Unsettling the Archaeology Field School: Development of a Community Engaged Model at the University of Northern British Columbia

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ABSTRACT. In this paper, Unsettling Archaeology refers to improving how we as archaeologists work with Indigenous communities on their heritage. A fundamental part of this process involves how we train students, and the archaeology field school provides a perfect vehicle in which to explore new avenues. Since 2000, the University of Northern British Columbia has partnered with a number of Indigenous communities on the coast and in the interior of British Columbia, to deliver 13 field schools in various locations. A key pillar of the field school model is the integration and weaving of traditional knowledge taught by community members, and a science-based approach to field methods, taught by university staff. This paper describes the initial field school model and highlights problems and successes with implementation.

RÉSUMÉ. Le titre de cet article, « Unsettling Archaeology » (Décoloniser l'archéologie), fait référence à la façon dont nous, les archéologues, travaillons avec les communautés autochtones au sujet de leur héritage. Une partie essentielle de ce processus implique la manière dont nous enseignons aux étudiants. À ce sujet, l'école de fouilles constitue un contexte idéal afin d'explorer de nouvelles possibilités. Depuis 2000, l'Université du Nord de la Colombie-Britannique a travaillé en partenariat avec de nombreuses communautés autochtones, sur la côte et à l'intérieur des terres de la Colombie-Britannique, dans le but d'offrir treize écoles de fouilles à divers endroits. Un des éléments clés du modèle des écoles de fouilles est l'intégration et le tissage du savoir traditionnel (traditional knowledge) enseigné par les membres de la communauté, ainsi que l'approche scientifique des méthodes de terrain enseignées par des employés de l'université. Le modèle initial des écoles de fouilles est décrit, et les problèmes et succès associés avec celui-ci sont mis de l'avant dans le texte.

F OR SOME TIME, ARCHAEOLOGISTS and Indigenous communities have been repurposing the discipline to be more responsive to community needs, but there is no one model with which to do this. In recent decades, community-based approaches have been espoused by many archaeologists and Indigenous communities (Atalay 2012; Lyons et al. 2010; papers in Nicholas and Andrews 1997; papers in Silliman 2008). For archaeologists working with Indigenous communities, there is a diversity of approaches and goals (Greer et al. 2002; Marshall 2002). Some of them have been subsumed under Indigenous Archaeology (Atalay 2006) and developing decolonized approaches (Nicholas 2006). There has been much discussion about the goals and ethics of community and Indigenous archaeology (La Salle and Hutchings 2016; Martindale et al.

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2016; McGhee 2008), and some of the critiques are certainly valid and require pause for thought. At the same time, practitioners of these collaborative approaches have made significant gains towards a more inclusive archaeology (Colwell 2016; see Wylie 2019 for an excellent summary). Generally, this can be considered as "unsettling" archaeology as the discipline grapples with its colonial foundation and strives to do things differently.

The term "unsettling" is used here to denote recognition of the power relations embedded in the colonial structure within which academia is traditionally anchored (Atalay 2006). The term "settler" is increasingly used to distinguish Indigenous persons from non-Indigenous ones. Unsettling is the process of disrupting the inequality that exists when (in this case) non-Indigenous academicians are seen as the primary knowledge holders of deep Indigenous history, although the rising numbers of academically trained Indigenous archaeologists are making these categories increasingly mutually inclusive (Nicholas 2010). As such, "unsettling" is conceptually intertwined and overlaps with "decolonizing", "Indigenous", and "collaborative" approaches, and can even be subsumed under one or more of those categories. Many of these terms and concepts are underlain with complex epistemic and methodological subtleties that are debated within the academic bubble; on the other hand, the term and concept behind "unsettling" resonates in a greater way with communities and so it is preferred in this study. I am non-Indigenous but I have spent over two decades working with Indigenous communities throughout the coast and interior of British Columbia. I co-organized the 2002 University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) field school and I have organized and taught all of the field schools since 2007.

Starting in 2000, UNBC has taken the approach that decolonizing or unsettling the discipline must include how we train our students to be archaeologists, and that a natural vehicle for this is the field school. Other field school and community-engaged examples, such as Nicholas' (1997) pioneering efforts and more recent projects (Cipolla and Quinn 2016; Guilfoyle et al. 2019; papers in Kerber 2006; Lima et al. 2019; papers in Silliman 2008), illustrate the value of this approach. A commitment to this endeavor requires academics, students, and Indigenous community members to operate outside of their "comfort zones", as this is necessary if we are to explore new avenues for practice. In 2000, we were approached by the Cariboo Tribal Council (now Northern Secwepemc te Qelmucw) to develop a community-based field school with a difference, where Elders would help academics teach the field school and community members would also participate for course credits alongside university students. Since that time, we have delivered 13 field schools and three field research projects in partnership with eight Indigenous communities in north central British Columbia (Figure 1). This paper outlines the initial development of our field school model and modifications that have occurred since that time. It traces our collaborations with Indigenous communities and highlights examples of community interaction and experiential archaeology. The Discussion section summarizes successes and challenges and explores how this model benefits communities and contributes towards unsettling archaeology.
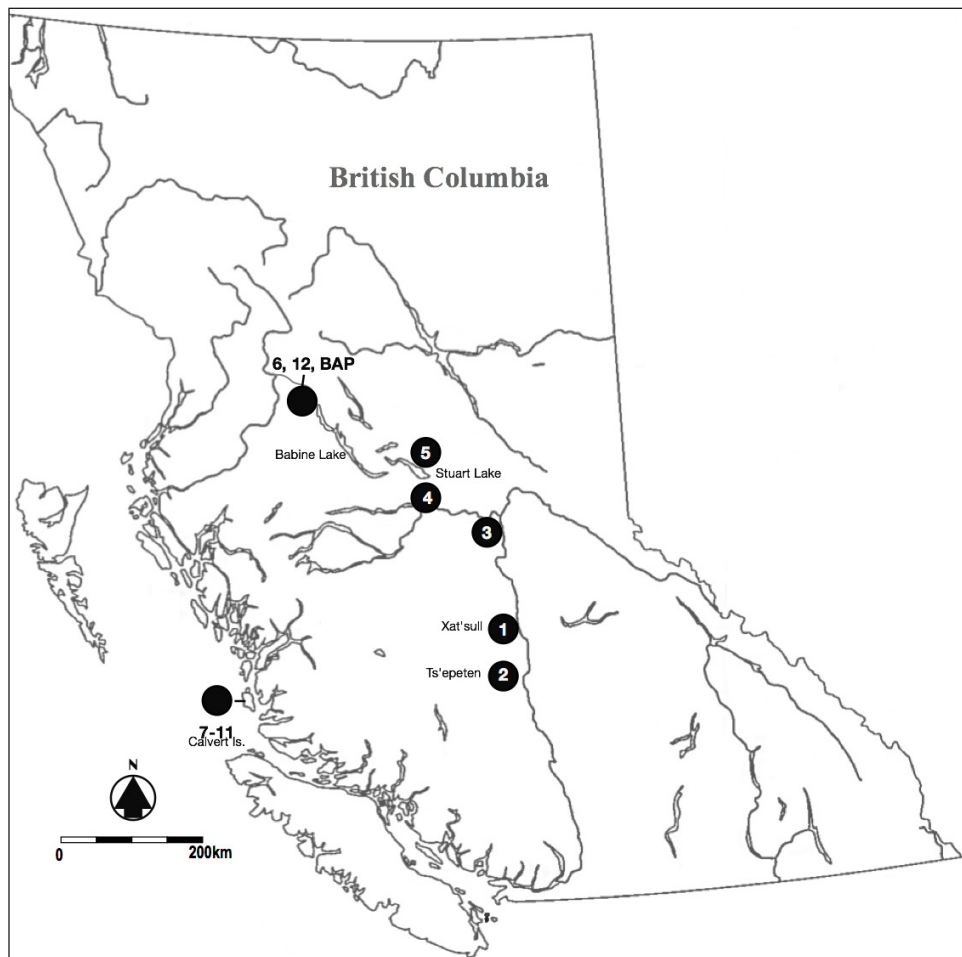
FIGURE 1. Locations of UNBC community-engaged field schools in British Columbia. Base map from d-maps.com.

The Field School Model

Most Indigenous communities in British Columbia are observing impacts to their claimed traditional territories as the pace of development through resource extraction accelerates, along with environmental assessments (Klimko et al. 1998; La Salle and Hutchings 2012; Nicholas 2006). Archaeological impact assessments are frequently undertaken prior to development, usually by cultural resource managers, and this is generally the first interaction that communities have with archaeologists (Klassen et al. 2009). Over the past decades, Indigenous communities have justifiably asserted an increased role in all aspects of archaeology from practice to management of resources, as well as permitting. Lack of capacity continues to be a problem as there are still very few Indigenous archaeologists working within the communities. Local community members are frequently hired by consultants to assist

with impact assessments but many of them have no formal training in archaeology, except for short courses that offer basic training in field techniques and recognizing artifacts and other material culture (Klassen et al. 2009). In British Columbia, these provincially sanctioned courses are a positive start, but they are not designed to provide a comprehensive education in archaeology. University field schools can offer a more comprehensive introduction to field methods to both community members and post-secondary students. In doing so, field schools offer an opportunity for communities to increase capacity by having more members with archaeological knowledge (Gonzalez et al. 2018), and ultimately, may encourage those members to pursue further post-secondary education.

The initial framework for the field school was laid out in principle during the late 1990s by Jim McDonald and Richard Lazenby of the Department of Anthropology at UNBC (McDonald and Lazenby 1999). The first field school using the model was delivered in 2000 in partnership with the then Cariboo Tribal Council (CTC), and Soda Creek First Nation (Table 1). After that first field school, I became director of the project and I began to make modifications to the model after successive consultation with many partner communities, beginning with the Cariboo Tribal Council. As we deliberated our field school model, a number of simple guiding principles anchored our thought process, including elements from the original framework:

1) Archaeology and traditional knowledge should be placed on equal footing. Traditional knowledge is used here in the broadest sense, encompassing environmental, social, and spiritual aspects. Legat (1991:1–2; cf. Greer 1997:146) outlines a similar and useful definition developed by the Government of the Northwest Territories Traditional Knowledge Working Group. This means observing any cultural protocols as prescribed by our community partners. Archaeological training consists of traditional field techniques and a science-based approach. We also include experiential archaeology under this principle, which includes modules such as making and using stone tools or creating earth ovens.

2) Instructors will be qualified academic archaeologists as well as Elders and other community members who wish to share their knowledge (McDonald and Lazenby 1999).

3) University students and community members (chosen by the community) enrol in field school courses together, and both groups earn university credits upon successful completion. Community members need not have an academic background to enrol in the field school.

4) Research questions and fieldwork locations are chosen collaboratively, with guidance from the community.

5) The university and the partner Indigenous communities share the cost of the project so that, at a minimum, communities are responsible for tuition and fees for their students (see below). The university provides staff, equipment, learning materials, transportation and fuel, food, plus more.

6) A community day is held near the end of the project with a feast and any necessary ceremonies at the discretion of the community. Students and staff facilitate community interaction and input through display of artifacts and any other material culture recovered.

TABLE 1. UNBC archaeology field schools partnered with Indigenous communities in British Columbia. The author directed and taught all field schools unless noted otherwise.

Year	Location	Community Partner(s)	Students
2000[a]	Xat'sūll Village (Soda Creek)	Xat'sūll Nation (Cariboo Tribal Council[b])	5 university 8 community
2002[c]	Ts'epeten (Gustafsen Lake)	Stswecem'c Xgat'tem Nation (Cariboo Tribal Council[b])	4 university 8 community
2007	Beaverly (Prince George)	Lheidli T'enneh Nation Nazko Nation	23 university
2008	Sowchea Reserve (Stuart Lake)	Nak'azdli Nation	6 university 7 community
2009	Binche Reserve (Suart Lake)	Tl'azt'en Nation	8 university 4 community
2010	Wit'at/Nass Glee (Babine Lake)	Lake Babine Nation	9 university 6 community
2011	Hakai/Luvxbalis (Calvert Island)	Heiltsuk Nation and Wuikinuxv Nation	9 university 4 community
2012	Hakai/Luvxbalis (Calvert Island)	Heiltsuk Nation and Wuikinuxv Nation	9 university 1 community
2013	Hakai/Luvxbalis (Calvert Island)	Heiltsuk Nation and Wuikinuxv Nation	8 university
2014	Hakai/Luvxbalis (Calvert Island)	Heiltsuk Nation and Wuikinuxv Nation	9 university
2015	Hakai/Luvxbalis (Calvert Island)	Heiltsuk Nation and Wuikinuxv Nation	10 university
2017	Wit'at/Smokehouse Island (Babine Lake)	Lake Babine Nation	7 university 1 community
2019	Wit'at/Smokehouse Island (Babine Lake)	Lake Babine Nation	12 university

[a] Taught by Michael Klassen and Judith Gilbert.
[b] Now Northern Secwepemc te Qelmucw (NStQ).
[c] Co-taught by Rudy Reimer/Yumks and Dave Hall.

7) Whenever possible, students and staff should live within the host community (on Reserve) or somewhere nearby, so that the entire field school is immersed within the culture and landscapes of importance. It also facilitates increased interaction between the field school and the community. Implementation of field schools with these anchoring principles has brought added challenges and seen mixed results, as described below.

Central to this model is community engagement, which in this case means striving to ensure that the community is involved in every stage of the process (Atalay 2012). In this model, it also means living within the community whenever possible, however uncomfortable it makes us feel, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. Community engagement forces students to think about the social and political ramifications of archaeology for Indigenous history. Living on Reserve opens university students' eyes to the plight of some communities and the devastating results of the colonial enterprise, but it also provides challenges as discussed below. At the same time, lifelong friendships form between community members and

university students and staff, presenting glimmers of optimism. Secondly, a key element that runs throughout the field school is the notion that the archaeological record is, in part, the result of traditional knowledge, construed in its broadest definition. The experiential archaeology component adds to this by having students recreate some of the material culture that we recover (e.g., stone tools), which in the past would have been the result of traditional knowledge, or just "knowledge". At the end, all participants understand that community collaboration and engagement lead not only to a discipline that is more responsive to Indigenous needs, they also result in a more robust archaeology (Cipolla et al. 2019).

Courses

A major challenge in the pedagogical implementation of this approach is how to structure field school classes that consist of both senior level undergraduates and community members with no academic background. Community input was sought during course design to allow for incorporation of traditional knowledge learning modules. It was important that students recognize the equivalency of archaeological and traditional knowledge. Blending traditional knowledge with a Western science-based approach to archaeology has been espoused and implemented in several cases and projects elsewhere (Croes 2010; Habu et al. 2008; Lyons and Blair 2018; Trigger 1997). During the inaugural field school in 2000, the course package consisted of two fourth year anthropology courses: ANTH 416 (Archaeological Field Methods) and ANTH 418 (Archaeology and First Nations), and university and community students had to register in both. Field methods covered survey,

site recording, excavation, and more. All participants did fairly well in this hands-on course, with little separation of grades between university and community students. The second course focused on traditional knowledge, including academic readings and options to interview community members. Unfortunately, the lack of institutional flexibility meant that community members were assessed using the same criteria as senior undergraduates, through exams and written assignments. This was changed in later field schools, but it was obvious that the community students struggled with readings and written assignments, as they had little or no academic background and experience. Unsurprisingly, there was a bimodal grade distribution where university students did well as a group (with some variation in grades) while community students, in general, fared poorly.

It was clear during the first two field schools that all students did well with the practical learning modules, but community members struggled with academic concepts in archaeology to a much greater degree than the university students. Partially due to this, the field school course curriculum was overhauled in 2005 and the new (and current) package consists of three courses for a total of 15 credits, that focus on field methods and on Indigenous peoples and archaeology: "Survey and mapping", "Excavation and Field Interpretation", and "Archaeology and First Nations". The field school package is delivered in 7–10 weeks, depending on particular circumstances and community needs. Changes to the curriculum allow for more detailed training in archaeological survey, mapping and excavation, and also include some experiential archaeology. For example, creating an earth oven or making stone tools are now regular

teaching modules, and they are designed to make students think about how these various types of material culture were created, and what might be left in the archaeological record (see below).

The field school now begins with the "Archaeology and First Nations" course, which still includes traditional knowledge modules when community members are available, but it starts with a series of readings and group discussions on the historical relationship between anthropologists/archaeologists and Indigenous peoples. To move forward and toward community-engaged approaches, it is important that students understand the past relationship with Indigenous communities, no matter how uncomfortable that may be (Atalay 2006). For example, one mandatory reading focuses on pioneering biological anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička's drive to collect Indigenous human remains for the collections at the National Museum of Natural History, during the first half of the twentieth century. As described by Loring and Prokopec (1994), Hrdlička's zeal in obtaining human remains from Indigenous communities by any means necessary is shocking by today's mores. The "grave digger" trope that embodies anthropologists in the eyes of many Indigenous communities was forged at this time, and it is still a powerful memory that has been passed down the generations. Readings such as this stimulate discussion and cause discomfort for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, but they often find themselves united in their disbelief that such practices ever occurred. The goal is not to criticize early anthropologists (although that certainly becomes a major focus), but to understand the background to the evolution of the relationship between archaeology and Indigenous communi-

ties. Over the course of a few days, the readings cover a number of general areas, such as the compatibility of oral traditions and archaeology, and finish with more recent successful and positive collaborative case studies from around the globe (e.g., papers in Bruchac et al. 2010; Gonzalez et al. 2018; Lima et al. 2019; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Silliman 2008). At the end of the readings, field school students have an increased awareness of the historical relationship between archaeologists and Indigenous peoples in North America, which provides the framework for "unsettling" the practice today.

Since the curriculum redesign, enrolment in the three courses has been mandatory for all students, including those from the community. Community students are given the readings packages, but they generally do not complete them. They are required, however, to attend the discussions on these readings and they frequently contribute to the healthy debates. Evaluation in this course is modified for the community participants so that instead of written exams and assignments, they have the option to have an oral examination. This allows them to express what they have learned in a manner that is more comfortable for them. Since the institution of oral exams for community members, the grade separation between university and community students has been narrower. Once the initial readings and discussions have been completed, the survey and mapping modules begin.

Funding
An initial guiding principle for the field school was that project costs should be shared between the university and the communities so that at a minimum, communities fund their own students.

In reality, the funding has been more complex, with variable budgets due to a number of factors. The UNBC archaeology field school is run on a cost recovery basis, so that all operating expenses should be paid from student fees and from external funds. Communities pay for their members' tuition and fees through funds obtained from Indigenous education and employment organizations. For example, the Cariboo Chilcotin Aboriginal Training Employment Centre (CCATEC) provided funding for all of the community students on both CTC partnered field schools (Chapman et al. 2001). Tuition and fees provide the basis to run field schools but leave little for post field analyses, so other funding is often necessary. In the past, this has come from: the communities themselves (Lake Babine Nation); the Tula Foundation; the now defunct British Columbia Heritage Trust; and the Office of Research at UNBC. As in all endeavours, funding plays a large role in how individual field schools are delivered, as well as their outcomes.

The Hakai Institute, under the direction of Eric Peterson and Christina Munck, generously subsidized our coastal field schools. During the five field seasons on Calvert Island, the Institute provided boat transportation, lodging, and food (Rahemtulla 2013b, 2015). In the remoteness of the central coast, these are not trivial expenses and without this support the field school could not happen at that location.

The Babine Archaeology Project has received a significant amount of direct funding from the Lake Babine Nation Treaty Office (Rahemtulla 2019). Since 2010, the office has provided financial support for three training and research projects (Table 2) and for one field school in 2017. Funding has covered field expenses such as accommodation, boat rental, fuel and equipment, and post field analyses, such as radiocarbon dating, as well as for zooarchaeology and micromorphology analyses. This has resulted in more intensive and extensive field training for both community and university students, and it has also allowed the project to address collaborative research goals more effectively.

Implementation of the Field School Model

Consultation and Delivery of Field Schools
In keeping with the notion that field schools should be community-driven, we have maintained a policy that, as much as possible, any field school project should be initiated by the community and not by university researchers. News of our initial field schools spread to other communities by word of mouth and since then, Indigenous communities have initiated the majority of our field schools and partnerships in north central B.C.,

TABLE 2. Babine Archaeology Project research excavations funded by the Lake Babine Nation Treaty Office.

Year	Location	Community Partner(s)	Students
2012	Nass Glee (Babine Lake)	Lake Babine Nation	8 university graduate students
2014	Smokehouse Island (Babine Lake)	Lake Babine Nation	4 university 4 community
2015	Smokehouse Island (Babine Lake)	Lake Babine Nation	4 university 5 community

and many more have expressed interest. After an agreement to run a field school, consultation generally begins several months or even years before the project takes place.

Consultation and planning meetings are generally hosted within the community so that the discussions occur within an appropriate cultural context, which means that the project director must fund and undertake travel to and from these locales. Key components, such as the overall nature of the project, research questions (if any), and community engagement, are typically discussed at this stage. Consultations also lead to verbal, or preferably, written agreements on what each party will provide, including number of students, funding, and any other obligations and issues, such as protocols for dealing with human remains. Many of these aspects are also subsequently formalized in required provincial archaeological permits. With the Lake Babine Nation, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the community and UNBC, followed by a written agreement specifically on the terms of the archaeological partnership. The latter specifies that both parties have equal opportunity to contribute to every facet of the project, and to derive any benefits. A key facet revolves around capacity building, namely, that the field school provides opportunities for both community and university students to receive training on equal footing (see also Gonzalez et al. 2018).

The field school guiding principles were implemented in the first UNBC field school project in 2000, in collaboration with the then Cariboo Tribal Council Treaty Society (Table 1). The Cariboo Tribal Council consists of four bands, Williams Lake, Canim Lake, Dog Creek/Canoe Creek, and Soda Creek/ Deep Creek. The first field school was in partnership with the Xat'sūll (Soda Creek) First Nation at the ancient fishing village of Xat'sūll, now a Reserve. The university contracted professional archaeologist Michael Klassen and Teaching Assistant Judith Gilbert, an archaeologist, and a member of the Soda Creek Band, to teach the field school (Chapman et al. 2001). Community consultation led to an agreement to hold the field school at Xat'sūll Village/Reserve, a site that clearly has deep meaning to the community. Xat'sūll is also an outdoor museum that is operated by the community. During the 1990s, the band reconstructed two pithouses and installed new structures within the original village and unfortunately, many of the archaeological remains were impacted. This picturesque location is still used by the community to harvest salmon from the Fraser River using dip nets.

To initiate the field school, the community organized a sage burning ceremony and prayer led by an Elder, followed by opening speeches from community dignitaries, and then a feast. At the end of the field school, a community-led ceremony and feast officially signalled the close of the excavation portion. Such ceremonies highlight the continuity between past and present for Indigenous communities (Cipolla et al. 2019; Silliman and Sebastien Dring 2010). Students and instructors camped at the site (on Reserve) through the entirety of the project, and classroom and kitchen were provided nearby in a building that was previously a restaurant. Throughout the field school, from classes to fieldwork, community members often visited and took part in the discussion or activity. Research goals included creating an inventory of sites in the area to supplement the existing

archaeological site database, gathering baseline data such as depth of deposits, and establishing a chronological framework for the pithouse village (Chapman et al. 2001).

In 2002, the second UNBC/CTC field school partnered with the Stswecem'c Xgat'tem (Canoe Creek/Dog Creek Creek) Nation. During consultation leading up to the project, Elders and other community members wanted the fieldwork to take place at Ts'peten, also known as Gustafsen Lake, in central B.C. They were particularly interested in the time depth for use of the area by their ancestors. Just a few years previous, this area had been the focus of an acrimonious and highly publicized standoff between a number of Indigenous peoples and the RCMP (Lambertus 2007). We (UNBC) agreed to conduct the field school at Ts'epeten and contracted Rudy Reimer/Yumks (2010) now an Indigenous faculty member at Simon Fraser University, and Dave Hall, a professional archaeologist, to teach the field school and conduct the research using the model that we had begun to develop with CTC previously.

The majority of field school students that year were community members, and the entire group tent camped at Ts'peten, close to where the work took place. The project was again officially opened and closed with a prayer and speeches by community dignitaries, followed by a feast. This required some community members to drive up to 80 km from their homes and many did so. The location required setting up a field camp in an area with no services, so that kitchen and shower facilities had to be built by students and staff. The research centred on some inventory work followed by excavations. The site was radiocarbon dated to over 6,000

years, making it one of the oldest known in the region (Reimer and Hall 2005:44).

In 2007, we offered our first and only commuter field school at a previously recorded archaeological site west of Prince George. Permission was obtained following meetings with the Lheidli T'enneh Nation Chief and Council and representatives from the Nazko Nation (Rahemtulla 2008). In all, 23 university students participated and unfortunately, for a number of reasons, we were unable to enroll community members during this year.

Late in 2007, Nak'azdli Band in Fort St. James contacted me to discuss the possibility of a collaborative field school during the following summer. After a number of meetings at band offices in Fort St. James, an agreement was struck to deliver a field school on the shores of Stuart Lake, within the traditional territory of the Nak'azdli. The band requested that the field school take place at a specific site that was of great importance and so, on two occasions, community members and I went out to scout the location. Eventually we got to the site, but it involved crossing a large wetland through a very slippery path, and a couple of us slipped and fell into the marsh. The logistical challenges to setting up and running a camp there would be formidable and access would be hazardous for students and staff. We could not fulfill the community's primary choice for field school location, so we agreed to their second choice, the Sowchea 2 Reserve on the southern shores of Stuart Lake, which has relatively easy access and high archaeological potential because of its proximity to the lake. The entire group lived in a tent camp on an isolated Reserve, which led to a greater bonding between the students, and many of them (both Indig-

enous and non-Indigenous) still stay in touch today.

In the following year (2009), the Tl'azt'en Nation on the eastern shores of Stuart Lake approached us and expressed an interest in partnering with us for a field school. Consultation began early that year with several potential areas of interest to the community. Eventually, then Tl'azt'en Chief, Tommy Alexis, and I spent an entire day scouting a number of sites of interest to the community. Keeping logistics in mind, we chose an area in the southern part of Binche Reserve on the shores of Stuart Lake (Figure 2).

Classes and mapping exercises took place at the Tache Reserve, where the entire group stayed at a community centre. This forced project students and staff to interact with the residents, and probably the social highlight of the stay was when all members of the field school participated in a karaoke competition one evening. Participation in community events such as this one goes a long way towards building relationships between community members and the non-community group.

For the testing and excavation, we set up a tent camp at Binche Reserve close to the work area. The entire group (including the community students) set up tents close to the lake, and an outdoor kitchen and outhouse were constructed. Almost immediately, many of the resident dogs began to mark their territory by urinating on our tents during the night. Such encounters are unpredictable when camping on a Reserve or in any rural setting, but they necessitate the ability for

FIGURE 2. Field school students observe pictographs on Stuart Lake in 2009, guided by Jermaine Joseph (far left, operating boat motor) from Tl'azt'en Nation. Photo: Farid Rahemtulla.

students and staff to deal with any challenges that may arise during the project.

Late in 2009, it was becoming apparent that one component of the field school model was not working well. Spending only one summer in each community before moving on hampered relationship building, which is vital to changing how we do archaeology (Atalay 2012; Ferris 2003). Starting consultation with a community and then abruptly leaving after a year meant that we were, in effect, doing the opposite of what we wanted to achieve; long-term collaboration with our partner communities. Secondly, limiting fieldwork to only a few weeks in one area stifles any meaningful research, as only a limited amount of data can be obtained in such a short period, especially given the slow pace needed with field schools. By coincidence, in the following year we were invited to begin a long-term collaboration with the Lake Babine Nation.

In 2010, the Lake Babine Nation (LBN) signed a Memorandum of Understanding with UNBC to collaborate on research and training to the mutual benefit of both parties. Soon thereafter, LBN Co-Chief Treaty Negotiator, Joe Michell, requested a meeting with me and indicated that archaeological training (capacity building) and research were a priority for the community. At the outset, Michell envisioned two general research directions; the first was to find out more about the ancient fishing villages on Babine Lake that their ancestors had used for generations. The second research direction entailed searching the north part of the lake for remnants of wood stake fish weirs that had been used historically to harvest many species of Skeena River salmon that spawn in the Babine watershed. These weirs were central to the Babine economy, but they were forcibly taken down in 1906 by government agencies (Harris 2001). Over the years, community engagement has revealed a strong interest to document and protect the rock art around the lake, which now forms the third general research direction. Michell was aware of the slow nature of the archaeological process and envisioned a multi-year partnership facilitated through the LBN Treaty Office. Field schools would play a central role in this enterprise and the Babine Archaeology Project was thus initiated.

The first field school with LBN took place in 2010 with nine post-secondary students and six community students (Table 1). A tent camp was set up at Fort Babine (Wi'tat) Reserve, and all classroom work and mapping exercises were conducted there (Figure 3). The community immediately welcomed us into their homes and, in many cases, made us feel like family members. We were invited to dinner numerous times, and the musicians in the group often joined in local jam sessions.

In keeping with the research directions, fieldwork focused at the very large fishing village of Nass Glee (GiSq-004), some 14 km north of Ft. Babine. This was the first time that any extensive sub-surface testing was done at the village and it revealed new information, the most noteworthy being that it had an occupation span stretching back at least 1,300 years (Rahemtulla 2012). Following the field school, the Lake Babine Nation Treaty Office funded the first research excavation of one of the large house depressions at Nass Glee (Figure 4). As intensive data collection was of primary importance to that particular project, we jointly decided to hire eight post-graduate students with excavation experience (Rahemtulla 2013a).

Figure 3. UNBC and Lake Babine Nation students conducting mapping exercises at Ft. Babine in 2010. (Standing left to right: Matt Adam and Noah Scheck.) Photo: Farid Rahemtulla.

Figure 4. Lake Babine Nation school children and community members visit the 2012 excavation project at Nass Glee, Babine River. Photo: Farid Rahemtulla.

Our partnership with Lake Babine Nation continued to develop and expand, and results of our projects began to spread to the larger community. During the next field projects, the focus was on the second research direction, wood stake fish weirs. Oral and written histories indicate that Smokehouse Island near the outflow of the Lower Babine River served as the locus of at least two wooden fish weirs. Field reconnaissance conducted during the fall of 2013, revealed the presence of vertical wooden stakes in the river. In 2014 and 2015, the LBN Treaty Office funded research excavations on Smokehouse Island for a total of nine weeks (Table 2). These were not field schools, but they included training and university credits for community members. In both cases, the group consisted of four or five community members and four university students. Two later UNBC/LBN field schools continued working on the island, in 2017 and in 2019. Since the initial excavations at Smokehouse Island, significant waterlogged discoveries have been made (Rahemtulla 2019).

While our relationship with LBN continued to develop, another opportunity arose to have a field school on the central coast of B.C. In 2010, Eric Peterson and Christina Munck agreed to let us run an archaeology field school hosted at the Hakai Beach Institute on Calvert Island. Consultation began with the Heiltsuk and Wuikinuxv Nations and a very large and unexplored shell midden site (EjTa-4) was chosen as the location for research and training (Rahemtulla 2013b).

The Hakai Institute generously hosted five field schools from 2011 to 2015, in which dozens of students participated. During the first field school in 2011, four community participants from the Heiltsuk and Wuikinuxv Nations completed the program. In the following years, we brought many of them back as paid teaching assistants. Heiltsuk member Josh Vickers was TA for the next four years and Rebecca Johnson and Andrea Walkus from Wuikinuxv were also TAs for two years. This was the first time that we were able to hire community members to help teach the field school that they themselves had successfully completed. In addition, Heiltsuk culture historian and archaeologist, Elroy White/Gitla, dropped by from time to time and generously shared his knowledge and traditional songs with the group (Figure 5). Unfortunately, due to distance and travel complications, community interaction was limited, but there were a few visits from Elders and others, and from schools in Rivers Inlet and Bella Bella.

Traditional Knowledge, Community Interaction, and Experiential Archaeology
Levels of interaction with community members have been highly variable in the field schools delivered thus far. Location, logistics, and availability and willingness of community members to interact can be very different from one setting to another. For both Cariboo Tribal Council field schools in 2000 and 2002, a significant amount of funds was set aside to pay Elders for sharing their time with the students. Prior to the field schools, we met with community organizers and discussed a number of potential teaching topics that Elders and community members might be interested in speaking to, such as bark stripping, traditional fishing, hunting and trapping methods, and much more. As a result, there were frequent visits from Elders and community members who generously shared their

Figure 5. Heiltsuk cultural historian and archaeologist Elroy White/Gitla (second from right) discusses Culturally Modified Trees with 2015 field school students on Calvert Island. Photo: Farid Rahemtulla.

knowledge, including hands on lessons on repairing fishing nets, using earth ovens, and much more. Popular activities included construction of traditional wood frame summer shelters, observing pictographs and petroglyphs, walking tours featuring traditional plant use (Figure 6), and bark stripping of Lodgepole Pine (*Pinus contorta*) trees for inner cambium.

Bark stripped trees, or Culturally Modified Trees, are found in large numbers in British Columbia and they have become a major site type recorded by consulting archaeologists (Earnshaw 2019; Klimko et al. 1998). Many Elders within the CTC communities have memories of bark stripping when they were younger, and they were happy to share

those memories and techniques with the students. Students learned not only the physical process of stripping bark from a tree, but also the social aspects of removing cambium. The Elders talked about what to look for in appropriate trees, the time of year, and even who within the community conducted most of the bark stripping. Students got a chance to do some bark stripping of their own. At the right time of year, the cambium is sweet and some students were enthusiastic about eating it.

During most field schools, several Elders and/or community members take the students out for a day or more and show them the various types of plants in the area, and their many traditional uses (Figure 6). Many communi-

Figure 6. Learning about traditional plant use from Nak'azdli Nation's Lisa Sam (second from left) and Loretta Prince (fourth from left facing camera) in 2008. Photo: Farid Rahemtulla.

ties still gather and use plants for their medicinal and healing properties, just as their ancestors did. Some examples include devil's club (*Oplopanax horridus*), cow parsnip (*Heracleum maximum*), and "Indian hellebore" (*Veratrum viride*). This is one of the most popular components of the field schools, for both university and community students. In 2000, the students learned how to construct a temporary summer dwelling from Elder, George Williams. In 2010, field school students were invited to go berry picking with Fort Babine residents, which involved travel to distant grounds that had been used for generations. One of the key questions we ask all participants (including community knowledge holders) to keep in mind

is how, if at all, these activities might be represented in the archaeological record, given that plant harvesting/use in the past can leave few to no archaeological signatures.

One of the highlights of the 2008 field school was to observe community members catching kokanee salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*) in a stream next to our camp. These non-anadromous (land locked) salmon are a traditional food for the Nak'azdli, and they are caught using a metal wire loop tied to the end of a long pole, in effect snaring the fish. I was unfamiliar with this fishing technique and it is not reported in any historical literature, so it was a pleasant surprise to witness. The fishers displayed great skill in snaring several

fish within a few minutes, and we were told that this was a technique that had been handed down through the generations.

In 2008, we were also invited to spend time at the home of Nak'azdli community leader, Vince Prince. The sockeye salmon run into Stuart Lake was beginning and Prince's property is adjacent to a salmon-bearing stream that feeds into the lake. Students were fortunate enough to participate in the process of fish cleaning and transport to the smokehouse. Participation in these activities is invaluable for field school students as it exposes them to the complex knowledge required for gathering and processing resources, and at the same time, illustrates that these can be highly social events that are not easily read in the archaeological record.

An aspect that was common to learning from both the academic and traditional perspectives, is experiential archaeology. Students learn a number of different techniques for making tools and procuring and processing food. This is an interesting middle ground in that it offers an experiential approach, whereby participants are fully involved in the process. For example, flintknapping workshops have been mandatory in every field school. The goal is to teach participants basic fracture mechanics so that they learn to recognize chipped stone tools. After the knapping session, in some years, the class proceeded outdoors with the newly created tools and used them in various tasks such as cutting vegetation, removing small sections of bark, shaping wood, and cutting fish or other meat. In this way participants think about the range of daily tasks that stone tools can be used in, beyond hunting game. Students are asked to think of this as a type of traditional knowledge as

it would have been passed through the generations in antiquity.

Earth ovens were traditionally used to cook plant (especially root) and animal foods both on the coast and in the interior of British Columbia and elsewhere (Black and Thoms 2014; Lepofsky and Peacock 2004). Archaeologically, some of them are represented as "cultural depressions", circular ground features that appear in certain contexts. Not all cultural depressions are earth ovens; larger ones can be remnants of pithouses and smaller ones, storage facilities (Prentiss 2017; Prince 2004). As mentioned above, we first created a small earth oven and cooked meat at Ft. Babine during our Community Day. Several community members indicated that their grandparents or other relatives had told them of these ovens but they had never seen anyone actually use one. Essentially, large cobbles are heated with fire in a pit and once the flames die down the rocks hold their heat for several hours, providing a source of uniform warmth. The meat is placed on the hot rocks and the pit is covered with green boughs and twigs, and then covered with dirt. After cooking, the meat was shared with the community and everyone was surprised at the delectable results. Since then, we have regularly created earth ovens on the field school (Figure 7). These experiential modules serve to expand students' thought processes by engaging them to think about the complexity that underlies the archaeological record. Discussions often centre on obtaining and transporting raw materials and goods, skill levels, and the social contexts under which all of these occur. Some might describe this as "experimental archaeology", but Outram (2008) argues that such activities are more experiential, as they are

Figure 7. Cooking meat in an earth oven during community day in 2010, Ft. Babine. Photo: Farid Rahemtulla.

not designed to specifically have a measured outcome.

Discussion

There have been varying degrees of success in the implementation of the field school model, dependent on a number of variables, such as logistics, funding and the length of individual projects. The following is a non-exhaustive summary of successes and challenges of note, and the benefits of the approach. Our field school anchoring principles stipulated that communities should choose research questions and site locations (see also Atalay 2012; Cipolla et al. 2019). In practice, choosing site locations often requires compromise when issues such as access and other logistics can hamper our ability to work safely,

as illustrated in the Nak'azdli project above. Research questions are often driven largely by community needs for archaeological and other data. In British Columbia the majority of Indigenous communities have not signed treaties and as a result, many are engaged in gathering information that could be beneficial in the event of a formal claim. In every one of our collaborations, key community research questions initially centred around the ages of sites, and on demonstrating that their ancestors occupied the land in antiquity, as opposed to those of a neighbouring group. Discussions during consultation tend to begin with these topics and continue inevitably to the limitations of archaeological data. That said, there is always great community interest in learning about what can

be known using archaeological methods. For example, subsistence, trade, fishing technology, and more can be discerned if appropriate evidence is recovered. Unfortunately, in our short-term (one season) field projects, minimal data were recovered, in turn limiting any interpretations. Our long-term partnership with the Lake Babine Nation has allowed us to focus on key research directions that were identified at the start of the project. As indicated previously, they are: ancestral villages and trail networks; wooden fish weirs; and rock art. Our efforts represent the first archaeological research in the region and are now beginning to yield results with additional collaborators (MacDonald et al. 2019; Rahemtulla 2019).

Challenges

Living on Reserve is not without risk, as some community members view unknown outsiders with mistrust, but changing this situation requires communication and positive interactions. For example, in 2009, at the start of fieldwork, we camped in a densely populated part of the Binche Reserve on Stuart Lake. During the initial week it was clear that many of the community residents were suspicious of us and many refused to engage with us. Over time, a number of residents got to know us, and what we were doing, and they frequently dropped by to see our work and to chat. By the end of the project, many friendships had been struck, and several residents wanted reassurances that we would come back again the following year.

More challenging issues can stem from a broader Indigenous suspicion towards settlers. For example, in all communities there are divergent opinions on archaeology and on collaboration with outsiders. Even though consent

for the project is granted by community leaders, we encounter a few individuals who are suspicious of our motives, and in some cases, they are completely opposed to us doing anything within their ancestral lands (see also Cipolla and Quinn 2016:121). This is to be expected given Canada's colonial history, and we always endeavour to engage with all community members in a positive manner and to converse about what we are doing. We have no expectations of changing their minds, but staying on Reserve allows for opportunities to engage and interact on a more regular basis. In our experience, the majority of community members are very pleased and very supportive of the field school and the research. At the same time, we need to pay close attention to how our work impacts the community, both within and without (Supernant and Warrick 2014). In one community, a member of a specific clan expressed discomfort that another clan might use our results to gain favour at any future treaty negotiations, something that we had not anticipated.

A further challenge is that community students are chosen internally with no input from the university. The result is a wide range of students of various ages and life experiences. Most of them show great interest in the subject and especially in the fieldwork, but a few community students show little interest in class or in the field. It is clear that they do not want to be in the field school and this can affect their participation. Communities often pay their students to attend, to offset any loss of employment income while participating in the field school. While the salary ensures better attendance, it does not necessarily increase enthusiasm for the program. As in most field schools, we also see a segment of university students who realize

that they are not interested in this type of work.

Sometimes communities struggle to find members that are willing to take the field school. Table 1 shows that the first field school with any community tends to have a large number of Indigenous students, but that number drops with additional field schools (see also Cipolla and Quinn 2016). We are working with the Lake Babine Nation and with other communities to enhance our advertising and availability of information to community members.

Benefits to the Community

Since 2000, the field school model has changed in response to community needs and to logistical considerations, such as location of work and funding. Through all of this, the field school's benefits to the community have remained stable. The most salient benefits are capacity building, and access to archaeological data and information relevant to community interests and goals. In all of our initial consultation meetings, community leaders indicated that capacity building was of high importance (Gonzalez et al. 2018). There is a strong desire to have educated and trained members to ensure and enhance the well-being of the community. Having in-house expertise is important so that many regulatory requirements related to development, such as archaeology, or to other needs, such as health care and education, can be fulfilled by their own members. Such a scenario is feasible if there are community members with appropriate training, usually involving post-secondary diplomas in a variety of disciplines. Our field school model was set up with this in mind; credits received upon completion can be used towards further post-secondary education in archaeology or

in other fields. In many cases, these community members in rural and remote areas would not ordinarily consider post-secondary education but they are empowered after completing a university field school, and especially after passing the courses. Since 2000, a handful of community students have used credits earned on the field school towards post-secondary education in other fields, and one has decided to pursue archaeology at UNBC. Kwun Whess, a member of the Lake Babine Nation, participated in the 2015 and 2017 research projects and she was inspired enough to enter UNBC with the goal of becoming an archaeologist. Her goal is to eventually work for her community as an archaeologist. Others continue to work with archaeology consulting firms and some have attained management positions within their respective communities. Beyond the mechanics of course and fieldwork, these field schools are often eye opening for the community students. It exposes them to their own history in unanticipated ways and fosters a sense of pride and identity (see also Kerber 2008). This is not lost on the university students, who are also moved by the social and emotional reactions that they witness.

Secondly, communities have a vested interest in any archaeological data that result from our projects. This information is considered important for any current and future treaty negotiations. As stipulated in agreements with communities, and required by provincial regulations, all raw data and technical reports are provided to the communities. Also by agreement, archaeological materials are held in trust at the university until such time that the individual community is able to manage and curate those materials. While a small portion of the community sees these reports, most

members will not have access to them. For this reason, a number of the current Babine project directives will target a broader community and general public audience.

In addition to having community participation in class and field portions of the field school, a community day showcases the project at the end. The entire community is invited to a feast and presentations from the field school students. Community members interact with field school students and staff, and there are speeches from community and sometimes university dignitaries. Often these events are accompanied by traditional drumming, song, and dancing, making them very positive cultural events. Artifacts and photographs of the fieldwork are displayed and input from community members is encouraged. In some cases, this has led to great discussion on how specific artifacts, such as stone tools, may have been used. Sharing of knowledge results in community members learning from the archaeologists as much as the other way around.

Subsequently, results are regularly disseminated to the community via presentations at community gatherings such as Annual General Assemblies, youth conferences, Elders' events, and more. At every instance, community input is sought on the artifacts and on the project in general. Moreover, at every event it is clear that community members are excited about seeing the archaeological material, and they are grateful that students from their own community are involved in the project (Figure 8). In sum, there is great support for further work and for more community participation.

Digital Archaeology (Cook and Compton 2018) is changing and enhancing projects by providing accessible information for use by the community (Dawson et al. 2011; Hennessey et al. 2013). At present, a digitization project is underway, which the Lake Babine Nation is funding and managing. Over the next few years, teams of trained community members will visit the UNBC Archaeology Laboratory and the Archives, to photograph artifacts and to digitize documents and taped interviews with Elders. This information will be entered and stored in databases managed by the LBN, and the goal is for community members to have full access. The UNBC/LBN collaboration has also catalyzed community desire to build a cultural centre/museum and artifact repository, where all materials currently held in trust at UNBC would be transferred to the care of the community. Feasibility studies for such an undertaking are under consideration.

Plans are under way to eventually launch a series of photograph-dense books for distribution to the community, which will be put together by community members in consultation with knowledge holders. Such volumes have been used in a positive manner in similar projects in Nunavut (Griebel et al. 2016) and in southeastern Connecticut (Sebastien Dring et al. 2019). We are also exploring the possibility of manufacturing replicas of Babine artifacts for use as educational aids in schools and elsewhere (see Griebel et al. 2016). Currently, our agreement with the Lake Babine Nation allows for publications by university researchers, as long as community representatives first vet the papers. In the future, we hope to co-publish academic and non-academic papers based on the research project (see also Sebastien Dring et al. 2019; Cipolla et al. 2019).

At the start of this program, some two decades ago, there was a desire to do

Figure 8. Lake Babine Nation and university students excavate on Smokehouse Island, Babine River in 2015 (left to right: Carrie Crouse, Cordell Lowley, and Elena Penrose). Photo: Farid Rahemtulla.

things differently, by having Indigenous communities as full partners on our field school projects. To unsettle the discipline, it is necessary to disrupt colonially embedded power relations (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007) so that at the least, Indigenous communities are wholly involved in any project involving their histories. The notion of academics relinquishing and sharing power is indeed a central facet in most, if not all, Indigenous community-based approaches (Atalay 2006, 2012; Gonzalez et al. 2018; Mytum 2012; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Smith and Wobst 2005; Silliman 2008; Wylie 2019:575). Along with this comes a focus on building relationships based on trust, and on willingness to learn by all parties. For us, it meant shar-

ing control of the entire field school process with Indigenous partners, including teaching and research components, as described above.

Conclusion

Since 2000, we have delivered 13 archaeology field schools in partnership with eight different Indigenous communities in the north central interior, and on the central coast of British Columbia. It should be noted that this model is not presented as a prescription for running collaborative field schools with Indigenous communities, rather it is a design that arose from a particular set of circumstances. Broader applications of this model could include at the very least, a traditional knowledge module that is

delivered in tandem with archaeological methods. As our field school model developed, it was obvious that working with several communities over a short period of time limits the capability to build relationships, and the ability to address any meaningful research questions. On the other hand, developing a long-term collaborative partnership does allow for those things to develop. The downside is that we work with far fewer communities, due to limited capacity to deliver such projects.

As archaeology endeavours to unsettle or decolonize its practice, many different approaches will be needed to suit particular circumstances. In our case, an agreement was forged (at the invitation of the then Cariboo Tribal Council) to focus on creating a community engaged field school in which students would receive standard training in field methods, but also learn about traditional knowledge from the host community. A number of guiding principles anchored the initial field school model but not all have worked as planned.

Since its inception, 158 students have completed the field school for university credit and of those, 39 are community members with no previous post-secondary education. Of the post-secondary students, an additional 12 identify as Indigenous. As with university students, many community field school participants are still working with CRM firms as field assistants, but hopefully now have a much better understanding of archaeological procedures and identification of cultural material. More importantly, they are exposed to a part of their heritage that they may not have been otherwise. In many cases, community students are emotionally overwhelmed with positive feelings. One band councillor indicated that this type of archaeology could contribute to Indigenous healing in the post-colonial era. Schaepe and colleagues (2017) have recently argued for a similar outcome, based on projects around the Salish Sea. Our field school model is constantly under modification as per the needs of the communities and of the field school. We have a long way to go, but we are even more resolute now that the process of unsettling archaeology must include how we train the next generation of practitioners of the discipline.

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