

SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE STATUS OF ACADEMIC ARCHAEOLOGY

the
SAA archaeological record

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the SAA Archaeological record

The Magazine of the Society for American Archaeology

VOLUME 4, NO. 2

MARCH 2004



Dianna Doucette screening soil at the Lucy Vincent Beach Site, Harvard Archaeological Field on Martha's Vineyard, 1998. Photo taken by Elizabeth S. Chilton, Director.

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EDITOR'S CORNER

John Kantner

John Kantner is an assistant professor of anthropology at Georgia State University.

The Status of Academic Archaeology

Archaeology is entering a transitional phase of disciplinary development. Intellectual fragmentation, institutional neglect, diminishing funding sources, and irrelevant curricula—all are problems that our relatively young discipline is facing in the academic setting. Contributors to this issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* consider these and other concerns. Steadman Upham, for example, addresses the place of archaeology in the academy from the perspective of a university president, noting that the discipline's ties to the "harder" sciences should be strengthened since that is where institutional investment is growing. G. A. Clark addresses the same issue from a different perspective—a faculty member in a financially stressed university system in which shrinking budgets increasingly are directed to the system's flagship programs. He suggests that archaeology needs to solidify its intellectual foundation and distance itself from the "malignancy of post-modernism." Susan Gillespie, in contrast, argues in her contribution that the placement of archaeology in four-field anthropology still has importance and that we need to embrace this, at least for students' sakes.

Three articles in this issue—contributed by Anne Vawser, Thomas Whitley, and Nancy White and her colleagues—address the relevancy and adequacy of archaeology curricula. Vawser and Whitley survey a selection of archaeology programs and note the paucity of explicit coursework in cultural resource management (CRM). They suggest that the current practice—training students in academic archaeology and relegating practical training to on-the-job experience—is a disservice to CRM firms and agencies and to our students, the vast majority of whom will pursue careers in CRM. White and her colleagues at University of South Florida describe their graduate program in CRM, providing an example of how students can receive an education in traditional theory and method while also receiving practical training in public archaeology.

Michael Shott addresses academic archaeology from a different perspective. In a detailed analysis, he explores whether or not academic positions in universities and colleges are awarded to the most-qualified archaeologists. He concludes that academic archaeology is anything but a meritocracy in which the best scholars attain the best positions. Shott concludes that "there are grotesque inequities in the distribution of opportunity and reward in academic archaeology."

While the contributions to this issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* paint a grim picture of academic archaeology, arguably the only way to avoid disciplinary stagnation in the face of major structural reorganization in academic institutions is to seriously consider what our discipline is doing and what it hopes to achieve. The following articles hopefully will contribute to this process of renewal.

The Archaeology of American Ethnicity

The thematic issue for September 2004 on the Archaeology of American Ethnicity is almost full. If you would like to contribute, or if you have ideas for future themes, please email me at kantner@gsu.edu or call (404) 651-1761. ☐

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Lekson and Peregrine's essay in the January issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* (4[1]) is refreshing and long overdue. The essay would be strengthened by more on Southeastern archaeology. Robert Hall has published for decades an unwavering continental perspective, culminating in his remarkable 1997 *An Archaeology of the Soul: North American Indian Belief and Ritual* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana), and I have such a chapter on Cahokia in my 1998 *The Land of Prehistory: A Critical History of American Archaeology* (Routledge, New York). Diana Zaragoza points out that head pots in both the U.S. Southeast and the Huasteca have filed teeth (1998, *The Huastec and the Mississippi, a Link from the Past?* Paper presented to Society for American Archaeology 63rd Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, 1998).

James B. Griffin espoused the perspective up until the 1970s, when he apparently decided to strategically reposition himself vis-à-vis the New Archaeology. Griffin had stated, "Mexican influences, but not a migration, shaped the dominantly agricultural societies of the Mississippi Valley" (Griffin, James B., 1960, *Some Prehistoric Connections between Siberia and America*. *Science*, 131:801–812). Griffin also wrote:

"It is in the Southeast Ceremonial Complex that the greatest number of resemblances to late Mesoamerican art and ceremonial features is to be found" (Griffin, James B., 1966, *Mesoamerica and the Eastern United States in Prehistoric Times*. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 4, edited by G. F. Ekholm and G. R. Willey, pp. 111–131. University of Texas Press, Austin).

"Any mention of the specific

similarities...should include the mutilated teeth from Cahokia and Fulton County, Illinois. . . . These types of mutilation are post-AD 1000 in Mesoamerica. . . . The prehistoric Indians north of the Rio Bravo did not practice dental mutilation. It is assumed in this article that the Illinois occurrences are from individuals who had had dental work done in Mexico" (Griffin, James B., 1960, *Some Prehistoric Connections between Siberia and America*. *Science*, 131:801–812).

Before Griffin, a roster of leading archaeologists took for granted a Nuclear American *oikoumene* tied to maize:

"[P]ractically all American students, seem in agreement...[on] a radiating transmission" from Mesoamerica into North America (Kroeber, Alfred L., 1928, *Native Culture of the Southwest*. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 23(9):375–398).

"[A]s regards American culture. I believe it had a single point of origin" (Kidder, A.V.,

1936, *Speculations on New World Prehistory*. In *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A.L. Kroeber*, edited by R. H. Lowie, pp. 143–151. University of California Press, Berkeley).

"[T]he Mesoamericanization of the Eastern Woodlands, a phenomenon of the Mississippian tradition and of the Temple Mound Periods, was accomplished by diffusion, intermittent contact, and occasional immigration rather than by mass movements of Mesoamerican tribes into the Mississippi Valley" (Willey, Gordon R., 1966, *Introduction to American Archaeology*, Volume 1, North America, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ).

Although it was not found at Cahokia, the Pachuca obsidian blade identified from Spiro is relevant in demonstrating Mississippian-Mexican connections (Barker et al., 2002, *Mesoamerican Origin for an Obsidian Scraper from the Precolumbian Southeastern United States*. *American Antiquity*, 67(1):103–108).

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MEDIA RELATIONS

THE PRESS INFORMATION REFERRAL NETWORK NEEDS YOU!

Renata B. Wolyneć

Renata B. Wolyneć coordinates the Press Information Referral Network for the Media Relations Committee.

The SAA Media Relations Committee is currently updating and expanding its Press Information Referral Network. This network is composed of SAA members who have generously volunteered to provide informed professional commentary to print and broadcast journalists who request it from the SAA. The committee invites each of you to contribute for more effective and efficient media relations by joining this effort.

The idea for the network was first conceived in 1994 in response to inaccurate, misleading, and often sensational reporting associated with real and pseudo archaeological matters on both local and national levels. Public Relations (now Media Relations) Committee members often recounted horror stories about press coverage of their work or that of their colleagues at their annual committee meeting. Facilitating good quality media coverage of archaeological topics took on increasing urgency because general public interest in archaeology was rapidly growing. As this interest grew, so did the amount of print space and air time on archaeological topics. It was imperative that the SAA become an important, reliable, and responsive resource for the media.

Because this was an SAA committee, members focused on how the SAA could contribute to more effective and accurate media coverage of archaeological activities and issues. In fact, the committee strongly believed that the SAA should be the organization that journalists thought of first when they had questions about archaeology. The committee's immediate objective was to develop a list of informed professional archaeologists who would be willing to interact with journalists on a variety of topics and issues. This list would be part of a media relations "toolkit" which would assist SAA staff members in connecting journalists with appropriate experts in a timely manner. Ultimately, this would enhance the professional archaeological community's ability to improve the quality of coverage of archaeological topics and issues in both print and broadcast media.

By 1996, the committee had developed the outline for a Press Information Referral Network which would be one of several tools in facilitating relations with the media. Since then, the committee has invited each of you to join the network. (For more information about the network and the referral process, please refer to *SAA Bulletin*, November 1996 (14[5]), *SAA Bulletin*, September 2000 (18[4]), and *The SAA Archaeological Record*, January 2002 (2[1]).

During the past seven years, over 60 SAA members have joined the network. Although these members provide expertise on a variety of topics, geographical areas, and issues, they do not begin to address the full range of questions, issues, or areas of interest brought to the SAA by journalists. The SAA receives 25–30 inquiries from journalists during a year. This past year, journalists asked to contact archaeologists to confirm the accuracy of a date; get a first, second, or third opinion about a controversial issue or interpretation; fill in details of human behavior for a past culture; learn more about a particular discovery; solicit commentary on the ethical implications of artifact auctions or sales; and for many more reasons. The committee gratefully acknowledges the willingness of many of our colleagues to talk to these journalists. As a result of your participation, the SAA is becoming the final word on stories produced by top national newspapers and broadcast channels.

What does membership in the Press Information Referral Network require of you in practical terms? As a member you will *not* represent the SAA's position on an issue. This is the responsibility of the SAA president or his/her designee. You may be asked to serve as an occasional media contact to verify, identify, confirm, or rebut the significance of a specific news or feature story for which you have expertise. You will be contacted by John Neikirk, SAA Manager of Publications, to confirm your willingness to talk to the specific journalist about the topic. He will then arrange for the contact to be made either by you or by the journalist. (For more information about the process, please consult *The SAA Archaeological Record*, January 2002, 2[1].)

SAA COMMITTEES

The Press Information Referral Network is a useful tool with which the SAA office can become more efficient, comprehensive, and responsive to press inquiries. We need your expertise and participation to make the network successful. Please consider joining this worthwhile effort.

Please become a new member or resubmit your name if your address or interests have changed by filling out the following form. 

SAA PRESS INFORMATION REFERRAL NETWORK—VOLUNTEER APPLICATION FORM

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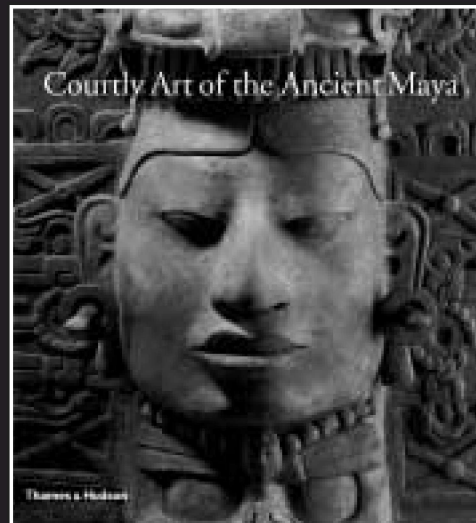
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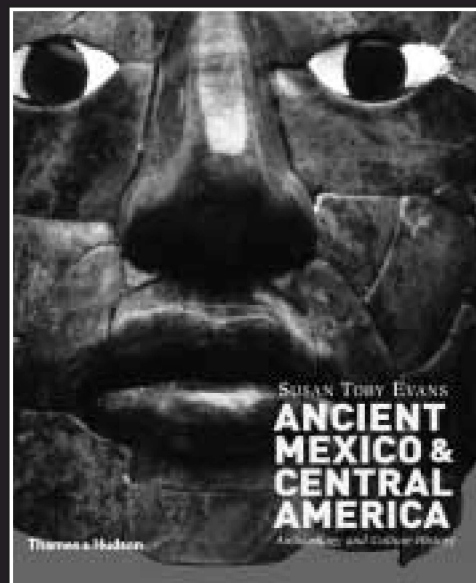
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HANGING OUT

THE STATUS AND POSITION OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Steadman Upham

Steadman Upham is President and University Professor at Claremont Graduate University.

The perspectives I offer in this essay have been shaped by nearly 25 years of experience at three different research universities. During this period, I have moved through the professorial ranks as a tenured academic archaeologist, held dual appointments as both a professor and part-time administrator, and ultimately “crossed over” to accept full-time positions in academic administration. Since 1990, I have served as a graduate dean, a vice provost for research, and now as a university president.

At each juncture, I have seen the field of archaeology in the academy through a slightly different lens. As an archaeologist in “the administration,” I have watched with interest to see how archaeology has fared in the competition among disciplines and in the struggle of ideas that characterizes academic discourse. This has not always been easy, since archaeology is most often seen through the actions of another field: anthropology (and sometimes sociology, geography, social work, classics, or religion).

As those who make their living inside of universities know, each academic discipline occupies a unique status. Academic administrators are acutely aware of the university’s complex social structure and the statuses that different disciplines occupy. Administrators set budgets and develop hiring plans, in part, in accordance with common understandings about this social structure. At the foundation of this structure is a status hierarchy of academic disciplines. Writ large, the hierarchy of disciplines produces an academic metastructure that is the product of a complex interplay of perceptions about the shifting relevance of different fields of knowledge. Although individual universities may vary in their adherence to the academic metastructure, there is a general priority of fields. Today, for example, molecular biology and information science occupy higher rungs on the disciplinary ladder in universities than do classics and philology.

The university, however, is a free and ordered space (Giamatti 1988), and the status hierarchy of disciplines is not fixed and

static. Rather, as academic disciplines “mature, they occupy different positions in the social structure. When they die, these positions are vacated, and others fill them. [And of course,] the status endures, even though the occupants change” (paraphrasing Kottak 1982:236). Thus, two decades ago, physics was king and chemical physics was in ascendancy. Today, chemical physics is a “mature” field, and physics is a shrinking discipline in search of new patrons. Departments of computer science that grew from departments of mathematics are being outpaced by the evolution of computational and information sciences.

The Status of Anthropology in the Academy

Anthropology, the *de facto* home of archaeology in the university, has become a mature field. It is no longer breaking new ground, but instead is plowing the same furrows marked on the academic landscape 100 years ago. Indeed, it could be said that anthropology has actually lost important academic ground in the last decade to the national and comparative literatures and to all of the “studies.” Anthropologists have lost the culture wars, while the “lits” and “studies” now employ culture as a central concept. Indeed, the emergence of cultural studies as a viable and growing field has damaged the perception of anthropology in the university. Moreover, anthropology has ceded important methodological ground to a variety of interlopers. Doing “ethnography,” for example, is now routine for those seeking doctoral degrees in the fields of education, management, and history. That the culture of the lits and studies and the ethnography of education and history bear only slight resemblance to the anthropological foundation is, regrettably, of little consequence to scholars in these fields and administrators leading universities.

In the social structure of universities, some disciplinary statuses are ascribed and some are achieved. The ascribed status of a field means that practitioners inherit their discipline’s status; it is assigned based on perceived inherent characteristics of the field and its members. This is the status dimension most used by administrators in evaluation (and most reviled by faculty

members). Achieved status, on the other hand, is the dynamic dimension of academic status. A study by Engell and Dangerfield (1998) has shown that the achieved status of an academic field is heavily influenced by what we might call the “monetization of disciplines.” That is, during the last two decades, academic fields with a strong career orientation, fields that study money, and those that receive money for research have grown far faster in the university than academic fields that do not share these qualities.

In addition to the qualities noted above, a major determinant of status in the academy is the perception of coherence. By coherence, I mean the logical consistency of the field’s different analytical features (the unity of its theory, methods, and techniques) and the near single-minded focus of the field on a few major research questions and issues of common concern. A stunning demonstration of disciplinary coherence is found in Jablonski’s essay denoting the current state of knowledge in paleontology and elucidating the central research questions of the field (1999).

Explaining Archaeology’s Low Status

Today, archaeology is perceived to be a low-status discipline in the academy. It occupies this status because archaeology is intertwined with the broader field of anthropology, and anthropology has moved into the ranks of low-status disciplines in the academy. Indeed, as Schiffer has noted, “anthropology has lost its distinctiveness in academic and applied contexts” because much of its “subject matter has been appropriated and theoretical perspectives co-opted” (1999:64). Nancy Hynes puts it more directly: anthropology has lost “its distinctiveness ... because it has been so comprehensively pillaged by ... other disciplines” (1999:2). Thus, the dictum that “archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing” may be doubly true.

American archaeology is a field that sits halfway between the sciences and the social sciences. Its techniques and methods are increasingly those of the physical and biological sciences—a group of disciplines that are currently adding vast amounts of measurable and verifiable new knowledge to the human store. Archaeology is quantitative and, like many contemporary scientific disciplines, it integrates technology to aid in the discovery, identification, and description of different classes of data and to manage information. The sciences proceed with a common understanding of theory and method and with a handful of general models that have guided inquiry for some time. In universities today, the sciences are in ascendancy.

If archaeology rides the wave of adulation bestowed upon the sciences, it risks a wipe-out from its other pedigrees. Archaeology’s mode of inquiry and its theories and propositions are



Figure 1: Because archaeology is quantitative and integrates technology to aid in discovery, identification, and description, it is increasingly aligned with the physical sciences rather than the humanities or much of sociocultural anthropology.

decidedly those of the social sciences. The social sciences are a group of well-meaning disciplines that have never figured out exactly what the right questions are. Nevertheless, these fields are characterized by much activity and very little external support. The social sciences, including archaeology in this guise, are currently adding vast amounts of new information to the human store, much of which is neither measurable nor verifiable. The speculation and conjecture from these fields, however, is interesting. As a collective, the social sciences are also virtually paralyzed by the analytical problem of equifinality.

If this burden were not enough, archaeology is also part of the humanities; it is concerned with humanistic inquiry into belief systems, values, ideology, customs, and praxis (cultural practice). The humanities disciplines, once the core of the liberal arts, have lost compass and purpose. As Engell and Dangerfield point out, humanists have descended into “endemic pettiness” over disputes about the “nature of language and of gender, and the roles of politics and race in non-Western culture. ... Inner political and theoretical bickering in the humanities has contributed little wisdom to the ... life of the country or local communities for two decades” (1998:111). Impoverished by internecine wrangling, “their appeal [has been] diminished by rebarbative jargon, name calling, narrow specialization, and dull, predictable accusations of being on the wrong ‘side’ of a polarized war” (Ibid.).

Because of these circumstances, there is a general perception among many university administrators of academic irrelevance and intellectual disarray in the social sciences and humanities. Anthropology is included among the fields that are suspect in this regard. Regrettably, this context has been imprinted ever more deeply because many social science and humanities

departments over the last decade have been characterized by significant internal strife and interpersonal conflict that have required overt administrative intervention.

Improving Archaeology's Prospects

Archaeologists need to take concerted action to rescue the field from deepening institutional problems created by this intellectual disarray. Let me suggest the following course of action: First, the field of archaeology must secure a separate and distinct institutional identity within the academy. What this means in different institutional contexts will vary, but archaeology requires an identity that segregates it from its most fractious and fragmented social science and humanistic kin on the one hand and places it outside of departments of anthropology on the other.

The development of archaeology and its growth away from anthropology is analogous to the emergence of information science from the discipline of computer science or of molecular biology from the broader field of biology. *Archaeologists do not deny their history or heritage by taking such a step.* Rather, archaeology seeks disciplinary independence and autonomy within the university to advance knowledge through pursuit of the unique, central elements of the field that distinguish it from all other academic disciplines: the privilege of time depth that includes the ability to study temporal variability in human and organizational behavior and access to a long-term record of sociocultural change. I note that my suggestion for disciplinary independence and autonomy is the logical outcome of an implicit course of action recommended (and followed) more than 30 years ago by Richard B. Woodbury (1973).

Second, archaeology must identify its core; it must define the central questions of the field and the appropriate methodologies for their investigation. All established fields, especially those that espouse a scientific underpinning, are able to limit the field of meaningful inquiry. Archaeology can and should undertake this exercise. As I noted earlier, Jablonski has provided a useful model of how this kind of prioritization might be accomplished. Jablonski argues that the most powerful contributions of paleontology "will emerge from analysis of evolutionary dynamics at different scales and hierarchical levels over deep time" (1999: 2116), a statement that anchors the field firmly on evolutionary ground. Archaeology, in contrast, has yet to find meaningful accommodation with evolutionary theory, a body of knowledge that includes the most powerful ideas in science. In my view, this circumstance creates a significant impediment to the field's advancement, especially given the fact that it is "the only discipline that can access evidence about the entire human experience on the planet" (Schiffer 1999:64). But it also points the way to what an *evolutionary social science* might look like.

Third, archaeology needs a disciplinary midden! In general, archaeologists practice explicit methods of evaluation and testing that contribute to a higher degree of rigor in the assessment of competing explanations. But contemporary archaeology is a theoretical patchwork. Perusal of the field's journals and books reveals practitioners of nearly every conceivable theoretical stripe. Currently the most common—culture historians, processualists, post-processualists, and behavioralists—have beginning assumptions that might as well be mutually exclusive. And these beginning assumptions are then layered and flavored by Marxist, neo-Marxist, materialist, historicist, post-structuralist, functionalist, and a host of other "ists" ... "made official by the hissing suffix" (with apologies to Wilson 1998:11). Not all of these approaches are of equal value or utility. Hard-edged evaluation by the field and a few wastebaskets would do wonders to move the discipline forward.

Archaeologists must begin this process with the elements that unite the intellectual enterprise—the long-term record of socio-cultural change, and the unique diachronic perspective of variability in human organization and human behavior. These qualities give archaeology what Schiffer has rightfully identified as "a comparative perspective utterly lacking in other disciplines that study humankind." The time to reclaim lost ground in the academy is now. Archaeology's future in universities will not wait. ☐

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STATUS, CONTEXT, AND HISTORY IN AMERICAN ACADEMIC ARCHAEOLOGY

A PERSONAL ASSESSMENT

G. A. Clark

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Every once in awhile critical reason triumphs over political correctness and identity politics, and the result can be exhilarating

—R. Schweder (2003:13)

To assess the status of archaeology in the academy is by no means an easy task because each program has a unique context and history. Anthropology is a little field, and archaeology a tiny fraction within it. In terms of “head counts,” most archaeology in the U.S. today is taught in social science divisions in community colleges that typically lack formal anthropology and/or archaeology programs, often to gain admission to a 4-year university or college that has them. Undergraduate anthropology programs (207, 55%) outnumber those awarding doctoral degrees (102, 27%) by about 2:1; there are 78 programs (18%) that offer a Master of Arts or Sciences as a terminal degree. Practically all the nation’s professional archaeologists have been trained in one or more of these 376 programs (AAA *Guide* 2003). The number of institutions granting anthropology Ph.D.s increased substantially over the past 25 years, mostly during the growth spurt of the 1970s and early 1980s, but there is a fairly stable (and very high) attrition rate in graduate school as the number of admissions is roughly 2–3 times the number of individuals who actually complete a higher degree. This is true of both sexes across all anthropological subfields in a profession increasingly dominated by women. There are various reasons for the high attrition rate, chief among them the 13+ years typically separating the B.A. from the Ph.D. (Zeder 1997:35, 36). Most people don’t want to put their lives on hold for that long.

The picture gets clearer when it comes to archaeology (Table 1). So far as institutional productivity in granting archaeology graduate degrees is concerned, the University of Arizona completely dominates the field, both historically and in the modern era (i.e., over the past 10 years). My own school, Arizona State University (ASU), is a relative newcomer—the Ph.D. program was approved in 1969. At the Master’s level, a separation between terminal and ongoing M.A.-granting institutions has become more marked in recent years as the number of the former has

increased more rapidly than the number of the latter, creating a two-tiered system with lots of curricular diversity (Zeder 1997: 39–42) and mirroring similar changes in academic anthropology and in the academy as a whole. Despite this diversity, and the difficulties engendered by it, I provide here the “experiential belly-flop” requested of me by John Kantner—an assessment of the academic status of the discipline, divided into undergraduate and graduate programs. I close with a few remarks on the “science wars” and how they have affected the field.

Context and History

I approach this subjective endeavor as part of a large anthropology department at an enormous, bloated, chronically and disastrously underfunded urban university in which the archaeology contingent numbers 16 (42% of ASU’s 38 anthropology faculty). ASU is one of three public universities and is very different from its major intrastate rival, the University of Arizona (UA); both are quite distinct in mission and scope from Northern Arizona University (NAU). Founded as the territorial normal school in 1884, ASU has evolved through a series of successively larger and more comprehensive institutions of higher learning. It became a university in 1958 as a consequence of a state-wide vote, overcoming the bitter and relentless opposition of the various UA constituencies and its own governing body, the state’s Board of Regents (ABOR). ASU’s development has been badly crippled by the fact that there is only a single governing body, appointed by the governor, for the three state schools. ABOR was created by the legislature in 1945 as the governing body of the UA, and its authority was extended to include ASU and NAU over the years as they eventually achieved university status. However, ASU and NAU have never had equal representation before ABOR, nor do they have that representation now. ASU is not a land-grant school nor do we have a college of medicine—both important vectors for external funding, and both found only at UA.

Already running on “less-than-empty” (to the point of defaulting on >50% of our endowment payouts), ASU was nevertheless

Table 1. Top 10 Graduate-Degree-Granting Universities Identified by the Respondents to the 1992 SAA Census (Zeder 1997:39).

Terminal M.A./M.S.		Ongoing M.A./M.S.		Ph.D.	
Arizona	23	Arizona	52	Arizona	59
Arizona State	15	Michigan	37	Michigan	42
Colorado	13	UC Los Angeles	24	Harvard	41
Washington State	13	New Mexico	22	Arizona State	30
Northern Arizona	11	SUNY Binghamton	22	UC Berkeley	27
New Mexico	11	Harvard	21	Chicago	26
Texas Austin	10	Colorado	19	UC Los Angeles	26
Southern Illinois	9	Chicago	19	Washington State	26
Wisconsin Milwaukee	9	UC Berkeley	19	Pennsylvania	25
Tennessee	8	Wisconsin Madison	19	New Mexico	24

mandated this year to increase our enrollments (to 75,000 by 2007; 92,500 by 2013; and 100,000 by 2020), and there is a decade-long de-emphasis on graduate education and on many of the research programs that sustain it. On the brighter side, a few programs have been targeted for increased investment. Nevertheless, this situation, and the fact that ABOR has blocked every single initiative that ASU has ever put forward to increase external funding and thus become independent of legislative appropriations (while giving UA the green light), means that the future for the institution as a whole is extremely bleak. We will become, in effect, “Cal State Tempe,” albeit with a few “points of light”—a few programs targeted for emphasis. The Department of Anthropology is one of those points of light, so its future is bright relative to that of most of the rest of the institution, and the future for archaeology—embedded as it is in anthropology—is relatively bright as well.

I mention these facts about ASU to underscore what I mean by context and history. Archaeology programs do not exist in a vacuum. They are part of larger institutional structures that are themselves historical accidents. Were it not for the fact that our founding chair, Reynold J. Ruppé, was savvy enough to obtain ABOR approval for our Ph.D. program before we showed up on UA’s radar screen, we would have had—at best—an M.A. program or, at worst, no graduate program at all. In 1992, ASU’s archaeology graduate program was ranked fourth in the nation by an SAA survey (Plog and Rice 1993). Despite declining support for graduate education,¹ lousy salaries and benefit packages,² no coherent or continuing merit policies nor the money to fund them,³ worsening student-faculty ratios,⁴ declining per capita student spending,⁵ dismal staff support,⁶ and crumbling facilities and infrastructure,⁷ ASU archaeology has not only gotten bigger, but also better and stronger since then. Unfortunately, recent ABOR policy decisions affecting the entire university system have already crippled, and will eventually destroy, the graduate program we have worked so long and so hard to build, and in which we take such pride (Clark 2002).

Status of Undergraduate Archaeology

Leaving aside the particulars of ASU’s context and history, and shifting the focus to undergraduate education in general, the biggest single determinant of quality in undergraduate education is probably the number of archaeologists on staff. Most archaeology is taught in units dominated by social and cultural anthropology (this regardless of *where* it is taught), and SAA *Archaeological Record* readers do not need to be reminded of the increasingly acerbic conflicts between archaeologists, who tend to view the discipline as grounded in materialism (thus, “science-like”), and the more humanistic, interpretive, post-modern approaches that have risen to prominence in many aspects of cultural anthropology (see papers in Gillespie and Nichols 2003). To the extent that they cause serious factionalism within departments, these political and ideological divides can trickle down into the design and implementation of undergraduate curricula, although they are much more likely to have an impact on graduate education (see below).

A second factor affecting the status of archaeology at the undergraduate level is how anthropology is perceived by the people running the institution employing the archaeologists. Although generally acknowledged to be fascinating in a “gee, I always wanted to do that” way, anthropology itself (let alone archaeology) is not very widely recognized as an “essential,” “important,” or “crucial” discipline (hence its absence from surveys like those conducted annually by the *U.S. News & World Report*). There are 4,197 institutions of higher learning in the US (NCES 2003: Table 243). Only 376 of them (9%) offer an anthropology undergraduate major, and many of these have no archaeologist on staff (AAA *Guide* 2003). We also suffer from an image problem. Sadly, popular perceptions of archaeology are much more heavily influenced by Indiana Jones and Lara Croft than they are by what professional archaeologists actually think and do. Archaeology thus lacks the centrality that psychology, sociology, physics, geology, biology, astronomy, and others have in liberal arts and sciences curricula. There are many reasons for this.

Four of the more important ones are a low “market value” for the baccalaureate degree, no capacity to attract large amounts of external funding, the pervasive political correctness that afflicts the academy (which sometimes puts archaeologists cross-wise with the administration), and, more broadly, the conflict between materialist Western science and post-modernism. Archaeology also lacks an overarching conceptual framework and is, in addition, a hybrid discipline which cross-cuts the life, social, and earth sciences (Clark 2003).

Status of Graduate Archaeology

Many of these same factors also affect archaeology at the graduate level, but there are differences in emphasis. The single most important one is probably the reputation of the archaeologists on staff, and consequently their visibility in the discipline, both nationally and internationally. This means they can attract good graduate students and, hopefully, have at least some institutional funds available on a regular basis to recruit and support them. By a combination of serendipity, good decisions in respect of archaeology hires, the beneficence of several deans, and effective chairs, the reputation of ASU's archaeology graduate program has managed to overcome the mediocrity of the institution as a whole. There is also a widely recognized collegiality across the subdisciplines and a degree of cross-disciplinary fertilization. This has traditionally resulted in good relations amongst faculty and between faculty and graduate students. A lack of institutional “cachet” (we don't take ourselves as seriously as Stanford does) and a general informality about the place also act to promote these things.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, I don't think it's possible to generalize about the status of academic archaeology. In default of a formal study, the status of archaeology seems to be determined mostly by the place the units in which it is embedded (typically anthropology departments) occupy at any given institution over any particular period of time. There are also departments with one or a few “stars” that otherwise do not seem to be very prominent, while the growth of the field and the proliferation of different kinds of archaeologies over the past 20 years have dimmed, to some extent, the brilliance of the stars. For physiographic, demographic, and historical reasons, archaeology is more visible in certain parts of the country (e.g., the Southwest) than in others (e.g., the northern Great Plains), and there appears to be some correlation between active archaeology programs and areas where lots of public archaeology is done.

But archaeology is not in very good shape. It seems to me that American academic archaeology is somewhat fractured in terms of its conceptual frameworks and that there is a lack of discipli-

nary consensus about goals and methods found in mature fields like chemistry and physics (Taylor 2003). A good example is the current conflict between strict neo-Darwinist approaches (e.g., O'Brien and Lyman 2000) and what my colleague, Michelle Hegmon, has called “processual plus”—doubtless the most common kind of archaeology practiced in the U.S. today (Hegmon 2003). I suggest this divide has serious implications for how archaeologists conceptualize what it means to be human, but that's another story. Despite its post-1970s growth, archaeology remains a very small field in which its academic contingent is now relegated to a numerical minority. For what it's worth, my own view is that *archaeology is science or it's not very credible intellectually*. I define science very broadly—as a collection of methods for evaluating the credibility of knowledge claims about the experiential world. I don't really care whether archaeology is a large field or not, nor, frankly, whether archaeologists have much of an impact on the formation of public policy. If there is a threat to archaeology in the academy, it comes from the malignancy of post-modernism, extreme forms of which deny the materialism and mitigated objectivity that are the foundations of all science. In my experience, however, post-modernist archaeologists are relatively rare (and do not exist in my own field, paleoanthropology, which is squarely in the neo-Darwinist camp [Clark 2003]). Most archaeologists I know see the field, if not as “science,” at least as “science-like.” ☐

Notes

1. Teaching assistantships and other awards administered by the Graduate College have declined sharply since 1985. An ABOR mandate also reduced the numbers of tuition waivers. In 1995, Graduate College resources formerly used to recruit and support graduate students university-wide were diverted, in large part, to fund Merit Scholarships for undergraduates. These funds have never been restored.

2. Our salaries have consistently hovered around the bottom 20% among Research I public universities. We also suffer a killing “loyalty tax”—the longer one's tenure on the ASU faculty, the more poorly one is paid compared to mean salaries for anthropology professors with equivalent years of service at PAC 10 schools (excluding Stanford and USC) and at our peer institutions (Baker 2002; Hart 2002).

3. Unlike, e.g., California, no legislative appropriations allow for continuing funding of merit increases. COLA (cost of living adjustment) was abandoned around 1990 in the context of a legislative promise to increase merit money. That promise was never fulfilled. On average over the past 30 years, we get merit money about one in every 3–4 years; it seldom amounts even to COLA. The universities are funded biennially, and the system has no memory. Each 2-year cycle is a whole new ballgame.

4. Our student-faculty ratio was c. 23:1 in 1980 (vs. c. 20:1 for UA). It increased to (an absurd) c. 37:1 in 2002, more than double the national average for public universities (vs. c. 17:1 for UA). The national average for public 4-year universities was 18:1 in 1976, improving to 15:1 by 1999 (NCES 2003: Table 223).

5. Per capita student spending is the sum of legislative appropriations plus tuition (if controlled by the institution) in any given year. In 1993, UA “spent” \$16.8k per student, *including* the med school, which is

a separate line item in the state's budget; in 2002, UA spent \$13.8k per student, *excluding* the med school. In 1993, ASU spent \$11.2k per student; in 2002, ASU spent \$8.3k per student. The difference is \$5.5k, which is bad enough, but is clearly much larger than that because the 2002 statistics exclude UA's med school. Excluding Stanford, which spent a colossal \$74.9k per student in 1993, the PAC-10 mean in 1993 was \$26k (Clark 1994a, 1994b, 1995a, 1995b, 2001, 2002).

6. I don't have current statistics on staff-faculty and staff-student ratios. Subjectively, ASU would seem to have about 25–30% of the staff required for an institution our size (c. 57,000 students, c. 1,550 line faculty) and with our diverse missions and programs. In 2002, ASU staff salaries were c. 14% lower than the average for Maricopa County, where we do most of our recruiting. This means we have a lot of turnover.

7. Only 9% of ASU's 157 buildings meet modern construction standards, vs. 84% of UA's 257 buildings (Searer 2002).

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ATTEND THE INAUGURAL ETHICS BOWL!

The SAA Committee on Ethics invites you to attend the inaugural Ethics Bowl, a festive, debate-style competition that explores the ethics of archaeological practice. For this exhibition event at the SAA 69th Annual Meeting, students from Cambridge University will compete against a team representing Indiana University. Joe Watkins will moderate the contest, and Rosemary Joyce, Janet Levy, and Brian Fagan will serve as judges. At stake is a silver trophy to the winning team and a potpourri of prizes from the *Journal of Social Archaeology* (Sage Publications), Cultural Resource Technologies Inc., Rite-in-the-Rain, Marshalltown Company, Archaeogear, and the Center for Desert Archaeology. Assuredly not for April Fools, the first annual bowl is scheduled for **Thursday, April 1, from 1:00 to 3:00 pm in the Palais des Congrès**. Anyone interested in putting together a team for 2005, when we hope to have half a dozen or more teams, is especially encouraged to come! For more information, please contact Julie Hol-lowell-Zimmer (jjh@indiana.edu) or Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (chip@cdarc.org or [520] 882-6946).



TRAINING THE NEXT GENERATION OF ACADEMIC ARCHAEOLOGISTS

THE IMPACT OF DISCIPLINARY FRAGMENTATION ON STUDENTS

Susan D. Gillespie

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The specter of American archaeology's split from academic anthropology has once again materialized (Kelly 2002; Lees 2002; Wiseman 2002). The contentiousness of working within what seems to be a disintegrating discipline is taking a toll on collegial relationships and departmental governance. But what about the impact on our students? Academic archaeologists need to look beyond epistemological disagreements and consider how teaching in such an environment affects our students and thus will shape the future of archaeology.

Archaeology as Anthropology

Archaeology has never fit well within anthropology since its founding as an academic discipline. Its continued participation within anthropology has been a conscious choice made by archaeologists—often against contrary opinions (Phillips [1955] is only the most notable instance)—and not simply the unquestioned legacy of a 19th-century Americanist arrangement. Nevertheless, as the intellectual underpinnings of archaeology and the other subfields of anthropology continue to evolve, and as increasing specialization has dramatically reduced our abilities to communicate beyond narrow methodological constituencies, academic relationships today seem especially soured. They are exacerbated by such extra-intellectual factors as university bureaucratic structures, competition and power plays between subfields for scarce resources, and the growth of non-academic archaeology.

The potential of, and reasons for, the fissioning of anthropology today are virtually unchanged since at least a decade ago (Brown and Yoffee 1993). It's safe to risk the unsubstantiated generalization that many academic archaeologists feel uneasy, if not unwelcome, in their home disciplines. I have repeatedly heard this from colleagues at various colleges and universities, some of whom, along with former students, I contacted to solicit their opinions for this essay. Yet even as a few archaeologists call for separation, others prefer to work within the umbrella of anthropology departments, even though they may feel misunderstood or under-appreciated by some colleagues.

This latter position was promulgated in a recent publication (Gillespie and Nichols 2003) that asked: Should archaeology remain a part of anthropology? Published by the Archeology Division of the American Anthropological Association, this volume brought together archaeologists representing a variety of employment backgrounds and experiences as well as several non-archaeological anthropologists. They laid out the reasons why archaeology benefits from its association with anthropology—and vice versa—and so should strive to maintain its role within a multi-field anthropology despite the acknowledged difficulties of doing so. Moreover, the SAA's Task Force on Curriculum, in acknowledging that "how we teach archaeology is no longer consistent with how we practice archaeology" (Bender 2000:31), recommended the adoption of a revised curriculum for archaeological pedagogy still within anthropology because of "archaeology's essential connections to anthropology" (Bender 2000:41).

In other words, without playing down the difficulties of certain epistemological, not to mention interpersonal, incompatibilities, these archaeologists believe that the advantages of staying are greater than those of leaving. History repeats itself, as this is the same decision made by generations of archaeological forebears, including 86 percent of respondents to a 1992 *SAA Bulletin* survey (Brown and Yoffee 1993:13). Indeed, despite oft-touted examples of long-standing Departments of Archaeology (notably at Boston University and University of Calgary), that model has not become widespread.

Coping with an “Undisciplined Discipline”

At the same time, we should expect the strained relationship to continue. Watson (1995:690) characterized anthropology as “an undisciplined discipline, an unruly semi-aggregate.” One of my colleagues considers anthropology to be a “metadiscipline.” Although some would argue that all of anthropology would be better off if everyone operated within a single paradigm, a diversity of perspectives allows anthropology to tackle complex multidimensional and multiscalar questions about the human career and gives it the flexibility to evolve (Kelly 2002:13). Rather than being stifled by disciplinary boundaries, anthropological archaeologists ideally should experience the greatest freedom to engage in innovative research.

To risk another generalization: As a group, archaeologists are more likely than other anthropologists to recognize this advantage. Archaeology has always seemed to be the most integrative and holistic of the anthropological subfields (Kelly 2002:13), an opinion shared by the graduate students who responded to my request for information. Indeed, contemporary archaeology has been held out as a model for what the rest of anthropology could become (Joyce 2003). However, if the question of archaeology’s split from anthropology had been put to colleagues in other subfields, the answer likely would have been different. Barfield (2003:47), a sociocultural anthropologist who chairs the Anthropology (not Archaeology) Department at Boston University and who favors keeping archaeology within anthropology, frankly warns that “many sociocultural anthropologists ... would be happy to see archaeology strike out and grease the skids for its departure.”

The Impact of Fragmentation on Students (and Future Teachers)

The ongoing debate on the fragmentation of “four-field” anthropology (e.g., Borofsky 2002; Brown and Yoffee 1993; Givens and Skomal 1993) has tended to revolve around the research interests and institutional settings of academic professionals. But it has also impacted another academic group with significantly less power to criticize the status quo—our students. Within the past 15 years or so, I’ve noticed increasing confusion, frustration, anxiety, and even anger expressed by students because they are receiving contradictory information in their classes. Some encounter hostility or denigration from professors towards viewpoints they are learning in other courses. Choosing textbooks has also become more difficult, according to my faculty informants, because of competing agendas among textbook authors. What is the state of academic anthropology when students are presented with a non-integrated series of contradictory objectives, mutually exclusive epistemologies, and competing core concepts?

This situation is far from universal and is more likely true of larger graduate and research-oriented departments where faculty usually teach only within their specialty (Brown and Yoffee 1993:13). These departments often organize their curricula and admit and mentor graduate students by subfield rather than department-wide. Graduate students may become factionalized along subdisciplinary lines more so than faculty because, with increasing specialization, students are now less likely to take courses in the other subfields. I and other archaeology faculty observed that sociocultural graduate students rarely spoke to us until they reached the point of job-seeking, when they suddenly realized that many academic jobs involve undergraduate teaching in more than one subfield and that job talks had to be comprehensible to the non-sociocultural faculty—the same situation also applies to archaeological, biological, and linguistic students. They also come to learn that they will have to interact closely with all their col-

leagues, especially in smaller departments, and that in most departments, faculty in all the subfields will vote on their tenure and promotion.

This anecdotal experience points to the most likely, although under-appreciated, arena for fostering a holistic anthropology and the role of archaeology within it—teaching. Teaching, including the planning of curricula, involves “sharing students” (Lees 2002:11) across a department. In a recent essay, Kelso (2003) observed the necessity of drawing upon evidence and perspectives from different subfields when teaching undergraduate courses on core topics such as human evolution, race, and gender. However, a significant problem Kelso noted is that teaching does not entail the prestige or rewards that go with research and publication, and this is an issue that the entire discipline needs to address.

My respondents also observed that a holistic anthropology is being maintained more by undergraduate institutions than by large departments that stress research and graduate training. They suggest that faculty in departments that emphasize undergraduate teaching as well as research (at four-year colleges or B.A.-only programs) and that tend to be smaller in size exhibit more conscious efforts to promote a cross-disciplinary perspective. Anthropology faculty at community colleges in particular tend to become generalists. The higher number of academic jobs in undergraduate institutions should therefore help counteract the situation at most graduate departments, constraining the tendency toward disciplinary fragmentation. Furthermore, institutional arrangements, including articulation agreements between community colleges and four-year colleges and universities in large states such as Florida and California, should help ensure that the same kinds of courses are taught at all these institutions for first- and second-year students.

But here is a paradox: Instructors at four-year and community colleges—who seem to be preserving the holism of academic anthropology—receive their education from graduate programs that are becoming factionalized. Ideally, “graduate students planning on an academic career in anthropology should know the fundamental concepts and general principles of all the subfields if they are to become significant resources for their students” (Kelso 2003:25), an ideal that is not being realized. The increasing divisiveness within those programs makes it all the more difficult for graduate students to receive an integrated view of anthropology that they can pass on to their own students. Students are not “shared” at the graduate level but are instead parceled out to subfield specialists (Lees 2002:11).

Among my respondents who teach community college was one who admitted that she gave only “lip service” to “four-field” anthropology, not having received sufficient education at the graduate level to be conversant in them all even for introductory courses. This situation is ironic given that there are more complaints today that graduate schools are not preparing their students sufficiently for the *non-academic* positions that the majority of them will likely assume in archaeology (Bender 2000) and other applied anthropology careers (Price 2001). Apparently, graduate programs are not preparing students sufficiently for the majority of academic jobs either. If archaeology stays within anthropology, which is the likely scenario for the near term, what will the next generation of anthropology and archaeology instructors be like? What will they know and what will they teach their students?



Figure 1: The contentiousness of working within what seems to be a disintegrating discipline is taking a toll on collegial relationships and departmental governance. But what about the impact on our students?

Anthropology and Archaeology Beyond the “Four Fields”

I feel fortunate to be part of a four-field department that has avoided much of the factionalism occurring elsewhere. Our graduate program policy explicitly states that students should have interests in more than one subfield and requires students to take at least one course in the other three subfields. But the administration of this requirement reveals the shallowness of this approach to disciplinary holism. In practice, it means that our graduate courses must pertain to only one subfield, the assumption being that each faculty member teaches graduate (but not undergraduate) courses only in his/her subfield. However, certain faculty members have muddled this system by teaching graduate courses that clearly integrate more than one subfield, resulting in petitions by students to determine which subfield they will get credit for. Who are these troublemakers? By and large, they are the archaeologists. With courses on hunters and gatherers, peoples of the Pacific, ethnoarchaeology, landscape, foodways, the body, and the like, it is impossible to stay within the bounds of a single subfield, because that *does not reflect the reality of archaeology*. Nor do we respect the boundaries of anthropology itself, given archaeology's intimate ties to zoology, botany, history, geology, geography, art history, classics, and so forth.

The “four-field” conception of anthropology—as composed of discrete subfields—has become “an object of required obeisance” (Fox 2003:151). We are trapped in a disciplinary institutional structure, a “bureaucratic stasis” (Borofsky 2002:469) of our own making, that is proving to be more an impediment to, than a hallmark of, the holism of anthropology (van der Leeuw and Redman 2002). Escaping these constraints need not entail jettisoning archaeology's relationship with anthropology, but it does require rethinking how a multidisciplinary anthropology can be reproduced *pedagogically*. Rather than ask graduate students to take courses in each of the “four fields” and let them figure out what they may have in common, why not instead require them to take courses that intentionally draw upon the multiple perspectives of anthropological research? In fact, why aren't we explicitly teaching graduate students how to teach a holistic anthropology (Kelso 2003)? If we did, we might discover some common ground with our colleagues down the hall.

Frankly, such pedagogical revisionism will not be easy to accomplish for intellectual reasons but mostly, it seems, for administrative reasons. Even something as simple as team-teaching is not permitted in all departments. The institutional pigeonholing of teaching by subfield may serve the interests of administrative bean-counters, as well as the interests of faculty who are unwilling to engage in anthropological knowledge outside their chosen specialty, but it does not benefit students—the anthropologists of the future—and thus it does not benefit the discipline.

Others have suggested that it is high time for archaeologists to move beyond allegiance to the four-field structure and simply get on with the doing of archaeology (Fox 2003), which ultimately confronts the “big issues” that have always been the purview of anthropology. My point is: If archaeological and other anthropologists recognize the necessity for multiple perspectives on human-centered research—and continue to assert that this is what distinguishes anthropology as a discipline—then clearly this is what needs to be communicated to all our students. This pedagogical objective should also engage more with the “real-world,” public-policy aspects of anthropology and archaeology (Borofsky 2002; Joyce 2003) that will also shape the future of our academic discipline.

Academic archaeologists who continue to make the conscious decision to stay within an evolving anthropology should now more diligently strive to maintain its holism by revamping academic institutional structures so that they better serve the realities of research, practice, and education. Given the common opinion of students (in my unscientific survey) that archaeologists are the anthropologists most engaged in multidisciplinary studies, academic archaeologists will have a significant role in training the next generation of academicians—not only the archaeologists, but the other anthropologists as well.

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TEACHING ARCHAEOLOGY AND CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

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Until recently, students studying archaeology learned about cultural resource management (CRM) in only one place: on the job. Over the years, some in government and private industry have expressed concern that students are coming out of graduate school without the skills they need to succeed in the world of CRM. These agencies and businesses often end up making substantial investments in new employees with advanced degrees in anthropology, having to train them in everything from understanding preservation laws and requirements to when consultation is required and how to write a report that the State Historic Preservation Officer will accept.

Recently, however, colleges and universities have begun to introduce CRM issues into the classroom and even offer it as an area of specialization. For this *SAA Archaeological Record* special issue on the state of academia, I wanted to investigate how many departments were offering courses or programs with an emphasis on CRM. My first thought was to do some sort of formal survey of university anthropology departments to determine what special courses or programs they might have. That would mean designing a survey, making contacts with department chairs, and trying to get survey's back from busy people who didn't have time to fill them out. Instead, I decided to do a less formal survey using that wonderful 21st-century tool, the Google Internet search.

The Methodology

Using *Google.com*, I started out with a simple search for "Anthropology Department" and stumbled onto a page on *About.com* with a "Guide to Graduate Schools." This guide listed universities offering graduate degrees in anthropology by region, with a link to their department home pages. I used this list to look at the websites of 109 university anthropology departments from 41 states and the District of Columbia. I added a couple of other departments that I knew to exist that were not on this list. Although I realize the list was likely not complete, I thought it would give me a good sample. I looked only at programs at universities in the U.S., and I did not look at Classics programs. By browsing through information on department

websites and searching course listing for words like "public," "heritage," "resource," "management," and "preservation," I found a variety of programs and courses related to CRM.

The Results

Of these 109 departments, there were 15 (14 percent) that offer special graduate programs designed to train students for careers in CRM. At least 57 (52 percent) departments, however, offered some sort of emphasis on CRM, either through specific courses, programs, internships, or relationships with local agencies or CRM firms. Not all course listings were available online, and some CRM instruction is probably offered through seminar or reading courses, so there could be many more departments with exposure to CRM issues. Overall, I found 92 different courses that related to resource management, legislation, or heritage preservation of cultural resources.

There are some trends of interest to note in these findings. First, of the 15 special degree programs, emphasis in government or private archaeology is implied by the use of varying names, mostly including the terms "public," "applied," "heritage," or "cultural resource management" in some combination. Second, over two-thirds (11 of the 15) of these programs are offered at institutions that offer an M.A. as the terminal degree. Even more of these programs (13 of 15) are offered at colleges or universities in states where at least one other institution offers an advanced degree in anthropology. This may be an indication that these institutions have developed special emphasis programs in CRM to improve the diversity of programs offered across the state or to develop a niche to make their program stand out or compete better in a crowded field.

In the case of Boston University (BU), for example, the department offers both M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, but they offer a special M.A. in Archaeological Heritage Management. BU is surrounded by three other institutions in Boston that offer advanced degrees in anthropology. In California, 11 institutions offer advanced degrees in anthropology (not including Classics departments), three of which offer special programs in CRM;

none of these departments has a Ph.D. program. In general, it appears that these specialty M.A. programs are offered as an alternative to the traditional Ph.D. track and are intended for students who do not plan to continue on for a Ph.D. The typical program's design is revealed in this statement from Michigan State University–East Lansing's website:

In this Department, the traditional M.A. degree is most commonly earned as part of the student's doctoral program. The MAPAA (M.A. in Professional Applications of Anthropology) degree provides students with an alternative career orientation, focusing on career development in professional specializations such as Cultural Resource Management or International Development.

Most of these specialized programs still require students to take courses in the traditional core subfields (cultural and physical anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics). Additional training in CRM is then obtained through topics courses, such as the University of Hawaii's "Heritage Sites In Archaeology" or internships and credit for on-the-job training. In many of these departments, however, only one or two courses that specifically focus on CRM or related issues were offered. The most intensive programs I found were offered at Sonoma State University in Rohnert Park, California, where seven different courses with a CRM focus are offered, and the University of Montana–Billings, which offers six such courses.

A typical CRM-oriented course addresses practice, law, and ethics, as summarized in this example from the University of Massachusetts–Boston:

Public Archaeology: An examination of cultural resource management in New England and the United States, including the significance of state and federal environmental protection legislation and the implementation of these laws, from the drafting of proposals and the granting of contracts to the collection of data and reporting of results. Students will learn the processes of national register nomination, problem-oriented proposal and report writing, and calculation of budget estimates for proposed work.

Some of the most interesting courses that I found focused on ethics of professional practice, native American issues, maritime resources, information management, and the application of Geographic Information Systems to CRM.

Many of the departments offered course credit for internships or work with government agencies or private firms. The only problem with this arrangement is that some universities may be depending on these agencies and firms to provide a significant part of the instruction of their students. While agencies and

firms may benefit from no- or low-cost work from these interns, they are still the ones providing the training, which puts them in the same spot they were before—providing on-the-job training for their employees.

Discussion

The primary intent of these programs is expressed very well on the Sonoma State University website:

The primary objective of the Master's Program in Cultural Resources Management is to produce professionals who are competent in the methods and techniques appropriate for filling cultural resources management and related positions, and who have the theoretical background necessary for research design and data collection and analysis.

So is it working? As students begin to graduate from these programs and enter the work force, we should see an increase in the number of students prepared to begin work without years of on-the-job training. At the same time, we will expect these graduates to have the same high-quality research skills and theoretical knowledge that their counterparts in more traditional programs exhibit. It is important that these specialized programs add *new kinds* of knowledge rather than *replacing* any of the essentials of quality academic education. Anthropology departments that choose to offer these programs must be careful in how they craft them. They must ensure that the quality of an M.A. in CRM is equal to the quality of a more traditional M.A. degree. The professional respect that archaeologists working in public agencies and private firms are seeking could be negated if there is poor performance from these new graduates. In addition, graduates of these special programs should not be precluded from entering Ph.D. programs if they choose to continue their education at a later date. If the programs are designed properly, these candidates with an M.A. in CRM archaeology will be equally prepared for doctoral work as their more traditional counterparts.

For more information on the programs reviewed for this article, please visit the Midwest Archeological Center website at <http://www.nps.gov/mwac>. 



Figure 1: While archaeology graduate programs routinely provide students with hands-on experience with academic projects, relatively few offer courses on practical, ethical, and legal matters related to cultural resource management.



CRM TRAINING IN ACADEMIC ARCHAEOLOGY

A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

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One morning, during my senior year at the University of Washington (16 years ago), I received a call from Jim Adovasio at the University of Pittsburgh. I had applied there for graduate school, and he was offering me a Graduate Student Researcher appointment to work for the Cultural Resource Management Program (now defunct). This was my first real job in what has, to date, formed the backbone of my career in archaeology: cultural resources management (CRM). A year earlier, I had taken a CRM class team-taught by some excellent faculty, and while at Pitt, I took another CRM course. However, the subject matter taught in those classes turned out to be far from what I would encounter over the next 16 years of actual practice. The divide between CRM training in graduate school and actual application was wide then, but has it changed today?

Is Graduate Training the Weak Link?

Much of what has been discussed in the pages of *The SAA Archaeological Record* has focused on issues and insights into “public archaeology” and CRM in both general and specific contexts. In a recent issue, for example, Charles McGimsey addresses both terminological confusion and several other problems that face the implementation of CRM-related archaeological projects (McGimsey 2003). Toward the end of the discussion he makes the statement:

What is going on here? We have let ourselves become too busy to monitor or take adequate care of important details and protect the gains that have been made in the discipline. Indifference by archaeologists, and the actions of those who don't care for archaeology, are eroding our progress (McGimsey 2003:17–18).

I would argue that the indifference and the absence of adequate care is the result (in part) of a failure to effectively train graduate students in CRM (and here I am implying CRM in its broadest sense—incorporating archaeology in the private sector as well as state and federal agencies).

This problem has been recognized before. Three years ago, the SAA Public Education Committee produced a special publica-

tion called *Teaching Archaeology in the Twenty-First Century* (Bender and Smith 2000). The 23 contributors to the volume represent professionals from the academic, private, and government sectors. Although they presented a wide range of views on several broad topics, they invariably listed action items that emphasized the need to develop CRM and public archaeology training in academic programs. These action points (as they relate to CRM) bear repeating here.

From Schuldenrein and Altschul (2000:63):

- Initiate formal internship programs between universities and CRM companies.
- Revise course requirements...[to] include offerings in other fields such...as preservation law, ethics, business, and proposal writing...statistics, sampling, and GIS.
- Replace open faculty lines (through retirement or attrition) by accomplished CRM professionals.

From Miller (2000:69–72):

- All students should recognize that CRM is not second-rate archaeology.
- A well-prepared student will understand the fundamental difference between working in an academic context and working in a government context.
- CRM curricula should remain within archaeology programs.
- The curricula should recognize the much broader scope of CRM and should incorporate experts from other fields such as business, ecology, law, and public administration.
- Non-university people should be brought into the program so that students gain a better understanding of the operations of government and business.
- In some cases, it will be appropriate to ... form an institute ... that can provide advanced or specialized instruction ... such an institute ... should provide education and training for people who manage cultural resources but who are not cultural resource managers.

From Blanton (2000:103):

- Younger faculty with direct experience and training in CRM

will enhance and foster a formal program of study in this area.

- Students will probably benefit most from a program that requires a minimal level of coursework and more internship-based training in CRM.
- CRM-oriented programs will be enhanced by an affiliated CRM-contracting organization through which students can gain practical experience and research opportunities. The most effective operations will be supported by the institutions for this role.
- CRM-oriented programs will be enhanced by a program that offers balanced exposure and training in the method and theory of prehistoric and historical archaeology.
- CRM-oriented programs will be enhanced by multidisciplinary training through interdepartmental relationships, so that courses in geology, geography, environmental sciences, and business can be arranged.
- Real opportunities exist for funding such training programs and internships at state agencies such as departments of transportation, private CRM firms, and major CRM customers such as energy/utility companies.

From White (2000:113):

- Students should be able to run their own small contracts and should learn the preservation system that provides context for this work.
- They should visit federal and state historic preservation offices, learn about local community preservation boards and museums, study physical preservation techniques, learn laws, meet or communicate with legislators and lobbyists.
- They should be assigned to write both research grant and contract archaeology proposals and meet in the classroom with resource managers, contract archaeologists, Native Americans, customs agents, and other appropriate individuals.
- Basic aspects of these professionals' jobs, including antiquities laws, business practices, the changing concept of archaeological significance, ethics, looters, money and accounting, Native Americans and other ethnic groups, politics at every level, and skeletal remains, should be discussed within an anthropological perspective.

From Anderson (2000:143–144):

- The education of archaeologists needs to be made relevant to real-world concerns.
- We need courses that can teach us how to excavate sites to maximize information recovery and write up the results; to develop realistic and achievable research designs and historic preservation plans; to deal with the ethical dilemmas raised by life in the moneyed world of big-business CRM; and to understand why it is critical to take and curate good notes, photographs, and analysis records along with artifact collections.

- Good CRM reports need to be held up as examples to students, who in turn need to be taught how to produce such documents.
- More of us need to know where the money that is spent on archaeology really comes from, so that we can shape what is available and how it gets spent.
- More students need to be interns in CRM firms, state historic preservation offices, or government agencies, and many educators could benefit by the same exposure.
- Besides educating and training in doing CRM itself, we need to be producing people capable of the monitoring and peer review necessary to ensure that high-quality work occurs.

CRM in Graduate Programs: An Informal Survey

Recently, I made an informal survey of the websites for more than 50 randomly selected U.S. graduate schools in archaeology to evaluate how the above-listed action items have been implemented. I originally intended to do a complete survey of all graduate-degree-granting institutions in the U.S., but I found that a number of the websites do not have comprehensive course listings or faculty descriptions, so they were excluded. Navigating through the good, the bad, and the ugly Internet content was tedious at best. Thus, this review is quite subjective, but I believe that those institutions which were sampled (including most major state universities) represent the overall population.

I noticed some interesting trends in what was presented with respect to CRM. First, of the 52 institutions sampled, only 24 (about 46 percent) listed any course that could be construed as being somehow related to CRM based on the title (or the description, if one was present). Many departments did have complete course listings, but it was usually difficult to tell everything about each course and how frequently it was taught. The identified CRM-related courses included not just those specifically designated as “cultural resource management” but also ones labeled some variation of “public,” “applied,” or “preservation” archaeology, as well as “heritage management” and “preservation law” and/or “ethics.” It should be noted that this evaluation includes only the anthropology (and/or archaeology) departments of those institutions. CRM courses are also offered in other departments (typically historic preservation or architectural history), but they tend to focus on issues related to the historic architectural components of the National Historic Preservation Act and not on archaeology.

Of those institutions which listed a CRM-related course, only five had more than one course on the subject:

- Boston University: four specifically CRM-related courses, a directed internship, and an M.A. in heritage management.
- The University of South Florida: four courses, a directed



Figure 1: Archaeologists from Brockington and Associates, Inc. map a large brick discard pile at a Georgia rice plantation that operated from 1750 through 1864. The vast majority of archaeology conducted in the U.S. is done by CRM companies.

internship, and an M.A. in public archaeology.

- The College of William and Mary: only one course in CRM, but with a closely affiliated CRM enterprise.
- Northwestern State University of Louisiana: four courses, an internship, and an M.A. in CRM/heritage management in the history program but coordinated with anthropology.
- Central Washington University: six CRM-related courses and an interdisciplinary M.S. in cultural/natural resource management.

The first four of these programs are discussed in some detail in Bender and Smith (2000). There may be others that did not fall in my sample, but I expect that overall less than five percent of the anthropology/archaeology graduate schools in the country have more than one course in CRM-related topics.

In addition to the scarcity of in-depth, CRM-related courses, I found an almost complete absence of faculty members who listed CRM as one of their primary or even secondary research interests or experiences. Those who listed CRM or some aspect of public archaeology among their specialties were almost

always at the five institutions listed above. I suspect that the majority of CRM courses at other schools are taught infrequently and by teaching staff with very little, outdated, or no practical experience. The complexities of CRM are such that I find it difficult to believe that a single course can impart even a fraction of the important material within a year, let alone a single semester.

Why Academia Is Failing Archaeology

Imagine we are talking about electrical engineering. Most electrical engineers in this country are employed in the computer or other high-tech industries or at least use computer technology on a daily basis (BLS 2003). A small percentage of them work in university engineering departments. Pretend for a moment that fewer than 50 percent of engineering departments have a curriculum that includes coursework on some aspect of computers. Then assume that only 5 percent of those schools offer in-depth computer training, certification, or degree programs applying computer technology. Let us also assume that electrical engineering professors expect most of their students to actually be

trained in the workforce rather than in their programs. What would that say about the state of training for electrical engineers? Would the value of an engineering degree in that context be worth the paper it was written on?

I think it must be widely acknowledged that the vast majority of archaeological work done in this country is performed by CRM companies. I know of no way to quantify the number of sites investigated or artifacts curated by all of the country's CRM firms and state and federal agencies. Patterson (1999:165) estimates over \$300 million per year are expended on CRM investigations and more than 15,000 people are employed in CRM—just in the U.S. In the summary of the 1994 SAA census, almost 6,000 archaeologists were counted as members (Zeder 1997). In the employment breakdown, nearly 45 percent of the survey respondents were employed in the private or government sectors (Zeder 1997:Figure 7). Thus, only 3,300 survey respondents were employed in academic or museum-based positions. The vast majority of CRM professionals though, do not belong to the SAA or similar *national* professional organizations (Patterson 1999:167), while the majority of academics do. These two statistics combined would suggest that there are nearly five times as many jobs available in CRM than in academia—the majority of these at the M.A. rather than the Ph.D. level. Given this information, why would any academic insist on perpetuating the notion that they do not need to concern themselves with CRM training? I can think of several potential answers to that question:

“CRM is not my specialty, so I figure that someone else in the department should teach it”—Next time you are teaching a first year graduate course look at the faces of the students and imagine how many of them are likely to become adept in your archaeological specialty. Only a small percentage of them will ever complete a M.A. or Ph.D., and, of those, only one in five will be employed in academia. Your responsibility as a teacher is to provide guidance for your students so that they can make the choices *while in graduate school* that will allow them to pursue employment in the profession. If you know nothing about CRM, it should still be a high priority for you to actively encourage your department to seek internal CRM teaching staff or foster internship programs that give students practical experience in all aspects of CRM.

“CRM research does not contribute much to the greater archaeological scientific literature”—This is not the case. First, CRM professionals work in a very restrictive and competitive time- and budget-driven framework. So they are often concerned with producing a report meeting the strict standards of the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and then move on to the

next project without submitting articles to peer-reviewed journals. However, that process has created a vast amount of literature, which includes the most up-to-date site-specific studies and analyses available. These “gray literature” sources exist in much smaller published quantities and are much more restricted in their distribution than journal articles or edited volumes. They also tend to be locally or regionally focused, so they generally do not represent highly synthetic works. But, as far as their contribution to the greater archaeological literature is concerned, they are more timely, more numerous, more comprehensive with regard to describing the nature and results of fieldwork, and often more relevant to regional research than anything coming out of academia. First-hand CRM reports may not be readily available in each issue of *American Antiquity*, but every state has copies of every report on file that can and should be accessed by academics doing regional or synthetic research. Instead, such material is often ignored and outdated academic research is cited.

“CRM archaeology does not have the same level of ethical oversight as pure research”—CRM archaeologists have specific state and federal guidelines for background research, fieldwork, laboratory analysis, and report writing that are much more stringent than anything pertaining to academic research. The peer-review process in academia is an ad-hoc, relationship-driven process with no formal guidelines or publication deadlines. In CRM, the process is much more formalized and includes the growing participation of an independent oversight entity: the Register of Professional Archaeologists (ROPA). Passing agency review in CRM is also no longer a matter of merely producing a sterile descriptive report. Mitigation agreements usually include very strict requirements for developing and answering detailed research questions, many of which are well beyond the graduate-level training afforded M.A.-level students. The resulting studies are routinely presented as papers at many regional and national conferences and often include cutting-edge technological or even theoretical ideas. As the years have progressed, CRM projects have greatly improved in their quality of presentation. It is important, though, to encourage CRM professionals to extend their reach beyond the gray literature, and it begins with instilling that ethic during graduate school. In the meantime, academics and CRM professionals alike need to develop more adequate and professional oversight as well as outlets for their research (cf. McGimsey 2003:16–17).



Figure 2: The 1994 SAA membership census indicates that 45 percent of members were employed in the private or government sectors, but this figure greatly underestimates the actual proportion of CRM archaeologists since few are members of national organizations (Photo courtesy of Brockington and Associates, Inc.).

“CRM should be taught on the job by CRM professionals, not academics”—This is an ideal notion, but we need to realize that CRM professionals are in the business of doing archaeology, not teaching it. Those in the private sector are paid by their clients to meet the state and federal guidelines in an effective, efficient, and professional manner. They, along with state and federal archaeologists, have professional ethics that should encourage them to disseminate their research more widely, work with graduate schools to provide guidance in teaching students, and help connect students with research material for theses and dissertations. But CRM professionals do not accept tuition money from students, nor do they provide certifications or degrees. Given the resumes which cross my desk every week, I will always take a much closer look at those with applied CRM experience over the typical graduate-style publications. Peer-reviewed journal articles are not “currency” in the CRM market, but people skills, business acumen, understanding of the legal issues, and interpretive experience are. There is always some training which must occur on the job, but understandably CRM

companies and government agencies attempt to minimize that wherever possible.

Rethinking Academic Archaeology

In the last few years, it would appear that there has been little movement on the part of academic programs toward fulfilling the action points outlined in Bender and Smith (2000). This is not to say that all academic archaeologists are opposed to CRM training. In fact, there are a lot of encouraging signs that most departments and faculty members are in support of it. However, it always seems to be the case that little progress is made, and the state of affairs grows worse. How can we change this?

First, we need to overcome the philosophical divide between academia and CRM. Every year, CRM projects generate massive amounts of high-quality data that could be employed in countless theses and dissertations. Yet, typically, that material goes straight into curation. Meanwhile, graduate students are scraping the bottom of the barrel for research material and re-hashing the same interpretations from assemblages excavated in a “pure” research context over 30 years ago. Surely, we can bring students and research material together, then help them gener-

ate interesting and innovative questions and solutions for the benefit of all archaeology.

CRM professionals often complain about the poor quality of graduate-level CRM training and have tried to rectify it with on-the-job experience. But we have done little to alleviate the problem at its source by working with the universities to build lines of communication, teach courses, and develop internships. To change this, we need to come together as archaeological professionals and provide what each perspective lacks. The bottom line is that CRM archaeology has the money, data, and opportunities, while academic archaeology instills the theoretical and interpretative foundations of the discipline. Internships or apprenticeship programs can only be successful if the highest-quality CRM training is combined with the highest-quality academic foundations.

Several agency-based internship programs are already in the works. The National Park Service hosts its own program (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/crdi/internships/intrnCRDIP.htm>), while the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and other state or federal agencies routinely place interns in their offices for different lengths of time. Private companies have occasionally done the same. Degree-granting institutions should steer M.A. programs toward the in-depth applied course of study exemplified by the schools discussed above and toward student placement in internship programs. They should also consider making Ph.D.s more difficult to obtain and have Ph.D. programs require the same applied CRM coursework, regardless of whether the graduate goes on to teach or do CRM.

While such programs and on-the-job training are good, they cannot provide the full range of CRM experience that evolves only after years of learning. This might be better addressed with more in-depth apprenticeships or certification programs developed and implemented by private-sector CRM companies. At Brockington and Associates, Inc., we are in the process of planning such a program. This would, no doubt, involve coordination with like-minded state and federal archaeologists, as well as regional (or extra-regional) universities. I would be more than pleased to hear from other academic or CRM professionals who might have ideas on the subject (email tomwhitley@brockington.org).

I wouldn't trade the experiences (both good and bad) that I have had in CRM for anything; they have gone a long way toward shaping my theoretical and interpretative views of the past. Today, I maintain an active research agenda that bridges the gap

between CRM-generated data and academic-based interpretation. Developing outlets for such research is a high priority, along with sharing my experience with current and future CRM archaeologists. But academic archaeology today is in a precarious position. Where I see opportunities for growth, many see risks for the discipline to become irrelevant. I believe we can, and should, do more to develop the appropriate levels of CRM training in graduate programs. If we do nothing at all, we will be assured that irrelevancy is unavoidable. 

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ACADEMIC ARCHAEOLOGY IS PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

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We feel confident speaking about the state of academic archaeology today because we teach public archaeology. The University of South Florida (USF) was the first in the nation, in the 1970s, to offer a graduate degree, the M.A. in Public Archaeology, a term originally understood to mean cultural resources management and contract archaeology as part of applied anthropology but also including public education, historic preservation, and museology. We have trained many students who ended up in academia, but many more CRM professionals who work for (and have founded) private firms and public agencies in Florida and throughout the U.S. Our graduates dominate professional archaeology in the state, making up a large proportion of the Florida Archaeological Council, including the present and several past presidents. We hope we are filling important needs and passing on the message that there is no big difference between “research” archaeology and “contract” or “CRM archaeology”; there may be different emphases and different kinds of reports or budget and time limitations, but all archaeology must be done to professional standards, and *all archaeology today is public archaeology*. A similar view was expressed last June at the World Archaeological Congress (<http://wwwhw.american.edu/wac5/>) when Brian Fagan said that *all archaeology is cultural resources management*.

Public Archaeology at USF

Our graduate program at USF has grown and evolved over the years (Weisman and White 2000; White 2000a, 2000b; White and Williams 1994). We have a specific course in Public Archaeology/Cultural Resources Management (Hester Davis mentioned back in the late 1980s that she had read through the American Anthropological Association’s hefty guide to anthropology departments and found our course to be the only one of this kind at that time). We require courses in methods, theory, and several electives, from area courses to historic and urban archaeology to museum methods. Other required courses are statistics, an elective outside the department (usually in geography or geology), biological anthropology, and a two-semester proseminar that links the four-field anthropological approach to understanding current hot issues and public policy.

Somewhere in all these courses, students study federal and state preservation laws; do state site forms and National Register nomination forms; read case studies of World Heritage sites (Weisman 2002); make maps; design surveys and excavations; do historic background research; give public presentations (especially to schoolkids); hold an archaeology day program for residents of a research area; design interpretive displays; write both research and contract proposals; read, write, and critique contract reports, journal articles, and other publications; learn curation procedures and collections management; and discuss professional issues from taxes to job applications. They must demonstrate an understanding of current archaeological theory and controversial topics, as well as the many ways that anthropology is applied in the practical world, from heritage tourism to website design. We often use methods

manuals stressing the role of CRM (e.g., the AltaMira *Archaeologist's Toolkit* series; MacManamon and Hatton 1999). Ethics and awareness of the social contexts of archaeology are paramount in nearly all courses. Many students work on both university projects and fieldwork with local companies while they are taking mostly night courses. After finishing coursework, students must have an internship, often with an outside agency, for which a final product of some sort is completed, often a CRM report. This is separate from the M.A. thesis, which is original research usually (but not always) related to the internship. Students have had internships with federal and state agencies, archaeology companies, museums, and faculty projects. We do a few small local contracts for developers or counties, or larger ones for state agencies. We try to give students the experience of running a whole project, from initial fieldwork design to producing the finished report on time. Before graduating, the student must give a presentation on the internship/thesis project at our annual graduate colloquium.

We have recently begun our Ph.D. program in archaeology, in which 30 percent of our 43 grad students this year are enrolled; our Ray Williams scholarship for a minority student honors a founder of the program.

We try to emphasize professional development, so it is gratifying to see that our program and others are getting applicants who have worked in the industry and want to improve their knowledge. And there are lately more professional training programs, such as the one at the University of Nevada–Reno for those who cannot take traditional graduate classes such as ours. Firms and government agencies are beginning to give their valued employees time off to take classes to update skills, even in some cases paying for such classes or encouraging them with other benefits such as raises.

Training Public Archaeologists in an Academic Setting

Training in archaeology must be current. Whether we have more or less government or more or less private sector, the CRM professional today needs to be competent in both. The country is increasingly dealing with privatization. We are fighting a war overseas, and the federal, state, and local governments are trying to manage our country's and our planet's historical and archaeological sites and monuments, trying to preserve some of our human heritage on the landscape. Private companies will be, especially if the current political climate continues, ever more important in guarding, investigating, and safeguarding the evidence. We must train our students for these situations, to make a difference in the world by learning about and conserving some part of the human heritage.

Academics should be turning out archaeologists with the most up-to-date field and laboratory skills, but it often works the other way around. We provide the students with the knowledge of how things should work, and they graduate and actually get to do them in firms with better equipment budgets than ours. The good news is that, with lousy university budgets, our students know how to get free bags and boxes and vials for the laboratory, economize in the field with industrial-sized jars of peanut butter, and keep repairing the same old equipment year after year. We do not yet have a total station but the same 30-year-old standard transit, so they learn basic principles of geometry and mapping. Before we acquired GIS capability, we were able to utilize Geography Department courses for our students. We are good at training them to maximize output while minimizing spending. We do now have extensive labs and capabilities for microscopy of lithic, ceramic, and metallic artifacts, provenience studies, bone chemistry, and other special scientific analyses. We also emphasize meeting deadlines and have what is probably the Florida record for a survey completed in under 24 hours from the time of the client's first phone call to the delivered report (it was a 25-acre borrow pit three counties distant).



Figure 1: Urban archaeology with public interaction during Brent Weisman's 2002 USF field school in Tampa's old historic neighborhoods.

Further training in academia that we feel is important includes stressing good writing and avoidance of academic (as well as CRM) jargon. We also try to point out exactly how all archaeology can become public—how the most private client or company can end up with media attention and various public interest groups lobbying for various reasons. Finally we try to promote practical applications of archaeological work, not only in achieving compliance with government regulations but also in addressing real social problems such as environmental deterioration or even garbology research, which some of our students have done in Florida (Layman et al. 1991).

We train students about the role of archaeology in society—who it is affecting and by whom. Informants and collectors are interviewed for every project, and the many interested communities are identified. Politics, sexism, racism, and opposing views in interpreting the archaeological record are discussed. We show the range of attitudes of clients from very negative toward archaeology and regulatory activity in general to enthusiastic about the prehistoric past and interested in using it for advertising or other public relations purposes. Public outreach and archaeology education programs are often part of our fieldwork, as is the local-to-global perspective (e.g., Fash et al. 2003). International developmental agencies are increasingly held responsible for protecting cultural heritage, so there is a growing demand worldwide to train and aid indigenous peoples to help preserve their past.

A New Vision for Academia

Any good academic program should try to do these things, but it is not easy or readily accepted by colleagues elsewhere. It will be a struggle to redesign the ivory tower (Fagan 2002), but things are looking up (Wells 2001). Many departments are becoming aware of the professional workplace. The SAA is recognizing the problems we will have if training does not change by sponsoring the MATRIX project (Making Archaeological Teaching Relevant in the XXIst Century; <http://www.indiana.edu/~arch/saa/matrix/>), which is rewriting undergraduate archaeology courses to include aspects of public archaeology, from CRM to social relevance. Certainly there are pockets of resistance in academia from both old-timers and new professors who see CRM and contract archaeology as outside pure research, something they can ignore or that won't get them tenure. But there is of course no such thing as pure research. All archaeology, whether counted in work hours or dollars, is done with some kind of public money and/or has many other public aspects. The new SAA president comes from a CRM background. It is clear that most of the money for archaeology is in CRM, as well as most of the jobs. So, resistance is futile.

The anthropological view, from the bottom up, from the inside out, means we in academia also must learn from the private- and public-sector archaeological workplace and ask what is lacking in fresh archaeology graduates who are just hired. The dialog should also include what we think is important to bring to the workplace (Wells 1999); it is easier to see why students should learn how to use a GPS or do a GIS project than it is to see why they should know every new species of australopithecine. Should they know all those species? Perhaps reciting all the names is not so important. But does an understanding of con-



Figure 2: The same excavation unit with the trash feature cleaned up a nice bottle dump probably just behind or underneath a house.

cepts of speciation, human genetic diversity and connectedness, biological race, ethnicity, and culture (not to mention the politics of all this) help them? It certainly would have in the case of the Kennewick skeleton.

A crucial issue in training the next generation is that academics need to recognize that they are *not* just training replacements for themselves. Ian Hodder and others (e.g., Berggren and Hodder 2003) have pointed out how, in most archaeology, it is the least-trained, least-experienced, lowest-paid members of the group who are the ones recovering the primary data that everything is based upon. This has enormous political and ethical implications. There is also a responsibility to prepare professionals for the kinds of jobs that are really out there instead of for the few—and increasingly fewer—academic positions. The M.A. in archaeology is now recognized as the professional degree in the U.S. (though the Ph.D. of course confers other advantages). While this may be something that makes some university Ph.D.s a bit insecure, it should instead motivate them to produce better-prepared professionals, especially since these graduates may go on to earn far more in the private sector than their professors do at the university and be the ones to shape the profession of the future! 📷



Figure 3: USF field students directed by Ray Williams excavating endangered site in the early 1970s in Tampa's old Ybor City district.

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GUILT BY AFFILIATION

MERIT AND STANDING IN ACADEMIC ARCHAEOLOGY

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During my childhood, I would have killed to play for the Red Sox but couldn't hit curveballs well enough to compete past Little League. Baseball is a meritocracy. Sammy Sosa is the Cubs' right fielder because he plays the game better than others do, not because of where he hails from or because he's a nice guy.

Meritocracy isn't just for baseball. The idea that people succeed on merit is a cherished but unexamined assumption that pervades American society, even if most acknowledge the obstacles to success that race, gender, and class lay down in the path of advancement. Who succeeds in baseball? Generally, those who are best at playing the game. Which students attend the best universities, whatever those may be? The most deserving, of course, whose merit is measured by SAT scores and the like. Archaeology today is much less the academic retreat that it once was, and most archaeologists work outside the academy. This is a change for the better. My chosen career, however, is academic archaeology. Who succeeds there? Presumably, it is those who deserve it most.

Entry into the academy is a key passage that poses its own obstacles to both opportunity and merit and deserves its own close study. But I want to understand why academic archaeologists are employed where they are. I am interested not in whether or how they enter the academy but in their affiliation once they enter. On the reasonable assumption that academic positions differ greatly in rewards both material and symbolic, I ask why some archaeologists enjoy high standing in the field and others do not. If academic archaeology is a Jeffersonian meritocracy, you are where you are because you deserve to be there. If your standing is high, so is your merit. The corollary for those of lower status is obvious.

Merit and Standing in the U.S.

Americans seem curiously ambivalent about the relationship between standing and merit. On the one hand, many argue that George Bush is financially dependent on his father's money and is successful less from his own merit than from circumstances.

On the other hand, the idea that success owes to diligence and talent endures. Both views are partly right. Intrinsic personal merit bears on many people's career and life prospects. Baseball is a fair approximation to a meritocracy. But examples to the contrary abound. Thirty years in higher education do not persuade me that students from elite universities are any brighter as a group than other students, and the current era of creative accounting should disabuse anyone of the belief that business success owes mostly, if at all, to hard, let alone legal, work.

Consider the federal judiciary, which is ranked from district courts to the Supreme Court, as an extended example. The material privileges of judicial rank include salary, but equally important are the prestige and influence that attach to progressively higher levels in the hierarchy. Surely there are many at lower ranks who aspire to rise in pursuit of the material and symbolic privileges of higher position. Yet whatever merit it takes to enter the federal judiciary, the notion that appointment to the Supreme Court owes primarily, if at all, to merit is risible. The relationship between appointment and merit is accidental. The lower courts and practicing ranks are crowded with excellent jurists; as a body, the Supreme Court is of indifferent merit, to put it kindly. Politics, but also chance, categorical traits, and other factors are at least as influential as merit. Sammy Sosa plays for the Cubs because he is among the best; the equivalent cannot be said of Supreme Court justices.

Can it be said of academics? Are historians or particle physicists employed at Chicago, say, because they are the best? No doubt many Chicago professors are excellent scholars, but it is hard to believe that Chicago's faculty is uniformly excellent or that faculty at lower-ranked universities are not also good. Yet in the popular imagination, American universities are stratified by some general notion of quality and, by association or affiliation, so must be their faculty. The college guides that crowd bookstore shelves amply document the abiding belief in a higher-education hierarchy. Those of us in the vastness of the middle ranks can measure our remove from either extreme in ways that include salary, location, and subjective prestige. From the lower depths to the most exalted heights, therefore, institutions of

higher education are arrayed in a hierarchy of near-Medieval complexity and refinement, an educational Great Chain of Being. If your affiliation is Chicago (or, iconically, Harvard), then you must be brilliant. If it is Opalaka State Teachers College and Mechanics Institute, then you must fall well short of brilliant. Otherwise, why would you be there? You are guilty by affiliation.

This common view takes for granted that higher education is a pure meritocracy. Leaving aside the problematics of defining and measuring merit (discussed at some length below), it also presumes a world of perfect competition and mobility. In this world, cream and talent naturally rise to the top. How do professors reach the exalted heights of the Chicagos of the world? Because their native ability is obvious and is rewarded instantly. Universities hire purely as a matter of merit, and the number, nature, and timing of hires respond to individual merit, not institutional need. The Chicagos, constantly in search of the best and brightest, snatch them up whenever and wherever their merit emerges. As their merit fluctuates over the years, faculty move accordingly up or down the academic hierarchy. Like silt particles in a cylinder, they settle out at their natural levels.

Few who know higher education believe most of this, let alone all. Yet it remains a tenacious popular belief. Whatever determines academics' standing, their affiliation has undeniable material consequences. The *Chronicle of Higher Education's* annual survey clearly shows salary differences by Carnegie (Carnegie Foundation 1994) institutional classification. But affiliation also has intangible benefits. Most research universities and liberal-arts colleges are located in fairly cultured places. Coffee shops, bookstores, art museums, and major-league teams are not vital, but they certainly enhance one's quality of life. In these and countless other respects, the intangible benefits of affiliation are manifest.

This Study

If the academy rewards merit, it should relate directly to quality of standing or affiliation. Each of us makes his or her own judgment about the validity of this view. But a systematic way to study the problem is to somehow measure the quality or rank of the universities that employ each archaeologist and separately to measure that archaeologist's merit. If merit and affiliation covary, the popular view is confirmed and archaeologists' affiliation explained. This is my purpose. To pursue it requires information about measures of rank or status of both universities and the archaeologists who populate their faculties.

To identify universities and archaeologists, I used the American Anthropological Association's *AAA Guide* for 1996–97 (“*Guide*” henceforth); I became interested in the subject in 1996–97, so

used that year's *Guide*. I collected the data for this paper in 1997, but did not manage to write it until 2004. Whatever that says about my diligence, my view of career prospects in academic archaeology and the factors that determine them has not changed in the interim. Nor do I believe that the ranking of American universities has changed substantially since 1997. Accordingly, I do not consider my information outdated. Anyone who questions this may repeat the study with more recent data; I welcome this, believing that it would confirm my results and demonstrate the persistence of the conditions that obtained seven years ago.

I confined my study to U.S. universities but excluded Puerto Rican, Canadian, and other foreign ones, as well as community colleges. The sample included the roughly 360 American departments listed in the *Guide*. Each institution was identified as public or private and by its Carnegie classification; Carnegie criteria include mission, broadly conceived; curriculum; number and level of degrees awarded; and amount of sponsored research (Carnegie Foundation 1994:xix).

Carnegie classification is not a ranking by prestige, but it does capture some of the qualities of such rankings. “Research Universities” are both relatively homogeneous and prestigious. “Doctoral Universities” have somewhat narrower curricula and smaller graduate programs. “Comprehensive Institutions” have small graduate programs, if any, and very small research budgets. “Liberal Arts Colleges” are dedicated to undergraduate education.

Rankings and Measures

Universities

University status must be ranked or measured somehow to study patterns between affiliation and other factors. The National Research Council's (NRC) ranking of research universities overall and by discipline is a useful source for the roughly 100 institutions that it surveyed (Goldberger et al. 1995). It appeared near enough in time to my data collection to serve as a reasonable measure of status of those institutions. Unfortunately, the NRC study did not include the Carnegie Comprehensive Universities and Liberal Arts colleges that employ many archaeologists. Curiously, it also omitted anthropology departments of some major universities (e.g., New Mexico). A study of prestige and status across the academy, not just research universities, cannot use the NRC ranking. A reputational survey similar in nature to the NRC study but confined to archaeology graduate programs compiled data on only 55 departments and reported results for even fewer (Plog and Rice 1993). Graham and Diamond (1997) also ranked research universities in anthropology among other disciplines, publication being one of their chief

measures of scholarly productivity. But they consulted only the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* among anthropology journals, important and prestigious but hardly representative of anthropology at large or archaeology in particular.

Thus, there is no comprehensive national ranking of anthropology departments or the archaeology programs they contain. I needed some other source of data to conduct my study. Fortunately, many sources rank American universities on numerical scales. I used Gourman (1998), whose survey included nearly all institutions listed in the 1996–97 *Guide* and whose ratio-scale rankings ranged from about 2 (lowest) to 5 (highest). Gourman ranks are roughly normal in distribution and ostensibly rank only undergraduate education. Yet undergraduate and graduate faculty are not separated in American practice, so I treat the scores as valid measures of perceived rank. Gourman and NRC ranks are highly correlated ($r = -.80$, $p = .00$), the inverse pattern owing to the former's ascending and the latter's descending measures of rank. Gourman ranks are the most comprehensive, and I conclude that they are robust measures of institutional rank that largely replicate the findings of reputational surveys like the NRC study.

Archaeologists

The *Guide* has limitations but is the most comprehensive and reliable single source of information on American anthropology departments. By employment of anthropologists and by student enrollment, entries probably account for most of American higher education. Shott (2000:72) described data treatment. Briefly, my sample is confined to archaeologists identified as active faculty, not *emeriti* or staff. Double listings (e.g., of City University of New York anthropologists in their home departments and also in CUNY's graduate college) were entered only for what appeared to be the home department, the most recent affiliation known on other grounds, or otherwise the first entry in the *Guide*.

The resulting sample was the same used in my study of geographic biases in American academic practice (Shott 2000). It was described there at some length; I note selected characteristics here. The sample numbers about 740 archaeologists in more than 350 American institutions. Obviously, the average per institution is about two, but the distribution is highly skewed. A few departments have many archaeologists, many have one or two, and some have none. More than half of the sample is employed at Research Universities; combined, Doctoral and Comprehensive institutions employ considerably fewer, Liberal Arts colleges fewer still.

The *Guide* reports archaeologists' Ph.D. institution, which may influence career prospects. But I suspect that status also might

be affected by undergraduate institution (Shott, in press), information not reported in the *Guide*. It was solicited in an SAA survey (Zeder 1997), but results are not accessible (K. Kintigh, personal communication 1998). Lacking a systematic way to find where archaeologists were undergraduates, I consulted online university bulletins and catalogues and other sources. Major private universities' bulletins proved much less likely to list faculty undergraduate institutions than did public ones or liberal arts colleges, a bias only partly counterbalanced by use of other sources. I determined undergraduate institution for 486 (65 percent) of the archaeologists in the study.

I recorded the Gourman ranks of each archaeologist's employing university, the university from which he or she earned the Ph.D., and, if known, his or her undergraduate university. Rank of the employing university I call "affiliation," rank of the Ph.D. institution "degree," and rank of the undergraduate university "pedigree."

Merit by Scholarship

Besides degree and pedigree, merit somehow should influence affiliation. At a minimum, merit includes the teaching-service-scholarship triad so familiar to academics. First, there are teaching and mentoring, although sometimes lip service is paid to these duties. In any event, they are measured systematically only by internal evaluations, which are privileged and therefore inaccessible as well as problematic in interpretation. As important as it is, teaching ability seems not to figure substantially in hiring decisions, especially at research universities. There also is grant-getting. But this too is ambiguous to me, because grants seem to be easier to obtain for fieldwork in other countries, by those at research universities, and for other reasons having little to do with scholarly merit. This is not to say that only poor scholars get grants, merely that grants have little to do with scholarship. Undeniably, they are a material measure of activity and opportunity; whatever one's scholarly record, doors swing open when you throw bags of money at them. Service to department, institution, and profession is important but seems to have little bearing on affiliation. In any case, affiliation is determined by one's hiring, and service and teaching cannot be gauged before then.

Scholarship is at least as important as other faculty duties, and it is emphasized as a condition of hiring. It therefore allows for systematic measurement and comparison of "merit" more than do teaching and service. This is no brief for productivity for its own sake, but productivity is proof of an active, vigorous mind that engages with evidence or argument. Scholarship should not be valued for its own sake but for what it implies about one's quality of thought and action, precisely those qualities that the academy professes to reward.

Measuring Scholarship

The sample is too large for complete treatment, so I drew a 25 percent random sample of archaeologists ($n = 186$). Like all random samples, this one clustered in curious ways. For instance, it included no archaeologists in one department that employs nine, yet all three archaeologists from a smaller department. Undergraduate institution was determined for 123 of the 186 in the random sample (66 percent). I can only assume that the subsample of the random sample whose undergraduate affiliation I learned remains a valid random sample.

Few online bibliographic databases comprehensively index the archaeological literature. The best source I found was MELVYL, which indexes books and periodicals held at all University of California campuses and nearby research libraries. Among MELVYL's databases, I used "RLG ANTH" in the Social Science category to compile entries in the periodical literature. It contained records for more than 150 domestic and international journals, including a number published in Latin America. MELVYL in turn compiles entries from Harvard University's Tozzer Library by indexing contributions in books and monographs, making it relatively comprehensive for published scholarly writing, with the exception of books and monographs themselves. For the latter, MELVYL's book catalogue "CAT" indexes all titles held in any UC library.

I did not count dissertations, since virtually all academic archaeologists hold the Ph.D. yet relatively few dissertations are recorded in MELVYL. Nor did I include unpublished manuscripts like contract reports, no matter how valuable these are. The "ANTH" periodical database compiles unpublished seminar papers written for courses at Harvard University. I omitted these as well because only Harvard students enjoy this opportunity for inclusion.

No database contains a complete record of each archaeologist's scholarship. As a test, I searched MELVYL for my own publications and found about three-quarters of those published at the time. Curiously, MELVYL contained entries from relatively obscure sources (e.g., *Michigan Archaeologist* and a minor French journal) but omitted others, including several published in major American journals. Uneven treatment did not pattern by source or date, because later articles in some journals were indexed while earlier ones in the same journals were not. Some chapters in edited volumes were included, others were not. One short chapter was omitted, yet other archaeologists' contributions to the very same volume were compiled under their names. MELVYL is neither perfect nor complete, but is the nearest I found to those unattainable ideals.

Treatment of Scholarship

All publications are not created equal. Books require greater investment than most others, although articles in major journals can be reviewed more rigorously. MELVYL compiles everything from books to obituaries and newsletter entries. I distinguished various categories (e.g., books, books of original scholarship versus textbooks) and degrees (e.g., different titles versus numbered editions of the same title) of scholarship, but found that the most selective measures (e.g., books only or major refereed journal articles only) correlated strongly with the crudest ones (i.e., all entries listed in MELVYL). My treatment ignored length of books and articles. It is impossible to determine the relative contributions that several authors made to joint articles. I parsed multiple authorship in several ways (e.g., equal credit to all co-authors, greater credit to first author). These fractional measures also correlated strongly with crude measures. (Shott [n.d.] discusses the matter in detail.) For brevity, I report the crudest measures, which is total number of publications. I call this "scholarly production."

I divided this (and other) measures by the number of years between each archaeologist's first and latest publication, which yielded a crude average number of publications per year. This is a rate, not a quantity, that I call "scholarly productivity." It too is crude; it would not distinguish between an archaeologist who, say, published five pieces in 1975 and nothing else (five pieces divided by one year's span of publication gives a rate of five per year) and another who published five pieces per year for 20 years. Fortunately, there are no such extreme examples in the sample. With hindsight, I should have distinguished publications that predated and postdated the dissertation year, to separate the effects of scholarship before the Ph.D. on hiring from scholarship after the Ph.D. on subsequent advancement, if any. Such a measure obviously assumes that hiring follows closely upon receiving the Ph.D., even though older archaeologists may have been hired years before finishing the Ph.D. and younger ones may have waited some years after finishing before being hired. But I failed to do this so cannot measure separate effects.

Most data were collected in 1997. As an expedient method to update measurement of scholarship, I consulted the Royal Anthropological Institute's Anthropology Index On-Line (AIOL), itself recently updated through 2003. AIOL compiles only periodical literature, not books, held at the British Library. This is limited not only because it is confined to journal articles but also because its British source may not index all North American titles. Short of attempting to repeat the entire data-collection effort (my remote corner of the world no longer has access to MELVYL), it is the best I can manage. In AIOL, I simply counted all entries by archaeologists in the random sample.

AIOL correlates well with production ($r = .83, p = .00$) and productivity ($r = .60, p = .00$). I conclude that scholarship measures as collected originally are valid.

The Trouble With Numbers

I have measures of affiliation rank and of individual scholarly merit, but these numbers are ambiguous. Top-ranked college football teams often lose to unranked opponents, and a nationwide ranking of orchestras vouchsafes little about the quality of a musical experience. Rankings do violence to an institution's standing by reducing multivalent properties to a single value, much as would reducing Renaissance masters to a numerical scale ("If Michelangelo is a 7.0, then Raphael's at least a 6.3. And what does that make Titian?"). Yet rankings capture some broad if evanescent judgment about intrinsic worth. Critics may disagree over Michelangelo and Raphael, but few would champion, say, Grant Wood against them. Rankings are judgments based upon perception, not an exhaustive and dispassionate consideration of all available evidence. I use them to measure perception, not merit.

Affiliation and Scholarship

I take scholarship at face value but arguably should control for opportunity difference that affiliation with prestigious universities may provide. Opportunity differences may seem obvious to some, arguable to others. One small test involves the *Annual Review of Anthropology* (ARA), an esteemed publication that is not open to submissions but solicits them. See Shott (n.d.) for detailed findings. Briefly, in ARA volumes 1–31 (1972–2002), archaeologists from Research Universities and Doctoral Universities are overrepresented compared to their proportion in the academy, and Comprehensive Colleges and Universities 1 are entirely unrepresented. ARA has published not a single paper by an archaeologist at such institutions. There are two ways to explain this pattern: ARA seeks only the best archaeologists as contributors, and that the best just happen to be confined to research universities; or not. Despite the apparent bias here and perhaps elsewhere, I treat scholarship measures at face value and blithely assume that they gauge each archaeologist's scholarly efforts, not his or her opportunity.

Analysis

Most scholarship measures are skewed, which is no surprise; they are bounded at zero but have no upper boundary. Some archaeologists produce little scholarship, most produce respectably, but some are highly productive. When comparing scholarship measures to affiliation, I sometimes used natural-log (ln) transformations of the former to roughly normalize their distributions. Affiliation measures are not skewed.

All production measures correlate significantly with one another, and all productivity measures correlate significantly with one another. Production measures also correlate significantly with productivity ones. Figure 1, for example, plots crude production against crude productivity ($r = .77, p = .00$). If all archaeologists produced at the same rate, then all would have identical productivity, their differences in production owing strictly to years in the profession. With the passage of time, production would increase, but productivity would not. The result would be a horizontal alignment of cases on a scatter-plot like Figure 1. Instead it shows that productivity increases as production increases; some archaeologists consistently produce scholarship at higher rates than do others. Figure 1 also shows five outliers at high values on both measures. These represent archaeologists who maintain high productivity for sustained periods.

Production and productivity measures are robust, as are their patterns of covariation. This conclusion itself is noteworthy. It matters little whether or how fractional contributions are calculated, whether or not miscellaneous publications are included, whether or not scholarship is confined to journal articles or to books.

Results

Affiliation correlates with both measures of scholarship. Production correlates with affiliation ($r = .28, p = .00$) and ln-production slightly improves correlation ($r = .31, p = .00$) (Figure 2). Correlation is similar with productivity ($r = .26, p = .00$) and ln-productivity ($r = .32, p = .00$) (Figure 3). With either production or productivity, there is no clear difference between public and private universities, both of whose correlations are very similar to the overall result. Cross-plots show rather diffuse scatters of cases, and for both production and productivity $r^2 \approx .10$. Both figures show regression lines, but these have practically no predictive value. For affiliation and ln-productivity, for instance, only 40 of 180 cases fall within 95% confidence limits. Scholarship accounts for about 10% of variation in affiliation. It plays a role, but not a particularly large one.

I suspect that pedigree influences affiliation for reasons having to do with class bias in the organization of archaeological practice (Shott, in press). For the entire dataset, pedigree indeed correlates with affiliation, but more weakly than does scholarship ($r = .20, p = .00$). Yet the relationship varies within the data; where affiliation is with a public university, the correlation is not significant ($r = .16, p = .15$); where it is with a private university, it is ($r = .48, p = .00$). When the correlation between pedigree and affiliation is partialled to control for scholarship, results strengthen slightly ($r = .28, p = .00$). Pedigree apparently has some influence on affiliation independent of scholarship. Obviously, there is much variation in both subsets, but private universities esteem pedigree more than do public ones.

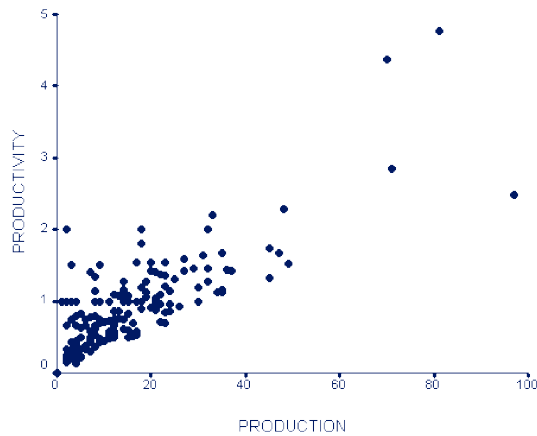


Figure 1: Scholarly Productivity Against Production.

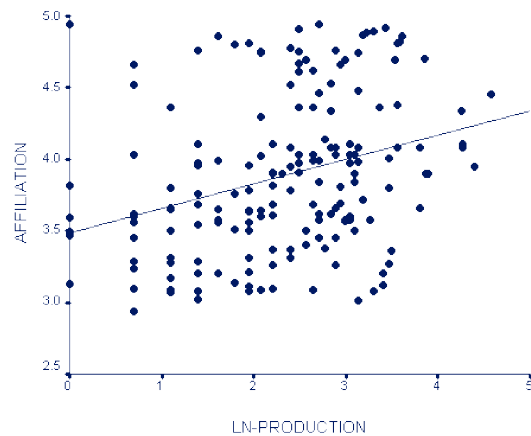


Figure 2: Affiliation Against Ln-Production.

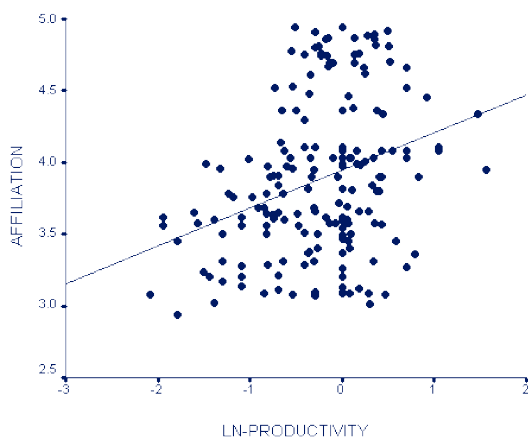


Figure 3: Affiliation Against Ln-Productivity.

If pedigree and scholarship both influence affiliation, they should be correlated. Pedigree and ln-production are correlated ($r = .25$, $p = .01$) (even so, $r^2 = .06$), but pedigree and ln-productivity are not ($r = .13$, $p = .15$). Where an archaeologist earned the BA has little bearing on his or her scholarship. But pedigree and scholarship both bear on affiliation. To parse their effects, I used stepwise (F-to-enter $p \leq .05$) multiple linear regression of affiliation upon pedigree and scholarship. Ln-production enters before pedigree, but both are included in the best solution, where $r = .43$ ($p = .00$; $r^2 = .19$). Likewise, ln-productivity enters before pedigree, but both enter the best solution ($r = .38$, $p = .00$; $r^2 = .15$). (Regression using productivity rather than ln-productivity entered pedigree before productivity.) The more independent variables included, the higher that correlation is bound to be. Nevertheless, adding degree to pedigree and scholarship not only improves results (with ln-productivity $r = .46$, $p = .00$, $r^2 = .21$), but degree enters first.

After much analytical huffing and puffing, I conclude only that degree, then scholarship, then pedigree bear on affiliation, but that none alone matters very much and that all together explain 21% of the variation in affiliation. Where archaeologists settle out in the academy seems to have little to do with scholarship and not much more to do with education.

Complicating Effects

For several reasons, it is unreasonable to expect a very close correlation between scholarship and affiliation. Scholarship and affiliation both are measured imperfectly. There are too many archaeologists whose differences in talent, inclination, career length, area, and other factors complicate patterns. There is also the structural factor of timing. Most archaeologists are hired and many eventually tenured before they produce most of their scholarship. Hiring has little predictive value for scholarship, especially because most hiring is of junior archaeologists who have not yet had much opportunity to excel.

The presumably higher tenure standards of research universities might confound a fairly close correlation of scholarship and affiliation that is not evident in these data. Many archaeologists in the random sample are tenured. Archaeologists at research universities who hold tenure-track positions but do not earn tenure either move to other universities (highly unlikely in recent decades but perhaps more common earlier), take museum or contract jobs, or leave the field. Assuming equal merit or promise of all tenure-track archaeologists and an inverse relationship between tenure standards and institutional rank, the meritorious everywhere eventually earn tenure. But those who do not earn it are disproportionately from higher-ranked universities. (Of course, this assumes that tenure decisions are

based on merit as much as are hiring decisions.) The result is at least some tendency for merit to correlate with affiliation.

So measures are crude, the merit of archaeologists resides in more than just scholarship, and there is great variation among individuals. This is both undeniable and no surprise, because many good archaeologists have good positions with high-ranking affiliations. There is no perversely inverse meritocracy in archaeology, no upside-down pyramid where the least are highest and the best least. Yet scholarship remains at the heart of the academic enterprise, and these data do not show the clear, unambiguous correlation between scholarship and affiliation that the myth of meritocracy presumes. The relationship between merit and affiliation in archaeology seems no stronger than in the federal judiciary.

Why? None of us can be certain, but I suggest the following: slight tenure effects, geography, some effects of class, market restriction, and indifference. Tenure review focuses many minds, but the granting of tenure relaxes some of them. This is not the place to belabor the considerable effects of geographic area. The academy clearly favors archaeologists who work in Latin America, secondarily the Southwest and other areas perceived as glamorous (Shott 2000), effects that register in patterns of journal publication (Eerkens 2003) and that may slightly bias scholarship measures to exaggerate the correlation between affiliation and merit. I discuss possible class effects elsewhere (Shott, in press). Restricted markets that offer thousands of shoppers only one loaf of bread, three apples, and a can of soup scarcely deserve the name because, no matter shoppers' means, there is practically no opportunity for exchange. Especially above the junior level, archaeology's job "market" is a fiction. Finally there is what seems to me the simple explanation of indifference. "Publish or perish," "Conduct research or perish," or any similar variants are myths.

For those who already hold faculty positions, in the path of advancement lie the pernicious effects of guilt by affiliation. To some degree, academic departments gauge their standing by the prior institutional affiliation of those they hire. Departments pay lip service to individual merit, but they cannot easily tell their deans, for example, that they recently hired the best available candidate, and that he or she is coming to them from years of teaching at Bugtussle A&M.

Departments also have powerful incentives to hire junior scholars. They pay them less than senior ones, have five years or more to reconsider the wisdom of the appointment, and, frankly, junior scholars are more energetic than are most senior ones. Hiring junior scholars often delivers more bang for less buck. Once tenured, however, some slack off, a risk that departments seem rarely to contemplate in their fondness for junior

hirings. The virtual lack of senior hirings constricts career options in the middle ranks, but those of us who remain active scholars are proof against the effects of tenure that junior hires are not. More senior scholars also could raise the profile of a department more quickly than any junior hire. If given the opportunity, they might deliver even more bang for little more buck.

Deans and departments rarely consider this prospect. Ironically, mid-career hires could be accommodated strategically, a fact that truly innovative universities should appreciate. Imagine, for instance, that a research university has funds sufficient to hire 10 new junior faculty in arts and sciences. Why not advertise for scholars of *any* rank and stature and, depending on circumstances, then hire, say, five junior scholars and three senior ones. Obviously, two openings go begging, but eight new hires that include proven scholars may serve departmental and institutional needs better than ten unproven ones.

Discussion

Whatever the pragmatics of opportunity, desire for higher affiliation seems to imply disrespect towards one's own university. Yet no one need apologize for ambition. I am grateful that my university hired me and supports my scholarship to some degree. Affiliation envy should imply no disrespect or ingratitude for current affiliation. My university, for instance, is a respectable school that meets a legitimate educational need. No matter how clichéd it sounds, our best students are the equal of those anywhere. It is a privilege to teach them, and some of my colleagues are among the best in their fields. Like most of them, I take seriously my responsibilities to the institution and our students. Yes, I would be happier at a research university, a judgment less about my institution than about career prospects in archaeology.

When I consider the range of scholarship among archaeologists of higher affiliation, my record seems respectable by comparison and certainly better than many. But my status is not unique: other archaeologists have records at least as good as mine and positions no better, if not worse. Some have no positions at all. Indeed, the unexceptional nature of my position is the point; there is no grand conspiracy to deny any one person affiliation commensurate with his or her record, whatever that may be.

Some might argue that faculty whose prestigious affiliations seem to exceed their merit deserve those affiliations because they may be good teachers, mentors, or grant-getters. This argument suffers from two deficiencies: it makes virtues of necessities by rationalizing unexceptional scholarship and assumes that those of lower affiliation would be deficient in those respects if opportunities were similar.

It may seem churlish to complain of inequities the nature of these. There is enough misery in the world to shame the fortunate who wish for more. But ambition is encouraged in our society and our discipline, and for good reasons. It is not a bad thing merely because the world is a bad place. Nor is the existence of misery justification for academic inequities. Faculty are not criticized when they complain about, for instance, salary (e.g., Cahn 2003), because often the complaint is legitimate.

None of us is a perfect judge of merit, nor can we gauge the service of colleagues elsewhere that is unrelated to scholarship. But scholarship should be one of the chief determinants of status and therefore affiliation. It is not. A discipline that offered truly equal opportunity would not tolerate the weak, ambiguous relationship between merit and affiliation that characterizes this one. Archaeologists like me may not be able to change this state of affairs, but I can speak out about it: there are grotesque inequities in the distribution of opportunity and reward in academic archaeology.

Acknowledgments

I thank the archaeologists who provided information on their undergraduate degree institutions. ☐

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AMERIND-SAA SEMINAR COMPETITION ANNOUNCES FINALISTS

Five finalists have been selected for the first annual Amerind-SAA Seminar competition:

- *Biocomplexity Across Sociopolitical Scales*, organized by Tim Kohler and Dave Johnson.
- *The Early Mesoamerican State: Papers in Honor of Barry L. Isaacs*, organized by Vernon Scarborough and John Clark.
- *Faith in the Past: Theorizing an Archaeology of Religion*, organized by David S. Whitley.
- *The Socio-Natural Connection: Integrating Archaeology and Environmental Studies for 21st Century Conservation*, organized by Brett Hill, Christopher Fisher, and Charles Redman.
- *Warfare in Cultural Context: Practice Theory and the Archaeology of Violence*, organized by Axel Nielsen and William Walker.

These symposia will be evaluated at the SAA meetings in Montreal and the outstanding panel will be invited to the Amerind Foundation in October, 2004 for a five-day advanced seminar, the proceedings of which will be published by the University of Arizona Press. Questions? Contact John Ware at jware@amerind.org.



ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

John Yellen

John Yellen is the National Science Foundation's Archaeology Program Director.

The National Science Foundation (NSF), through its Archaeology Program and other competitions, provides a significant source of support for anthropologically oriented archaeological research originating in U.S. institutions. Information about the Foundation and its funding procedures therefore may be of interest to many *SAA Archaeological Record* readers. The best starting point for potential applicants and grantees is NSF's website (<http://www.nsf.gov>), which contains detailed information on programs and competitions, rules for proposal writing and submission, and lists of awarded grants and abstracts. (To access the Archaeology Program, click on "Social Behavioral Economic Sciences," then "Division of Behavioral and Cognitive Sciences (BCS)," and then "Archaeology.") The purpose of this article, which complements that basic information, has three goals: provide basic programmatic information to those unfamiliar with the NSF system, provide an "insiders" view of how NSF and the Archaeology Program works, and provide advice on new initiatives and approaches that may offer fruitful avenues for investigator support.

NSF in Broader Perspective

Potential sources of support within NSF can be divided into several categories. The first consists of "regular" programs, of which Archaeology is one. These often align with traditional disciplines—such as physical and cultural anthropology, geography, or paleontology. Such programs generally exhibit a high degree of structural and financial stability over time and provide a tight intellectual fit among applicant, reviewers, and program director. NSF, however, also provides support through a number of special competitions and initiatives designed to meet both structural and substantive scientific goals, and these interact with "regular" programs in sometimes complicated ways. For example, targeted competitions to increase research capacity in states receiving relatively few NSF grants (EPSCoR), to foster multidisciplinary teaching and research on a graduate-student level (IGERT), to assist the careers of new Ph.D. professors and encourage them to integrate teaching and multidisciplinary research (CAREER), to provide training and research experience to undergraduates (REU), and to insure that laboratories have

access to often expensive cutting-edge instrumentation (MRI) are designed to shape and enhance the structure within which research and research training occurs. An Office of International Science and Engineering supports projects that further international cooperation, and a graduate fellowship competition provides students with support for graduate study.

The Foundation also establishes large-scale initiatives directed towards focused substantive areas and approaches to scientific research. For example, major support through a specific targeted competition is provided for research on biocomplexity (BE) and is predicated on the assumption that many phenomena are too complex to be addressed within the disciplinary and financial constraints of core programs. Over the past decade, while budgets of traditional programs such as Archaeology have increased slightly, special initiatives have absorbed a significant portion of NSF budget increases, and they therefore provide major avenues of support for the archaeological community. In recent years, for example, the largest NSF awards to archaeologists have been provided not through the Archaeology Program, but rather through interdisciplinary competitions in biocomplexity, information technology (ITR), human origins (HOMINID), IGERT, and MRI. Therefore, it makes sense for potential applicants to search the NSF website to familiarize themselves with such opportunities and consider whether specific research projects might be tailored or new projects designed to take advantage of them. For the foreseeable future, increased NSF support to archaeological research depends on the extent to which researchers successfully apply to such competitions. Many, but far from all, of these opportunities are listed under "crosscutting" on the first page of the NSF website and the BCS and Archaeology Program home pages.

At the time this article was written in early October 2003, NSF was in the final stages of formulating a series of competitions grouped under the heading of "Human and Social Dynamics" (HSD). The formal announcement has either appeared recently or will be posted shortly on the NSF website. The competitions explicitly recognize that human patterns of behavior, social institutions, and environmental interactions can be profitably

examined within an extended chronological framework. Researchers are encouraged to seek information about this area of emphasis.

In addition to NSF's increasing emphasis on large-scale cross-cutting initiatives, potential applicants should be aware of another trend. In presentations to Congress, the Foundation emphasizes the broader benefits to society that result from taxpayers' dollars distributed through NSF grants. Such benefits include students supported through standard research awards, increased public awareness of and literacy in science, increased international collaboration, and practical beneficial application of scientific results. In recent years, NSF has increasingly distinguished between "intellectual merit"—the basic scientific questions most proposals address and the knowledge that will emerge—and the "broader impacts." Several years ago, proposal reviewers were requested to comment specifically and separately on both aspects, and last year, the Foundation required that project summary sections of all proposals include separate statements dealing with them (proposals lacking such statements cannot be sent out for review). In both the formulation of their research and its presentation in the proposal, applicants should be aware of this fact.

Archaeology Program

NSF is a federal agency, and its annual budget as well as how it can be spent is determined by both the President and Congress. It is hierarchically organized, with Programs as the smallest functional unit. Typically, Programs, including Archaeology, are administered by a Program Director, receive an annual budget, and evaluate and recommend proposal outcomes. Programs also take a proactive role to champion relevant initiatives within the Foundation and to assist and encourage potential applicants and grantees. The U.S. government works in fiscal years (FY) that begin on October 1. In FY03, which began on October 1, 2002, the Archaeology Program's budget allocation totaled \$5,613,851 (Table 1).

The Archaeology Program, either independently or as a component of the former Anthropology Program, has existed since the early 1950s. It supports a variety of activities, all described in greater detail on its web page. These include support of "senior" researchers through a twice-yearly competition; Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Awards with a maximum of \$12,000 that may be submitted at any time; a once-yearly Archaeometry Competition; grants for High Risk Exploratory Research that may be submitted at any time; and Research Experience for Undergraduate Supplements that allow current grantees to add undergraduate students to their projects. In rare instances, more general supplements are added to active research awards. Although proposals are written by the principal investigator (in

Table 1: Archaeology Program Budget by Fiscal Year

Fiscal Year	Archaeology Program Base Budget
1999	\$5,372,332
2000	\$5,829,682
2001	\$5,807,712
2002	\$5,612,734
2003	\$5,613,851

the case of dissertation applications, the student serves as co-principal investigator), they are submitted by institutions that technically serve as "grantee" and that, to be eligible to receive funds, must be U.S. based. In all Archaeology Program competitions, citizenship is not a criterion; thus, students applying for dissertation awards must be enrolled in a U.S. university but need not be citizens.

The goals of senior research awards are to conduct research, the significance of which is justified from an anthropological/archaeological perspective, and to strengthen the broader context in which such research occurs. While most proposals focus on either field or laboratory work, or a combination of the two, any project directed to this basic goal is eligible for consideration. The maximum award duration is five years, and while, in principle, no limit is placed on maximum award size, practical constraints imposed by Program budget and numbers of submitted proposals do exist. Doctoral dissertation proposals, while reduced in size and scope, are in essence smaller versions of senior applications. A successful proposal presents a research project, the significance of which is justified within an anthropological/archaeological context.

Archaeometry awards serve either to develop new techniques facilitating anthropological/archaeological research or to provide support to laboratories providing relevant analytic services. Archaeologists who wish to apply "standard" archaeometric techniques to address specific archaeological questions—such as to conduct pottery trace-element analysis to reconstruct Aztec distribution systems—should apply to the "senior" archaeology competition. High Risk Research in Anthropology (NSF 01-153) proposals entail risk significantly beyond that associated with a normal research project. Award size is limited to \$25,000 because of the risk involved. Because of the simplified review process and high success rate, eligibility criteria are strictly interpreted and potential applicants must discuss the suitability of a proposed project with me before submission. Lists of senior, dissertation, and archaeometry awards and associated abstracts may be obtained through the Program website. Table 2 provides information on recent award sizes and durations, while Table 3 shows the geographic distribution of awards, which does not differ significantly from that of submitted applications.

Table 2: Basic Archaeology Program Data by Fiscal Year and Competition

	FY 2000	FY 2001	FY 2002
# Proposals			
Senior Archaeology	114	110	139
Archaeometry	8	14	19
Dissertations	69	84	86
High Risk	6	3	2
Success Rate			
Senior Archaeology	33%	36%	31%
Archaeometry	38%	36%	37%
Dissertations	51%	42%	56%
High Risk	50%	67%	50%
Average Award Size¹			
Senior Archaeology	\$125,000	\$102,000	\$96,000
Archaeometry	\$197,000	\$221,000	\$106,000
Dissertations	\$10,406	\$10,295	\$10,704
High Risk	(due to small numbers, 3 years combined) \$19,684		
Award Size Range¹			
Senior Archaeology	\$9,000 – \$267,000	\$8,000 – \$261,000	\$13,000 – \$274,000
Archaeometry	\$159,000 – \$211,000	\$69,000 –\$330,000	\$33,000 –\$269,000
Dissertations	\$635 – \$12,000	\$4,610 – \$12,000	\$812 – \$12,000
High Risk	(due to small numbers, 3 years combined) \$14,969 –\$23,140		

¹Includes all years for multiyear awards.

Submitting Proposals

Proposals are submitted electronically and should conform to the rules on the Archaeology Program web page and in the NSF *Grant Proposal Guide* (GPG), which can be accessed through the website. In reading competition announcements, it is important to understand the distinction between a “deadline,” which means a proposal received after that date will not be accepted, and “target dates,” which allow more leeway. All Archaeology Program competitions either use target dates or accept proposals at any time. If one expects difficulty in meeting a target date, this should be discussed with me.

Since proposals are formally submitted by institutions, it makes sense for principal investigators to contact their sponsored-research office early in the process. In larger institutions, many research office representatives have extensive experience with NSF and the details of its electronic submission system and can provide helpful advice. Please note that specific guidelines and program announcements exist for special competitions; these may be obtained from the NSF website. It is important to follow type- and margin-size requirements specified in the GPG; in the interest of competitive fairness and reviewer eyesight, proposals that do not conform are not reviewed. Proposals presenting a tightly focused research question, providing a strong justifica-

tion for significance within an anthropological context, presenting a detailed and well-developed research methodology, and demonstrating that the work can be conducted in an efficient and cost-effective manner stand the highest probability of success. As long as other applications are noted in the “Current and Pending” support section of the proposal, applicants may submit overlapping or complementary proposals to other sources.

To understand what makes a proposal competitive, it is important to understand the review process. All proposals—senior, dissertation, archaeometry, and high risk—are sent to six reviewers, along with a standardized request for assistance and reviewing instructions. These *ad hoc* reviewers are chosen by the Program Director based on their specific expertise on a proposal-by-proposal basis. Applicants are invited to submit names of individuals whom they believe could provide fair and objective evaluations and who do not have close personal, institutional, or research ties with the investigator. Applicants also may note preferred non-reviewers. Normally, at least several of the former and none of the latter are included in the final *ad hoc* list. The Program Director also refers to the bibliography as a potential source of names, and it is not unreasonable for an applicant to consider this when writing the research proposal.

For both dissertation and high risk proposals, funding recom-

Table 3: FY2000–FY2002 Distribution of Awards by Geographic Area

	% Senior Awards	% Dissertation Awards
North America	22%	20%
Middle America	23%	27%
South America	11%	26%
Europe	13%	7%
Africa	14%	8%
Near East	9%	6%
Far East	6%	3%
Pacific	0%	2%
Non-Geography Based	2%	2%

mendations are reached on the basis of reviewer comments. Senior and archaeometry proposals also receive separate subsequent panel reviews in which all proposals under consideration are discussed and ranked. While not required, the Program follows panel rankings closely. The Archaeometry Panel consists of four individuals: two laboratory scientists chosen because of their technical expertise and two anthropological archaeologists with archaeometric familiarity. The latter are particularly suited to judge the potential archaeological/anthropological relevance of the proposed research. The Senior Archaeology Panel consists of five individuals, all of whom are anthropological archaeologists. Because senior proposals vary widely in terms of geographical focus, time period, specific question, and approach, the panel is broadly constituted. Panelists may serve a maximum of three years.

In addition to factors such as research design and practicality, all proposals are evaluated against the central criterion of potential anthropological contribution, which permits widely varying types of projects to be directly compared. Therefore, applicants should recognize that in addition to satisfying specialist *ad hoc* reviewers who are knowledgeable about, and likely sympathetic to, the specific type of research proposed, it is also necessary to demonstrate the significance of the research within a broader anthropological context.

Because dissertation and high risk proposals receive only *ad hoc* review, normal time between submission and decision is approximately 12 weeks, but there is significant variation around that mean. It is reasonable for the dissertation or high risk applicant to call or email me 8–12 weeks after submission to inquire about the review progress or outcome. The timing of senior archaeology and archaeometry decisions is determined by the panel meeting schedule. The Senior Archaeology Panel meets twice yearly, in late October/November and in conjunction with the SAA meeting in the Spring. The Archaeometry Panel is timed to coordinate with the SAA meeting as well. Applicants to either competition may contact the Program to obtain the relevant panel meeting date and then request information about outcome thereafter. Although universities will usually advance funds to the prospective grantee in expectation of an award soon after a recommendation is made, it normally takes NSF an additional 4–6 weeks to make the formal award, and until this happens, no guarantee or legal obligation exists.

Potential applicants should feel free to call ([703] 292-8759) or email (jyellen@nsf.gov) me for advice.

Program and Community

From an external perspective, the relationship between the Archaeology Program and the research community it serves appears strongly asymmetric since funds are controlled by the Foundation and applicants are dependent on its decisions. However, the perspective from within NSF is very different. Both Program and community share the common goal of maintaining and increasing the scope and vitality of the archaeological research enterprise, and this requires collaboration and mutual support between Foundation and research community. The proposal review system depends on archaeological “good citizens” to serve as both reviewers and panel members, and the collective community donates thousands of hours annually to this—the Foundation is extremely grateful and expresses its deep appreciation. ☺

RECEPTION IN HONOR OF SUSAN KENT

The Women in Archaeology Interest Group will be sponsoring a reception in honor of Susan Kent at this year's SAA meetings in Montreal. Susan, a well-known archaeologist and active member of the interest group, died last spring. The reception will be held on Thursday evening, April 1st from 5:30 to 7 p.m. It will follow a symposium in her honor, entitled “Celebrating Diversity in Archaeology—Honoring Susan Kent,” sponsored by the Archaeology Division of the American Anthropological Association and organized by Sarah Nelson, Wendy Ashmore, and Arlene Rosen. Please plan to attend both the symposium and the reception.



NEWS & NOTES

Olmec, Maya, Aztec: Papers in Honor of H. B. "Nick" Nicholson. On November 13, 2004, Professor Emeritus H. B. Nicholson will be honored at a daylong colloquium at UCLA. Dr. Nicholson is internationally known for his contributions to Mesoamerican studies. His scholarly interests range from archaeology to ethnohistory of pre-Hispanic and colonial Mesoamerica with special focus on the esthetics, religious/ritual, ideological, and sociopolitical cultural spheres. Arranged by the Friends of Archaeology, the event has support from UCLA's Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, the Department of Anthropology, the Department of Art History, the Department of History, and the Latin American Center. Former students of Dr. Nicholson will attest briefly to his impact on the profession, followed by a discussion of their own research in a variety of related fields. In the evening, there will be a banquet and a roast. If you would like to share a story or photograph for the roast, please contact Jill Siltan. For further information on this exciting event and to receive a registration form, please contact: jsiltan@ucla.edu. A program will be posted on the web shortly at: <http://www.ssc-net.ucla.edu/ioa/friends>.

New National Register Listings: The following archaeological properties were listed in the National Register of Historic Places during the fourth quarter of 2003. For a full list of National Register listings every

week, check "Recent Listings" at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/nrlist.htm>

- American Samoa, Manu'a District. *Faga Village Site*. Listed 11/13/03.
- California, Imperial County. *Spoke Wheel Rock Alignment*. Listed 9/29/03 (Earth Figures of California-Arizona Colorado River Basin TR).
- Colorado, Chaffee County. *Crescent Moly Mine No. 100 and Mining Camp*. Listed 10/11/03.
- Colorado, Jefferson County. *LoDaiska Site*. Listed 9/25/03.
- Puerto Rico, Las Piedras Municipality. *Cueva del Indio*. Listed 9/04/03 (Prehistoric Rock Art of Puerto Rico MPS).
- South Carolina, Charleston County. *Folly North Site-38CH1213*. Listed 10/02/03.
- Virginia, Charlotte County. *Wade Archeological Site (44CH0062)*. Listed 10/23/03.
- Virginia, Colonial Heights Independent City. *Conjurer's Neck Archeological District*. Listed 10/23/03.
- Virginia, Dinwiddie County. *Petersburg Breakthrough Battlefield Historic District at Pamplin Historical Park*. Listed 10/22/03.
- Virginia, Pulaski County. *Spring Dale*. Listed 10/23/03.
- Wisconsin, Dane County. *Outlet Mound*. Listed 10/09/03.
- Wisconsin, Dane County. *Tompkins-Brindler Mound Group*. Listed 10/09/03 (Late Woodland Stage in Archeological Region 8 MPS).



POSITIONS OPEN

LOCATION: CHICAGO, IL
POSITION: POSTDOCTORAL
RESEARCH SCIENTIST

Ph.D.-level appointment. Person will assist the Chair of the Anthropology Department in basic research. Duties include participation in regular archaeological field research, data/computer analysis, and report and paper preparation. Must have computer, analytical, and basic writing skills. Mesoamerican field experience and Spanish language skills strongly preferred. Skills that complement those of the supervisor are desired. Ample opportunities to publish in conjunction with research team. The position is for a one-year term with possibilities of renewal, based on mutual agreement, for one or two additional years. Beginning date summer 2004, although a starting date in mid-late August or early September is ideal. Closing date for applications is May 15, 2004. Please send CV, list of referees, and an expression of interest to: Anthropology Department, Attn: Postdoc Research Scientist, 1400 South Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL 60605.

LOCATION: GLEN ELLYN, IL
POSITION: FULL-TIME, TENURE TRACK
POSITION IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Company Information: Feel the Connection. Changing lives is part of the curriculum at College of DuPage. Our connections to the community deepen the meaning of course content, extending our reach with cultural events, programs and activities that affect lives beyond the classroom. As one of the nation's largest community colleges, our expansive central campus is complemented by several convenient satel-

➤ POSITIONS OPEN, continued on page 44



CALENDAR

2004

APRIL 14–17

The 73rd Annual Meeting of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists will be held in Tampa, Florida. The call for papers is available at <http://www.physanth.org/annmeet/aapa2004/aapa2004call.pdf>. For more information, contact John Relethford, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York College at Oneonta, Oneonta, NY 13820; tel: (607) 436-2017; fax: (607) 436-2653; email: relethjh@oneonta.edu. For local arrangements information, contact Lorena Madrigal, Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620; tel: (813) 974-0817; fax: (813) 974-2668; email: madrigal@cas.usf.edu.

APRIL 21–24

The 6th CINARCHEA Internationales Archäologie-Film-Kunst Festival will be held in Kiel, Germany. This biennial festival and scholarly conference focuses on recent international productions about archaeology, previous international prize winners, notable older productions, and experimental archaeology. The theme of the sixth conference is "The Bog Mummy at Twilight—Flood of Emotion on Archaeological Film." For further information, contact Festival Director: Kurt Denzer, CINARCHEA, Breiter Weg 10, D-24105 Kiel, Germany; tel: (49.0431) 579.4941/4942; tel/fax: (49.0431) 579.4940; email: agfilm@email.uni-kiel.de; web: <http://www.uni-kiel.de/cinarchea/>.

MAY 4–9

The 5th AGON International Meeting of Archaeological Film of the Mediterranean Area will be held in Thessaloniki, Greece. The biennial festival will focus on films completed after January 1, 2000, about Mediterranean archaeology from prehistory to modern times and documentaries about folk art and other endangered Mediterranean popular traditions. Award winners may be featured in additional programs in off years. Screenings will be held at the Olympion cinema. For further information, contact Maria Palatou, head of the Secretariat at AGON c/o Archaeologia ke Technes (Archaeology and Arts), 10 Karitsi Square, 102 37 Athens, Greece; tel: (30.210) 331.2990; tel/fax: (30.210) 331.2991; email: mpalatou@arxaiologia.gr.

JUNE 18–24

The Third International Conference of the Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences will be held in Moscow on the topic "Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilizations." For more information, contact Prof. Dmitri M. Bondarenko, Dr. Igor L. Alexeev, and Mr. Oleg Kavykin, preferably by email (conf2004@hotmail.com) or fax + (7 095) 202 0786. Postal mail can be sent to the Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 30/1 Spiridonovka St., 123001 Moscow, Russia; tel: + (7 095) 291 4119.

JUNE 20–28

The 7th Oxford International Conference on Archaeoastronomy will be held in Flagstaff, AZ. The theme of this year's conference is "Cultural Influences in Astronomy: Bridging Archaeology and Astronomy." The objective is to bring researchers from around the world to present papers on cultural

astronomy and to explore how archaeoastronomers and anthropologists can work together to understand the evolution of science (particularly astronomy) within different cultures. The website for the conference is <http://www.lowell.edu/Public/ox7/index.html>. Several different field excursions are available during the conference; registration forms are available at <http://www.nau.edu/dubois>.

SEPTEMBER 14–17

The 10th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists will be held at The British Museum, London. The conference is hosted by the Departments of Asia and Education, British Museum; the Institute of Archaeology, University College London; and the Victoria & Albert Museum. Papers on all aspects of Southeast Asian archaeology are invited, from prehistory to art history, as well as studies of architecture, ceramics, and other materials of the historical period. Full details can be found at <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/asia/asnoev.html> or email euraseaa10@yahoo.co.uk

SEPTEMBER 14–19

The 4th Iberian Archaeological Congress (IV Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular) will be held at the University of Algarve, located in Faro, Portugal. Full details can be found at <http://www.ualg.pt/fchs/IVCAP> or through email to cap@ualg.pt or nbi-cho@ualg.pt.

SEPTEMBER 23–26

The Archaeological Sciences of the Americas Conference will be held at the University of Arizona in Tucson, Arizona. This event is intended to encourage collaboration between archaeolo-

CALENDAR

gists, conservation scientists, natural scientists, and contract researchers engaged in the development of archaeological science in the Americas. Sessions will explore seven major topics: Catastrophes and Cultural Reaction, Geoarchaeology, Conservation Studies and Ephemeral Remains, Spatial Analysis and Remote Sensing, Chronometry, Human-Environmental Interaction, and Material Culture Studies. For more information, please visit <http://w3.arizona.edu/~anthro/asa.shtml> or contact R. Emerson Howell at rhowell@email.arizona.edu

OCTOBER 1–4

The 7th Archaeology and Gender Conference on “Class, Gender, Race and Geography: Toward a Sociology of Archaeology” will be held at Appalachian State University, Boone, NC. This conference will feature papers that detail both internal and external sociological issues and their impact on the archaeological community. Papers sought are those exploring how class at birth, graduate institution, employment institution

or setting, age, gender, race, and marriage/parenting impact graduation rates, hiring, grants, publication, drop out, mobility, etc. Papers are also appropriate that examine the flow of information between countries and colleagues; the distribution differences in research resources across academic strata, countries, and continents; the role of open and closed conferences; etc. Papers are also welcome that demonstrate the interaction of external sociological issues and archaeological science. Paper abstracts of 200 words are due April 1, 2004 to Cheryl Claassen, Anthropology, ASU, Boone, NC 28607; email: claassencp@appstate.edu.

NOVEMBER 10–14

The 37th Annual Chacmool Conference on “Queer(y)ing Archaeology: The 15th Anniversary Gender Conference” will be held at the University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Please submit abstracts to chacmool@ucalgary.ca, or see our website at <http://www.arky.ucalgary.ca/arky1> for more information.

POSITIONS OPEN

POSITIONS OPEN, from page 42 

lite locations. College of DuPage has a reputation for academic excellence, and for making a difference in many different ways. How will your influence be felt? Requirements: The dynamic individual we seek will have a Master's degree in the field. Previous experience teaching cultural anthropology at the college level required. Response Information: Skills and contributions that make a lasting impression deserve lasting rewards, such as competitive salaries and benefits for full-time faculty, including health/dental/vision/life insurance, employee assistance, disability, long-term care, extended leaves, retirement and savings, educational development, and more. For confidential consideration, please apply online at www.cod.edu/gen_info/hum_res/. EOE.



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Bruce Harley, MA (Anthropology), MLS. (harley@mail.sdsu.edu)

AND Join Andeanist email info distribution list;
Contact Dr. Daniel Sandweiss (Dan_Sandweiss@umit.edu)

Salt Lake City in 2004

Plan now to attend the SAA 70th Annual Meeting in Salt Lake City, March 30–April 3. Guidelines for contributors who wish to submit papers, posters, forums, or workshops for consideration will be mailed to all members in April 2004 and will be available at the SAA booth in the exhibit hall in Montreal, through SAAweb (www.saa.org), or request from the SAA office. See you there!

Canadian Journal of Archaeology

Journal Canadien d'Archéologie

The *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* is a biannual publication of the Canadian Archaeological Association. Its principal mandate is to document the processes and results of Canadian archaeology, and to serve as a venue for descriptive studies, cultural historical syntheses, theoretical explorations, and sociocultural issues relating to the practice and politics of archaeology.

Editor: George Nicholas (Simon Fraser University)

Associate Editor: Adrian Burke (Université de Montréal)

Book Review Editor: Alan McMillan (Simon Fraser University)

Some Recent Articles and Reports

Between Colonial and Indigenous Archaeologies: Legal and Extra-legal Ownership of the Archaeological Past in North America – *N. Ferris*

The Archaeology of the Dunsmore Site: 15th-Century Community Transformations in Southern Ontario – *D.A. Robertson & R.F. Williamson*

The Use of Simulation Models to Estimate Frequency and Location of Japanese Edo Period Wrecks Along the Canadian Pacific Coast – *R.T. Callaghan*

A Post-Glacial Record of ¹⁴C Reservoir Ages for the British Columbia Coast – *J. Southon & D. Fedje*

Compositional and Mineralogical Fingerprinting of 18th–19th-Century Earthenware from Eastern Canadian Potworks & Archaeological Sites – *J.V. Owen & W. Rainey*

Regarding the American Paleolithic – *E. Yellowhorn*

The Cape Flattery Fur Seal: An Extinct Species of *Callorhinus* in the Eastern North Pacific? – *S.J. Crockford, S.G. Frederick, & R.J. Wigen*

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For journal inquiries contact:

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Secwepemc Education Institute

365 Yellowhead Highway

Kamloops, BC, V2H 1H1 CANADA

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For general information about the CAA and the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* see our web site at: <http://www.canadianarchaeology.com>

CAA Membership Benefits

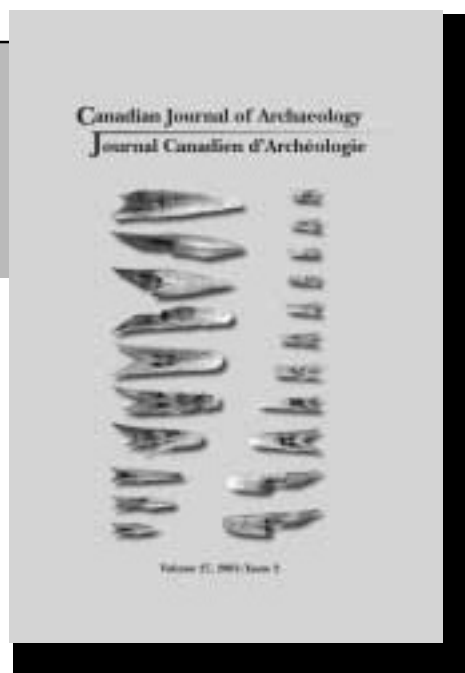
- receive the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* (biannually)
- receive the CAA Newsletter (biannually)
- receive CAA Occasional Publications
- receive logon privileges to the Members' Only Section of the CAA web site
- be eligible to deliver papers at the CAA annual conference
- be updated on issues relevant to the Canadian archaeological community

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- CAA Occasional Publication 1, *The NOGAP Archaeology Project: An Integrated Archaeological Research and Management Approach* by J. Cinq-Mars and J-L Pilon.
- Student membership: CDN \$35/US \$30
- Regular membership: CDN \$75/US \$65

* This is a limited-time offer and does not apply to membership renewals



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