	ASSISTANT	ARCHAEOLOGIST	15 DIGGERS	3 ASSISTANTS	1 ARCHAEOLOGIST
			/ hour	/ hour	/ hour	/ day	/ day	/ day	/ 3 months	/ 3 months	/ 3 months
BASIC SALARY		100,00	18,00 $	25,00 $	35,00 $	144,00 $	200,00 $	280,00 $	142 560,00 $	39 600,00 $	18 480,00 $
Gross pay credited by the consultant/unit to its employees	100,00									Total:	200 640,00 $
SOCIAL CHARGES		31,25	5,63 $	7,81 $	10,94 $	45,00 $	62,50 $	87,50 $	44 550,00 $	12 375,00 $	5 775,00 $
										Total:	62 700,00 $
State Charges (CSST, RRQ, A.C., RAMQ)	8,00										
Holidays	8,15										
Bank Holidays	5,00										
Diseases and more	1,35										
Pension Fund	4,35										
Others	4,40										
CONSULTANT'S ADMINISTRATION		41,25	7,43 $	10,31 $	14,44 $	59,40 $	82,50 $	115,50 $	58 806,00 $	16 335,00 $	7 623,00 $
Management	28,60										
Marketing expenses	10,25										
Book-keeping and secretarial work, subcontracting	2,40										
GENERAL CHARGES			4,91 $	6,81 $	9,54 $	39,24 $	54,50 $	76,30 $	38 847,60 $	10 791,00 $	5 035,80 $
Rentals and office furnitures											
Electricity, telephone, bank charges, taxes, etc.											
Special Equipements (computers, laboratory)											
DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING		4,50	0,81 $	1,13 $	1,58 $	6,48 $	9,00 $	12,60 $	6 415,20 $	1 782,00 $	831,60 $
Quality assurance, training, security...	4,50										
INSURANCES			0,36 $	0,50 $	0,70 $	2,88 $	4,00 $	5,60 $	2 851,20 $	792,00 $	369,60 $
Third party insurance, general insurance, security											
NET PROFIT		28,75	5,18 $	7,19 $	10,06 $	41,40 $	57,50 $	80,50 $	40 986,00 $	11 385,00 $	5 313,00 $
										Before Tax:	57 684,00 $
Pre-tax profit & employees bonus (Tax ≈ 30%)	28,75									After Tax (30%):	40 378,80 $
TOTAL	235,00	235,00	42,30 $	58,75 $	82,25 $	338,40 $	470,00 $	658,00 $	335 016,00 $	93 060,00 $	43 428,00 $
										TOTAL CONTRACT:	471 504,00 $

Figure 7.1: Fixed and variable costs and profits of a firm (Hydro-Québec example). Source: Hydro-Québec (Rates used since 1981)

It stands to reason that private archaeological units are often accused of being only profit oriented. Such claims are apparent among the community of diggers as well.

> Edward [40 – senior archaeologist]: "I do not see any desire to conduct research [*within the units*] but more a focus on maximising profits."

As illustrated in figure 7.1 there are no real outright benefits gained by the unit. The problem here is not specifically financial, but is instead related to the definition of the archaeological unit's mission. Joshua asserts that the surcharge provides the means for them to accomplish their mission, but there is no mention of which mission they aim to achieve: the provision of services to clients or the creation of a socially significant archaeological product?

Figure 7.1 (right) presents a model with hypothetical costs, profits and salaries related to various employees (the salaries correspond roughly to the actual salaries earned in 2007). According to the model provided by *Hydro-Quebec,* and if we consider, as an example, that an average contract for an archaeologist lasts around three months in the James Bay area, with a team of approximately 19 personnel, the total budget will be 471,500$. Around 90% of this will be absorbed by fixed and variable costs, leaving less than 60,000$ profit, which drops to approximately 40,000$ after deductions for provincial and federal taxes (≈ 31%).

According to the archaeology company managers, the *Hydro-Quebec* pricing grid is the most advantageous on the market. Nevertheless, it fails to generate large profits. According to Joshua: [...] "in fact, the surcharge used in archaeology, compared to other environmental and engineering units, is far lower. It is only with Hydro-Quebec that the surcharge is balanced with the other environmental companies. These environmental units consider the pricing grid too low, while we consider it very high compared to what we are used to getting from other contracts [...]!

A structural comparison between a business and an archaeological unit

A business is a legally recognised organisation designed to provide goods or services, or both, to clients. It is typically aimed at the generation of profit, which, and I know I am simplifying matters, is intended to increase the wealth of its owner and make the business itself grow. One of the main objectives of the owners of a business is the receipt of financial return in exchange for its product or its service, at relatively low risks. The question here is whether an archaeological unit can be considered or treated like a business? Is the notion of profit compatible with the type of production engendered by archaeology?

The production of a business can be synthesized by the *production function* of a firm[1]. For a business the total productivity increases simultaneously with the increase in the number of *final products* (Q), and the number of *working forces* used (L), until it reaches the point where increasing the production reduces increased total productivity. In this case, if the business continues to increase production, it may achieve maximum total productivity, after which point the unit starts to lose money because of an over abundance of employees and products. The entire system then becomes unproductive.

In the case of the archaeological unit, there is no way to maintain the levels of production consistent year round. A notion of variability through time has to be considered. This variability could be defined as cyclical (economic fluctuations) and seasonal. Thus, because of the high and unforeseeable fluctuation in demand, combined with the seasonality of the offer for archaeological services, the archaeological unit cannot reach a maximum average productivity. It is only hypothetically that this point can be conceivable and it has been estimated at between 60 and 80 persons (L) for the present case study.

Joshua said [53 – Unit Director]: "If we had to hire 80 persons at the same time, we would have to hire another person full time to replace [*the coordinators*] in specific tasks." About 80 employees is the maximum number the structure seems to be able to sustain without hiring new permanent employees or investing in diverse means. Beyond this point, more than 80 employees will contribute to a reduced increase in total productivity. Ultimately, if the company hires over 100 staff, they risk decreasing total productivity. The company starts to lose money because of insufficient quantities of working tools, and a deterioration in working conditions. In reality, the archaeological unit rarely reaches its average maximum productivity.

According to Joshua [53 - unit director] "there is no maximum productivity" but this is not exactly true. Martin [51 - unit director] also states that: "there is not necessarily a maximum…or we never reached it. In fact, when we have a large number of projects, we run behind and we find it difficult to manage and coordinate everything at the same time. […] We will eventually reach a maximum in terms of time management and deadlines but there are no fixed rules". Here, the fact the coordinator is 'behind schedule' and has difficulties 'managing' the unit means, in this case, that the unit has already surpassed the point of its maximum average production.

---

[1] Q = f (K,L): This *production function* relates the output of a unit to the amount of inputs, typically capital (K) and labor (L). (Q = number of final products; K = stock of capital used; L = units of workforce used)

Continuing this economic analysis, based on ethnographical data and on my participant observation, the information collected allows us to make the following assessments: the archaeological unit is not in control of its own production (dependant on external factors, both economic and climatic). The unit is then forced to reduce to the minimum both its permanent structure and its workforce in order to reduce its fixed costs. As a result, this economic pressure creates the conditions for a radical neoliberal employment policy, rarely used as such within the market. These policies are only visible in some corporations such as big stores, and are characterised, according to Quinn (2005), by hyperflexibility, systematic use of temporary job contracts, lack of social protection, absence of unions, and low salaries.

In archaeology, a unit director, [Joshua] confided that: "The notion of permanence is very peculiar in the unit because there are only five people who are really permanent. Some employees work all year but they are not really permanent staff because their permanency essentially depends on the nature and the volume of the contracts". Moreover, according to Martin [51 – unit director]: "it is this economic system, [with limited fixed costs and erased variable costs], that permits the unit to survive. For companies with really high fixed costs, if the volume of contracts decreases, they end up in a hazardous position". Another consequence of the use of this type of political-economy according to Joshua is that the other standard businesses "have to pay pension funds or severance pay, and we do not have all these constraints".

The consequences of this political economy in commercial archaeology have been fully developed in the previous chapter, resulting in latent precariousness and the alienation of work. This 'flexible' system has not only been applied in units, between employers and employees, but also between the unit and its client. The present economic order gives priority to the client over the product or service provider (Collin 2009:44). The client possesses the power of capital, and, as a result, expects a 'neutral' service from its service provider, never a critical or unpredictable one. As a consequence, commercial archaeology attempts to produce neutral reports (see Edward testimony, in chap. 6) to fulfil clients' needs. Nevertheless, this neoliberal portrait of an archaeological unit is not necessarily the result of deliberate internal change, but rather the result of the adoption of this now 'universally' recognised economic system (Harvey 2005:3-4).

Without any form of regulation, the profession is then at the mercy of the most radical form of capitalism, often in total contradiction with the aspirations and expectations of most archaeologists as demonstrated in the previous chapters. This type of economic system could result in a small number of people in archaeology making some significant profits. However, as demonstrated in chapter 5, such a financial enhancement has not been observed in Quebec for the managers of archaeological units.

Economic origins of the outsourcing of employment

Here, the economic notions of overcapacity[2] and seasonality can give us a better understanding of the unit's activity cycles, and of the actions taken by the unit to deal with cost fluctuations, and the consequences of such actions. The archaeological unit has seasonal periods of overcapacity, essentially from October to May.

> Martin [51 – unit director]: "There are pressures from the clients [*to be active throughout the year*] but we do not work between certain periods [*in deep winter*]. There are few projects that we start in December and it is not the ideal moment, but we do it because the building contractor wants to dig the foundations to be able to continue the project in spring. In fact, the builders would like us to work twelve months a year, but we cannot do our job properly after December."

Limited winter activity is characterised by a lower demand for the workforce, and most of all by a very low offer of 'products', which can be related to the extreme weather conditions in Canada. Consequently, the rate of use overall for production capacity drops for several months. The total workforce shrinks to the minimum, i.e. 5 full-time individuals in the office, and around 4 to 8 archaeologists on non-permanent contracts, dispatched on various missions, and responsible for reports, analyses and other non outdoor activities. The unit then experiences an overcapacity of its fixed means. In contrast to this, during the summer rush from May to September, archaeological fieldworks and teams are numerous and the support capacity from the office could be overwhelmed.

One point that needs to be understood here is this overlap in terms of the space and time used by employees and managers within the office, considering that there is no increase in variable costs, which are entirely covered by clients during fieldwork activities. Most of the extra needs created by the increase in activities will be paid for by the developers: car rentals, helicopters, accommodation or pilots' salaries. Most importantly, the majority of the employees work outside the office (archaeological fieldwork), which greatly contains the negative repercussions from unit capacity to absorb new contracts. The fact that most employees have no need to come into the

[2] Overcapacity: situation where total production capability outstrips demand. For example, when an archaeological unit is kept operational, while no digging contracts are planned, and no money is made by the unit.

office also explains the fact that the unit never really reaches the *maximum average productivity* for archaeological activities.

In order to compensate for the effects of seasonality and overcapacity Joshua states: "we only hire people in accordance with the contract needs [...]. Financially, we only support very few people full time, thus, the more people we hire, if we have the capacity to complete the mission, the more money we earn. [...] every hour paid by the developer is an hour of surcharge for us, [without the disadvantage of the high annual fixed running costs]."

Thus, through the annual archaeological activities of our case study, the cost analysis illustrates the following facts: seasonality of activities creates overcapacity, but is almost entirely compensated for by flexible employees' contracts, and by the low numbers of permanent employees within the office. Overcapacity is rare due to the permanent adjustment of employee numbers within the unit according to the needs of the unit. This economic balance found by the unit maintains its good financial standing, but does not necessarily guarantee opportunities for unit development, and the development of the competencies of the archaeologists.

In order to compensate for the hindrance of economic fluctuations and seasonality and the risks of overcapacity, units outsource their employees, resulting in the formation of a pool of diggers or 'reserve army' (Bourdieu 1998:96), as seen in the previous two chapters. Archaeology in its commercial form efficiently replaces the notions of work, competencies, positions and work conditions, with the notion of the temporary mission or contract. The unit no longer employs workers long term, but strikes a deal with an individual to accomplish a specific and limited mission. Employment in the unit then becomes 'flexible' in a similar manner to many other sectors in capitalist countries.

As a consequence this sort of employment encourages each individual to become an 'entrepreneur of himself' (Collin 2009:43). Private companies have used outsourcing in order to make work conditions more "flexible." In such a situation a company will contract an external provider who is not affiliated with the company. These actions allow the company doing the outsourcing to progressively remove any trace of unions or collective agreements among employees. Consequently, costs to the company are stabilised by being able to maintain low wages and accordingly, precarious positions for their employees as well. Here, it should be emphasised that this phenomenon has not been expressed or overtly recognised in archaeological units. However, it has been inexorably implemented in the absence of a viable alternative economic model.

7.2.3 Costs analysis: long term economic prospects

A major difference between the archaeological unit and the standard business is the almost total absence of long term economic prospects in commercial archaeology. A standard business can increase or decrease its production freely at any time, prepare the material means, recruit extra staff and set aside the necessary money. In contrast, the archaeological unit has to work very close to the 'just-in-time' method[3]. On this matter, and according to Elias [in his 50's - Unit director]: "Nowadays, and in contrast to the previous situation, there are a lot of development projects which work using the 'just-in-time method'. Development projects are being managed like this more and more frequently in North America. In the 1980s, the management was long term oriented but now decisions must be taken fast and the effects must be visible immediately. [...] Archaeology is now part of this system and it is limited to the ticking of boxes. That means that the companies' managers [the clients of the archaeological units] want clear and immediate answers: are there frogs, white-tailed deer, and archaeological sites... and what has to be done to get rid of those problems?"

The archaeological unit as a whole has almost no opportunity to make plans for the future due to the ever present uncertainty of contract flow and most of all because the unit cannot influence demand by increasing its offer. The archaeological unit would not obtain more contracts because it increased its workforce or because it renewed its equipment. The number of contracts only increases when there is an increase in the demand for construction activities. The number of contracts could also increase if the unit proposed new products, but still, such opportunities are scarce, and come with little financial impact.

Furthermore, even if excavations are the sole products of a unit, they have been adapted to the needs of the clients, not the needs of archaeologists/archaeology. In fact, in a neoliberal economy, the activities of a company no longer strive to satisfy direct social needs, and if by some chance they do, this is merely an indirect result of the commercial exchange (Fischbach 2009:202). The archaeological unit is not a direct producer (for example, of archaeological knowledge) but a producer of a product (report) designed for an exchange, and useful specifically for the interests of the client.

The social impact of an archaeological unit's work is subsequently not directly accessible from within the production of the product itself. The social significance of

[3] **JIT** is a strategy that attempts to improve a business's return on investment by reducing to the minimum all costs related to inventory, transportation or workforce.

the archaeological work has to take place within the commercial exchange of the archaeological products. This fact is a fundamental paradox: in most cases, the archaeological unit does not produce anything for itself. The archaeological unit is therefore no longer a direct producer of archaeology, but only of a standardised commercial product disregarding the basic nature and significance of the archaeological profession. The commercial exchange between the archaeological unit and its client becomes the necessary and natural output leading to a progressive alienation of work.

7.3 Analysis of the demand for the archaeological products of a unit

This analytical tool is commonly used to study the quantities of goods or services of market demand over a defined period of time. This study aims to define and understand the factors which can affect demand, such as: the price of the product, growth factors, and competition. I will now test the applicability of these notions to the archaeological unit.

The product of the unit

As demonstrated previously, the archaeological product created by the units has a particular characteristic: it has been made almost compulsory by law (see chap. 4). Demand is dependent on society's need and desire to protect its heritage, which was expressed through a politically influenced choice in the 1960s and 1970s (Handler 1988:103-4) and, consequently, through the inclusion of archaeology in development projects. After the conversion of archaeology into private units, clients appeared naturally to be the ones involved in the various construction and development projects around the province.

In fact, demand is an abstraction. It is a need expressed by the population through previous governments which had chosen the heritage protection policy. If this will was clear and shared by many during the 'Cultural Objectification Period' between 1961 and 1980, it is not obvious that this activity is currently supported by Quebec society. The power given by the law to the archaeological unit is justifiable only if desired by society, but this power is weak since it is not backed properly by the state, which is instead engaged in an economical quest for cost reductions.

The present reshaping of the *Cultural Property Act* (see chap. 4) will then be a test for the future orientation of the Quebec government, that is to say the possible abandonment of archaeology by voluntary omission, or the reinforcement of its intervention capacities through the systematisation of interventions. The *Cultural Property Act* of 1972 reflects the ideologies of the period, and aimed to protect heritage by any means in a period of strong development and pressure exerted by the construction industry. Considering that we are in a period of consolidation of the neoliberal 'doxa', it is doubtful that the solution of the reinforcement of archaeology, which would cause heightened pressure in the fiscal system, could be compatible with present economic rules.

Competition – how the archaeological network is divided and how contracts are won

Chapter 4 illustrates that most funding invested in archaeology comes from governmental and para-governmental entities. For the attribution of contracts, these governmental entities have to respect certain rules of competition pertaining to the neoliberal system, which could be assimilated by the 'intermediaries'. For this purpose, local coordinators rely on managerial tools, demonstrated here through a series of ethnographic testimonies.

According to Joshua [53 – unit director]: "[...] when the MTQ offers a contract of 25,000$ and under, an invitation to tender is not required. The ministry distributes contracts as it pleases." On the same matter, Martin [51 – unit director] added that: "Generally speaking, Hydro-Québec recruits unit teams without an invitation to tender. They [Hydro-Québec] identify the important archaeological actors and attempt to share out the slice of the cake between them because the corporation is well-advised to maintain different viable competing companies." In fact, for contracts valued at under 100,000$CDN, units are simply appointed directly or invited (Two to three units, consultants or NPOs).

Now, in the case of contracts based on invitation to tender (over 100,000$CDN), Rhys [46 - local government official] confided that: "A pricing grid requires that the unit or the consultant have the relevant equipment, competence and an available team. To guarantee these minimal attributes, the consultant has no choice but to be or become a corporate unit, and to ask his client for overheads. This type of contract, which involves substantial amounts of money, is open for tender to anybody, but the candidate has to prove that he is solvent. The only way to do this is to have or to create your own incorporated unit. Without proof of sufficient funding, the contract cannot be given to a consultant because he would not be able to deal with the mandate. For example, if the consultant evaluates the budget for a specific contract at circa 45,000$, while I know that the budget should be around 150,000$, the project will be a complete failure. The 45,000$ represents the sum of money required immediately by the unit to pay for salaries, material, etc... before charging for their services. The problem is that this money will only be released by the [government or para-governmental entities] when the bills are presented by the unit and we do not make advance payments." [Thus, the archaeological practitioner has to have sufficient cash reserves].

For this type of contract (up to 100,000$), mostly originating from governmental (MCCCFQ, MTQ) or para-governmental institutions (Hydro-Québec), the following equation is compulsory (used since 2001-2002, and following the *Cities, Town and Villages Act)*:

$$\boxed{\frac{\textbf{(Interim score (in \%) + 50) x 10 000}}{\textbf{sealed-bid tender (in \$)}}}$$

According to Rhys [46 - local government official]: "the equation is used to evaluate the qualitative aspect (interim score) and quantitative aspects (sealed-bid tender) of the services offered by a unit". [...] The key terms 'interim score' and 'sealed-bid tender', could be defined as follows according to Rhys: "The interim score allows evaluation of the quality of the services on supply: the unit and the archaeologist in charge of the project, the approach, comprehension of the mandate, the capacity for production, meeting deadlines, etc".[...] The sealed-bid tender corresponds to an entire [financial] evaluation of the project or to an hourly evaluation grid of all activity types (studies, fieldwork, reports) including overheads. We elaborate a grid for each mandate depending on the activities required". [...] "The tender which obtains the highest rank is systematically recommended for the contract by the selection committee [but], when competencies are similar, the lower tender will always win the contract. We [archaeologists for governmental entities] do not always agree with this, but most of the time we have enough justification to be able to make the system work [in order to appoint the appropriate candidate]. Some units or consultants are more specialised in one specific domain of archaeology. When we announce a specific contract, we prefer the relevant specialised unit to win the contract. Unfortunately, it is not always the case."

This equation defines the relations between archaeological units and developers. In this case, its logic places city administrators in a position where they have to select the candidates for a contract and announce the winner of the bid for tender. But on what values is the equation based? From Rhys' testimonies, it seems that the criteria are essentially technical and economical. This equation is thus a central 'intermediary' between actors, orientating archaeological activities. In doing so, the administrators transform the archaeological profession into an agent identifiable by the criteria recognised within neoliberal values. That means that the archaeological entity that wins a contract is then expected to demonstrate its technological values (through the capacity to deliver what is considered a 'professional' product), and demonstrate its capacity to be profitable (not for society but, for the developer or the tax-payer who are supposed to pay the minimum amount of money for the 'best' product).

Thus, the administrative tools provided by the state and local government appear to tend to reshape archaeological activities according to criteria based essentially on obtaining the cheapest price that meets legal standards, resulting typically in minimal service. In other words, public and corporate actors 'translate' archaeological organisations into service providers by using financial tools to formulate the procedures aimed at obtaining contracts. This process eliminates any other structures which do not conform to the neoliberal system, such as the majority of NPOs or independent consultants. The problem here is to define what the best services or the best compromises are for society. The committees in charge of the selection of units are composed of archaeologists, administrators and managers, each with different interests and understanding of the archaeological process. This approach means that it is not always the most relevant unit or consultant who wins the contract and it does not leave the necessary space for innovation and alternatives to the actual standardised procedures. So then, what relevance does the archaeological product have to the structure of such a competitive system?

Moreover, even if the competitive tender system is regulated by governmental entities and forces a theoretical balancing act between equivalent actors, this is not necessarily the case for the majority of contracts (under 100,000 CDN$). In this case, competition between the different actors involving the consultants, the NPOs, and private units will be completely asymmetrical. The financial advantage goes to the consultants and NPOs which do not pass any overheads onto their clients. In these conditions, the application of strict rules of selection based only partially on competence and mostly on economic factors seems problematic.

As such, the competitive rules applied nowadays to the archaeological product do not seem compatible with those of a standard business. As illustrated previously, the actions and constraints imposed by the competition do not have the same effects on the heterogeneous and socially significant archaeological activities as the activities of a standard business orientated only towards profits. Because most funding for archaeological activities is public, and originates from taxes on citizens (see chap. 4), the archaeological product should be orientated towards the interests of the public.

However, the reality is that the actual instruments of regulation serve the interests of the developers/clients by determining which unit should be the most efficient in performing the mandated schedule, and those of citizens by determining which will be the more advantageous financially (but not necessarily socially). In addition, the fundamental problem lies in the definition of the selection criteria for valuable archaeological activities. Values are given to the companies according to criteria which do not belong to archaeology itself but to the world of business, evaluating factors of time, efficiency, and production of a tangible report which will allow the continuation of a development project. This 'translation' of the archaeological aims to meet the needs of clients, and considering public taxes, could be a major factor in the alienation of archaeological work.

In England, actors in the network do not have a triangular relationship (between units, developers and the state), only a direct relationship between units and developers (see chap. 4). Is this simplified system any better? In Quebec, most units aim to copy the English system to avoid state intervention in the selection of units. Considering that rules for the selection of units by the government are not only based on archaeological competencies, but more on practical and financial interests, this desire for independence of the units in their dealings with clients is understandable. The state does not change any of the rules for competition, apart from dispossessing the units of their autonomy, and making the system heavier. In this case, it might be more advantageous to have a *developer-funded* system. Nevertheless, both systems, triangular or linear, are being applied using the same neoliberal ideology, only reproducing the quest for 'professional' archaeology, quantifiable and identifiable on the basis of its technical qualities. In contrast, the advantage of the Quebec system could, with a stronger implication of the state in the social aspects of the profession, achieve the practice of a 'craft'.

Is competitive-tendering a valuable economic model for archaeology?

There are four units of commercial archaeology operating in Montreal (*Archéotec Inc., Arkéos Inc., Ethnoscop Inc. & S.A.C.L. Inc.*). All units offer more or less the same services but with diverse levels of specialisation and regional expertise. All units could work anywhere and on all archaeological periods, but the core of their activities and funds comes from urban developments, except for the period of hydroelectric development in the James Bay area, which was the last prolific period from 2005 to 2009.

Today, according to unit directors, there is enough space for everyone. Competition is not really fierce because the form of regulation enforced by Hydro-Québec gives the government and the municipalities the ability to share contracts out between units (but not necessarily amongst other players such as NPOs or consultants). The offer is almost symmetrical and has reduced price differences between the private units and competition to a minimum. On the other hand, the NPOs constitute a strong competition for commercial units because of the asymmetries within the structural organisation. Indeed, an NPO does not have to support a complex structure and high fixed costs.

On the subject of the NPO presence within the archaeological network, Joshua [53 – unit director] said: "I think that the NPO system is extremely dangerous because these people will gradually kill the market. For example, if *Gaz Métropolitain* deals with a commercial archaeology unit which includes additional charges, a NPO will not ask for overheads and will not ask for high salaries. The result is that we cannot compete with them and it is confusing for the clients! *Gaz Métropolitain* only wants the authorisation to start digging! If someone is willing to do it for peanuts and do the analysis in his garage, they will give the contract to the NPO or the consultant. If this type of unit grows, this will be the end for professional archaeology as we know it today. [...] From that moment on, it will no longer work! The NPO will do the job but we cannot compete with them. In the long term, the consultants or the NPOs will discredit the profession in the eyes of the client who does not see any logic within the different grid pricing. Costs could fluctuate between units by more or less 50%. In the end, by reducing the costs, we will never be able to improve the quality of our archaeological product and make it more professional".

It is important to reflect on the meaning of the term 'professional'. As a unit manager and citizen, Joshua has integrated the neoliberal discourse to conform to the expectations of modern society. His objective is to practise a more 'professional' archaeology, which he conceives as a structured business, involving a corporate image of 'real' business. However, does the 'professionalism' of a company, one that is branded, equipped with high-end technology, highly standardised procedures, and thus apparently well-established, guarantee the practice of meaningful craft? Joshua judges that NPOs are dangerous amateurs. Could this 'amateurism' in fact be the source of a rich and socially significant archaeological production?

As demonstrated earlier, competition in Quebec is scarce, but the variations in prices of archaeological services differ greatly amongst actors, though there is relative uniformity in the demand for reports from clients. The standardisation of the product needed by the client (e.g. report aimed at authorisation for digging, destroying or flooding) also blurs the differences between competitors, making it impossible for the client to see any difference between the units, aside from price. It is unfair both for the units who cannot compete in terms of price with the smaller entities, as well as for the consultants and NPOs who cannot compete in terms of structure and costs for bigger contracts.

Market competition as such is thus economically inappropriate for archaeology in Quebec because, despite the claims to the opposite, it simply does not allow fair competition between the different actors. It damages the entire archaeological network, which cannot explain to clients what they would prefer the archaeological product to be. It also causes a stagnation of working conditions and salaries for many archaeologists, especially at the lower levels of competences. The current situation appears unsatisfactory for the entire archaeological community.

7.4 An economic materialisation of alienation

The neoliberal model used by units is deeply influenced by the '*perfect market economy model*': *"The model is both socially and privately efficient because all imperfections are assumed away. The model demonstrates that what is good for consumers and producers is also good for society"* (Mathiesen 2008).

This assumption, commonly accepted by neoliberal economists, is probably the most problematic one for those archaeological activities in units. Through an example of the economics of archaeological units, I illustrated how difficult and/or artificial the adaptation to the market is for units. It is a bit far-fetched to assume that the 'perfect market model' can provide both social and private efficiency in this case-study. In fact, any adaptation to the neoliberal system has deeply affected archaeological practice and purpose as we can see throughout the chapters.

The integration of archaeology into the competitive market seems to have had the following consequences:

1/ The archaeological unit has been forced to behave as a standard company but the reality is that the unit has almost no control over its production. For this reason, it should not be treated as a standard business. The production rates of an archaeological unit mostly follow external macro-economical factors, and ultimately the unit cannot influence demand by increasing the offer unlike any other production company. The archaeological unit is selling a service which is dependent on hazardous factors, and generating conditional gain. In contrast to a pro-active company looking for new markets and new clients using marketing, lobbying and other communication tools, the archaeological unit cannot influence the market by any such means.

2/ By applying the economic logic of a private firm, the archaeological unit has to reduce its permanent workforce to the minimum to reduce costs and guarantee its survival. As a result, economic conditions for workers are characterised by hyper-flexibility, temporary employment, precariousness, low salaries, and the absence of unions. For the unit, using the minimum workforce allows it to be maintained permanently operational. This situation does not satisfy anyone within the archaeological community and, even the unit directors would prefer to avoid such a precarious situation for their employees. Nevertheless, many of my interviewees trust that the market will improve archaeology's working conditions by increasing salaries due to the further recognition of the profession (see also chap. 5), despite, for the most part, having yet to see such increases materialise.

3/ The application of the rules of the market has significantly transformed the archaeological product into a technical product, causing it to gradually lose its social meaning and increasing its scope for the provision of services. Mechanically, the progressive professionalisation of archaeology – again to justify its existence within the neoliberal model –increases the technical codification of work, and ultimately increases its commodification towards clients' interests instead of scientific or social ones. This is rarely powered by a deliberate individual or collective desire, but the system embedded in the competitive system tends, through rules, economical equations and other administrative constraints indicated in this chapter ('*intermediaries*'), to commodify archaeology.

4/ Freedom of speech within the unit is decreasing under the pressure of the clients seeking a 'neutral' product or service. Indeed, clients have no desire to pay for the services of an archaeological unit where dissonant voices will threaten the progress of construction activity. The responsibility of archaeologists is then reduced to a technical one. The archaeologist becomes a surgeon in charge of removing and protecting the past and compiling a report on it, as long as it remains 'neutral', i.e. does not interfere with the present. Even so, the intrusion of the past into the present is the only way archaeology can have any social significance. The commercial archaeological process reduces meaning and social relevancy, not due to the lack of effort by the archaeological community as a whole. Many individual or collective initiatives continue to play a role in publishing and popularising archaeology. But, without common objectives, strong will, and financial means, archaeological units will remain trapped in a very technical mission.

Nonetheless, a characteristic scheme of the neoliberal discourse exists now in commercial archaeology which is that publication has to be '*outsourced*', meaning that, after an excavation and the production of a report, units hope that someone or something else other than themselves will perform most analyses and produce publications. This approach can be productive, as Bradley and others have demonstrated for the UK (e.g. 2009:1-13), but it should not be forgotten that no institutions in Canada will guarantee or force the production of these publications, which will depend mostly on both academic and individual wills and financial investments (Bradley 2009:10).

5/ Archaeological activities are equally dependent on the macro-economic situation and the influence of current legislation, which is in turn dependent on the powers of those enforcing it (government and local authorities). Actually, legislation was shown to be elusive (see chap. 4) and has forced national or local representatives into the difficult position of imposing archaeology on development projects, and selecting the right candidates for the completion of archaeological projects. Although good progress has been achieved in terms of the recognition of archaeology over the last thirty years (see chaps. 3 & 4), archaeology is still not universally accepted and recognised, and could be challenged without the presence of long-lasting pressure on the various actors of the network. Thus, without the strong backing of the law, government or local representatives, the future prosperity of archaeological activities cannot yet be guaranteed.

6/ The archaeological unit is forced to work without any long term planning. This is another major difference with a standard business where planning is part of the strategy that allows growth and profitability. Deprived of this basic economic tool, the archaeological unit has no choice but to be as reactive as possible. Consequently, it becomes vulnerable to any major macro-economic changes. This economic vulnerability is illustrated in figs.4.10 & 4.11 (see chap. 4), which depict the two major economic crises of the 1980s and 1990s that diminished archaeological activity. This downturn is expressed by a falling-off of archaeological activities, leading, in some cases, to partial or definitive closure of the units. This only happened because units were rigorously subjected to the rules of the market instead of being protected by the public system as a vulnerable cultural and social device.
Thus, deprived of the economic tools to guarantee profitability, archaeology has also been dispossessed of its autonomy by becoming financially dependent on public managers applying rules defined within the neoliberal doxa, in turn influenced by the interests of both the wallets of developers and taxpayers. This process of conversion

has resulted in the 'translation' of the archaeological product into an alien product for the archaeologists themselves.

7/ The progressive adaptation of archaeological activities for client needs, defined by the notions of price, time or quality, amplifies the phenomenon of hyper-specialisation and leads to an over commodification of the profession. This hyper-specialisation has the potential to lead to a loss of the overall picture, however necessary it may seem in order to achieve a complete understanding of the past and its present implications.

8/ The competitive system is not applicable in its current form to archaeology. When competition is symmetrical (between private companies), it is to a greater extent regulated by the developers (Hydro-Quebec, MTQ & Cities councils), which have a greater interest in maintaining several different archaeological actors, rather than a monopolistic and powerful entity, such as a state service or a branch of a ministry.

When full competitive rules apply (for minor contracts) competition is totally asymmetrical because it involves different actors who do not play by the same rules, and do not have the same costs. The lack of appropriate rules for competition between the actors suggests that competition should not be used for the awarding of archaeological contracts. Market competition cannot guarantee that the final choice and orientation taken by archaeological units will be good for archaeology, archaeologists and most of all, for the community.

CONCLUSION

The results of my economic analysis combined with the ethnographic data demonstrate that, in Quebec, the current economic system is incompatible with archaeological practices. It fails to provide the satisfactory means for an archaeological unit to prosper, develop, and/or accumulate valuable knowledge for and within the field of archaeology. Commercial archaeology lacks the ability to sustain its workforce in terms of social protection, salaries, but most significantly in terms of meaning, hindering archaeology's practitioners (archaeologists in this case) from fulfilling their aspirations.

Privatised archaeology now has to fulfil the needs of the client, whose priority is to get rid of archaeological 'problems' as quickly and inexpensively as possible. The failure of the competitive system has been demonstrated not only for the practitioners in commercial archaeology, but also for the public. The public indirectly pays for a product it has no access to or comprehension of. This product is one that has been designed with the interests of clients in mind. The neoliberal political-economy has

thus created another level of alienation, this time not at a human level like the one demonstrated in the previous chapter, but at the level of the profession as a whole, transforming it from a meaningful activity for society into a profit-oriented one.
Based on the economic analysis of one archaeological unit, the *actor-network theory* has allowed me to describe the relationships at play. The deconstruction of the archaeological network identified some fundamental 'intermediaries', which form the immaterial links between the actors - their 'language' (Bijker & Law 1992:25) - and ultimately impose the 'translation' of archaeological entities into commodities. The most important intermediaries identified in this chapter have been: 1/ the 'contract' or 'mission', which defines 'flexibility' between employers and employees (unit managers and workers), and forces 'commodification' of the relation between the archaeological unit (as a service provider) and its clients; 2/ the 'mathematic equation' defining the rules of the competitive market in Quebec, which has imposed 'commercial exchange' on the financial provider (the state), the client (construction companies, developers and corporations), and archaeological units, and disqualified the use of any other structural alternatives for archaeology.

Fundamentally, the 'language' spoken by archaeologists has changed, and by extension their culture and vision of the work. The archaeological network has been transformed within the sphere of neoliberalism. However, in this case, I insist on the agency of a heterogeneous association of humans and nonhumans. This means that the 'intermediaries' (contracts, equations) defined by actors other than archaeologists, and imposed by various managers in government or in corporations, really define the structure of current archaeological practice.

Archaeologists, as individuals, are not necessarily willingly to embrace neoliberal values, because, as human beings they are able to critically assess various options. Nevertheless, in the neoliberal system, if archaeologists fail to achieve their goals in the market (goals rarely fulfilled in commercial archaeology, being academic, social or economic) it is considered their fault (Patterson 2005:377). Consequently, most archaeologists have to conform to the economic model; for some of them, out of guilt for failing, for others simply because they are convinced that the market will always contribute to serve the interests of all.

As a matter of fact, the implementation of the 'intermediaries' has transformed the archaeological network from a state and associative system to a capitalist one. This system has proved to be efficient at providing a standardised product for clients, but has failed to sustain the practice of a viable, rigorous, ethical, and meaningful archaeological craft.

The next and final chapter will discuss potential alternatives for the development of archaeological practice inspired by the idea of 'social economy' presented in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 8: Re-thinking archaeological practice

Abstract from my diary: [Montreal – mid May 2005]

6:00 am. The alarm goes off. I crawl from the bed to the bathroom in the hope that a hot shower will help relieve the pain. This morning, I can hardly move the fingers of my right hands. My back aches all over; I think I shovelled once too often. Everybody else in the house is asleep. My roommates have got office jobs and they won't be up before 7:30am. I am already late, I won't have breakfast at home - I will buy something on the way to the field site. I dress like yesterday with my ripped muddy pants, my fluffy hot but ugly pull-over, and with my safety construction worker shoes. I look like the stereotype of a bin man!

In the subway, most people are well dressed and the smell of perfumes and shampoo mingles. I feel a bit offbeat with my outfit and my lunch box. Fortunately colleagues join me on the way and it is more relaxing not to be 'alone' anymore. Our obvious non affiliation with the office world even permits us to talk louder than others and start sharing some smutty archaeological stories and jokes. We are not part of the office workers' game. In their eyes, we are probably a bunch of losers, considering that construction workers, which we look like, at least travel in their trucks… not in the subway!

On arriving at our destination, most of the 'technicians' try to figure out what is the plan for the day. Most of them have been catapulted here without explanation. Some know the people and the site, others not. There are around twenty people on the site. The archaeologist in charge hardly knows who is in the team and we hardly know him either… and at the end of the day, sometimes, I even doubt my very existence and the reality of my activities. My back hurts, that is a good sign, and it means I worked…

In this new team, with this new company I had never worked for before, I feel that even if I have five years of experience and some project direction on my curriculum vitae, it would not make any difference on the field. I will be one of the technicians, that's all! Whatever my competences, the only things they ask me to do for my salary is to dig, no more, no less. After a week, I understand that if I am a 'good boy', maybe I will get the chance to stop digging with the pick-axe and switch to the trowel in a more sensitive spot. I might even get to do a stratigraphy.

After five years of university and a masters degree, I realise that even young construction workers have more responsibilities than me and of course, a better salary.

I don't feel great...

At the end of the day, I ask myself why I chose archaeology as a profession. Obviously, it sucks! Even so, there is always some excitement, some hope of a nice discovery, and some fun with the group. The thing is, within the firms, the archaeology we do is a bit minimalist. I used to be an apprentice archaeologist in the academic world, I am now a digger. It is a weird and a rough change. But I need to find a way to pay my rent and my student debts. Naturally, I take any jobs that come, and the ones most related to the archaeology I am supposed to be qualified for. I am not the only one here in this case and we all survive more or less from it for a while.

If this is really archaeology, something went wrong at one point, but what exactly? Are there any other ways to practice my craft? Will I be able one day to fulfil the initial objectives I had of becoming engaged in the archaeological profession?

Nicolas Zorzin, 05/2005

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters illustrated that in Quebec, after most archaeological fieldwork activities transferred to commercial units, the profession lost its capacity to fulfil most aspirations of archaeologists, and its capacity to sustain most of its initial research objectives. Commercial archaeology has failed to serve the needs and the rights of communities to access their past, but not all is lost. Despite the fact that 73% of the archaeology practiced in Quebec (see chap. 4) is performed by commercial units, alternative forms of economic organisation for archaeology (NPOs) have already mushroomed, developed to a modest scale, and obtained some positive results. These alternatives should be examined carefully. Consequently, this last chapter discusses the potential for development of archaeological practices, inspired by the idea of the 'social economy' briefly mentioned in chapter 2.

From a strictly economics point of view, the argument for the privatisation of archaeology was based on the apparent inability of archaeology to create wealth. Economists such as Throsby (1999, 2001) proposed to assign an economic value to archaeology and to heritage. What if it was a dead-end? Commercial archaeology is now engaged in actions exterior to the goals of archaeology, disconnected from its 'real' activities, i.e. cut off from the essence of what is considered by archaeologists to be the archaeological craft. The archaeological units serve their clients, who aim to compensate for the destruction in the field provoked through development. Archaeology becomes more or less a compensatory commodity following the ideas of the 'polluter-payer', and of 'sustainable development' (Jeantet 2008: xii).

In contrast to this agenda, and to avoid the resulting consequences seen in the previous chapters, I would like to explore alternative ways of running archaeological organisations. After a presentation of the political-economy alternatives proposed by the 'social economy', through the concepts of 'de-growth', 'localism' or 'craft', I will present the recent and promising developments in Quebec, which could offer viable political-economy alternatives for archaeology: 1/ experimentation with cooperatives such as NPOs, less dependent on the rules of capitalism; 2/ adoption, at an individual level, of a way of life on the margins of capitalist productivity, re-centred on the practice of a craft; and 3/ transformation of archaeology into a more collaborative and political tool critically taking into consideration the interests of local communities, especially the ones of disenfranchised groups such as the unemployed, the working class, recent immigrants, and, in North America notably, First Nation populations.

8.1 What alternatives to the political-economy neoliberal model are there for archaeology?

The 'social-economy'

If neoliberalism only generates alienation for archaeological practitioners, what alternative to this system can be suggested? Is a 'social economy' a viable alternative, and what does this mean exactly? The social economy is often seen as the third branch of the economy, after the commercial and the public/governmental sectors. As I mentioned, in this thesis, capitalism tends to privilege economic efficiency and over-all ignore social impacts outside of itself. The social economy, on the other hand, places humanity at the core of production activities, seeking harmony, emancipation, and resistance to economic oppression (Jeantet 2008: 26-7).

According to the results of this research, the unregulated application of the rules of capitalism contributes considerably to the alienation of archaeological work. Now, the question is: can the idea of the social economy be more appropriate for archaeology than the framework of capitalism, and around what concepts could this be articulated?

A potential axis of development can be explored through the notion of 'de-growth'. This idea involves repositioning archaeology as a potential candidate for a professional activity able to favour an exit from the capitalist paradigm, guaranteeing work quality, and also satisfactory and meaningful work for archaeologists. However, 'de-growth' is not a homogenous or dogmatic theory but more the expression of various ideological tendencies opposed to the perpetuation of the application of neoliberalism and its axiom of growth. This movement has taken different forms, and has been implemented through three different basic ideas (which I will fully develop in the next section, 8.2): 1/ experimentation with collective alternatives to capitalism, such as NPOs; 2/ adoption, at an individual level, of a way of life on the margins of the consumer society, called '*voluntary simplicity*' (Stan 2007:92) *or* '*simpler way*' (Trainer 2007); and 3/ socio-political action at a local scale, or '*localism*' (Latouche 2004:108).

So, why should this idea of *'de-growth'* be applied to archaeology?

As demonstrated in the previous chapters, commercial archaeology had to conform to the political economy of growth, but it was also established that this type of archaeology is unable to sustain infinite growth in its activities without irreparably damaging the archaeological remains or minimizing their potential impact and significance for society as a cultural production. Another form of archaeology already exists in Quebec, in the form of the Non Profit Organisation. Nevertheless, the question for this type of structure is whether 'voluntary simplicity' and 'localism' be applied or are they even applicable? If yes, in what ways and does it work in a better way than commercial archaeology?

In asking these questions, I do not deny the need to improve and evolve the way archaeology is practised, but I would like to point out that development for the sole purpose of increasing profitability and expanding activities is perhaps an unproductive objective for both archaeologists and the public. In contrast, the 'de-growth' movement, based on the voluntary downscaling of the economy, reintroduces the ideas of local implication, camaraderie, quantitatively limited consumption and production, and is qualitatively more demanding (Latouche 2004:96), which could correspond to the expectations of a satisfactory archaeological 'craft', as suggested by Shanks and McGuire in 1996.
Ultimately, it should be noted that 'de-growth' is not necessarily a realistic model for the near future (Besson-Girard 2007:15, Clerc 2004, Fotopoulos 2007), but could still be a tool for challenging growth (Latouche 2002:2) as a necessarily desirable and useful economic mechanism for the development of archaeology.

8.2 The case of an archaeological NPO

Within the NPOs active in archaeology, some of the ideas developed above have been applied by a number of archaeologists in Quebec. As a first step, I will develop the idea of 'localism' which has become an obvious concern for the non commercial archaeological organisations of Quebec.

Localism, which has developed within the sphere of 'de-growth', could be defined by: *"re-inventing social links other than commodified ones, and creating networks of solidarity at a local level"* (Latouche 2004:108, personal translation). The idea of 'localism' as a component of the implementation of a new political economy suits archaeological activities particularly well for the following reasons: the general withdrawal of public/national involvement in local lives for the benefit of privatised companies has marginalised many citizens financially and socially. The positive reaction generated by this economic mutation has been that many and various collective initiatives have emerged locally in an attempt for individuals or groups of individuals to retrieve control over their existences (Latouche 2004:109). This was accomplished through the revitalisation of culture, education, lodging, health and environment.

These initiatives materialised in the western world through the creation of numerous charities, NPOs, and cooperatives; a phenomenon which also appeared in Quebec

(Mongeau 2007), and in the archaeological network. These local and autonomous experiences are forms of resistance against the systematic development of commodification. Communication with the public is also an attempt for archaeology to be recognised as a factor of reflection about the past, present and future of populations (Sabloff 2008:16). This aspect of archaeological practice has now become a new field in itself, called 'community and public archaeology', which is not necessarily new in the Anglo-Saxon world, but has been developed and formulated more systematically in the last two decades (Marshall 2002:211-5). Now, what is the situation in Quebec NPOs, and what are the results and benefits of such entities?

A NPO in Quebec: origin and development

According to Hugo [53 – NPO director] "the main reason for the creation of one of Quebec's NPOs - which will be referred to as *the Duck* - is that the local authorities in [remote region] did not want to deal with alien units located in Montreal. Authorities were calling for a more independent and local network development".

> Hugo [53 – NPO director]: "In the beginning of the 1980s, [...] commercial units were working locally a few weeks every year. They were coming back once a year to drop the report and then disappeared. For the same amount of money the local authorities felt that they could do much more. It is at this time that [the Duck] was founded [around 1987]. I started running the NPO with a group of volunteers, who had no education in archaeology. They were a bit lad-like. […] Later on, I realised that the best for me was to integrate with the regional culture network. Slowly, the present NPO model emerged. This is when we saw that the perenniality [of an archaeological entity] depends completely on its degree of local attachment and on its integration in its environment."

As early as 1987, the local initiative consisted of the creation of an archaeological NPO by a remote population group in Quebec. This creation responded positively to the desire of the people to take direct control of the decisions and eventual results concerning the past of their region (located far away from the central state). In fact, this initiative permitted the local population to have a stronger jurisdiction over and understanding of the archaeological product. Nonetheless, it also revealed the results of the investments granted by the population. Thus, the creation of [the Duck] was the result of the absence of a state heritage agenda in the area, and the rejection of the commercial units, which seemed to be too distant from the preoccupations and interests of the local populations, and also disconnected from the interests of the First Nation peoples living in the area.

The product of the archaeological NPO

> Hugo - [53 - NPO director]: "[the Duck] developed a form of contractual expertise but it is still a research organisation. For example, we never answer invitations to tender because this would be submitting to disloyal competition with the commercial archaeological units. We are, in a legal sense, a little bit like a research entity, closer to an academic environment [but not integrated in a perennial governmental structure]. Nevertheless, if a corporate client really begs us to provide a service, because we have the local expertise, and because we are on the spot, we will do the contract. We try not to do it. Anyway, I would be very unhappy in a commercial environment... and I am eager to preserve my autonomy!"

According to Jack [58 - Academic staff]: "this regionalisation represents a new way of practising archaeology, a symbiotic form of archaeology between commercial and academic/public influences".

Sometimes a regional NPO generates the same products as the commercial unit described in the previous chapter: feasibility study, materials analysis or excavation reports. Nevertheless, a fundamental difference exists between the commercial unit and the NPO structure: the prioritisation of research and dissemination of knowledge. Moreover, the activity of the NPO is based on a long-term project aimed at a better comprehension of the human presence in a particular region of Quebec. The research focuses on the study of habitats, adaptation, technologies or cultural exchanges of the population which has occupied it over the last thousands of years. Even so, according to [Hugo], long term archaeological research is never really guaranteed in an NPO. The very high financial instability in which the organisation is embedded constantly threatens the continuity of the work.

> *"I simply hope that the government will stop seeing investments in archaeology as a social expense but will start to apprehend it as an economic lever which enriches and develops the Quebec community"* (Côté 2004:96).

The region where the NPO is located is perceived to have no history because of its late colonisation by Euro-Canadians in the early 20th century. The objective set by the NPO director is then to provide a history of the region being excavated. Its research activities allow the NPO to diffuse knowledge to, and materialise the past for the local populations, including native Canadians. In fact, in the eyes of most of my interviewees, the creation of the NPO seemed a successful initiative. This model guarantees the development of local expertise, which cannot happen with the use of itinerary diggers and specialists, and cannot be done without the local involvement of archaeological unit managers. In the case of the NPO, the fact that Ruben has been working in the same area for more than 20 years (very familiar with the local cultural sequences, local styles, the topography, the locals, etc.), is a guarantee for the continuity and development of a lasting involvement with the public.

> Ruben [51 - Archaeologist for Hydro-Québec] said that: "[The Duck] is not only extremely productive in terms of research but has developed harmonious and privileged relationships with the First Nations peoples". Moreover, Charles [28 - Site assistant and project officer] added that: "having worked for [the Duck], I prefer this approach to the commercial unit one because NPOs now have the means and the will to develop a regional knowledge. There is continuity, a permanent presence, and an implication of the local community; characteristics which do not and will never exist in the commercial sector. Ultimately there is even popularisation at a local level!"

Budget fluctuations and differences with the private archaeological units: a continuation of the economic analysis

> Hugo [53 – NPO director]: "In 2001, our annual budget rose from 40,000$ (for the money coming for public institutions) to 150,000$, and the number of employees grew. We became a real team. We even managed to make some subsidized salaries [...]. [In 2001], the [annual] budget was 150,000$ in money and 20,000$ in material [from the municipality]. 33% comes from the Ministry of Culture, 33% from the regional council, and 33% from the Ministry of Work, which had to be withdrawn recently. The loss of the third partner forced us to increase the number of commercial contracts to compensate. It is indeed a very profitable activity."

After 2001, [the Duck] participated in a specific agreement with different governmental and local partners which allowed the NPO to finally acquire an operational budget of roughly 400,000$. The agreement was renewed in 2004. The team then switched to three permanent archaeologists and sustained almost twenty persons during the summer rush, including five to six professional archaeologists (Côté 2004:94). In 2006, in a period of political instability, the NPO was forced to survive mostly by way of contracts such as those provided by the Ministry of Transport (for approximately 150,000$) or the ones generated by the recent mining expansion (little contracts of 3000 to 5000$). At the time of the interview with [the Duck]'s director in 2007, new agreements were about to be signed. Thus, in 2008, after a period of uncertainty and after reduction of the team to the minimum (one person), the director was finally able to hire new archaeologists and restart research activities more intensively.

Comparison between a commercial unit and a NPO

> Thomas [50's, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained as an archivist]: "For me, the main difference between a NPO and a commercial unit is the lack of passion that drives people [in commercial archaeology], and the lack of camaraderie. Well, in any case, whether commercial or associative (or cooperative), there is always some fun, but in commercial units I think that the fun is no longer related to archaeology. I was very disappointed about that. Minimal publication of materials following excavations was even more disappointing. At the time, I was motivated to work and even to work for free to produce better and more consistent reports. The only way to produce a quality job was to do it in your free time, at night or during the week-end, and, without pay…indeed. Nonetheless, nobody was really interested in the results. It was painful to produce a quality product which did not serve any purpose. […] Following the logic of the Ministry of Culture, and of the commercial units following clients' injunctions, the idea was more: "pick up the stuff, write descriptions and, that's it!"

The differences between the two structures could be synthesized here in three points:
1/ The NPO gives priority to research, and the production of socially relevant archaeological products (Côté 1995, 1998, 2004, 2006; Côté and Inksetter 2002; Denton 1997, 2001, 2002, 2004; Gauvin 2004). For example, the Archaeological movie produced by Caplain (2008), in collaboration with David Denton from the First Nation NPO (C.R.A), shows how Cree people are involved in a process of preserving key elements of their cultural heritage before the loss of 'their' lands under the waters of the Eastmain - 1 dam. In this context, archaeology is presented as an actor who serves the community's interests as a factor in indigenous preservation and cultural revival.

Now, as [Hugo] described it, the budget of the NPO is very limited and no profit can be produced due to its financial structure. Most these activities are sustained by funding from different provincial or local governmental entities. Nevertheless, funding agreements, often signed for four year periods, were not systematically renewed. In order to compensate for the risk and eventual monetary decline, the NPO must at times act like a commercial archaeological unit. Thus, to compensate for the high financial dependence on governmental funds, the NPO sometimes compromises its own research-oriented policy in order to keep the structure functional.
In other words, according to [Hugo], a short period of activity for the Ministry of Transport or various private corporations often allows the NPO to finance its future research plans, without having to deal with the requirements of clients, which rarely serve the interest of archaeology (as seen in previous chapters).

Thomas [50's, no-longer working in archaeology; retrained as an archivist]: "I prefer regional structures [to commercial units], like [the Duck], but it would be more efficient if they [NPOs] were present everywhere in the various regions of the province. We could have local offices, laboratories and employees paid indirectly by the government, i.e. NPOs with fixed budgets. It works pretty well for [the Duck]. This system with a NPO subsidised by the state has existed for the last twenty years. As a result, commercial units do not go there anymore, or very rarely, and [the Duck] can conduct proper research because it does not have the same structure as a unit, and does not have the same financial constraints with the clients."

2/ Another major difference is the very low wage bill of the NPO, and the almost nonexistent permanent positions, with the exception of the manager himself. These cuts are indeed, for [the Duck], a way to compensate for its financial instability by reducing costs to the minimum. For example, in 2005 and 2006, the costs related to salaries (including benefits) were between $118,000 and $136,000 for a total cost comprised between $184,671 and $232,153 (Tab. 8.1). That is to say that around 60% of the total cost was absorbed by salaries. Another way to sustain the structure is to limit this cost by reducing earnings as far as possible.

Table 8.1: Financial books of a NPO, in 2005-06 ($ CAD).

		2006	2005
Running costs	Wages and benefits	$ 136 422	$ 118 035
	Material and supplies	$ 21 411	$ 11 187
	Travelling expenses	$ 20 328	$ 6370
	Other costs	$ 30 677	$ 27572
	Total / Running Costs	$ 208 838	$ 163 164
Administration costs		$ 23 315	$ 21 507
TOTAL (in $ CAD)		$ 232 153	184 671

Source: Balance sheet 2005-2006, of the NPO: [the Duck]

On the subject of salaries in [the Duck], Charles [28 - Archaeologist assistant or project officer] said: "At the time [2002-2003], everybody [even with different competences and experiences] was paid more or less the same, i.e. between 14 and 15$ an hour. It is already a ridiculous amount for an experienced excavator so it is even worse for a project officer. [...] The main problem is that the NPO is not able to pay its staff properly and the director always ends up all alone, after having invested a lot of energy in training the newcomers. The only ones who stay are often already from the region [...]. In contrast, concerning the research in [the Duck], there are many different exciting projects but the problem is always the distance from the urban centres and the salary. The NPO could pay its employees more but it would end up doing less research. Fortunately, with the few contracts

> with the MTQ, the NPO manages to accumulate a reserve fund which guarantees a certain security and continuity in the work."

The testimony of this ex-NPO employee is crucial to understanding that even if the NPO structure seems more satisfying to work with as an archaeologist, in the end, excavators and project officers are still in a financially precarious position. Also, the situation could be even worse for the archaeologist participating in this sort of structure rather than in a commercial unit, considering that the salaries with the NPOs are the lowest market rates (In 2008, basic NPO's salary was around 16$/h compared to 18.5$/h for the private units; see chap.5), and that the long term perspectives were almost inexistent in terms of employment, as NPOs were almost entirely dependent on the renewal of funding agreements every four years. For this reason, local expertise is mostly developed and kept within a limited core of archaeologists, but it is rarely transferred in the long term to non permanent workers. Nevertheless, as we already saw, local expertise is maintained by the permanence of the manager locally, and by the presence of some employees who generally stay in the NPO for a few years, and then come and go.

3/ Aside from the financial aspects, compared to commercial archaeology [The Duck] appears to be most concerned with the justification of archaeology through social relevance: "[The Duck] *gave its actions the media visibility they deserved, privileging cultural development projects. Thus, the population was always well informed about the agenda and the results of NPO research*" (Côté 2004:94).

> Oscar [35, Archaeologist/Civil Servant]: "Here in [*remote region*] archaeology did not appear because of archaeologists but only because of the determination of the local population. The community hired an archaeologist to develop archaeology and develop the region, and thus, archaeologists must follow the mandate defined by the local population, and keep it informed about archaeological activities."
>
> Charles [28 - Fieldwork Archaeologist – NPO Employee]: "[...] [the Duck] and the museum [*Name*] are the exceptions [*in Quebec*]. These organisations really succeeded in popularising knowledge."

Research oriented, the NPO seems to be successful in its social role, only adapting to the economical obligations of the capitalist market when necessary. It provided a remote region with an archaeological service which contributed greatly to the enhancement of the knowledge of the past, and to its diffusion locally.

> Today, [...] "*the cultural sector benefits from some sympathy; however, it is often perceived as an expensive trinket which does not make any profits. We tried then to break this prejudice and* [archaeology is] *now perceived* [locally] *as a driving economical force* [of the region], *competitive and job-creating in a non-conventional sector"* (Côté 2004:94).

The NPO had been able to adjust to the neoliberal system and to transform itself, when necessary, into a more commercial entity providing services comparable to the one provided by commercial units. Nonetheless, we have seen that this sort of activity is not satisfying for the NPO director who prefers to use it only as a financial lever in case of necessity. All the same, the positive results of the NPO in terms of both archaeological product and archaeological work satisfaction should not hide the fact that the financial situation of the archaeologists working in it is no better and even worse than the ones in commercial units. In terms of professional and public recognition, the employees are more involved in the local communities, but in terms of employment stability and earnings, the situation is still troubling. However, archaeologists are still seduced by the social significance and the research-orientated policies of the NPO, which provides them with both feelings of helping and creating meaning:

> Charles [28 - Fieldwork Archaeologist – NPO Employee]: "In commercial archaeology, we [*archaeologists*] are only mercenaries. We offer our services anywhere, without knowing the region or without having the time to acknowledge it. [...] In contrast, by having experienced work in the archaeological NPOs of Quebec, I now value to their approach because they have some archaeologists working on a long term basis who have developed regional knowledge. Consequently, there is a real monitoring of projects, a permanent presence, and an implication in the local environment. This local implication passes through dissemination of results within the region. It does not exist in commercial archaeology and it will never happen. [...] We speak with the kids, and with the local deputy [...]. We do something comparable to public relations, including talking to the elders and to the First nation communities. It is part of the mandate in archaeological NPOs".

Archaeology as 'voluntary simplicity'?

Based on the ideas of Duan Elgin (1998), the '*simpler way*' or the '*voluntary simplicity*' movement first appeared in United States in the early 1980's, and developed essentially throughout the 1990's. It consists of a pursuing a way of life in which consumption is reduced voluntarily in order to re-centre life on more basic values or values judged as more essential (Stan 2007:93). In Quebec, the movement has been gathering strength and becoming better integrated into society since the end of the 1990's, according to the politician ('*Québec Solidaire*': anti-capitalist party) Mongeau (2007:7-8), and has been adopted in many different areas of the social arena, for various reasons such as: social justice, solidarity, environmental protection, and quest for meaning (Stan 2007:94). Now, what about archaeologists today? Are some archaeologists in a way already part of this 'voluntary simplicity' movement by having already adopted an alternative way of life, for example, by following the seasonal rhythm of archaeological activities in Quebec? Can archaeology be the media through which they can access a long-term and viable simpler way of living by re-centring work on more essential values, such as personal ethics, or professional and personal fulfilment?

The idea of 'voluntary simplicity' touches on the heart of an important debate in archaeology related to the practice of a 'craft' (Shanks & McGuire 1996:75), as well as any other professions where production is related to activities subject to standardisation, and ultimately to the risk of alienation from work. The idea of 'craft' contributes to the reactivation of the ethic of the 'artisan' within the production process (Sennett, cited in Legros 2010:56). This idea of 'craft' seems to have become important for some archaeologists, notably the ones active in NPOs, or in First Nations' organisations, but also, it is sometimes a source of disappointment for those individuals active in commercial archaeology.. Thomas [50's, no longer working in archaeology; retrained as an archivist]: "[...] when I was consultant, I wanted to practise archaeology but only in a certain way, that is to say that my main objective was to produce good reports to be able to be proud of my job."

Today, careers have been replaced by a hazy trajectory that makes it difficult for individuals to build their own narrative through the practice of a recognised and stable profession in the long term (Sennett 2008:50-1). In this sense, the rehabilitation of archaeology into a simpler economic environment, such as NPOs, not ruled by the market economy, and by the constraints I developed in the previous chapter, might involve providing the necessary means and adapted schedules for employees to take part in a professional activity they perceive as a 'good' job.

The priorities of archaeological NPOs could be seen as different from those of commercial units, and can be summarised and viewed as crucial elements of archaeology, as I see it, by the following: 1/ a way of working which is less dependent on money and less constrained by speed; 2/ a craft; 3/ a qualitative product instead of quantitative records; and 4/ a desire for equity and social justice between individuals and between peoples. These characteristics are presented as the main objectives of most NPOs present in Quebec: Artefactuel, Archéo-08, Cree Regional Authority, and Avataq (see websites online). Their agendas testify to the major concerns of their leaders in a quest for a meaningful archaeological product.

On the one hand, by referring to 'voluntary simplicity', I am making a parallel between some developments observed and aspirations heard within archaeological non profit organisations. The parallel can be made essentially with the systematic re-centring of activities towards 'essential values' (Mongeau 2007:93).

> David [29, NPO co-director]: "We do not have the financial means to perform a substantial popularisation of archaeology but we attempt to disseminate the results as much as possible. These are our social values."
> Me: "What do you mean by social values?"
> David: "The vision of our NPO is that heritage, including archaeological heritage, is a social matter. Heritage belongs to everybody. In the end, we would like citizens to appropriate their heritage. [...] We want the public to know that archaeological work consists of understanding the heritage of the territory, which means that this territory had First Nation occupations, Basques on the northern coast, French, English, etc... This is what we want to do, even if it is a little utopian... at least, I would like people to be more careful when they dig their swimming pool, and to make them clearly understand that they are not the first ones here."

The motivations of NPO employees are not necessarily uniform and, as developed earlier, salaries and instability can be a problem for many. The characteristics of the archaeological NPOs can also serve other interests of archaeologists, which, in the 1970s, was a shared ideal amongst the 'flower power' generation, for instance: working part-time (see chap.5) with a group of friends/colleagues; prioritising family and time with children; improving one's talent; doing more voluntary work; reconnecting with nature; and ultimately having more holidays (Mongeau 2008:94). The archaeological NPOs seem to have been or be trying to have the means to privilege solidarity, mutual aid, and communication within the local community, which were for many one of the main reasons for practicing archaeology.

In this context, archaeologists could work with fewer resources and means, but still produce a good product, satisfying for both the producer and the people who receive it, in contrast to the unidirectional relation between a service provider and a client. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, the sole aim of the service provider is client satisfaction. In this way the NPO structure could bring greater satisfaction by refusing to become dependent on the market, focusing its activities on research, and by returning its production to local populations.

On the other hand, by referring to 'voluntary simplicity' I also refer to commercial units, where some archaeologists have chosen to adopt (or accepted by the lack of alternatives) a simpler way of living. They did so by adjusting to seasonal activities, using the interruptions of their professional activities as positively as possible. The idea is, for a cyclical period during the year, to make a living out of the unemployment wage, and to dedicate their life to other activities, such as creative ones (art, music, writings, including occasional archaeological publications), personal (couple, children), or aiming for the improvement of their quality of life (habitat construction or renovation). Andrew [37, digger/archaeologist in units]: "For me, precariousness is not really threatening [...]. When one is 25 years old and free for three months [*because of unemployment*], it is for the best! Personally, I am very happy to be unemployed [*so I can do other things*], but it is not sustainable if it happens too often!"

The alternative or simple living strategies developed by archaeologists/diggers involved in both non commercial and commercial contexts are equally inventive and innovative. However, even if the NPO structure seems to be able to assure a better continuity of the development of the archaeologist's personal goals, and sustain fruitful research, it will definitively find it more difficult to guarantee the continuity of individual careers, in comparison to, for example, a permanent government position or even for a series of renewed contracts with commercial archaeological units.

Finally, it should be noticed here that a tradition of archaeological trusts has existed elsewhere, such as in England, particularly in the 1970's (Wainwright 2000: 914-5). This trend is well illustrated by Rahtz's career as an amateur/gentleman in the UK (Rahtz 2001), mostly within the Council for British Archaeology (Rahtz 2001:203). Rahtz expressed his scepticism and has criticised, like Biddle, the process of professionalisation induced since the 1970's and its consequences for fieldwork (Rahtz 2001: 254-5).

However, many of the trusts created at the time have now disappeared. One of the survivors was created in 1974: the York Archaeological Trust (*York Archaeological Trust* website, consulted online) is still very active amongst the citizens of York. The '*Greater York Community Archaeology Project*' seems to be a fruitful project involving local populations and giving the people the opportunity to reconnect with their past. However, the archaeological charity seems to have structured itself on the model of a commercial unit. The first words one sees when connecting to their website is:

'*Commercial Services*', before '*Public Access Archaeology*'. The structure, which supports a very large number of employees, obviously followed the commercial model common in England since the 1980's, despite the fact that the charity had not been formed to generate profits. It is then questionable whether such an organisation is still able to fulfil its social role with the local populations in the same way as the NPO described earlier does in Quebec. Further research should be conducted in England to determine what the present main product of this type of NPO is exactly.

In Quebec, an entity very similar to the trust described above and called: '*Réseau Archéo-Quebec*' (see website), is a NPO dedicated to popularise archaeology. However, like in England, this institution started to shadow the neoliberal system and ended up competing with other NPOs for popularisation contracts, without even practising any direct archaeological activity.

> David [29, NPO co-director]: "The Archeo-Quebec network strayed from its mission. [...] They competed with their own members! For example, their educational kit is in direct competition to ours. In fact, the network hires various people to give presentations, so they deliver a service, which is paid for by schools. [...] Today, the network behaves like a firm, and competes on an unequal footing with us."

These two last examples are important because they illustrate well how NPO structures can easily be transformed into something else, and how global neoliberal ideologies can pressurise a structure into transforming itself into something closer to capitalist standards, involving contracts, competition, and profitability. This could lead to the loss of most primary objectives of dissemination of knowledge among the population.

In this reflexive analysis towards archaeological NPO activities and goals, two points should be emphasised:
First, the NPO model seems successful in alleviating the alienation of mind and spirit that diggers often experience with units but it appears also to accentuate wage exploitation and precariousness. Moreover, the 'simpler way of life seems to exist not only in NPOs, but also among the employees of commercial units who use the fluctuation of activities during the year to re-center their life on other activities than economic ones. According to some, quality of life was not necessarily damaged by precariousness but, on the contrary, this contributed at times to finding alternative ways of finding happiness by leading a modest life.
Second, according to the testimonies collected, the adoption of a 'simpler way' of life does not necessarily result from a deliberate choice, but more from adaptation to a specific rough economic context. In other words, the 'simpler way' may sometimes

willingly be adopted by archaeologists, mostly by diggers, but it has often been imposed by circumstances.

8.3 Renewing relations with First-Nation peoples and their past

As noted in this chapter, '*sustainable development*' has become a common maxim adopted as a principle of behaviour in most western societies. The idea supposedly subscribes to the global green/environmental concern, but also includes some post-colonial repentance feelings concerning First nations, as is the case in Quebec: the official northern sustainable development politics and agreements included both nature and culture preservation (see chap.3). In Quebec, 'sustainable development' has been used as an excuse mostly to serve specific capitalist interests, such as the expansionist one of the corporation Hydro-Québec, which employs most of the archaeological units (see chaps.3 and 4). We saw that by 'saving' First nation heritage, the company generated a caring image while maintaining growth and profitability. Archaeology and Native Canadians hardly made any social or knowledge gains from the process, except from some financial ones. Consequently, commercial archaeology, used as such, seems to have no vocation, space, time or means to participate in the integration of First nations' past, and in providing social justice for these populations.

Yet, First nation NPOs (as well as non native ones) could be an effective counterweight by applying a different ideological approach to the practice of archaeology and thereby becoming more beneficial for native populations. These structures, where activities are not regulated by a relationship between a service provider and a client, could allow the implementation of positively renewed relations between white Euro-Canadians and First Nation peoples. Equally important, they could improve comprehension and integration of the past for the native populations themselves.

Now, both the notions of 'de-growth' and 'localism' echo the notions of 'civic engagement' (Little & Shackel 2007). This concept seems to be of particular interest to NPOs, especially to the two created by the First-Nations themselves in Quebec: *Avataq* & the *Cree Regional Authority (C.R.A.).* As presented earlier, Trainer's definition of a NPO (2007:5) could also apply adequately to the situation of many Native Canadian communities: the NPO should be created in a small community environment, and in a mostly self-sufficient economic system. This economic system should be controlled by the society in which it operates, not motivated by profit, highly cooperative and participatory.

First Nations search for recognition and social justice

It should be pointed out that since colonisation the perception of indigenous peoples' past and present in Quebec society has been problematic. From an indigenous point of view, one of my interviewees, Lewis [in his 50's, Mohawks, Ex-Chief] confided that: "When one looks at the history programs in the schools of Quebec, it is easy to understand why there are still so many stereotypes in people's minds. [...] Historical perception has always remained the same*"*. Also, Ghislain Picard (Great Chief of the First Nations in Quebec and Labrador) said that: "the '*others' saw me as evil and I perceived myself as evil*, [and today] *the myth of the useless and troublemaker native still persists in people's minds*" (Larochelle 2004:1). In a similar way, in the 1990s, the perception of American Indians by White Americans has been described by McGuire as 'alien':

> "*Most White American attitudes to Indian people have stemmed from a definition of the Indian as an alien and singular other [...]. Defining Indian people as alien placed them outside the usual rights and privileges of White society; lumping all Indian people in a single group any denying them an identity except in relation to Whites* (McGuire 1992:817)."

In Quebec, the attitude towards indigenous peoples among those of white European descent has been generally contemptuous, and often self-derogatory within the indigenous communities (Girouard 1970:24). In that respect, according to Martijn, in the 1970s and 1980s, most of Quebec's archaeologists failed to adopt an ethical and fair archaeological approach to the indigenous people, by failing to take into consideration their role in our modern society (Martijn 2002:207). In fact, the archaeological past of the indigenous people has been exclusively controlled and elaborated by Anglophone intellectuals and later by Francophone archaeologists.

Now, could it be that the creation of First Nations' NPOs since the end of the 1980's is a way for Native populations to take back their history and identity, and construct a way for their own future? Is the economic model of the NPO more suited to pursuing First nations' objectives in obtaining social justice? Ultimately, what could be the main issues provoked by this development?

How an alternative model of archaeology can work with First nations

An important transformation occurred in Quebec when a new form of archaeology appeared, which could be qualified as 'indigenous archaeology'. McGuire defined different facets which he considers as the '*key to the praxis of indigenous archaeology*' (2008:80). His point of view, similar to the vision shared by many other archaeologists (Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al.* 2010, Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008, Lippert

2005, Little and Shackel 2007, Sabloff 2008, Silliman 2010, Watkins 2003, Zimmerman 2008, Zimmerman *et al.* 2003) can be summarised by the following four points:
1/ archaeology has "*to serve the interests of native communities*";
2/ *"the method of working with these communities is collaboration"*;
3/ "*collaboration requires that many voices be heard*";
4/ "*this kind of archaeology should be of use to indigenous peoples*". (McGuire 2008:80)

In Quebec, this new form of archaeological practice appeared in two different types of organisations, always embedded within the third branch of the economy, (the social economy):
1/ NPOs led by Euro-Canadians working occasionally in collaboration with native populations.
2/ NPOs led by native communities but employing Euro-Canadian archaeologists: *C.R.A.* and *Avataq Institute*.

Commercial archaeology proved not to be in a position to fulfil the objectives described by McGuire (2008:80). Now, are these NPOs in a better position to do the job in Quebec? To illustrate how NPOs deal with the First Nation peoples, and in order to contrast it with the deficiencies of commercial archaeology on the subject, I would like here to allow the NPO actors to express their perceptions of their archaeological activities:

> Ethan [in his early 50's, NPO's archaeologist director]: "Progressively the mandate [of the NPO] is orienting our work towards integration of the natives past within the present communities. Yet, until recently, the Cree community considered it more important to excavate on their territory. It was more concrete for them. They thought that the objects they recovered belonged to them, and that the objects discovered by Hydro-Québec belonged to the corporation. [...] For now, they perceive archaeology as a competition between two teams to recover the past! However, their search for identity considerably developed their interest for archaeology, which they have started using for their own interests. However, the negative aspect of this current process is that there is still no general vision. It should come soon with projects of archaeological development aiming to present the results, and return the artefacts to the Cree communities. Work should then switch towards a new dynamic between archaeologists and the Cree, one that is mutually fruitful."
>
> Charles [28 - Fieldwork Archaeologist – NPO employee]: "Next year, [in one of the archaeological NPOs of Quebec] we have planned 3-4 months of 'canoe archaeology'! The concept is that we are going to roam around the Rupert River.

We will go with some native elders, who will show us their typical hunting and camping spots, for us to identify some zones with high archaeological potential."

Hugo [53 - NPO director]: "It is up to them [the natives] to create their own link [between past and present]. If we do not let them do that by themselves, our behaviour will be no different than the colonials. They will use what they need and want to write their own history. When they come to see me with questions in their eyes, they do not expect me to tell them what the truth is. What they want from me, is just to know what I know, and then they are more than able to interpret by themselves what I told them."

According to these testimonies, what characterises NPO activities on the First Nation populations of Quebec seems to correspond better to what McGuire defined as '*indigenous archaeology*' (2008:80), than commercial structures. Archaeologists in NPOs adopt a '*humble*' attitude towards their knowledge; they fundamentally '*respect the communities*' that they are working with; and they obviously count on a long-term '*collaboration*' with the natives. Not only that, this type of archaeology produced in NPOs provides a real opportunity for multivocality – which has to be avoided in commercial archaeology in order to deliver a neutral product to the client – while looking for objective understandings (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006:159). The archaeological director of one of the NPOs, Milan, is a good example of how multilayered narratives of the past can be produced (McGuire 2008:81), which will be interconnected and complementary, instead of being competitive:

Milan [47, NPO archaeologist director]: "The present objective [*of the NPO*] is to give entire control to the Inuit. We [white Euro-Canadians] have money available to invest in gathering information about history, but if the Inuit peoples develop interesting projects by themselves, and they do not need us, we encourage them to do it. We collaborate as much as possible and develop exhibitions and publications with them. This approach comes with the idea of recognising traditional knowledge. [...] I think that the two sides of the coin are equally important: on the one hand, the traditional Inuit vision and their perception of their history and their life; on the other hand, our vision, more documentary in nature. The two visions seem to me much more relevant than only one."

The adoption of an 'indigenous archaeology' in most NPOs follows the general logic of the 'de-growth' idea. It does so by:

1/ downscaling the economy of the archaeological organisation: as expected, an NPO does this because it has no remit to make profits. The NPO uses all its financial assets to serve research and the social interests of First Nations, not for its own wealth. As a result, larger budgets only serve to maintain larger teams for longer periods, not to increase the profit margin.

2/ reintroducing the ideas of localism: the NPO dedicates a large part of its activities to the local interest of the native communities: knowledge of the past and its diffusion, identity re-appropriation, and social justice through a larger recognition and legitimate presence in Quebec society.

3/ camaraderie: most NPOs involve ethnic diversity (Euro-Canadians and Native Canadians), reducing competition within the teams, and contributing to better relationships between workers, including between white and native peoples. Nevertheless, this aspect is still problematic in Quebec, even with the efforts deployed in the last decade.

4/ quantitatively limiting production, and being more demanding qualitatively: most native NPOs aim to implement excavations, analyses and publications of the indigenous past to promote education, collaboration, and a multivocal final product. Not only that, archaeology comes as one of the aspects of a revival of a Native Canadian cultural product, involving languages, art, oral tradition, and writings. Archaeology is often integrated amongst all these initiatives to serve First nation agendas.

Finally, I should also emphasise here that a First nation archaeological NPO structure is not devoid of faults, and also has potential ethical issues, as commercial archaeology has, and which has been well identified by Scarre and Scarre:

> *"What if the researcher is commissioned by the indigenous community [...]: is [the researcher] bound to provide an interpretation that is favourable to [the] employers' interests?"* (2006:49)

During my research, I asked the same question to an archaeologist, leader of an archaeological NPO, but employed by a specific ethnic group of Native Canadians:

> Me: "Being employed by a Cree organisation, does this influence your activities? Is your objectivity threatened?"
>
> Ethan [in his early 50's, NPO's archaeologist director]: "Those are questions I have to ask myself very often. I don't have clear answers about this. I try to avoid taking purely political stands, divorced from archaeological realities. I have a scientific education, so I cannot lie to myself, and I cannot deny my rational knowledge. There are clearly grey areas in the way of expressing things or interpreting things, which could take us in a direction or another. For example, the fact that we work for the Cree, means that we have more systematic tendencies to make links between archaeological results and the present. [...] The main idea is that most of

> the time, [the archaeology we produce] is a debate between ideas and the answer is always a blurry one. [...] In terms of ethics, we are obliged to juggle between social ethic and professional ethic. This process can lead us in many different directions."

The major problem here is indeed to guarantee that archaeologists and indigenous communities find a balance between their understanding and their interpretations of the past. The risk is an unbalanced relation, serving only the interests of one or the other actors. On that matter, the danger inherent with the adoption of a unilateral set of ethics and politics has been addressed by Hamilakis (2007:33). He suggests that even collaboration with indigenous groups, including those seeking primarily social justice, should be subjected to a political critique.

Questions regarding who actually benefits from this sort of collaboration, what benefits manifest themselves, and what sorts of ideas are being promoted need to be asked. For example, according to my interviewees working in NPOs, there is presently a significant progression of evangelical beliefs present in Inuit communities. One such belief being that Native Americans are one of the lost tribes of Israel.

> Grace [26 – NPO employee]: "In the North, within the Inuit communities, archaeology sometimes clashes with the interests of the born again Christians. The theory of evolution had been rejected to the point that, in class, a student came with a gun. Nowadays, it's impossible to teach the theory in school. The rock engravings, found and published by [*Name*], constituted a scandal for the community, and were vandalised. Some people from the Inuit community told us that the sites should be destroyed because they represent the devil!"

Archaeologists and archaeological data are entering in direct conflict with this new belief, which vigorously rejects any scientific reconstruction of the past. Only a certain past is selected: the one compatible with the evangelist interpretation of history and time scale. In this case, should archaeologists participate in reinforcing this collective aspiration of the communities by integrating "white" cosmology, which would then help First Nation people to stop seeing themselves as "aliens"? However, at the same time, such efforts allow these indigenous populations to deny scientific and rational claims obtained from archaeological research.

In fact, the adoption of this specific religious dogma does not provide the Inuit with emancipation, social justice or even better integration into the white community, but instead subjects them to new and more insidious form of colonisation. Thus, participant collaboration in archaeology also means being critical, without necessarily accepting all visions or denials of the past.

Nevertheless, the process which Quebec archaeology has entered into with the creation of the First nation NPOs, seems to be positive for the communities, but efforts need to be implemented to create an effective bridge between Native Canadians and Euro-Canadians. Archaeology could and should participate in this process to establish a valid 'political ethic' (Hamilakis 2007:32-7).

CONCLUSION

By distancing oneself from the existing present model of the commercial units, it seems possible to build a more humanistic agenda for archaeology. Embedded in the social economy, archaeological NPOs can favour a local enhancement of quality of life (Bouchard-Fortier, M. *et al.* 2007:134), both for the practitioners of archaeology and the public, focusing archaeological activities on social participation, public involvement, mutual aid, non commercial human exchange, and the fulfilment of people's aims (Archéo-08 2004, consulted online: http://www.archeo08.qc.ca/fou.html; Artefactuel 2008, consulted online: http://www.artefactuel.ca/projets.aspx; Avataq 2010, consulted online: http://www.avataq.qc.ca/en/Institute/Departments/Archaeology/Projects-and-Activities/Community-and-Entreprises-Services; Caplain 2008; Côté 1995, 2004; Côté and Inksetter 2002; Denton 1997, 2001, 2002, 2004; Gauvin 2004; Musée Virtuel du Canada 2006).

Now, the 'social economy' system, embodied in society by the NPOs, clearly contributes to a more successful dissemination of archaeological knowledge, and a better and more satisfying archaeological practice compared to commercial archaeology results. Nevertheless, in Quebec realities, it seems difficult to concede space to the 'third branch' of the economy in archaeology, apart from the central state model or the competitive model. However, a solution for an ethical, objective, and socially significant practice of archaeology could be found in the development and the spreading of the NPO model throughout the Canadian province. This model is characterised by a form of freedom, the freedom to participate in collaborative and democratic initiatives (Jeantet 2008:36), the main feature currently lacking in commercial archaeology. Also, this alternative model appeared mostly in remote areas of the province of Quebec, where the aspirations for social integration are the strongest, proportional to the feeling of social disfranchisement due to the distance from the urban and decisional centres.

However, a major constraint still counteracts the development of NPOs in Quebec, which only represent 8% of active archaeologists (see chap.5): financial resources and the earnings of employees, which remain dramatically unstable and low. However, for some actors working in the NPOs, the economic lag can be compensated: many archaeologists see a stronger personal interest in practising archaeology in NPOs which allows them to perform archaeology as a craft, focused on research and local popularisation, in complete opposition to the perceived alienated profession, practiced in commercial contexts.

Now, in terms of civic engagement and social justice, NPOs seem to be in a good position within the archaeological network to fulfil these objectives with the disfranchised groups, notably the First Nation populations. Most NPOs are applying a collaborative model, which seems to take into consideration not only archaeological results but also the native knowledge. By focusing on collaboration, NPOs have then the freedom to give the necessary space and time to generate a fair multivocality.
The collaboration of archaeological NPOs with First nation communities was thus a major change, necessary to counterbalance the failure of archaeologists to listen and to consult with Native Canadians in Quebec up to the 1980's. The implementation of First nation NPOs considerably increased their participation in Canadian archaeology and, most importantly, empowered them in matters of history and identity.

In the end, the NPO model seems to be a better model of development for archaeology, but the existing system is still not mature enough to guarantee continuity in activities and proper salaries for employees. For this reason, the NPO is not yet a viable alternative for commercial archaeology in Quebec.

CONCLUSION

Archaeology as a profession, practice and discipline appears to be negatively affected by the current market economy. Taken Quebec as a case study, this thesis demonstrates the following key points regarding the implementation of commercial archaeology:

a) Fieldworkers participating in projects for commercial archaeology prove to be alienated from the product of their work due to, essentially, a change in the purpose of their profession, which is now commodified to serve the interests of the client/developer. Participants are discouraged by poor working conditions, and by a latent precariousness of the work.

b) Commercial archaeology's product does not preserve its potential socio-political and/or educational significance and instead has been transformed into a neutral product. In order to satisfy its clients, commercial archaeology units practice an archaeology characterised as minimal and technical. The activities are reduced to "preservation by record" (Hamilakis and Aitchison 2009). The public does not benefit from such archaeological products, despite public taxes' being the main source of many archaeological interventions.

c) Viewed from an economic standpoint, commercial archaeology proves to be ill-adapted to those rules which govern market competition. Competition amplifies employment flexibility within the units. It also makes archaeological units tender low to win contracts. Units cannot impose high prices for services, and impose higher standards of practice because of the absence of levers such as: lobbying, representation or union. The regulation appears weak and the means provided by the government useless to compensate the effect of competition.

d) Alternatives to commercial units exist in the social economy through NPOs, providing a better product for both archaeologists and the population, but this has yet to prove to be anything other than financially unsustainable.

I would now like to expand further on these principal results.

Present standards of the organisation of work have been defined within 1980s neoliberal ideology. Perpetually extending out to new domains in society, the capitalist logic of the privatisation of activities, considered as non-profit making, prompted the rise of commercial archaeology. In the 1980s, this logic consisted in reorganising costly activities for the state, regions, local councils, or even trusts, and transferring them to business entities seen as more 'efficient' and profitable. As a result, the economic paradigm of the period, rarely challenged until recently, was based on the following ideas: professional activities had to aim to create wealth, the private sector was considered 'the' answer to everything, the free market was trusted blindly, public services were treated with contempt, and growth was perceived as unlimited.

The 2008 financial crisis illustrated that counting merely on the capitalist system to take care of the common good could be problematic in itself. Sooner or later, such a system will be the victim of its own excess, notably by alienating practitioners even from the most meaningful professional activities; an alienation which results from the economic mechanisms implemented to sustain the logic of profit. Reading the literature on the UK, it becomes clear that in a 'developer-funded' system commercial archaeology has engendered various recognised problems, due to the implementation of the service provider/client model. For example, the professionalisation induced by the commercial relationship re-centred archaeological activities on technical and quantifiable operations, involving low wages, and creating the conditions for disenchantment and discontent within the archaeological workforce. Archaeology has been described as having been undermined by a multiplication of interventions in the field, followed by an accumulation of 'records' without the means to perform proper analyses, research and publication. With these facts in mind, I felt it was legitimate to challenge the idea of adopting the rules of the economic market for archaeological practice.

Yet, how did archaeology end up in such a problematic situation, and what path was chosen for archaeology in Quebec, where the focus of my case study lies? After WW2, with the advent of the modern state, basic services to the population and free and universal access to education and culture were controlled by the state. Accordingly, in Quebec, the nationalist aspirations and identity claims from the 1950s onwards gave control of the province to the Francophone community, who created most of the heritage policies. This politically activist period is where the origins of Quebec's professional archaeology lie. This period has been termed the '*Cultural Objectification Period'* (Handler 1988:11), because of an orderly attempt to materialise a Québécois culture. The state was the driving force of this culture development.

In contrast, the following period, the 1980s, saw the advent of neoliberalism, which I have defined in Quebec as a period of 'state disengagement'. In this transitional period, the semi-public corporation Hydro-Québec, in charge of exploiting the Northern resources of the province since the 1970s, deeply influenced the way archaeology was implemented. It did so by imposing competitive rules, and a subcontracting system, which led to the creation of most archaeological units in Quebec.

Consequently, Hydro-Québec created the conditions for a flexible archaeological market consisting of the delivery of services to clients like any other business. Hydro-Québec was also the centre of a complex dynamic between Quebec's archaeology and the First Nation peoples. The corporation adopted ambiguous ethical-political principles, oscillating between: 1/ willingly preserving Native Canadian heritage as well as sharing the financial benefits of hydro-electricity development with them, and 2/ providing the company with a respectable corporate image by dealing with the First Nation 'problem', and respecting the agreements signed between those minorities and the White Canadians, thus avoiding any legal issues, and prioritising the research of profits.

Today, most archaeological activities in Quebec are entrusted to commercial units (73%). Nevertheless, in Quebec, this process produced no benefit for the public. In fact, when the state transfers all its assets to private companies, it is always the community who has to deal with most of the loss, and even sometimes to deal with the cost. In Quebec, the state is still partially in control of the archaeological process. Often, the state is in charge of designating units, and providing most of the funding for excavations (sourced from taxpayer contributions). In this precise case, it is difficult to talk about an ethical and responsible use of public funds. Thus, despite the fact that archaeology in Quebec is based on a competitive system with state regulations, archaeology is almost entirely funded by governmental and para-governmental entities (77%). This situation is unique, paradoxical and highly problematic in the sense that the public is thus paying for a service designed mostly to favour the interests of developers.

This system gives rise to a *mixed economy* of the worse kind, relieving the developers/clients of any legal and moral responsibilities related to the destruction or alteration of remains of the past, as well as any financial costs attached to it. The government gives its prerogatives to private units that are supposed to administer them more cheaply and better than the state can itself, but the government retains all social responsibility towards its people. However, the state is unable to produce any results, and unable to justify the use of money originating from the taxes deducted. The product of the unit should serve the public through publications, preservation, presentation, exhibitions, but the mission attributed to the units does not correspond to these criteria: instead, the unit has to serve the politics of growth, economic development, urban planning, and construction. Archaeology is then treated as a hindrance to growth, and consequently, the units are asked to deliver a neutral product which does not obstacle development.

From a legal point of view, the regulations in Quebec are not being enforced by the state, but are in fact becoming more and more permissive. This weakness is now unbalancing the triangular relations between developers, state, and archaeological units. Weak regulations reduce state control, paving the way for strict commercial relations between the developer and the archaeological unit, becoming 'developer-funded'. The market would then trust archaeologists to auto-regulate their work through 'soft-regulations' defined by rules of conduct, and 'professional' and technical procedures, as was the case in the UK with the PPG16 and the MAP2. Defining and applying high standards of archaeological practice drastically increased the quality of archaeological practice and records. Yet, this so called 'professionalisation' does not in any way guarantee the delivery of a more socially significant archaeological product for populations, nor an effervescent production of scientific knowledge and debates. As such, archaeologists are no longer practicing archaeology as a 'craft', but instead practice hyper-technical work to the point of fetishisation. Archaeology is little more than an automated technology which we could call 'preservation by record' (Hamilakis & Aitchison 2009). This technical product also implies hypothetical future research and publication directed by someone else, or by some other organisation with the time and the proper financial resources (research institutes, universities, regions, city councils, etc.). In other words, in order to deal with the obvious failure of archaeology products to maintain lasting relevance, archaeologists appear to be trying to convince themselves, as a matter of self-preservation, of the value of their technicalised work.

Now, what are the visions and perceptions of archaeologists about their profession and about the transformations I have just described? In the 1960s and 1970s archaeology appeared to many of my interviewees as a profession that could satisfy the ideals expressed in the social revolution of these decades. Those practicing archaeology sought salvation from mundane daily obligations and satisfaction from their professional work. Archaeology was imagined as a site where the profession and personal lives of those who participated in it could be reconciled. This vision has persisted today, but the younger generations of my respondents are obviously more cynical about what archaeology can do for them and the community. In fact, the realities of commercial archaeology are that the function of archaeologists in units is limited to serving developers, aiming at satisfying their needs, or tempering those needs, to avoid systematic destruction of archaeological sites. In these circumstances, archaeologists are more or less conscious of having been dispossessed of their production, which has been reshaped as a neutral product, and has eventually lost its significance. Thus, archaeologists suffer without having necessarily identified the source of their sufferance.

Archaeologists were not only dispossessed of their production. My quantitative analysis showed that the adoption of the commercial model contributed to the establishment of precariousness as a normal standard within archaeological units. As a result, in the UK and most obviously in Quebec, it has been shown that the profession is deserted almost systematically by professionals in their thirties, and most prominently by women, who dominate the population of archaeologists in their twenties. In Quebec, the entire Generation 'X' (born between 1964 and 1976) is almost missing from the population under study, which underlines one of the major issues for archaeologists, that of being an economically marginal group. For the people who work in archaeology, the consequences of privatisation are then a proletarianisation of these qualified professionals, despite the fact that most of them are graduates. As a result, workers in archaeology, dragged into a social downward spiral, are forced to opt out of the profession as soon as personal fulfilment cannot be sustained by archaeological activities.

Following this quantitative display of the damage caused by the implementation of the competitive market in archaeology, ethnographic results went further by demonstrating that archaeological practice has been alienated from the archaeologists themselves through the implementation of competitive rules and profitability:
1/ It has been shown that capitalist logic ignores the long-term intellectual process of the archaeological work, and undermines the identity of workers who become 'technicians' or itinerant specialists accomplishing specific tasks in the short term; 2/ The lack of time and means to perform well, induced by the contract system obligations, weakens the capacity of archaeologists to accomplish what they consider their craft, and ultimately publish or popularise the results of their work; 3/ The extreme flexibility of the archaeological work market has provoked a 'de-skilling' of the profession because individuals are now all replaceable; 4/ Clients' requirements are not necessarily in accordance with archaeologists' objectives, but these alien and often absurd requirements now have the priority; 5/ Finally, the initial passion expressed by archaeologists for the profession, which is central in most of the testimonies collected, can lead to an over investment. Yet, this dedication is rarely rewarding in terms of financial compensation, social recognition for their work, or, most importantly, by the feeling of having accomplished a good job.

Finally, the different forms of alienation from work combined with recurrent precariousness in commercial archaeology have resulted in common disillusionment amongst archaeologists. As long as profitability, efficiency, and productivity are favoured over all other values, neglecting all ethical aspects and sociological consequences within the practice of archaeology, relevance or usefulness of the archaeological work cannot be demonstrated.

Also, from an economic point of view, the political-economy used in commercial archaeology, embodied mostly by a bidding mathematic equation, renders the profession dependant on the demands of the clients, and most of all, it defines value for archaeological units in accordance to formalist economical pointers, based essentially on time and money. Economically, indeed, developers mainly see archaeology as a waste. In the case of Quebec, public money is then injected into the private sector to take care of the archaeological 'problems' ('problems' for the developer). In doing so, the taxpayers are dispossessed of their financial contribution, and simply dispossessed of 'their' heritage. In this case, archaeological units have no vocation in producing results for people, but more in producing reports which serve the interests of the developer. The commercial archaeological product is actually not made for the people but only guarantees the continuation, without restrictions, of economic growth. Archaeology, as such, produces financial complacency for the professionals, who use it only as a source of earnings, while knowing perfectly well the insignificance of most results generated. Thus, in contrast with liberal economic theories and sometimes in opposition to popular beliefs, privatisation has been inefficient for the practice of a satisfactory profession both for archaeologists, and for the national or local communities in Quebec.

Do alternatives exist as ways out of these economic mechanisms? In Quebec, these alternatives come in the form of NPOs, and can be separated into Euro-Canadian and First Nation structures. These two types of regional structures, created on the initiative of local populations, share the following aims: 1/ enhancing the quality of life of people by giving the community the tools to understand their past and construct identities, 2/ focusing archaeological activities on social participation, public involvement, mutual aid, and humanistic non commercial exchange, 3/ fulfilling individual curiosity, 4/ fulfilling professional objectives, and, in the end, 5/ contributing directly to the 'economy of happiness' (Bourdieu 1998: 46). Both types of NPOs seem to have achieved a better archaeological product both for the interests of local population, who achieved access to their past and the tools to understand it (Euro-Canadian and Native Canadian alike), as well as for archaeologists, who mostly express greater satisfaction in integrating long-term research projects.

NPOs thus provide a new inclusive democratic model based on a direct and local relationship between an archaeological entity and the population, which should be both the investor and the receptor of the archaeological product. The development of local initiatives like NPOs seems to be a fruitful solution, but it still seems an unstable and unsure long term answer, due to the financial precariousness in which it is presently embedded. Despite the improved results we saw in this research of such an organisational system, it is still presumptuous today to think that NPOs, which represent 8% of active archaeologists in Quebec, could constitute a viable governance system in the long term for archaeology. Another issue present within the Native Canadian NPOs, are their tendencies to serve a specific agenda sustaining nationalist, territorial, financial and identity claims. Archaeologists need to be aware of these facts and critical of them, in order to avoid the systematic instrumentalisation of the profession. Instead, the objective of NPOs should be to create a fertile multivocality serving social justice, communication and mutual understanding.

Ultimately, the objective of this research is to open up possible new avenues of research and inquiry. This study provided me with the opportunity to study two different systems of archaeological practices: 1/ commercial archaeology in England, and, in more detail, 2/ an archaeology also practiced in the market economy, but still partially regulated by the state, in Quebec. Those two systems are not the only ones used in archaeology in the world, and other orientations have been taken by professional archaeology in the last thirty years. It would be relevant to develop this knowledge of other archaeological systems in order to obtain a wider vision of archaeological practices, work conditions, research results and production.

A new area of research needs to be developed, focusing on the 'intermediary' systems, neither entirely private nor completely state controlled, such as in the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden. Furthermore, the centralised state model, when the state controls archaeological resources and funding, and manages excavation and archaeological research, like in France, Italy or Greece, also needs to be scrutinised and compared with the results of this research, in order to complete the critical portrait of modern and professional archaeology and its transformations over the last decades.

The alternative model described in this thesis, embodied by the NPOs which represent the 'third branch of the economy', is a very promising one, and probably better suited to the practice of an ethical and meaningful archaeology than the one produced by commercial archaeology. However, as demonstrated in this thesis, this model suffers from major financial disadvantages. The exploration of other archaeological NPO models in the western world could be used to generate a model that could be applied internationally, but on a local level, to finally obtain a satisfactory archaeological product for all.

Finally, exploring other practices of professional archaeology could: 1/ aid the public and archaeologists to better comprehend the socio-political implications of archaeology, and to give archaeology (even professional) the space to play its role as a social actor; 2/ favour communication between academia and other archaeological professional actors, and encourage and sustain a synergic production of relevant knowledge for all; 3/ allow grant agencies (public, private or associative) to understand the reasons for the practice of archaeology, and more importantly, comprehend its socio-political value, which could justify financial investment beyond the profitability expectations and pressures embedded in the neoliberal framework.

A P P E N D I C E S

Reference Number	Full Time / Part Time / Contracts / Retired / Out	*Organisation Type*	*Organisation Name*	Gender	Age (in 2007)	Diplomas	AAQ Members
1	Out	Not for Profit Organisation (NPO) / Unit	SANM / Arkéos / Archéobec	M	N/A	M.Sc Anthropology	
2	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Archéo-08	M	40	M.A Classic Studies	
3	Contracts	NPO	Archéo-08 / C.R.A. / Arkéos.Inc	M	28	M.Sc Anthropology	
4	Part Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	37	M.Sc Anthropology	
5	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	31	M.A Classic Studies	
6	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	F	30	M.Sc Anthropology	
7	Contracts	Unit	Ostéothèque / P.Dumais / Arkéos Inc. / Archéo-08	F	27	B.Sc Anthropology	Étudiant
8	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	F	29	M.Sc Anthropology	
9	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	29	B.A Archaeoogy	
10	Part Time	College	John Abbott College	F	51	M.A Archaeology	
11	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	37	M.Sc Anthropology / M.A Arts	
12	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc. / Archéotec.Inc	M	25	B.Sc Anthropology	
13	Contracts	Unit / Consultant	Arkéos Inc./ Ville de Montréal	M	50	M.A Archaeology	Régulier
14	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc	F	28	M.Sc Anthropology	
15	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	34	Post-doc Archaeology	
16	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	57		
17	Part Time	Consultant	Local Government / Provincial Government	M	53	B.Sc Anthropology	
18	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	49	M.A Archaeology	Régulier
19	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture	M	54	PhD Archaeology	
20	Retired	NPO / Federal Government	Parks Canada / Association des Archéologues du Québec - AAQ	M	N/A		Régulier
21	Full Time	University	Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (UQAC)	M	58	PhD Archaeology	Régulier
22	Part Time	Unit / Museum / Academic	Subarctique enr. / Nouvelle-France / U.Q.A.C	M	43	M.Sc Anthropology	Régulier
23	Contracts	NPO / Unit	Archéo-08 / Avataq / Ethnoscop	M	32	B.Sc Anthropology	
24	Part Time	NPO	Avataq	F	26	B.Sc Anthropology	

25	Out	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	N/A	B.A Classic Studies	
26	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	F	29	B.A Archaeology	
27	Contracts	Unit	Archéodesign Inc. / Archéotec.Inc	M	29	A Level	
28	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc.	F	33	M.Sc Anthropology	
29	Contracts	Unit / Consultant	Ethnoscop Inc. / Ville de Montréal	M	37	PhD Archaeology	Régulier
30	Out	Unit / Museum / Academic	Ethnoscop Inc. / Pointe-du-Buisson / UdM / Arkéos Inc. / Archéotec Inc.	F	N/A	M.Sc Anthropology	
31	Part Time	NPO	Artefactuel	M	29	M.A. Archaeology	
32	Full Time	University	Université Laval	M	52	PhD Archaeology	Régulier
33	Full Time	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	M	53	PhD Archaeology	
34	Full Time	Local Government	Ville de Montréal	M	46	M.Sc Archaeology & Ethnohistory	Régulier
35	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture / Gestion des permis, Direction de la Capitale-Nationale	F			
36	Full Time	NPO	Cree Regional Authority	M			
37	Full Time	NPO	Cree Regional Authority	M	41	M.Sc Archaeology	Régulier
38	Full Time	NPO	Archéo-08	M	53	PhD Anthropology (level)	Régulier
39	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture	M	32	M.Sc Archaeology	
40	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc. / Parks Canada / C.R.A.	F	41	M.Sc Anthropology	Étudiant
41	Full Time	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	M	51	M.Sc Anthropology	
42	Full Time	NPO	Avataq	M	47	M.Sc Archaeology	
43	Full Time	Local Government	Ville de Québec	M	55	M.A Archaeology	Régulier
44	Retired	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture	M	N/A	M.Sc Anthropology	Honoraire
45	Full Time	Corporation	Hydro-Québec	M	51	M.Sc Anthropology	Régulier
46	Contracts	Consultant	Tecsult Inc./AECOM	M	39	M.Sc Archaeology	
47	Full Time	University	Université du Québec à Rimouski (UQAR)	M		PhD Archaeology	
48	Full Time	University	Université du Québec à Rimouski (UQAR)	F		PhD Archaeology	
49	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M		M.Sc Anthropology	
50	Contracts	Consultant	Université de Montréal	M	54	M.Sc Anthropology	Régulier

51	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	M	56	M.Sc Anthropology	
52	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	M	56	PhD Archaeology	
53	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	M	43	PhD Archaeology	Régulier
54	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	F	44	PhD Archaeology	
55	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	M	51	PhD History	
56	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	F	63	PhD Archaeology	
57	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	M	79	PhD Anthropology	
58	Retired	University	Université de Montréal	M	N/A	PhD Archaeology	Honoraire
59	Retired	University	Université de Montréal	M	N/A	PhD Archaeology	
60	Part Time	Unit / Federal Government	Ostéothèque de Montréal Inc. / Parks Canada	F	53	M.Sc Anthropology	Étudiant
61	Contracts	Unit / University	Ostéothèque de Montréal Inc. / Université de Montréal	F	49	M.Sc Anthropology	Étudiant
62	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos.Inc / Ethnoscop.Inc	M	27	B.Sc Anthropology	
63	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	32	PhD Archaeology	
64	Out	Unit - NPO	Arkéos Inc./ S.A.N.M.	M	N/A		
65	Contracts	Unit / University / Provincial Government	Ethnoscop Inc. / Archéotec Inc. / UQAC / Commission de la capitale nationale - Cartier Roberval	F	32	B.A Archaeology	Étudiant
66	Full Time	Provincial Government	Centre de Conservation du Québec	M	52		Régulier
67	Full Time	Corporation	Hydro-Québec	M	51	M.Sc Anthropology	
68	Full Time	NPO	Avataq	M	36	PhD Archaeology	
69	Part Time	NPO	Artefactuel	F			
70	Out	NPO	Recherches Amérindiennes	M	N/A		Honoraire
71	Part Time	NPO / University	Archéo-08 / UQAT	F	31	M.Sc Anthropology	
72	Full Time	Museum	Musée Pointe-à-Callière	F		M.Sc Anthropology	Régulier
73	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc. / S.A.C.L. Inc.	M	47	M.Sc Geology	
74	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	M	44	B.Sc Anthropology	
75	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	26	B.Sc Anthropology	
76	Contracts	Unit / NPO / Federal Government / Local Government / Univeristy /	Arkéos Inc. / Archéo-Topo	M	56	M.Sc Anthropology	Régulier

		Museum					
77	Contracts	Consultant	Consultant	M	54	M.Sc	Régulier
78	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	N/A	PhD Candidate Archaeology	Associés
79	Full Time	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc.	M	62	PhD Geomorphology	
80	Full Time	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc.	M	58	B.A. Arts & Traditions	
81	Full Time	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc.	M	43	M.Sc Anthropology	Régulier
82	Contracts	Consultant / Unit	Ex.Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc. / Archémi / Hydro-Québec	M	61	B.Sc Geography	Régulier
83	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	38	B.Sc Anthropology	
84	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère des Transports (MTQ)	M		B.Sc ou M.Sc ?	
85		Unit	Patrimoine Experts	F			
86	Full Time	Unit	Patrimoine Experts	F	44	B.A Ancient Studies	Régulier
87	Full Time	Unit / College	Patrimoine Experts / Collège constituant de L'Assomption	M			Régulier
88	Contracts	Unit / Consultant	Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc.	M	32	M.Sc Anthropology	
89	Contracts	Consultant	Ethnoscop Inc.	M	45		Régulier
90	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	31	B.A Classic Studies	
91	Contracts	Unit	Archemi enr.	F	62	Post-Doc Archaeology	Régulier
92	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	F	57		
93	Full Time	Unit	SACL Inc.	M	48	B.Sc	
94	Contracts	University	Université de Montréal	F	32	Post-doc Archaeology	
95	Full Time	NPO	Avataq	M	44	B.Sc Archaeology Level	
96	Deceased	N/A	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	
97	Full Time	University	Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)	M	51	PhD Anthropology	
98	Full Time	University	Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)	M		PhD Geology	
99	Full Time	University	Université Laval	F	40	PhD Archaeology	
100	Full Time	University	Université Laval	M	57	PhD Archaeology	
101	Full Time	University	Université Laval	M		PhD Archaeology	

102	Full Time	University	Université Laval	M		PhD Anthropology	
103	Contracts	Unit	SACL Inc. / Arkéos Inc.	M		M.Sc Archaeology	Régulier
104	Contracts	Unit / Academic / Consultant	Archéotec inc. / Arkéos inc. / Ethnoscop inc. / Avataq / Patrimoine Experts / Robert Larocque, consultant / Ruralys enr / Université Laval.	M	27	B.A Archaeology	Étudiant
105	Full Time	University	McGill University	M		PhD Archaeology	
106	Full Time	University	McGill University	M	39	PhD Archaeology	
107	Full Time	University	McGill University	F	45	PhD Anthropology	
108	Full Time	University	McGill University	M		PhD Archaeology	
109	Retired?	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M	73		Honoraire
110	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	71	B.A Classic Studies	Honoraire
111	Retired	Museum	Musée canadien des civilisations	M	N/A		Honoraire
112	Full Time	University	Université Laval	M	67	PhD Arts & Traditions	Honoraire
113	Retired	University	Université du Québec à Montréal	M	N/A	N/A	Honoraire
114				F			Honoraire
115	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	F	33	B.A History	Régulier
116	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	54		Régulier
117	Out?	Museum	Musée canadien des civilisations	M	N/A		Régulier
118	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec	F	43	PhD Archaeology	Régulier
119	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F	55	M.A. Museology	Régulier
120	Contracts	Consultant	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M	47	PhD Ethnology	Régulier
121		Federal Government / Provincial Government	Parks Canada / Ville de Québec	F	42		Régulier
122	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture	M	51	B.Sc Anthropology	Régulier
123	Contracts	Unit	Ruralys enr. / Ethnoscop Inc.	F	49	M.A. Archaeology	Régulier
124	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc.	M			Régulier
125	Full Time	Museum	Musée canadien des civilisations	F			Régulier
126	Contracts	Consultant	Patrimoine Experts	M	63	M.A. Ethnology	Régulier

127	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F			Régulier
128	Contracts	Unit / NPO	Horizon Archaeology (Ontario) / Avataq / Archéotec.Inc / Arkéos Inc.	M	55	M.Sc Archaeology	Régulier
129	Full Time	Museum	Musée Pointe-à-Callière	F	48	M.A. Arts	Régulier
130				F		M.A Archaeology	Régulier
131		Federal Government	Parks Canada / Ville de Québec	M			
132	Contracts	Provincial Government / Units	Ministère de la Culture / Archéotec Inc. / Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M	52	B.Sc	
133	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture	M			
134	Full Time	Local Government	Ville de Québec	M	50	M.A. History	
135	Part Time	NPO	Artefactuel	F			
136	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M			
137	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Archéo-08 / Consultant	F	27	M.Sc Anthropology	
138	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F			
139	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	55	M.A Archaeology	
140	Contracts	University / Provincial Government	Ulaval / Commission de la capitale nationale - Cartier Roberval	F	29	M.Sc Anthropology	
141	Full Time	Museum / NPO	Musée McCord / Archéo-Québec	F			
142	Contracts	Consultant	Parks Canada / Ville de Montréal (Réserve archéologique)	M	46	PhD Archaeology	
143	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc. / Patrimoine Experts	F	34	B.A Archaeoogy	
144	Full Time	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc. / Ministère de la Culture - Laboratoire-réserve	F	30	M.Sc Archaeology	
145	Retired	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture - Laboratoire-réserve	M	N/A		
146	Out?	Museum	Musée canadien des civilisations	M	N/A		
147	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture	F			
148	Contracts	NPO	Avataq / Teaching	F	30	M.A Archaeology	
149				M			
150	Retired	University	Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)	M	N/A	PhD Litterature	Honoraire

151	Part Time	NPO / Consultant	Recherches Amérindiennes	M	42	M.Sc Anthropology	
152	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	58	M.A Arts& Traditions	
153	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	48	M.A. Archaeology	
154		Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	54		
155	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture / Gestion des permis, Direction de la Capitale-Nationale	M	62		
156	Full Time	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M	45	PhD Anthropology	
157	Contracts	Provincial Government / Unit / University / College	Archéocène / Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval / Ulaval / Collège Laflèche	F	29	M.A. Archaeology	Étudiant
158	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M			
159	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M		XX? History	
160	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F	57		
161	Part Time	NPO	Artefactuel	F	30	M.A. Archaeology	
162	Part Time	NPO / Unit	Artefactuel	M	29	M.Sc Archaeology	
163		Unit	Ruralys enr.	F			
164	Out?	NPO	Artefactuel	M			
165	Full Time	Museum	Musée régional de la Côte-Nord à Sept-Îles	M	38	M.Sc Anthropology	
166	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère des Transports (MTQ)	F	27	M.A. Archaeology	
167	Contracts	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M			
168	Retired	Museum	Musée Pointe-à-Callière	M	N/A		
169	Full Time	Museum / University	Musée Pointe-à-Callière / UQAM	F			
170	Full Time	Museum	Complexe archéologique de Pointe-du-Buisson	F	27	M.A. Archaeology	Associé
171	Full Time	Local Government / Consultant / Federal Government	Ville de Québec / Parks Canada	F	55	PhD Archaeology	
172				M			
173	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	33	B.Sc Anthropology	

174	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	45	M.A. Archaeology	
175	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M	48	M.Sc Archaeology	Associé
176	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F	31	M.A. Archaeology	Associé
177	Contracts	Provincial Government / Federal Government / Local Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval / Ville de Québec / Parks Canada	F	43	B.A Ancient Studies	Associé
178				M		M.A. Archaeology	
179	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc / Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M			
180				F			Étudiant
181				M			
182	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	F	24	B.A Archaeology	
183	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	F	35	M.A. Classic Archaeology	
184	Contracts	NPO / Unit	Archeo-08 / Arkéos Inc. / Cartier-Roberval	M	27	B.A. Art	Associé
185	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	F	33	M.A Archaeology	
186				M			
187	Full Time	Unit / Consultant	Arkéos.Inc	M	54	B.Sc Anthropology	
188	Contracts	Unit / Academic	Arkéos.Inc / Ethnoscop.Inc /Université de Montréal	M	N/A	PhD Candidate Archaeology	Étudiant
189	Out?			M			
190				F		M.Sc Archaeology	Étudiant
191				F			Étudiant
192	Contracts	NPO / Federal Government / Local Government	Parks Canada / Ville de Québec / Ulaval / Artefactuel / Jean-Yves Pintal	F	29	M.A. Archaeology	Étudiant
193	Contracts	Unit / Academic / Consultant	Arkéos Inc. / Archéotec Inc. / U Laval	M	27	B.Sc Earth Science	Étudiant
194	Contracts	Unit		M	32	M.A. Archaeology	Étudiant
195	Contracts	Provincial Government / Unit / University / Federal Government / Consultants	Ministère de la Culture / MTQ / Parks Canada / Ethnoscop Inc. / Patrimoine Experts Inc. / Ruralys / Archéocène / Consultants	F	26	B.Sc Anthropology	Étudiant
196	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	M	28	B.A Archaeology	Étudiant

197	Contracts	Unit / Local Government / University	Archéotec Inc. / Arkéos Inc / Ville de Québec / Ulaval	M	27	B.A Archaeology	Étudiant
198	Full Time	Local Government	Ville de Québec	F			
199	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	F	31	B.Sc Anthropology	
200	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	26	B.Sc Anthropology	
201	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	44	B.Sc Anthropology	
202	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc.	M	28	B.Sc Anthropology	
203	Part Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc / Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc / Consultant	M	25	M.Sc Archaeology	
204	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	F	24	M.Sc Anthropology	
205	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	27	B.Sc Anthropology	
206	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	28	A Level	
207	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc / S.A.C.L. Inc.	M	29	B.Sc Anthropology	
208	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la Capitale nationale du Québec (CCNQ); Société historique du Cap-Rouge	M	54	M.A. Classic Archaeology	
209	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	F	29	B.A Archaeology	
210	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M			
211	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	F	27	M.Sc Archaeology	
212	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	M	38	M.Sc Anthropology	
213	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	F	26	B.Sc Anthropology	
214	Full Time	Unit	Archéotec.Inc	F	29	B.Sc Anthropology	
215	Part Time	Consultant	Archéotec.Inc	M			
216		Unit / Museum / Academic	Subarctique enr. / Nouvelle-France / U.Q.A.C	F			
217	Contracts	Unit	Archéobec / S.A.C.L. Inc.	M	51	B.Sc Anthropology	
218	Part Time	Unit / University / Museum	SACL Inc. / Arkéos Inc. / University de Montréal / Ex-Pointe-à-Callières	F	58	B.Sc Anthropology	
219	Contracts	Unit	SACL Inc. /	F	33	M.Sc Anthropology	
220	Contracts	Provincial Government / Unit	Ministère des Transports (MTQ), Ruralys	F	31	M.A. Archaeology	
221	Deceased	NPO	SAPQ	M	N/A	N/A	
222	Contracts	Local Government	Ville de Montréal	F			

223	Contracts	Local Government	Ville de Montréal	F	35	M.Sc Anthropology	
224		College / Unit	Collège Laflèche / Archéocène Inc.	F		M.Sc Archaeology	
225	Contracts	Unit / Local Government	Arkéos Inc./ Ville de Montréal	M	46	M.Sc History	
226	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture / Gestion des permis, Direction de la Capitale-Nationale	M	30	M.Sc Archaeology	
227	Deceased	Not for Profit Organisation - NPO	Avataq	M	N/A	N/A	
228	Contracts	Local Government	Ville de Québec	M	50	M.A Archaeology	
229	Part Time / Contracts	University / Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Université de Montréal	M			
230	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc.	M	44	B.Sc Anthropology	
231	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	F			
232	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc.	M			
234	Contracts	Unit / NPO	Arkéos Inc. / Archéo-08 / Patrimoine Experts	M	27	B.Sc Anthropology	
235	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Consultant	F	25	B.A Archaeology	
236	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	F	28	M.Sc Archaeology	
237	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc.	F	28	B.Sc Anthropology	
238	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Patrimoine Experts	M	27	B.Sc	
239	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	M		M.A. Geography	
240	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc.	F	24	B.Sc Anthropology	
241	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc.	M	30	B.A Archaeology	
242	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / Arkéos Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc.	M	30	B.Sc Anthropology	
243	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	M			
244	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	F	23	B.Sc Anthropology	
245	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	F		B.Sc Anthropology	
246	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc. / SACL Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc.	F	34	M.A. Archaeology	
247	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc. / Arkéos Inc.	M	45	M.A.	
248	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	M			
249	Contracts	Consultant	Consultant	M	58		
250				M			
251	Contracts	Unit	Archéophone / SÉPAQ (Oka National Park)	M	37	M.Sc Anthropology	

252	Contracts	University	Université de Montréal	F	30	M.A Archaeology	
253	Full Time	Unit	Patrimoine Experts	M			
254	Contracts	Unit / Consultant	Ethnoscop Inc. / Consultant / Musée Canadien des Civilisations	F	33	M.Sc Anthropology	
255	Full Time	College	College Saint-Boniface - Winnipeg	M	N/A	PhD Anthropology	
256	Full Time	Provincial Government	Ministère de la Culture - Laboratoire-réserve	F	39	A Level	
257	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F			
258	Contracts	Unit	Arckéos Inc. / Wendake Huron Reserve	F	27	M.A. Archaeology	
259	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc.	M			
260	Contracts	NPO	Artefactuel / Avataq / Ulaval	F	31	M.A Archaeology	
261				F		M.A. Archaeology	
262				M			
263				F			
264	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F	34	M.A Archaeology	
265	Full Time	University	Université de Montréal	M	52	PhD Archaeology	
266	Contracts	Unit	SACL Inc.	M			
267	Contracts	Unit	SACL Inc. / Ethnoscop Inc.	M			
268	Contracts	Unit	Archéotec Inc.	M	22	B.Sc Anthropology	
269	Contracts	Unit	Arkéos Inc.	F	25	B.Sc Anthropology	
270	Full Time	Local Government	Ville de Québec	F			
271	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	F			
272				M		PhD Archaeology	
273	Full Time	NPO	Avataq	F	26	M.Sc Geography	
274	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc.	M	34	B.A History	
275	Contracts	Unit	Archéofact enr.	M	55	A Level	
276	Contracts	Unit	Archéomania	M	48		
277	Full Time	Federal Government	Parks Canada	M			
277	Full Time	Museum	Musée canadien des civilisations	M	53	PhD Archaeology	

278	Full Time	Museum	Musée canadien des civilisations	M			
279	Contracts	Consultant	Ethnoscop Inc	M	62	PhD Archaeology	
280		Other	Réseau Archeo-Québec	F	43	M.A. Museology	
281	Contracts	Federal Government / Unit / Local Government / Provincial Government	Parks Canada / Ethnoscop Inc. / Ville de Montréal / Ville de Québec / Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M	44	B.Sc Arts & Sciences	
282	Contracts	Provincial Government / Federal Government / Unit / Local Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval / Ville de Québec / Parks Canada	M	54	None	
283	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	M			
284	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	F			
285	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	F			
286	Contracts	Provincial Government	Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec - Cartier Roberval	F			
287	Contracts	Federal Government	Parks Canada	F			
288	Contracts	Unit	Ian Badgeley Consultant Archéologue	F	41	B.Sc Anthropology	
289	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc / Arkéos Inc.	F	25	M.Sc Archaeology	
290	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	F	23	B.Sc Anthropology	
291	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc / CNRS	F	28	M.Sc Anthropology	
292	Contracts	Unit / University	Ethnoscop Inc / Université de Montréal	F	25	B.Sc Anthropology	
293	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	F			
294	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	M			
295	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	M			
296	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	F	24	B.Sc Anthropology	
297	Contracts	Unit / Federal Government	Ethnoscop Inc / Museum Canadian of Civilization	M	26	B.Sc Anthropology	
298	Contracts	Provincial Government / Unit	Ministère de la Culture / Ethnoscop Inc	F	27	M.Sc Archaeology	
299	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	F	27	M.Sc Archaeology	
300	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	M			

301	Contracts	Unit	Ethnoscop Inc	F			
302	Contracts	Unit / Association	Archéotec Inc. / Réseau Archéo-Québec / Museum Lachine	F	30	B.Sc Anthropology	
303	Part-Time / Contracts	Unit / Museum / Academic	Ethnoscop Inc. / Museum Pointe-à-Callière / UdM	F	53	M.A. Archaeology / Ethno. / Museo.	
304		College	Collège F.-X.- Garneau	F			
305		College	Collège F.-X.- Garneau	M			
306				M		Ph.D Archaeology	

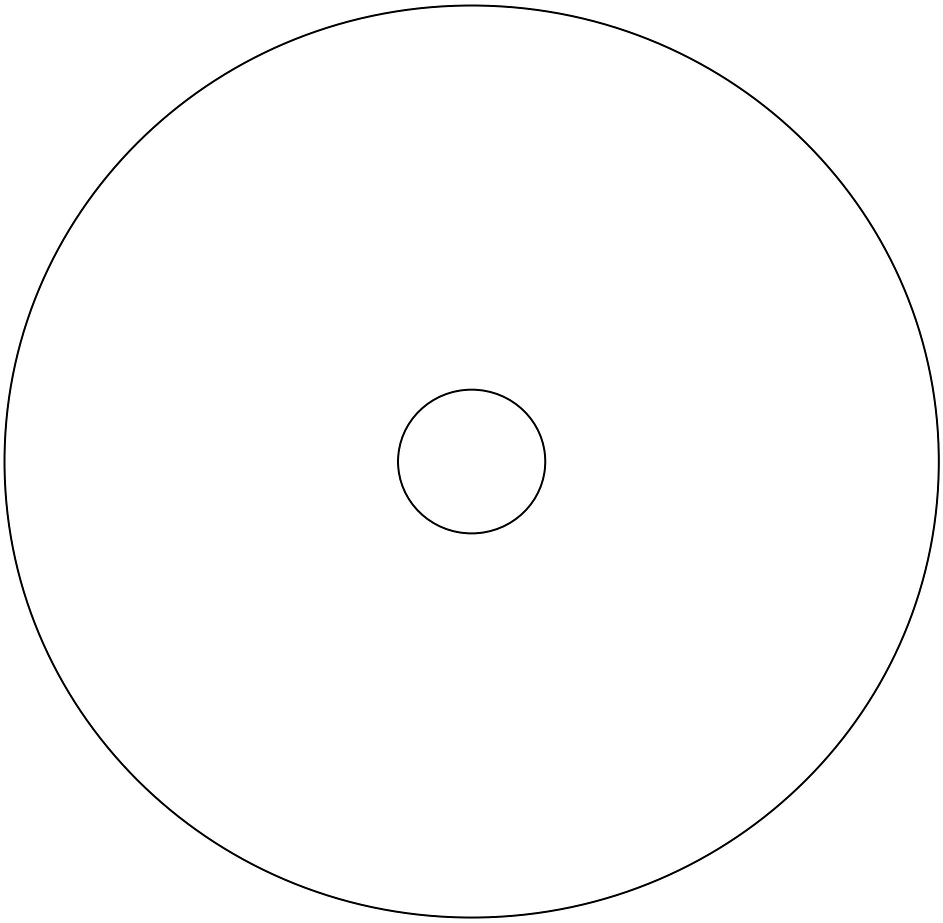
Ref. #	Pseudonym	*Organisation Type*	Gender	Age in 2007	Diplomas	Date (d/m/y)	Duration (min)	Sampling	Transcribed Records
1	Michael	N/A	M	54	B.Sc Anthropology (Unfinished)	18/10/2007	00:27:23	Opportunistic	TR.1 - Michael.docx
2	Thomas	NPO / Units	M	≈50	M.Sc Anthropology	25/10/2007	02:08:03	Chosen	TR.2 - Thomas.docx
3	Edward	Unit	M	40	M.A Classic Studies	28/11/2007	02:32:56	Chosen	TR.3 - Edward.docx
4	Charles	NPOs / Units	M	28	M.A Classic Studies	29/11/2007	02:04:07	Chosen	TR.4 - Charles.docx
5	Brian	Unit	M	37	M.Sc Anthropology	05/12/2007	02:14:52	Chosen	TR.5 - Brian.docx
6	Peter	Unit	M	31	M.A Classic Studies	06/12/2007	02:18:50	Chosen	TR.6 & 7 - Peter & Mary.docx
7	Mary	Unit	F	30	M.Sc Anthropology	06/12/2007	02:18:50	Chosen	TR.6 & 7 - Peter & Mary.docx
8	Julia	Units	F	27	M.Sc Anthropology (In progress)	07/12/2007	01:58:41	Chosen	TR.8 - Julia (Out: inaudible)
9	Laura	Unit	F	29	M.Sc Anthropology	07/12/2007	03:25:24	Chosen	TR.9 & 10 - Laura & Stephen.docx
10	Stephen	Unit	M	29	B.Sc Archaeology	07/12/2007	03:25:24	Chosen	TR.9 & 10 - Laura & Stephen.docx
11	Emma	Academic	F	51	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	11/12/2007	00:50:55	Chosen	TR.11 - Emma (Out: inaudible)
12	Andrew	Units	M	37	M.Sc Anthropology / M.A Arts	11/12/2007	02:06:24	Chosen	TR.12 – Andrew.docs
13	Jason	Unit	M	25	B.Sc Anthropology	14/12/2007	01:54:31	Chosen	TR.13 - Jason.docx
14	Alexander	Unit / Consultant	M	50	M.A Archaeology	18/12/2007	03:00:44	Chosen	TR.14 - Alexander.docx
15	Maya	Unit / Academic	F	28	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	22/12/2007	02:40:14	Chosen	TR.15 & 16 - Maya & Alan.docx
16	Alan	Unit / Academic	M	34	Ph.D Archaeology	22/12/2007	02:40:14	Chosen	TR.15 & 16 - Maya & Alan.docx
17	Elias	Unit	M	≈55	Ph.D Archaeology	27/12/2007	03:25:36	Chosen	TR.17 - Elias.docx
18	William	Consultant	M	53	B.Sc Anthropology	28/12/2007	03:22:12	Chosen	TR.18 - William.docx
19	Harry	Civil Servant	M	49	M.A Archaeology	08/01/2008	01:29:00	Chosen	TR.19 - Harry.docx
20	Daniel	Civil Servant	M	54	Ph.D Archaeology	08/01/2008	00:23:31	Chosen	TR.20 - Daniel.docx
21	Oliver	Civil Servant / NPO	M	62	M.A Archaeology	09/01/2008	03:11:14	Chosen	TR.21 - Oliver.docx
22	Jack	Academic	M	58	Ph.D Archaeology	09/01/2008	02:45:21	Chosen	TR.22 & 23 - Jack & Benjamin.docx
23	Benjamin	Unit / Museum / Academic	M	≈38	Ph.D Candidate Anthropology	09/01/2008	02:45:21	Opportunistic	TR.22 & 23 - Jack & Benjamin.docx
24	James	Units / Museum / NPO	M	32	B.Sc Anthropology	10/01/2008	03:19:57	Chosen	TR.24 & 25 - James & Grace.docx
25	Grace	NPO / Institute	F	26	B.Sc Anthropology	10/01/2008	03:19:57	Chosen	TR.24 & 25 - James & Grace.docx
26	Dylan	Unit	M	29	B.A Classic Studies & History	13/01/2008	03:15:21	Chosen	TR.26 - Dylan.docx

27	Shira	Unit	F	29	B.Sc Archaeology	10/01/2008	02:26:10	Chosen	TR.27 - Shira.docx
28	Adam	Consultant	M	29	None	14/01/2008	/	Chosen	TR.28 - (Out)
29	Emily	Unit	F	33	M.Sc Anthropology	15/01/2008	01:53:13	Chosen	TR.29 - Emily (Out: inaudible)
30	Lewis	Ex-Grand Chief Mohawks	M	/	/	16/01/2008	00:28:59	Opportunistic	TR.30 - Lewis.docx
31	Liam	Chief - AFNQL	M	/	/	16/01/2008	00:24:25	Opportunistic	TR.31 - Liam.docx
32	Luke	Unit / Civil Servant	M	37	Ph.D Anthropology + Post-Doc	17/01/2008	03:04:12	Chosen	TR.32 & 33 - Luke & Chloe.docx
33	Chloe	Units / Museum / Academic	F	30	M.Sc Anthropology	17/01/2008	03:04:12	Chosen	TR.32 & 33 - Luke & Chloe.docx
34	David	NPO	M	29	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	28/01/2008	02:50:16	Chosen	TR.34 - David.docx
35	Tim	Academic	M	52	Ph.D Archaeology + Post-Doc	29/01/2008	01:08:25	Chosen	TR.35 - Tim.docx
36	Joshua	Unit	M	53	M.Sc Archaeology	30/01/2008	01:45:13	Chosen	TR.36 & 44 - Joshua & Martin.docx
37	Rhys	Civil Servant	M	46	M.Sc Archaeology & Ethnohistory	31/01/2008	02:08:07	Chosen	TR.37 - Rhys.docx
38	Sarah	Civil Servant	F	≈55	M.Sc Archaeology	31/01/2008	01:34:50	Chosen	TR.38 - Sarah.docx
39	Ethan	NPO/ First Nations	M	≈52	?	07/02/2008	01:45:33	Chosen	TR.39 & 40 - Ethan & Marc.docx
40	Marc	NPO / First Nations	M	41	M.Sc Archaeology	07/02/2008	01:45:33	Opportunistic	TR.39 & 40 - Ethan & Marc.docx
41	Hugo	NPO	M	53	M.Sc Anthropology + Ph.D level	08/02/2008	01:54:53	Chosen	TR.41 - Hugo.docx
42	Oscar	Civil Servant	M	≈35	M.Sc Archaeology	08/02/2008	01:23:08	Chosen	TR.42 - Oscar.docx
43	Hannah	Units	F	41	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	16/02/2008	02:50:29	Chosen	TR.43 - Hannah.docx
44	Martin	Unit	M	51	M.Sc Anthropology	18/02/2008	02:19:33	Chosen	TR.36 & 44 - Joshua & Martin.docx
45	Milan	NPO / Institute	M	47	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	19/02/2008	00:53:49	Chosen	TR.45 - Milan.docx
46	Daan	Civil Servant	M	≈60	M.A Archaeology	21/02/2008	01:22:54	Chosen	TR.46 - Daan.docx
47	Sem	Civil Servant	M	73	?	21/02/2008	01:29:26	Chosen	TR.47 - (Out)
48	Ruben	Corporation	M	51	M.Sc Anthropology	28/02/2008	02:04:59	Chosen	TR.48 - Ruben.docx
49	Lucas	Academic	M	≈39	Ph.D Archaeology	e-mail	/	Chosen	TR.49 - (Out)
50	Henry	Consultant	M	≈ 45	?	01/02/2008	/	Chosen	TR.50 – Henry.docx
51	Lars	Units / Consultant	M	39	M.Sc Anthropology	16/10/2009	01:03:37	Chosen	TR.51 - Lars.docx
52	Karl	Units	M	29	Ph.D Candidate archaeology	09/10/2007	00:10:07	Chosen	TR.52 - Karl.docx

APPENDIX B

Interviews Transcription (in French): (CD-ROM) 249-687

Audio Files: .VM1 CD-ROM



Ref. #	Position in Archaeology	Career Level *	Years of Experience	Diplomas	Salary (CDN$/ Hour)	Full Time / Part Time / Contracts / Retired	Organisation Type	Gender	Age in 2007	Mother Tongue	Marital Status	Children	Owner / Loaner	Student Debt ($)	Do you live from Archaeology?	How do you judge your situation?
13	Excavator	1	1	B.Sc Anthropology	16,00 $	Contracts	Unit	M	25	French	Couple	0	L	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
12	Site Assistant	2	7	M.Sc Anthropology / M.A Arts	22,00 $	Contracts	Unit	M	37	French	Single	0	L	0,00 $	Yes	Precarious
43	Excavator	3	12	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	25$ to 35$	Contracts	Unit	F	41	French	Married	2	O	10 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
25	Archaeologist (Laboratory)	3	/	B.Sc Anthropology	/	Part Time	Non-Profit-Organisation / Research Institute	F	26	French	Couple	0	L	/	No	Precarious
28	Illustrator	4	8	A Level	15 $ to 30$	Contracts	Consultant	M	29	French	Couple	0	L	10 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
51	Archaeologist / Maritime Archaeologist	4	15	M.Sc Archaeology	20 $ to 25 $	Contracts	Unit	M	39	French	Couple	1	O	15 000,00 $	Yes	Excellent
14	Field Officer	4	23	M.A Archaeology	35 $ to 40 $	Contracts	Unit / Consultant	M	50	French	Couple	0	O	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
18	Consultant	4	20	B.Sc Anthropology	20 $ to 25 $	Part Time	Consultant	M	53	French	Couple	2	O	30 000,00 $	Yes	Precarious
17	Director	5	/		35$ to 40$	Full Time	Unit	M	55	French	/	/	/	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
36	Director	5	30	M.Sc Archaeology	35$ to 40$	Full Time	Unit	M	53	French	Couple	0	O	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
44	Director	5	30	M.Sc	35$ to	Full Time	Unit	M	51	French	Couple	0	O	10 000,00	Yes	Excellent

*** Career Level**: **1** = Technician; **2** = Assistant-archaeologist; **3** = Office work and laboratories; **4** = project manager & consultant; **5** = Direction; **6** = Academic, civil servant, or full time office job.

				Anthropology	40$									$		
39	Manager	5	/		/	Full Time	Non-Profit-Organisation / Research Institute	M	55	English	/	/	/	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
41	Director	5	28	M.Sc Anthropology + Ph.D level	/	Full Time	Non-Profit-Organisation / Research Institute	M	53	French	Married	3	O	20 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
272	Archaeologist - Architecture & Heritage	6	19	M.A. History	25$ to 30$	Contracts	Local Government	M	50	French	Couple	2	O	18 000,00 $	Yes	Precarious
11	Academic Staff	6	25	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	50,00 $	Full Time	College	F	51	English	Separated	1	L	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
48	Archaeologist	6	25	M.Sc Anthropology	45$ to 50$	Full Time	Corporation	M	51	French	?	2	O	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
19	Archaeologist - Archaeology Services	6	26	M.A Archaeology	40 $ to 45 $	Full Time	Federal Government	M	49	French	Married	2	O	20 000,00 $	Yes	Excellent
46	City Archaeologist	6	30	M.A. History	/	Full Time	Local Government	M	55	English	Divorced	0		10 000,00 $	Yes	Excellent
134	Archaeologist - Architecture & Heritage	6	25	M.A. History	35$ to 40$	Full Time	Local Government	M	51	French	Couple	2	O	10 000,00 $	Yes	Excellent
45	Manager	6	25	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	41,00 $	Full Time	Non-Profit-Organisation / Research Institute	M	47	French	Married	2	O	12 000,00 $	Yes	Excellent
20	Archaeologist	6	30	Ph.D Archaeology		Full Time	Provincial Government	M	54	French	Couple	0	O	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
38	Project Manager	6	/	/	/	Full Time	Provincial Government	F	50	French	/	/	/	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent

42	Project Manager	6	/	M.Sc Anthropolog y	/	Full Time	Provincial Government	M	35	French	/	1	/		Yes	Excellent
22	Academic Staff	6	32	Ph.D Archaeology	50 $ & +	Full Time	University	M	58	French	Married	2	O	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
35	Academic Staff	6	33	Ph.D Archaeology + Post-Doc	50 $ & +	Full Time	University	M	52	French	Married	1	O	30 000,00 $	Yes	Excellent
49	Academic Staff	6	10	Ph.D Archaeology	45$ to 50$	Full Time	University	M	40	French	Couple	1	O	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
50	Academic Staff	6	10	Ph.D Archaeology	45$ to 50$	Full Time	University	F	35	French	Couple	1	O	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
37	Project Manager	6	15	M.Sc Archaeology & Ethno-history	30$ to 35$	Full Time (Soon)	Local Government	M	46	French	Single	0	O	30 000,00 $	Yes	Excellent
21	Archaeologist - Retired	6	33	M.A Archaeology		Retired	Provincial Government	M	62	French	Married	2	O	10 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
47	Archaeologist - Retired	6	40	M.Sc Anthropolog y		Retired	Provincial Government	M	73	English				0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
24	Excavator, Site Assistant	1 & 2	6	B.Sc Anthropolog y	15 $ to 20 $	Contracts	Unit / Museum/Para gouvernement al	M	32	French	Couple	0	L	35 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
8	Excavator or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1 & 3	7	M.Sc Anthropolog y (In progress)	15 $ to 20 $	Contracts	Unit	F	27	French	Couple	0	L	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
29	Excavator or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1 & 3	10	M.Sc Anthropolog y	15 $ to 20 $	Contracts	Unit	F	33	French	Single	0	L	20 000,00 $	Yes	Precarious
6	Excavator or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1 & 3	5	M.A Classic Studies	15 $ to 20 $	Full Time	Unit	M	31	French	Couple	0	O	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying (...for now)

16	Excavator, Site Assistant or Archaeologist Scientist	1 to 3	13	Ph.D Archaeology	15 $ to 20 $	Contracts	Unit	M	34	French	Couple	0	O	0,00 $	Yes	Under the average
15	Excavator, Site Assistant or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1 to 3	5	Ph.D Candidate Archeology	19,00 $	Contracts	Unit / University	F	28	French	Couple	0	L	9 000,00 $	Yes	Precarious
7	Excavator, Site Assistant or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1 to 3	9	M.Sc Anthropolog y	15 $ to 20 $	Full Time	Unit	F	30	French	Couple	0	L	30 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
10	Excavator, Site Assistant, Editor or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1 to 3	5	B.Sc Archaeology	18,50 $	Full Time	Unit	M	29	French	Couple	0	L	15 000,00 $	Yes	Under the average
5	Excavator, Site Assistant or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1 to 3	10	M.Sc Anthropolog y	18,00 $	Part Time	Unit	M	37	French	Couple	2	O	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
27	Excavator, Site Assistant or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1, 2 & 3	3	B.Sc Archaeology	22,00 $	Full Time	Unit	F	29	French	Single	0	L	5 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
52	Excavator, Site Assistant or Field Officer	1, 2 & 4	9	Ph.D Candidate archaeology	15 $ à 20$	Contracts	Unit	M	29	French	Couple	0	L	40 000,00 $	No	Precarious
9	Excavator, Site Assistant or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	1,2 & 3	10	M.Sc Anthropolog y	18,25 $	Full Time	Unit	F	29	French	Couple	0	L	15 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying (...for now)
3	Excavator, Site Assistant or Surveyor	1,2 & 4	3	M.A Classic Studies	19,00 $	Contracts	Unit	M	40	French / English	Single	0	L	30 000,00 $	Yes	Precarious
26	Excavator, Site	1,2 & 4	4	B.A Classic	19,00 $	Contracts	Unit	M	29	French	Couple	0	O	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying

	Assistant or Field Officer			Studies & History												
34	Excavator, Site Assistant or Director	1,2 & 5	4	Ph.D Candidate Archaeology	15$ to 30$	Part Time	Non-Profit-Organisation	M	29	French	Married	1	L	30 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
40	Site Assistant or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	2 & 3	14	M.Sc Archaeology	25$ to 30$	Full Time	Non-Profit-Organisation / Research Institute	M	41	Spanish	Married	2	O	30 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
33	Site Assistant, Archaeologist (Laboratory) or Field Officer	2, 3 & 4	5	M.Sc Anthropolog y	15 $ à 20$	Contracts	Unit / Museum / Academic	F	30	French	Couple	2	L	3 500,00 $	Yes	Under the average
32	Archaeologist (Laboratory) or Field Officer	3 & 4	16	Ph.D Anthropolog y + Post-Doc	31$ to 40$	Contracts	Unit / Civil Servant	M	37	French	Couple	2	L	15 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
4	Archaeologist (Laboratory), Field Officer	3 & 4	11	M.A Classic Studies	25 $ to 30 $	Contracts	Unit / Para-governmental	M	28	French	Single	0	/	20 000,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
2	Site Assistant or Archaeologist (Laboratory)	3 & 4	10	M.Sc Anthropolog y	/	Out	Non-Profit-Organisation / Unit / NPO	M	45	French	/	/	/	0,00 $	No	Unbearable
23	Archaeologist (Laboratory), Field Officer & Academic Staff	3, 4 & 5	/	Ph.D Candidate Anthropolog y	/	Full Time	Unit / Museum / Academic	M	40	French	/	/	/	0,00 $	Yes	Satisfying
74	Excavator	3	15	B.Sc Anthropolog y	25$ to 30$	Contracts	Unit	M	44	French	Single	0	L	0,00 $	Yes	Excellent
0	Excavator, Site Assistant or Surveyor	1 to 3	10	Ph.D Candidate Archeology	18$ to 25$	Contracts	Unit	M	29	French	Single	0	L	43 000,00 $	No	Precarious

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, K. (2005). 'Public Interest Anthropology in Heritage Sites: Writing Culture and Righting Wrongs.' International Journal of Heritage Studies **11**(5): pp.433-439.

Adams, M. & C. Brooke (1995). 'Unmanaging the past: truth, data and the human being.' Norwegian Archaeological Review **28**(2): pp.93-104.

Aitchison, K. (1999). Profiling the Profession. A Survey of Archaeological Jobs in the U.K. York, London and Reading: CBA, EH and IFA, 116p.

(2009). 'Job Losses in Archaeology' – Report for the Institute for Archaeologists and Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers. IFA, 7p.

Aitchison, K. & R. Edwards (2003). Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence: Profiling the Profession 2002/03, Bradford: Cultural Heritage National Training Organisation.

(2008). Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe: United Kingdom - Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence: Profiling the Profession 2007/08. Reading: Institute of Field Archaeologists, 248p.

Andrews, G. & J.C. Barrett (1998). 'Why cost-effective archaeology needs a new research agenda.' Institute of Field Archaeologists Yearbook and Directory of Members: 40p.

Andrews, G., J.C. Barrett & J.S.C. Lewis (2000). 'Interpretation not record: the practice of archaeology.' Antiquity **74**: pp.525-30

Anonymous (1998). 'Crisis of conscience: archaeology and development.' Rescue News **74**: pp.2-3.

Appadurai, A. (1996). Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. Public Worlds Series, Volume 1. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 229p.

(2001). 'The globalization of archaeology and heritage.' Journal of Social Archaeology **1**(1): pp35.49.

(2006) Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger. Durham: Duke University Press, 176p.

APPAG (2003). The current state of archaeology in the United Kingdom. First report of the All Party Parliamentary Archaeology group. London, 38p.

Aquin, F. (1987). Le Québec, 1967-1987 – Le Québec, du Général de Gaulle au Lac Meech. Montréal, Guérin Ed., 237p.

Augé, M. (1999). Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains. Paris: Flammarion Ed., 196p.

Auger, R. & W. Moss (1999). "The Archaeology of Physical and Social Transformation: High Times, Low Tides and Tourist Floods on Quebec City's Waterfront", in Alan Mayne and Tim Murray (Eds.), The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes -{PRIVATE } Explorations in Slumland, Cambridge University Press, pp.132-144.

Bairoch P. (1993). Economics and World History, Myths and Paradoxes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 200p.

Bakan, J. (2005). The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power. Robinson Publishing, 240p.

Barker, P. (1973). Techniques of Archaeological Excavation, London: B.T. Batsford, 279p.

(1974). 'The origins and development of RESCUE.' Rescue Archaeology,pp.280-285.

Bélanger, C. (2000a). Chronology of the October Crisis, 1970, and its Aftermath. Department of History, Marianopolis College.

(2000b). Chronology of Quebec Nationalism 1960-1991. Department of History, Marianopolis College.

(2004). L'Encyclopédie de l'histoire du Québec / The Quebec History Encyclopedia. Department of History, Marianopolis College.

Bellon, L. (2004). “Quand l’ethnographie sert : la mise à l’épreuve et quelques avantages de la manipulation”, in Ethnografeast II: La fabrique de l’ethnographie / The Manufacturing of Ethnography, Symposium held in Paris, September 15th-18th 2004.

Benedikter, R. (2004). ‘Privatisation of Italian Cultural Heritage.’ International Journal of Heritage Studies **10**(4): pp.369-389.

Bergman, C. A. & J.F. Doershuk (2003). “Cultural Resource Management and the Business of Archaeology”, in Zimmerman, L. J. *et al.* (Eds.): Ethical Issues in Archaeology. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, pp.85-97.

Besson-Girard, J-C. (2007). “La Décroissance est l’issue du labyrinthe”, in Mongeau, S. (Ed.): Objecteurs de Croissance – Pour sortir de l’impasse : la décroissance. Montreal : Les Éditions Écosociété. pp. 14-32.

Biddle, M. (1994). What Future for British Archaeology? Ninth IFA Archaeology in Britain Conference Oxford, Oxbow.

Bijker, W. (1997). Of Bicycles, Bakelites, and Bulbs. Towards a Theory of Sociotechnical change. Cambridge: MA, MIT Press, 390p.

Bijker, W. & J. Law (Eds.) (1992). Shaping Technology/ Building Society Studies in Sociotechnological Change. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 360p.

Binette, M. (1999). ‘Le public-archéologue, une menace ou un allié?’ Archéologiques **11-12**: pp.243-246.

Birch, J. (2007). Public Archaeology and the Cultural Resource Management Industry in Ontario, in James S. Molnar (Ed.), Partners to the Past: Proceedings of the 2005 Ontario Archaeological Society Symposium, pp.120-7.

Blinkhorn, P. W. & Cumberpatch, C.G. (1998). ‘The interpretation of Artifacts and the Tyranny of the Field Archaeologist.’ Assemblage **4**: DOI.

(1999). ‘Archaeology in England.’ World Archaeological Bulletin **9**: pp.45-55.

Bloemers J.H.F. (2005). Die Umsetzung der Konvention von Valetta in den Niederlanden: Anregungen zurNeukonzeptualisierung von Forschung, Denkmalpflege und Lehre. In: Arch. Nachr.bl., Bd. 2.

Booth , P., A. Dodd, M. Robinson, A. Smith and A. Dodd (2007). Thames Through Time: The Archaeology Of The Gravel Terraces Of The Upper And Middle Thames: The Early Historical Period: Ad 1-10, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph, Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology. 470p.

Bortolotti, B & D. Siniscalco (2004). The challenges of privatization: an international analysis. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 170p.

Bouchard-Fortier, M. *et al.* (2007). "Manifeste pour une décroissance conviviale", in S. Mongeau (Ed.), Objecteurs de croissance, Montréal : Les Éditions Écosociété, pp.126-139.

Bourdieu P. (1977) [1972]. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 224p.

(1998). Contre-feux. Propos pour servir à la résistance contre l'invasion néo-libérale. Paris : Éditions Raison d'agir, 12ième Édition, 126p.

(2001). Contre-feux 2. Pour un mouvement social européen. Paris : Éditions Raison d'agir, 6ième Édition, 109p.

Bradley R. (2006). 'Bridging the two cultures. Commercial archaeology and the study of prehistoric Britain' The Antiquaries Journal **86**: pp-1-13.

(2007). The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland. (Cambridge World Archaeology) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 340p.

Brogiolo, G. P. (1996). Archeologia e instituzioni - Statalismo o Policentrismo? pp.1-12.

Brooke, C. (1995). "The bad, the good and the ugly: archaeology and the management discipline", in M.A. Cooper *et al.* (Eds.) Managing Archaeology. London, Routledge: pp.119-134.

Broudehoux A-M. (2006). Paysages construits: mémoire, identité, idéologies. Coll. Cahiers de l'institut du patrimoine de l'UQAM, Quebec: Éditions Multi-Mondes, 144p.

Burroughs, A. (2004). 'La recherche archéologique à Hydro-Québec.' Archéologiques **17**: pp.92-93.

Callon, M. (1986). "The Sociology of an Actor-Network : The Case of the Electric Vehicle", in Callon M., J. Law & A. Rip (Eds.): Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology. London: Macmillan Press, p19-34.

(1992). "The Dynamics of Techno-Economic Networks", in Coombs, R.; P. Saviotti & W. Vivien (Eds.): Technological Change and Company Strategy: Economic and Social Perspectives. London, San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, pp.72-102.

(1993). "Variety and Irreversibility in Networks of Technique Conception and Adoption", in Foray, D. & C. Freemann (Eds.). Technology and the Wealth of Nations: Dynamics of Constructed Advantage. London: New York Printer, pp.232-268.

Callon, M. & B. Latour (1981). "Unscrewing the Big Leviathan: How Actors Macrostructure Reality and How Sociologists Help Them to do so", in Karin D.; K.Cetina & A.V. Cicourel (Eds.): Advances in Social Theory and Methodology : Toward an Integration of Micro- and Macro-Sociologies, Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 277-303.

Caplain, J.-G. (Dir.) (2008). "Le Crépuscule d'une terre". Film directed by Jean-Guillaume Caplain, The Cree Regional Authority © CRA 2008: 52min.

Carman, J. (1996). Valuing Ancient Things: Archaeology and Law. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 246p.

Caron, O. (2007). 'Dans les coulisses de l'archéologie. Québec'. Éditions Continuité (CMSQ) Continuité – Le magazine du patrimoine au Québec **112**: pp.16-18.

Catling, C. (2009). 'Crisis in archaeology.' Current Archaeology **227**: Vol.XIX, No.11, pp.10.

Cerwonka, A. & Malkki, L. (2007). Improvising Theory – Process and Temporality in Ethnographic Fieldwork. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 204p.

Chadwick, A. (1998). Archaeology at the edge of chaos: further towards reflexive excavation methodologies. URL: http://www.shef.ac.uk/-assein/~~/~cli~i~l.

(2000). 'Taking English Archaeology into the Next Millennium - A Personal Review of the State of The Art.' Assemblage **5,** DOI.

(2003). 'Post-processualism, professionalization and archaeological methodologies. Towards reflective and radical practice.' Archaeological Dialogues **10**(1): pp.97-117.

Chomsky, N. (2011). Futurs proches – Liberté et Impérialisme au XXI[e] siècle, Montréal : Lux Éditeur, 388p.

Chomsky, N. & R.W. McChesney (2003). Profit Over People: Neoliberalism & Global Order. New York: Seven Stories Press, 288p.

Chopra, R. (2003). 'Neoliberalism as Doxa: Bourdieu's theory of the state and the contemporary Indian discourse on globalization and liberalization.' Cultural studies **17**(3-4): pp.419-444.

Ciuchini, P. (2010). 'Archaeological policies and practices across Europe: national developments and international trends'. Archeojobs consulted online Monday, July 26[th], 2010. URL: http://archaeojobs.blogspot.com/2010/07/archaeological-policies-and-practices.html.

Clarke, D. (1973). 'Archaeology: the loss of innocence.' Antiquity **47**: pp.6-18.

Cleere, H. & P. Fowler (1976). 'US archaeology through British eyes.' Antiquity **50**: pp.230-232.

Clerc, D. (2004). 'La décroissance ? Oui, mais pas pour tout.' Alternatives Économiques, H-S **60**: February 2004.

Clermont, N. (1999). "Archéologie. La préhistoire" in Robert Lahaise (Ed.), Québec 2000**.** Montréal: Les Éditions Hurtubise HMH, Collection: Les Cahiers du Québec, pp.55-75.

(2007). "Archaeology in Québec". The Canadian Encyclopedia © 2010 Historica-Dominion, The Canadian Encyclopedia.com, URL: http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0000271

Coelho, S. (2009). 'Archaeology for Fun and Profit.' Science Careers from the journal Science, January 09/2009.

Collin, D. (2009). Le cauchemar de Marx – Le Capitalisme est-il une histoire sans fin?. Paris : Max Milo Éditions, 328p.

Colombani, A. (2009). 'Le nouveau conservatisme britannique – La société contre l'État', La vie des Idées, Journal published online on July 10th, 2009, 13p.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C. & T.J. Ferguson (2008). Collaboration in Archaeological practice – Engaging Descendant Communities. Lanham, New York, Toronto: Altamira Press, 317p.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C., T.J. Ferguson, D. Lippert, R.H. McGuire, G.P. Nicholas, J.E. Watkins and L.J. Zimmerman (2010). 'The Premise and promise of indigenous archaeology.' American Antiquity **75**(2): pp. 228-238.

Connolly, D. (2009). 'Crisis, what Crisis?' Past Horizons - Online Journal of Volunteer Archaeology and Training: **6**: pp.44.

Corcos, N. (2009). 'Archaeological Profession today?' Current Archaeology **227**: p.48.

Côté, M. (1995). "Une présence plus que millénaire", in Odette Vincent (Ed.), Histoire de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue. Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (coll. « Les régions du Québec », n°7), pp.67-95.

(1998). 'Le site Ramsay: un témoignage furtif des premiers occupants de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue', in Roland Tremblay (Ed.) L'éveilleur et l'ambassadeur : Essais archéologiques et ethnohistoriques en hommage à Charles A. Martijn, Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, collection Paléo-Québec **27**: pp.51-58.

(2004). 'L'Abitibi-Témiscamingue, une île de connaissance dans un océan d'ignorance.' Archéologiques **17**: pp.94-96

(2006). 'L'occupation amérindienne au Témiscamingue : l'exemple du Lieu historique national du Canada du Fort-Témiscamingue (Obadjiwan), une présence multi-millénaire'. Recherches amérindiennes au Québec **36**(1): pp.7-22.

Côté, M. and L. Inksetter (2002). Voyage au-delà de la mémoire. 8 000 ans d'activités humaines dans la *MRC* de Rouyn-Noranda, livret publié avec le soutien du ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec.

Cooper, M. A. (1995). "The archaeological manager: applying management models to archaeology", in Cooper, M.A. *et al.* (Eds.), Managing archaeology. London, Routledge. Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG): pp.71-88.

Cooper-Reade, H. (1998). 'Competitive tendering: isn't it time we stopped complaining?' Rescue News: **75**(2).

Coppens, Y. (2003). Citation in Anne-Marie Romero, 'L'archéologie sort de l'exception culturelle', Le Figaro: May 2003, Thursday 29, p.20.

Cumberpatch C. & P. Blinkhorn (2001). "Clients, contractors, curators and archaeology: who owns the past?", in Pluciennik, M. (Ed.) The Responsibilities of Archaeologists – Archaeology and Ethics – Lampeter Workshop in Archaeology 4. BAR International Series 981, pp 39-45.

Dale, G. (2010). Karl Polanyi: The Limits of the Market. Cambridge: Polity Press: 320p.

Darvill, T., B. Russell & C. Bell (2002). Archaeology after PPG16: Archaeological Investigations in England 1990-1999. Bournemouth: DOI, 80p.

Davis, M.J., K.L.A. Gdaniec, M. Brice & L. White (2004). Mitigation of construction impact on archaeological remains. London: Museum of London service for English Heritage. 91p.

De Brie, C. (2003). 'Sur les chantiers de la démolition sociale - l'archéologie menacée.' Le Monde Diplomatique, February 2003, pp.4-5.

Demoule, J.P. *et al.* (1998). 'L'organisation de l'archéologie préventive en France,' report consulted online in June 2010.
URL : http://lesrapports.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/BRP/994000203/0000.pdf, 20p.

Demoustier, D. (2003). L'économie sociale et solidaire : S'associer pour entreprendre autrement. Paris : Éditions La Découverte, 216 p.

Denison, S. (1999). 'Want to be an archaeologist? Read this.' British Archaeology **48**: pp.15.

Denton D. (1997). Frenchman's Island and the Naatuwaau Bones: Archaeology and Cree Tales of Culture Contact, in Nicholas, G.P. & Andrews, T.D. (Eds.) At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada. Archaeology Press, Burnaby, B.C. 105–124.

(2001). A Visit in Time – Ancient places, Archaeology and Stories from the Elders of Wemindji. Nemaska: Cree Regional Authority, 58p.

(2002). 'Patrimoine culturel cri. Savoirs du Nord'. Continuité – Le magazine du patrimoine au Québec **92**: pp. 29-31.

(2004). 'Archéologie et développement hydroélectrique dans le Nord du Québec: Nouvelles façons de faire.' Archéologiques **17**: pp.97-99.

Desjardins P. (1999). 'La place de l'archéologie dans l'aménagement du Vieux-Port de Montréal.' Archéologiques **11-12** : pp.241-2.

Desrosiers P. (2006). 'Le Réseau des organismes en archéologie au Québec.' Archéologiques **16**: pp.57-62.

Desrosiers P. (2007). 'De l'importance de la diffusion'. Québec : Éditions Continuité Inc. (CMSQ). Continuité – Le magazine du patrimoine au Québec **112**: pp.35-37.

Dockum S.G. & R.C.G.M. Lauwerier (2004). 'Archaeology in the Netherlands 2002: The National Archaeological review and Outlook.' European Journal of Archaeology **7**(2): pp.109-124.

DoE - Department of the Environment (1990). Planning Policy Guidance Note 16: Archaeology and Planning. London, HMSO, Stationery Office Books, 24p.

Downer, A.S. (1997). "Archaeologists-Native American Relations," in Nina Swidler *et al.* (Eds.), Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground, Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, pp.23-34.

Drummond-Murray, J. (1998). 'Letter.' The Archaeologist **33**: pp.28.

Duguay, F. (2008). Consultation MCCCFQ – Livre Vert sur le Patrimoine Culturel – Réflexion dans une perspective Archéologique. Société de Conservation et d'animation du Patrimoine de Trois-Rivières, February 2008, 21p.

Duke, P. & D. J. Saitta (1998). 'An Emancipatory Archaeology for the Working Class.' Assemblage **4**. URL: http://www.assemblage.group.shef.ac.uk/4/4duk_sai.html

Edgeworth, M. (2003). 'Acts of discovery: an ethnography of archaeological practice.' BAR International Series **1131**: 128p.

(2010). "On the boundary: new perspectives from ethnography of archaeology," in Garrow, D & T. Yarrow (Eds.), Archaeology & Anthropology, pp53-68.

Eisele, J. (1997). "Newbury – The Archaeology Bypass". A talk given to Archaeologists and Development, Salisbury Museum 14th June 1997. Consulted online (Oct.14th, 2010). URL: http://www.ukrivers.net/newburybypass/jillarchaeology.html

Elgin, D. (1998). Voluntary Simplicity: Toward a Way of Life That Is Outwardly Simple, Inwardly Rich. New-York: Quill (William Morrow); Original Edition (1991); Revised edition (October 21, 1998), 240p.

English Heritage (1996). Research Frameworks: project report, Frameworks for our Past - A Review of Research Frameworks, Strategies, and Perceptions. London, English Heritage, 89p.

Eltchaninoff, M. (2010). 'Vouz avez dit aliénations?', Dossier: le travail (May 2010). Philosophie Magazine **39**: pp. 48-55.

Everill, P. (2006). The invisible diggers: contemporary commercial archaeology in the UK Humanities. Southampton, Southampton University, unpublished **Ph.D thesis**, 289p.

(2007). "British Commercial Archaeology: Antiquarians and Labourers; Developers and Diggers", in Y. Hamilakis & P. Duke (Eds.), Archaeology and Capitalism - From Ethics to Politics, pp.176-205.

Fahy, A. (1985). 'Job satisfaction doesn't pay the rent: the problems of short-term contracts.' The Field Archaeologist **3**: pp.29-31.

Felluga, D. (2003). Terms Used by Marxism. Introductory Guide to Critical Theory. Consulted online on June 4th 2009; URL: http://www.purdue.edu/guidetotheory/marxism/terms/

Fischbach, F. (2009). Sans objet. Capitalisme, subjectivité, aliénation. Paris: Vrin Ed. (Problèmes & Controverses), 269p.

Fotopoulos, T. (2007). 'Is degrowth compatible with a market economy?' The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy **3**(1): pp. 1-16.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977, Paris: Editions du Pantheon. 288p.

(1984). 'Des espace autres.' Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité **5**: pp.46-49.

(1991). 'Governmentality', trans. Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon, in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Eds.), The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 87–104.

Fowler, D.D. (1987). 'Uses of the Past: Archaeology in the service of the State'. American Antiquity **52**(2): pp. 229-248.

Frazer, B. (1998) 'Commentary on 'An emancipatory archaeology for the working class': Class and Archaeology -- an Opinion'. Assemblage **4**.

Fredet, J.-G. (2006). 'A la source du Génie du capitalisme'. Le Nouvel Observateur **2190**: pp.40.

Frolík J. & M. Tomášek (2008). Discovering the archaeologists of Europe: Ceská Republika. Archeologický ústav Praha, Praha, 98p.

Gaudreau V. (2007) 'Le passé a de l'avenir'. Québec : Éditions Continuité Inc. (CMSQ). Continuité – Le magazine du patrimoine au Québec **112**: pp. 12-13.

Gauvin, R. (1999). 'L'archéologie et l'aménagement des espaces publics : le jardin des Gouverneurs à Québec.' Archéologiques **11-12**: pp.237-240.

(2004). 'La gestion des ressources culturelles et l'archéologie à l'agence Parcs Canada.' Archéologiques **17**: pp.100-102.

Gélinas, C. (2000). 'Anthropologie québécoise, études amérindiennes, et la revue Recherches amérindiennes au Québec.' Anthropologica **42**(2): pp189-203.

Gero, J. (1996). "Archaeological practice and gendered encounters with field data" in J.Gero and M. Conkey (Eds.), Engendering archaeology: women and prehistory. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p 251-80.

Gilchrist, R. (1991). 'Women's archaeology? Political feminism, gender theory and historical revision.' Antiquity **65**: pp.495-501.

Girouard, L. (1970). 'L'archéologie préhistorique ou l'âne et la carotte'. Culture Vivante **18**: pp.20-24.

Giroux, H.A. (2004). The Terror of Neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the Eclipse of Democracy (Cultural Politics and the Promise of Democracy), Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 192p.

Goodwin, C. (1994). 'Professional vision'. American Anthropologist **96**(3): pp.606-633.

Graves-Brown, P. (1997). 'S/he who pays the piper... Archaeology and the polluter pays principle'. Assemblage **2**.

Greene, K. (2002). Archaeology: An Introduction. Routledge, 4th Edition, 352p.

Gutmann, D. *et al.* (2005). Disillusionment, From the Forbidden Fruit of the Promised Land: Dialogue of Lacks. London: Karnac Books, 60p.

Haber, S. (2007). L'aliénation – Vie sociale & expérience de la dépossession. Actuel Marx, Confrontation, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 382p.

Hall, P.A. (1989). The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism Across Nations. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 416p.

Hamilakis, Y. (1999). 'La Trahison des archéologues: archaeological practice as intellectual activity in postmodernism'. Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology **12**(1): pp.60-79.

(2004). 'Archaeology and the politics of pedagogy'. World Archaeology **36**(2): pp.287-309.

(2007a). The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 352p.

(2007b). 'From Ethics to Politics', in Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke (Eds.), Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics, One World Archaeology, Walnut Creek: California, pp. 15-40.

Hamilakis Y. & K. Aitchison (Eds.) (2009). 'Archaeology in crisis', From Making History – BBC 4, Radio Program, 28/04/2009.URL:http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00jxfqn.

Hamilakis, Y & P. Duke (Eds.) (2007). Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics, Walnut Creek: California Left Coast Press, One World Archaeology, 296p.

Hamilakis, Y. & A. Anagnostopoulos (2009). 'What is Archaeological Ethnography?' Public Archaeology: Archaeological Ethnographies **8** (2-3): pp.65-87.

Handler, R. (1988) Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. New directions in Anthropological Writing. 217p.

Hardy, A. (1997). 'Someone else's problem? An inquiry into fieldwork training.' The Archaeologist **29**: pp.8-9.

Harvey, D. (1990). The Condition of Postmodernity - An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Cambridge: Blackwell. 378p.

(1999). The limits to capital. Oxford: B. Blackwell. 2nd edition, 478p.

(2003). The New Imperialism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 275p.

(2005). A brief history of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 256p.

Hodder, I. (1997). On the surface: the re-opening of Çatalhöyük, Cambridge: MacDonald Institute, 368p.

(1999). 'A Response to Yannis Hamilakis'. Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology **12**(1): pp.83-85.

(2000). "Towards reflexive method in archaeology: the example at Çatalhöyük". McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Monograph 289. Oxbow, 300p.

(2002). 'Ethics and Archaeology: the Attempt at Çatalhöyük'. Near Eastern Archaeology **65**(3): pp.174-181.

(2008). "Multivocality and Social Archaeology" in Junko Habu, C. Fawcett and J. M. Matsunaga (Eds.) Evaluating Multiple Narratives, New York: Springer, 220p.

Holtorf, C. (2002). 'Notes on the life history of a post sherd', Journal of Material Culture **7**(1): pp.49-71.

(2005a). 'Beyond Crusades: How (not) to engage with alternative archaeologies', World Archaeology **37**(4): pp.544-551.

(2005b). From Stonehenge to Las Vegas – Archaeology as Popular Culture. Lanham: Altamira Press, 187p.

Honey, M.A. (1987) 'The interview as text: Hermeneutics considered as a model for analysing the clinically informed research interview'. Human Development **30**: pp.69-82.

Howe, L. (1995). 'Living on the edge: working on short term contracts in archaeology'. The Field Archaeologist **23**: pp. 27-28.

Jeantet, T. (2008). L'Économie sociale, une alternative au capitalisme. Paris: Economica, 82p.

Jessop, B. (2002). 'Liberalism, neoliberalism, and urban governance: a state-theoretical perspective.' Antipode **34**(3): pp.452–472.

Johnston, M. (1994). 'Excavation: misdirected?' Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Theoretical Archaeology Group. Bradford University.

Karakasidou, A. (1999). 'Fragments of Postmodernity.' Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology **12**(1): 86-90.

Kehoe, A. B. (2007). "Archaeology within marketing capitalism", in Y. Hamilakis & Duke, P. (Eds.), Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics, pp.169-178.

Kohl, P. L. (1998) 'Nationalism and archaeology: on the constructions of nations and the reconstruction of the remote past.' Annual Review of Anthropology **27**: pp.223-46.

Kohl, P. L. & C. Fawcett (Eds.) (1995). Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 341p.

Korten D.C. (2001). When Corporations Rule the World. Sterling: Kumarian Press, 2nd Revised edition, 385p.

(2009). Agenda for a New Economy: From Phantom Wealth to Real Wealth. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 196p.

Krausse D. & C. Nübold (2008). Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe: Germany, Verband der Landesarchäologen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, July 2008, 73p.

Kuttner, R. (1999). Everything for Sale: The Virtues and Limits of Markets. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 432p.

Lacroix, L. (2002). Les collections muséales au Québec, Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), 25p.

Laflamme, J. (2008). Chiffres à l'appui – La recherche archéologiques, participation financière des intervenants. MCCCFQ, Direction de Montréal, pp.52-54.

Lambrick, G. (1993). "Competitive tendering and archaeological research: the development of a CBA view", in H. Swain, Competitive Tendering in Archaeology. Hertford: RESCUE/SCAUM: pp.21-29.

Lampeter Archaeology Workshop – L.A.W. (1997). 'Relativism, objectivity and the politics of the past.' Archaeological Dialogues **4**(2): pp.164–184.

Larochelle, R. (2004). 'Péril en la demeure – Ghislain Picard sonne l'alarme pour la survie des Premières Nations'. Au fil des événements. St-Foy : Université Laval, 2p.

Latouche, S. (2004). Survivre au développement. Paris : Éditions Mille et une nuits, UNESCO, 128p.

(2007). 'Degrowth: an electoral stake?' The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy **3**(1): January 2007, 5p.

Latour, B. (1988). Science in Action: How to Follow Engineers and Scientists through Society. Harvard University, 288p.

(1992). "Where are the missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts". in Bijker, W.E. & J. Law (Eds.) Shaping Technology / Building Society Studies in Sociotechnological Change. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp.225-258.

(2005). Reassembling the Social – An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 301p.

Latour, B. & S. Woolgar (1996). La vie de laboratoire : la production des faits scientifiques : trad. de l'anglais par Michel Biezunski, 2ième Ed.- Paris : La Découverte, 300p.

Lauzanne, S & S.Thiébault (2003). 'Les archéologues contre la privatisation'. Nouveaux Regards **21**: pp.24.

Law J. (1992). 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity. Centre for Science Studies', Lancaster University, article consulted online the 12th of June 2008. URL: http://web.archive.org/web/20040214135427/http%3A/www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc054jl.htm

Lawson, A. (1993). "English archaeological units as contractors", in H. Swain, Competitive Tendering in Archaeology. Hertford, RESCUE/SCAUM: pp.21-29.

Le Goff, J.P. (2002). Économie Managériale – Marchés – Soutien à la décision – Concurrence; Sainte-Foy : Presses de l'Université du Québec, 445p.

LeCompte, M.D. & J.J. Schensul (1999). Designing & conducting ethnographic research, Lanham : Altamira Press, 220p.

Legros, M. (2010). 'Artisans de tous les pays…' Philosophie Magazine **39**: pp. 56-57.

Lippert, D. (2005). 'Comments on "Dwellings at the Margins, Action at the Intersection? Feminist and Indigenous Archaeologies, 2005".' Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress **1**(1): pp.63-66.

Little, B.J. (Ed.) (2002). Public Benefits of Archaeology. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 304p.

Little, B.J. & P. Shackel (2007). Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement. Lanham, New York, Toronto: Altamira Press, 286p.

Lucas, G. (2000). Critical Approaches to Fieldwork: Contemporary and Historical Archaeological Practice. London, Routledge, 1st Edition. 256p.

McAdam, E. (1999). 'The IFA debate: This house believes that British archaeology is in crisis.' The Archaeologist **34**: pp.15-18.

McCarthy, J. & S. Prudham (2004). 'Neoliberal nature and the nature of neoliberalism'. Geoforum **35**: pp.275-283.

McDavid, C. (2002). 'Archaeologies that Hurt; Descendants that Matter: A Pragmatic Approach to Collaboration in the Public Interpretation of African-American Archaeology.' World Archaeology **34**(2): pp.303-314.

McDermott C. & P. La Piscopia (2008). Discovering the Archaeologists of Ireland - A Report to The Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland by UCD School of Archaeology, 142p.

McGhee, R. (2008). Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology, American Antiquity **73**(4): pp. 579-597.

McGuire, R.H. (1992). 'Archaeology and the First Americans', American Anthropologist **94**(4): pp.816-836.

(2008). Archaeology as Political Action, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 294p.

Magyar Régész Szövetség (2008). Discovering the archaeologists of Europe: Hungary. 23p.

Marcus, G. E. (1995). 'Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography'. Annual Review of Anthropology **24**: pp. 95-117.

Marshall, Y. (2002). 'What is community archaeology?' World Archaeology **34**(2): pp.211-219.

Martel, L. & J.-G. Rousseau (1999). Le gestionnaire et les états financiers, Québec : ERPI, 260p.

Martijn C.A. (1978) "Historique de la recherche archéologique au Québec", in Claude Chapdelaine (Ed.): 'Images de la préhistoire du Québec', Recherches amérindiennes au Québec **7**(1-2): pp.11-18.

(1994a). La Gestion des ressources archéologiques du Nunavik (Nord-du-Québec): État de situation. Direction du Nord-du-Québec, Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Québec. 6 juin 1994, 9p.

(1994b). Administration régionale crie – Patrimoine archéologique – État de Situation. Direction du Nord-du-Québec, Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Québec. 28 juin 1994, 18p.

(1998). "Bits and Pieces, Glimpses and Glances: A Retrospect on Prehistoric Research in Quebec" in P. J. Smith (Ed.), Bringing the Past - Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology. Hull, Quebec, Canadian Museum of Civilization: pp.163-190.

(2002). "The History of Archaeological Research in Nunavik (Nouveau-Québec): A Second Opinion", in William W.Fitzhugh, Stephen Loring and Daniel Odess (Eds). Honoring our Elders – A history of Eastern Arctic Archaeology. Arctic Studies Center, p205-213.

Martin, P.L. (1977) Correspondence with Charles Martijn – unpublished, Groupe de Recherche en histoire du Québec rural, Saint-André de Kamouraska, 17-11-1977.

Marx, K. (1844a) Manuscrits de 1844. (Économie politique & philosophie). Présentation, traduction et notes d'Émile Bottigelli. Paris, Les Éditions sociales, 1972, 175 p.

(1844b) Comments on James Mill - Éléments d'économie Politique, in Marx K., Marx/Engels, Gesamtausgabe, Erste Abteilung, Band 3, Berlin, 1932.

(1959) Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. Moscow: Progress Publishers. Originally published in 1891.

(1906) Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. New York: Modern Library. Originally published in 1867.

Mathiesen, H. (2008). 'Exhibition: The perfect market economy'. Encycogov.com - The encyclopaedia about corporate governance – Consulted online on September 10th,2008: URL:http://www.encycogov.com/B10CompetitionInProductMarkets/App10PerfectMarketModel/Exhi_Perf_market_econ.asp

Meadwell, H. (1993). 'The Politics of nationalism in Quebec.' The Johns Hopkins University Press. World Politics **45**(2): pp.203-41.

Mellor, J. (1997). 'In the frame - a depressing picture of archaeology in the late 1990's.' Rescue News **71**: pp.6-7.

Meskell, L. (Ed.) (1998). Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East Routledge, 264p.

(2002). 'The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology.' Annual Review of Anthropology **31**: pp.279-301.

Mongeau, S. (Ed.) (2007). Objecteurs de Croissance – Pour sortir de l'impasse : la décroissance. Montréal : Les Éditions Écosociété. 139p.

Morgan, D.R. & R.E. England (1988). 'The Two Faces of Privatization.' Public Administration Review **48**(6): (Nov. - Dec., 1988), pp. 979-987.

Moreau, J.-F. (1994). 'Archéologie Amérindienne au Québec: 1979-1994.' Archéologiques **8**: pp.68-72.

Morris, E. (Ed.), 1992, 'Women in British Archaeology.' IFA Occasional Paper **4**.

Morris, R. (1999). 'An abiding faith in archaeology's worth.' British Archaeology **45**: p.15.

Moser, S. (1995). “Archaeology and its disciplinary culture: the professionalisation of Australian prehistoric archaeology”, unpublished **PhD thesis**, University of Sydney.

Moser, S. (2001). ‘Archaeological representation: the visual conventions for constructing knowledge about the past’, in: Ian Hodder (Ed.): Archaeological Theory Today, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 262-283.

Moss, J. (1989). ‘Playing with History: Québec Historical Plays from the Quiet Revolution to the referendum.’ The French Review **63**(2): pp.337-346.

Moss, W. (2004). ‘Le bilan de l’archéologie à Québec au point tournant de la création d’une nouvelle ville.’ Archéologiques **17**: pp.102-110.

Mousseau, C. (2004). ‘La conservation et la mise en valeur du patrimoine archéologique à la ville de Montréal – bilan et perspectives dans le contexte de la nouvelle ville.’ Archéologiques **17**: pp.110-120.

Moussette, M. (2008). “Préface”, in C. Roy & H. Côté : Rêves d’Amériques: Regard sur l’archéologie de la Nouvelle-France, Archéologiques, Collection Hors-Série **2**, Québec: AAQ, p.vii-ix.

Niskanen, W.A. (1988). Reaganomics: An Insider's Account of the Policies and the People. Oxford University Press, USA, 380 p.

Olivier, A. (1996). Frameworks for our Past - A Review of Research Frameworks, Strategies, and Perceptions. London: English Heritage, 89p.

Osborne, B.S. (2001). Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place, Halifax: Heritage Canada, unpublished work, 48p.

Pantos,P, A. Papadimitriou & A. Kossyva (2008). Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe. Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence: Profiling the Profession 2007-08. December 2008, Athens: Syllogos Ellinon Archaiologon, 119p.

Palumbo, G. (2006). “Privatization of state-owned cultural heritage: a critique of recent trends in Europe”, in N. Agnew, & J. Bridgland (Eds.), Of the Past, For the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, pp.35-39.

Parga-Dans, E. (2009). "The Analysis of an Emerging Sector: the Commercial Archaeology and their Involvement from the Perspective of Systemic Innovation". Conference Paper presented at DRUID-DIME Academy, Winter 2009, PhD Conference on 'Economics and Management of Innovation, Technology and Organizational Change'. Held in the Hotel Comwell Rebild Bakker, Aalborg, Denmark, January 22- 24, 2009. 21p, *unpublished.*

Patterson, T.C. (1995). Toward a social history of archaeology in the United States. Case studies in archaeology series. Fort Worth; London, Harcourt Brace College, 181p.

(1999). 'The Political Economy of Archaeology in the United States.' Annual Review of Anthropology **28**: pp.158-174.

(2005). 'The Turn to Agency: Neoliberalism, Individuality, and Subjectivity in Late-Twentieth-Century Anglophone Archaeology.' Rethinking Marxism **17**(3): pp. 373-384.

Patton, M.Q. (1990). Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2nd edition, 536p.

Peacok A. & I. Rizzo (2008). The Heritage Game: Economics, Policy, and Practice. Oxford: Oxfrod University Press, 209p.

Picard, F. (1979). Les traces du passé. Sillery: les dossiers de Québec Science, 205p.

Piché C. (1999). Le discours sur l'histoire et les musées québécois, de 1874 à 1992 : producteurs, pratiques et productions, thèse (histoire), Université du Québec à Montréal, *unpublished*.

PPG16 (1990). Archaeology and Planning (Planning Policy Guidance Notes). Stationery Office Books, 24p.

Pyburn, K. (2009). 'Practising Archaeology – As if it Really Matters.' Public Archaeology: Ethnographical Ethnographies **8** (2-3), pp161-175.

Quinn, B. (2005). How Walmart Is Destroying America: and what you can do about it, Ten Speed Press, 3 Rev. Updated edition, 158p.

Ralite, J. (2003). Archéologie préventive : deuxième lecture. Groupe Communiste Républicain et Citoyen au Sénat dans le cadre de la discussion et du vote de la loi à la commission des affaires culturelles du Sénat, 22 Juillet 2003.

Rahtz, P. (2001). Living Archaeology. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, p288.

Reddé, M. (2003). Cited in Anne-Marie Romero, 'L'archéologie sort de l'exception culturelle', Le Figaro, Jeudi 29 Mai 2003, pp.20.

Ribadeau Dumas, L. (2008). 'Archéologie: Quel rôle pour le secteur privé?' France 2 Télévision, consulted online on March 10th, 2009.
URL: http://www.france2.fr/cultureetloisirs/archeologie/37140534-fr.php?page=accueil

Roche, W.K. and T. Cradden (2003). 'Neo-corporatism and social partnership'. In Maura Adshead and Michelle Millar (Eds.): Public Administration and Public Policy in Ireland – Theory and Method, pp. 69-87.

Roy, D. (2004). 'La pratique de l'archéologie au ministère des transports de Québec.' Archéologiques **17**: pp.121-125.

Rocheleau C. & D. Filiatrault (1992). 'Comité des normes et conditions de travail en Archéologie – Proposition sur les normes salariales en archéologie', in XIe colloque de l'Association des archéologues du Québec (AAQ5Aa14-5/1992/1), 15p.

Sabloff, J.A. (2008). Archaeology Matters – Action Archaeology in the Modern World. University of Pennsylvania. Walnut Creek CA: Left Coast Press, 151p.

Sassen, S. (2003). The repositioning of citizenship: emergent subjects and spaces for politics. The New Centennial Review **3**(2), pp.41-66.

Sauvé, L. (2007). "La dérive et l'impasse du développement durable", in Mongeau, S. (Ed.) Objecteurs de Croissance – Pour sortir de l'impasse : la décroissance. Montréal : Les Éditions Écosociété. pp. 33-57.

Scarre C. and G. Scarre (Eds.) (2006). The Ethics of Archaeology – Philosophical Perspective on Archaeological Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 318p.

Schnapp, A. (1996). The discovery of the past: the origins of archaeology, London: British Museum Press, 384p.

Scott, E. (1998). "Tales from a Romanist: a personal view of archaeology and 'equal opportunities", in Forcey, C., J. Hawthorne and R. Witcher (Eds.) TRAC 97. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, University of Nottingham, Oxford: Oxbow. April 1997, pp.138-147.

Sénat (2004). 'L'archéologie préventive.' Étude de législation comparée **138**: octobre 2004.

Sennet, R. (2008). The Craftsman. Yale : Yale University Press, 336p.

Séguin, J. (1979). 'L'archéologie préhistorique au Québec: une illusion à sauver?' Recherches amérindiennes au Québec **8**(3), pp.235-242.

Shanks, M. & R. H. McGuire (1996). 'The craft of archaeology...' American Antiquity **61**(1): pp.75-88.

Shanks, M. & C. Tilley (1992). Reconstructing archaeology: Theory and practice, 2d Ed. London: Routledge, 320p.

Shore, C. & S. Wright (1997). Anthropology of Policy. Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power. London & New York: Routledge. Collection: European Association of Social Anthropologists, 294p.

Silberman, N. A. (1989). Between past and present: archaeology, ideology, and nationalism in the modern Middle East. New York, Henry Holt, 285p.

Silliman, S.W. (2010). The Value and Diversity of Indigenous Archaeology: A Response to McGhee. American Antiquity **75**(2): pp.217-220.

Silverman, H. (2007). "Contemporary Museum Practice in Cusco, Peru", in Y. Hamilakis & Duke, P. (Eds.) Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics: pp.195-212.

Skidelsky, R.J.A. (2010). Keynes: A very short Introduction. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 144p.

Smith, L. (2004). Archaeological theory and the politics of culture heritage. London, Routledge. 260p.

Sparey-Green, C. (1995). 'Which side of the fence? The dilemma of archaeology and development.' Rescue News **67**: pp.3-6.

Spoerry, P. (1997). 'The Rescue Survey 1996: some preliminary results.' Rescue News **72**: pp.6-7.

Stan, D. (2007). "De l'individuel au collectif: stratégies de changement", in Mongeau, S. (Ed.): Objecteurs de Croissance – Pour sortir de l'impasse : la décroissance. Montréal : Les Éditions Écosociété. pp. 92-96.

Stiegler, B. (2009). Pour une nouvelle critique de l'économie politique. Paris: Éditions Gallilée, 96p.

Stiglitz, J.E. (2003). Globalization and its discontents. New-York: W.W.Norton & Company, 304p.

(2006). Un autre monde – Contre le fanatisme du marché. Paris: Fayard (pour la traduction française, 2006), 563p.

Strickland, T. (1993). "The consultant's perspective", in P. Carrington (Ed.) Evaluations in rescue archaeology: PPG 16 Three years on. Chester: Chester Archaeological Service Occasional Paper No.1, pp.18-20.

Stout, A. (2008). Creating Prehistory: Druids, Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-war Britain, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 318p.

Symonds, J. (1995). Book Review of: Biddle M. (1994) 'A long look to archaeology's future', Oxford, Oxbow Books Limited, 20p." British Archaeology **5**.

Syndicat National des Affaires Culturelles (2008). 'Pas de filiale pour l'INRAP'. February 14th 2008. SNAC, 3p.

Tassé, G. (2004). L'archéologie au Québec: Mots, techniques, objets. Fides Ed., 148p.

Thielfoldt, D. & D. Scheef (2004). 'Generation X and The Millennials: What You Need to Know About Mentoring the New Generations', article consulted online in January 2009 from the online publication: Law Practice Today (November 2005), URL: http://www.abanet.org/lpm/lpt/articles/mgt08044.html.

Thomas, J. (2004a). Archaeology and Modernity. Routledge (New Edition), 288p.

(2004b). 'Archaeology's Place in Modernity.' Modernism / Modernity **11**(1): pp.17-34.

Throsby, D. (1999). 'Cultural Capital.' Journal of Cultural Economics **23**(1): pp.3-12.

(2001). Economics and Culture. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 224p.

Trainer, T. (2007). 'Renewable Energy : No Solution for Consumer Society.' The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy **3** (1): January 2007.

Tremblay, R. (1998) 'L'éveilleur et l'ambassadeur - Essais archéologiques et ethnohistoriques en hommage à Charles A. Martijn'. Montréal, Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec, Collection Paléo-Québec (**27**): 255p.

Trigger, B.G. (1981). "Giants and Pygmies: The Professionalization of Canadian Archaeology", in G. Daniel (Ed.): Towards a History of Archaeology. London & New York: Thames and Hudson, pp.69-84.

(1984). 'Alternative Archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist.' Man **19**, pp.335-370.

(1989). A history of archaeological thought. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 516p.

(2003). Understanding Early Civilizations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 757p.

Wainwright, G. (2000). 'Time please.' Antiquity: **74**(286): pp.909-943.

Walker, J. (1996). 'Let us have franchises in archaeology.' British Archaeology **20**: p11.

Watkins, J. (2003). 'Archaeological Ethics and American Indians'. In Zimmerman, L.J., K.D. Vitelli & J. Hollowell-Zimmer (Eds.). Ethical Issues in Archaeology. Altamira, WalnutCreek CA, pp. 129-142.

Waugh K.E. (2008). Discovering the Archaeologists of the Netherlands - A VESTIGIA BV, Archeologie & cultuurhistorie, 101p.

Willems, W.J.H. (2009). "Archaeological Resource Management and Academic Archaeology Europe: Some Observations", in D'Agata, Anna Lucia and Silvia Alaura

(Eds.), Quale Futuro per l'archaeologia?, Consigno Nazionale delle Ricerche, Roma: Dipartimento Patrimonio Culturale, pp.89-115.

Williams, J. (2007). The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800 (Kent History Project). Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 304p.

Wilson, R.G. (1998). Disillusionment or new opportunities? The changing nature of work in offices, Glasgow 1880-1914. Aldershot, Brookfield USA, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate, 313p.

Wolfreys, J. (2008). 'France: Crisis and Revolt', Socialist Worker consulted online on December 13th, 2008), URL: http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/art.php?id=16653.

Wright, J.V. (1979). Quebec Prehistory. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 138p.

Yarrow, T. (2000). "Excavating knowledge: the relational capacities of persons and things on an archaeological dig". Unpublished **Ph.D thesis**, University of Cambridge, Department of Social Anthropology.

(2003). 'Artefactual persons: the relational capacities of persons and things in the practice of excavation.' Norwegian Archaeological Review **36**: pp.65-7.

Zeder, M.A. (1997a). 'The American Archaeologist: Results of the 1994 SAA Census.' SAA Bulletin **15**(2): 12-17.

(1997b). The American Archaeologist: A Profile. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press, 250p.

Zimmerman, L.J. (2008). "Unusual or "Extreme" Beliefs about the Past, Community Identity, and Dealing with the Fringe", in Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C. & T.J. Ferguson (Eds.) Collaboration in Archaological Practice. Lanham: AltaMira Press, pp.55-86.

(2011). "Archaeology Definition", in 'About.com Guide' by K. Kris Hirst, for The New York Times Company. Consulted online on February 25th 2011, URL:http://archaeology.about.com/od/archaeology101/a/archaeologyis.htm

Zimmerman,L.J., K.D. Vitelli & J. Hollowell-Zimmer (2003). Ethical Issues in Archaeology. Altamira, WalnutCreek CA, 320p.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Arch-Justice
URL: https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A0=ARCH-JUSTICE, consulted online the 28th of May 2010.

Archéo-08
URL: http://www.archeo08.qc.ca/pres.html, consulted online the 15th of May 2008.

Archéo-Québec
URL: http://www.archeoquebec.com/e-0102.html consulted online the 10th of March 2009

Artefactuel – Coop de Travail œuvrant en archéologie
URL : http://www.artefactuel.ca/, consulted online the 4th of June 2008.

Avataq Cultural Institute
URL :http://www.avataq.qc.ca/spip.php?page=departement&id_rubrique=17&idn=16-64&lang=en, consulted online the 15th of May 2008.

Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe (2010). Leonardo Da Vinci, Education and Culture.
URL: http://discovering-archaeologists.eu/

IFA (Institute for Archaeologists)
URL:http://www.archaeologists.net/modules/tinycontent/index.php?id=1 consulted online August 17th 2008.

INRAP (Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives)
URL: http://www.inrap.fr/archeologie-preventive/L-archeologie-preventive/Un-peu-d-Histoire.../p-314-La-loi-du-17-janvier-2001.htm consulted online December 13th 2009.

Institut de Statistique du Québec
URL: http://www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/

International Network for Inclusive Democracy
URL: http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/

International Socialism – A quarterly journal of socialist theory

URL: http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4

Irish Independent – Anonymous (2006). 'Archaeology a terrible job'
URL: http://www.independent.ie/opinion/letters/archaeology-a-terrible-job-96697.html

MAP2 - Management of archaeological projects (1991). English Heritage, consulted online, November 30, 2006. URL: http://www.eng-h.gov.uk/guidance/map2/

MCCCQF
URL1: http://www.mcccf.gouv.qc.ca/index.php?id=2604, consulted online June 5th 2008.
URL2: http://www.mcccf.gouv.qc.ca/index.php?id=3115, consulted online June 18th 2009.
URL3: http://www.mcccf.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/documents/biens-culturels/statuts.pdf, consulted online June 18th 2009.

M.V.C. - Musée Virtuel du Canada (2006). Échos du passé, Archéologie préhistorique au Québec. URL: http://www.museevirtuel.ca/Exhibitions/Echo/f_index.html

Network Archéo-Québec / Réseau Archéo-Québec
URL: http://www.mcc.gouv.qc.ca/reseau-archeo/, consulted online May 14th 2008.

New-Left Review
URL: http://www.newleftreview.org/

QAA/AAQ
URL: http://www.archeologie.qc.ca/english/association/Charter.html consulted online the 14th of May 2008

The Ontario Association of Professional Archaeologists
URL: http://www.apaontario.ca/r_consultantlist.html, consulted online June 20th 2010.

World Social Forum (2008). World Social Forum Web site
URL: http://www.wsf2008.net/fr, consulted online: November 28th 2008.

York Archaeological Trust (2010).
URL: http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/, consulted online: September 26th 2010.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS (online):

Act Respecting Land Use Planning and Development (From 1979 to 2009) R.S.Q., chapter A-19.1
URL:http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/A_19_1/A19_1_A.html

CEAA (2004) Convention concernant l'administration des ententes entre les Cris et Hydro-Québec et concernant la Société Niskamoon. MTL_LAW\784449\4, 28p.
URL:http://www.ceaa.gc.ca/010/0001/0001/0017/001/1220/06-05-11_Niskamoon_AppendixF_f.pdf

CPA (1972) Cultural Property Act - R.S.Q. c. B-4 (From 1972 to 2006)
URL:http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/B_4/B4_A.html

EQA (1972) Environment Quality Act - R.S.Q., chapter Q-2 (From 1972 to 2009)
URL:http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/Q_2/Q2_A.htm

JBNQA (1974) James Bay & Northern Quebec Agreement, 454p.
URL: http://www.gcc.ca/pdf/LEG000000006.pdf

Hydro-Québec (2008). Hydro-Québec Financial Profile 2007-2008, 44p.
URL:http://www.hydroquebec.com/publications/en/financial_profile/pdf/profile_2007-2008.pdf

Gouvernement du Québec – Livre vert (2007). Un regard neuf sur le patrimoine culturel – Révision de la Loi sur la Patrimoine Culturel; Québec : Culture, Communications et Condition féminine; Presses JB Deschamps (décembre 2007), 78p.
URL :http://www.mcccf.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/documents/consultation-publique/cahier_int_vf.pdf

MCCCFQ (2008). Tableau du suivi administrative des demandes de permis de recherche archéologique, *Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et la Condition Féminine*, Québec, 2008, 8p.

Ministère de l'Éduction, Loisir et Sport (2009). RÉPARTITION DES PROGRAMMES D'ÉTUDES DANS L'ENSEMBLE DES ÉTABLISSEMENTS D'ENSEIGNEMENT COLLÉGIAL - Programmes de formation technique - Secteurs de formation.
URL : http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/ens-sup/ens-coll/Cahiers/treparti.asp

Rapport Annuel (1994) - La Convention de la Baie James et du Nord Québécois et la Convention du Nord-Est Québécois, 30p.
URL: http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/ldc/ccl/fagr/que/cin/94/cin94-fra.pdf

Statistics Canada / Statistique Canada
URL: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/start-debut-eng.html

Valetta Convention (1992). European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage
URL: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/143.htm