
Unsettling Archaeology

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ABSTRACT. In this introduction to the special issue, we examine some of the ways that settler colonialism permeates archaeology in Canada and argue for unsettling approaches to archaeology. Archaeology is a product of and remains a tool for settler colonialism, often oppressing both people of the past and people in the present, especially Indigenous People, Black People, People of Colour, and LGBTQ2S+ community members. We call for unsettling research paradigms, which aim to disrupt the settler colonial foundations that continue to permeate archaeological work and ensure that it benefits only a select few. Unsettling approaches target not only the work we do as archaeologists, but also the structures our work operates through, including universities, museums, different levels of government, and heritage policy and legislation governing private sector archaeology. They require us to acknowledge and confront our relationships to settler colonialism and the ways we participate in it, in all aspects of our lives. Unsettling paradigms play out differently within each project and for each participant, depending on individuals' unique relationships to settler colonialism, their own experiences, and the context. As illustrated in the papers in this special issue, they encompass themes of truth, listening, learning, feeling, relinquishing control, and building strong futures. To move towards an archaeology that is anti-colonial, anti-racist, and anti-misogynist, we must address the deeply embedded colonialism, racism, and misogyny in Canadian settler colonial structures and society. We must start by addressing them within ourselves and the institutions that govern and support our work. Because the unequal power relations within archaeology are so entrenched and pervasive, change

may come slowly. It will involve long-term commitment to an ongoing cycle of learning, feeling (particularly when we feel uncomfortable), questioning, and most importantly, acting.

RÉSUMÉ. Dans cette introduction à ce numéro spécial, nous examinons certaines des façons dont la colonie de peuplement imprègne l'archéologie au Canada et nous en appelons à une déstabilisation des approches typique dans le milieu de l'archéologie. L'archéologie est un produit et demeure un outil du colonialisme de peuplement opprimant à la fois les gens du passé et les gens du présent, en particulier les peuples autochtones, les Noirs, les gens de couleur et les membres de la communauté LGBTQ2S+. Nous réclamons des paradigmes de recherche déstabilisants qui visent à perturber les fondations de la colonie de peuplement, une fondation qui continue d'imprégner le travail archéologique, et à faire en sorte que celui-ci ne profite qu'à quelques privilégiés. Ces approches déstabilisantes ne visent pas seulement le travail que nous faisons en tant qu'archéologues, mais aussi les structures par lesquelles notre travail fonctionne, notamment les universités, les musées, les différents niveaux de gouvernement, ainsi que la politique du patrimoine et la législation régissant l'archéologie du secteur privé. Elles nous obligent à reconnaître

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et à confronter nos relations avec la colonie de peuplement et les façons dont nous y participons, dans tous les aspects de notre vie. Les paradigmes déstabilisants varient au sein de chaque projet et pour chaque participant, en fonction des relations uniques des individus avec la colonie de peuplement, de leurs propres expériences et du contexte. Comme l'illustrent les articles de ce numéro spécial, elles englobent les thèmes de la vérité, de l'écoute, de l'apprentissage, des sentiments, de l'abandon du contrôle et de la construction d'un avenir solide. Pour évoluer vers une archéologie anticoloniale, antiraciste et anti-misogyne, nous devons répondre au colonialisme, au racisme et à la misogynie qui sont profondément ancrés dans les structures coloniales et dans la société canadienne. Nous devons commencer par les aborder en nous-mêmes et au sein des institutions qui gouvernent et soutiennent notre travail. Puisque les relations inégales de pouvoir au sein de l'archéologie sont tellement ancrées et omniprésentes, le changement se fera lentement. Il impliquera un engagement à long terme dans un cycle continu d'apprentissage, de sentiment (en particulier lorsque nous nous sentons mal à l'aise), de remise en question et, surtout, d'action.

TWENTY-TWENTY HAS BROUGHT TO the public eye many horrendous reminders of the inequities in Canadian society and around the world. Many archaeologists have long recognized the settler colonial structure of archaeology and the inequalities in the discipline. As the events of 2020 continue to bring attention to injustices and structural oppression in the land now called Canada, we are forcefully reminded of our relationships with these structures. We are likewise reminded that to truly address these problems in archaeology we must also challenge the structures in Canada that underlie them.

The year began with blockades and protests in support of the hereditary chiefs of the Wet'suwet'en Nation, who

publicly voiced their opposition to the construction of the Coastal GasLink pipeline through their unceded territory after they were left out of the consultation processes. The federal government's initial failure to work with the Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs to address their concerns, and their approach to signing a Memorandum of Understanding with the Wet'suwet'en shows a lack of understanding of the problems created by imposed colonial forms of governance—an understanding that is required for reconciliation. The federal government's support for the pipeline and use of the RCMP to push the pipeline to realization show that their interest in reconciliation is a façade.

Since March, Canadians have seen the COVID-19 pandemic disrupt our daily lives. It continues to kill thousands and strain the world's healthcare systems. It is bringing global and local inequalities into sharp focus as it disproportionately impacts communities made most vulnerable by poverty, systemic racism, and oppression. Within Canada, settler colonialism has created a system of poor access to adequate housing and health care for Indigenous people, creating the potential for rapid spread with little access to treatment. This is compounded by the fact that easily preventable diseases like tuberculosis that exacerbate the symptoms of COVID-19 are still prevalent in Indigenous communities. Likewise, anti-Black racism shapes the types of jobs Black people have access to, where they live, their income levels, and limits their access to health care, all of which create high risk conditions for Black people. There is a lack of race-based COVID-19 data for Canada, but data from the United States show that Black people are disproportionately affected because of these same

factors (O. Bowden 2020). Many “essential workers”, some of whom have the greatest risk of exposure at work, are in low- and under-paying jobs, with grocery store clerks probably the most oft-cited example. Health care workers make up a large proportion of cases. In Canada, women currently make up 80% of the health workforce (Bourgeault et al. 2018), and workers in nursing homes and long-term care are predominantly women of colour (Das Gupta 2020), putting them at higher risk.

More recently, protests are taking place in Canada (in person and online) that draw attention to the death of unarmed Black and Indigenous people at the hands of police. These protests are the result of a demand for answers surrounding the suspicious death of Regis Korchinski-Paquet, a 29-year-old Indigenous-Black Toronto resident, when police were called to her apartment. The protests are happening in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter/anti-police brutality protests exploding across the United States, which came to a boiling point following the killing of George Floyd, an unarmed Black man, at the hands of Minneapolis police, and the killing of Breonna Taylor, a Black woman sleeping in her own home, at the hands of Louisville police. These movements are also calling attention to the long history of police violence against Indigenous people in Canada, including the killing of at least eight Indigenous people in Canada—Jason Collins, Eishia Hudson, Stewart Kevin Andrews, Everett Patrick, Abraham Natanine, Chantel Moore, Rodney Levi, and Regis Korchinski-Paquet—within the span of three months during the spring of 2020. Resulting media attention to systemic racism in this country has provided a platform for many Black, Indigenous,

and People of Colour (BIPOC) to share their experiences of racism and call for justice in response to police brutality and for the dismantling of oppressive, racist systems.

These events have disrupted many of the systems and structures of Canada, and as people hope for a return to “normal” as quickly as possible, many question why we would want to return to the pre-COVID status quo and are calling for new systems and structures that promote equity and justice. It is our hope that these national and international events of 2020, in highlighting all of these inequities, will prompt social and structural change, both within archaeology and across Turtle Island. Applying unsettling approaches, which aim to disrupt the reciprocal relationship between settler colonialism and research, to our work as archaeologists is one way to work towards change.

The papers in this special issue were part of a session titled “Unsettling Archaeology” that we organized at the fifty-first Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association in Winnipeg in 2018. We invited contributions identifying areas where archaeological practice and knowledge construction continue to marginalize and oppress some elements of the population, and contributions that promote social and structural change. The full day session showcased a wide range of important research encompassing the themes of colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and interpretive biases. The papers in this special issue build on decades of earlier work by archaeologists to identify and counter power imbalances within our discipline and the ways we practice. Because they are interwoven with structural inequalities within broader society, these imbalances are difficult to shift

and require unsettling paradigms that work to disrupt settler colonialism, not just in archaeology, but also in the structures it is facilitated through, including universities, museums, government and the private sector. An underlying theme in these papers is that to do unsettling work, we must unsettle ourselves and sit with discomfort as we learn about our privileges and the ways our actions and complacencies contribute to systems of oppression.

While there are commonalities in terms of the structural nature of the injustices highlighted in the papers in this issue, we must be careful not to frame all experiences of oppression as equivalent. It is important to acknowledge that decolonizing is a distinct movement and cannot be subsumed under other social justice movements, since the fight against other forms of injustice can still invoke Others (women, People of Colour, members of the LGBTQ2S+ community, among others) as settlers, making their struggle about gaining more equal access to the rights of white settlers (Smith 2006). These movements need to happen in conversation with one another, and the settler colonial structure of Canada needs to be recognized and addressed within all movements (Fortier 2017). We must continually

check our aspirations against the aspirations of other communities to ensure that our model of liberation does not become the model of oppression for others [Smith 2006: 408].

An Abridged Account of Canadian Settler Colonialism and Archaeology

Canadians love to promote Canada as friendly and peaceful, when in fact, white supremacy and systemic ine-

qualities are deeply embedded in the Canadian settler colonial nation state. Settler colonialism is a distinct mode of colonialism, where colonizers arrive at a place with the intention of making it their permanent home, thereby laying claim to the land and asserting settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain (Tuck and Yang 2012). Unlike exogenous forms of colonialism that revolve around the selective expropriation of resources and rely on Indigenous populations to extract them, settler colonialism is maintained by the logic of elimination; in order for settlers to occupy the land, they must ultimately erase its Indigenous inhabitants. Settler colonialism in Canada also relied on the exploitation of enslaved Black and Indigenous people. Wolfe (2006) points out that settler colonialism acts as an enduring structure, not an event, meaning it is not a historical moment of conquest but an ongoing form of occupation through the enduring social, political, and economic structures built by invading people (Grimwood and Johnson 2019; Kauanui 2016; Tuck and Yang 2012; Wolfe 2006). Colonialism, then, is not “temporally contained in the arrival of the settler but is reasserted each day of occupation” (Tuck and Yang 2012:5).

Racism, white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and capitalism are forms of oppression woven into settler colonialism. Everyone living in a settler colonial context has a relationship with settler colonialism—one can benefit from settler colonialism, be oppressed by it, or both benefit from and be oppressed by it, simultaneously. Everyone living in settler colonial contexts is both racialized and gendered (Arvin et al. 2013). Settler colonizers are Eurocentric, believing they have ethnic and moral superiority and this superiority is inevitable and

natural (Cox 2017). Although white supremacy and racism are products of settler colonialism and are prevalent in Canada, it is important to note that “racial domination is reproduced differently based on relations of inequality over time” (Rotz 2017:159). The forms of oppression experienced by BIPOC in Canada vary. Settler colonialism relies on heteropatriarchy¹ and heteropaternalism² because these serve as the model for social arrangements of the state and its institutions. Heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism undermine and erase traditional Indigenous structures of government, kinship, and gender roles (Arvin et al. 2013). They also oppress women, non-binary people, and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community, and can be harmful to straight cisgender men.

Settlers participating in settler colonialism are able to render their colonization invisible in a variety of ways, mainly through law and narrative, to the point where their connections and “rights” to the land go unquestioned (Regan 2010). Regan (2010) argues that the myth of Canada as the benevolent peacemaker is the bedrock of settler identity. In this narrative, settlers are cast as

neutral arbiters of British law and justice who negotiated treaties and implemented Indian policy intended to bestow upon Indigenous people the generous benefits or gifts of peace, order, good government, and Western education [Regan 2010:83].

Part of the success of this narrative can be attributed to the way it contrasts with narratives of the violent colonization of what is now the United States. This contrast is seen as evidence of the peaceful

establishment of Canada. The Canadian peacemaker myth carries on today with a new storyline about achieving reconciliation between the settler majority and Indigenous people (Dhillon 2017; Regan 2010:84). This myth is also used to silence the experiences of oppression of Black people and People of Colour in Canada.

Archaeology is both a product of settler colonialism and a tool for settler colonialism (Atalay 2006; Smith 1999). In Canada, the discipline emerged from colonial exploration and expansion, and is based on Western scientific thought and understandings of time and space. It has remained a colonial tool since. It has worked in a variety of ways to sever the tie between Indigenous peoples and their past, contributing to the erasure of contemporary Indigenous people. Initially, it was used to discredit Indigenous titles to land and justify colonization (Sayre 1998). As archaeology evolved, it invoked a scientific approach, claiming objectivity to gain authority over the past. Archaeology continued to sever the tie between Indigenous people and their past by removing Indigenous material culture and ancestors from Indigenous lands without permission, interpreting Indigenous histories without Indigenous input under the guise of objectivity, and failing to share research results with Indigenous communities (Deloria 1969; Steeves 2015a, 2015b; Weetaluktuk 1978; Yellowhorn 2002). These same arguments for scientific objectivity have been used to deny Black People access to their past through archaeology (Battle-Baptiste 2011).

The settler colonial, heteropatriarchal and heteropaternalistic foundations of archaeology not only oppress people today, they also oppress and colonize people of the past. The historic domina-

tion of archaeology by white, straight, cisgender men created an interpretive gaze based on Eurocentric and heteronormative values (Franklin 1997; Slocum 1975), which was passed on to many women and BIPOC archaeologists trained by the people who created it (Slocum 1975). It led to a focus on elite men of the past and resulted in interpretations that overlooked people of different socio-economic backgrounds, children, women, and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community, to name a few. Archaeology has been used in many ways to reproduce and uphold racist colonial narratives of Indigenous people and whitewash recent history of this land (Kelvin 2017). For instance, the divide between “prehistoric” and “historic” archaeology, where the former focuses on Indigenous history and the latter primarily on the European history of settler colonial states like Canada (Condori 1989; Lightfoot 1995; Little 1994), creates the illusion that Indigenous people disappeared after contact. The word “prehistory” also insinuates that Indigenous people did not have history prior to the arrival of Europeans. Historic archaeology has, until recently, also largely glossed over the multi-ethnic nature of many spaces (Lightfoot 1995).

Although the demographics of archaeologists have been changing in recent decades, women, BIPOC, and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community are still under-represented and face systemic barriers throughout their archaeology careers. Where data exist for North America, women make up the majority of archaeology students at all levels, and account for close to or over half of early career archaeologists. However, they are considerably outnumbered by men at mid-career and senior levels and are leaving the discipline during and after

their training at higher rates than men (Jalbert 2019; Overholtzer and Jalbert 2020; Society for American Archaeology [SAA] 2016). Likewise, BIPOC are under-represented in archaeology in North America relative to the population at large (Jalbert 2019; Odewale et al. 2018; SAA 2016). Many indicators suggest that women are disadvantaged compared to men in the discipline, including their lower rates of lead-authorship, publication in top-tier journals, citation, grant submission, hiring at PhD granting institutions, and holding CRM permits (e.g., Bardolph 2018; Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; Goldstein et al. 2018; Hutson 2002; Jalbert 2019; Speakman et al. 2018; Tushingham et al. 2017). Though the experiences of BIPOC and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community are less well-studied, there is a growing body of research demonstrating that they are also marginalized in North American archaeology. There is a telling correlation between journal prestige and the proportion of authors who are straight, white, cisgender men (Heath-Stout 2020). There is also a strong pattern in North American archaeology of harassment targeting women and LGBTQ2S+ community members (Hodgetts et al. this issue; Meyers et al. 2015; Meyers et al. 2018; Radde 2018; VanDerwarker et al. 2018), and women and BIPOC graduate students have been underserved by their advisors and mentors (Brown 2018). Clearly, despite increasing representation in the discipline, women, BIPOC, and LGBTQ2S+ archaeologists still face significant challenges.

Over the last 50 years, archaeology in Canada has transformed. Indigenous, feminist, and other civil rights movements spoke up against power structures inherent in archaeology (Deloria 1969;

Franklin 1997; Slocum 1975), sparking ongoing changes to the way we think about and conduct archaeological research and create archaeological knowledge (Bruchac 2014; McNiven and Connaughton 2014; Nicholas 2010; Watkins and Nicholas 2014). Numerous projects have aimed to reduce colonial, racial, and gendered power imbalances in our research practice and interpretations (e.g., Martindale and Lyons 2014; Nicholas and Andrews 1997). Indigenous consultation and heritage rights are being built into law and permitting processes in Canada. Many archaeologists are also applying different ways of knowing to interpret the past, such as Indigenous knowledge systems (Atalay 2006, 2008), Black feminist theory (Battle-Baptiste 2011), and Queer theory (Walley 2019).

At the heart of many of these movements are a growing number of projects that apply community-based approaches³ that aim to decolonize archaeology by engaging descendant and local communities, including BIPOC, in its practice. They endeavour to make archaeological research meaningful through community involvement in the design and implementation of the research project, and the interpretation and dissemination of results. There is no one theory or method undertaken in community-based projects, as all communities have their own histories and their own present realities, so the appropriate theories and methods depend on who is involved and the context of the research (Atalay 2008; Colwell-Chanthaphon et al. 2010).

Despite these efforts, archaeology still has a long way to go. In 2010, Nicholas argued for an end to community-based archaeology as a distinct form of the discipline, suggesting that in fact it should be the norm for any project investigat-

ing the history of Indigenous people. Ten years later, community-based approaches continue to gain ground in the field and have become much more commonplace. However, they remain far from the standard. We still have much work to address the wrongdoings and harms of past and present archaeologists. Archaeology as a whole remains deeply colonial, racist, and heteronormative. We need to change the way we think about decolonizing archaeology. For the most part, archaeologists have aimed to decolonize archaeology without challenging Canada's settler colonial framework, which is premised on the appropriation of Indigenous lands. We contend that to make substantial changes to the discipline, archaeology needs to be understood more broadly within the context of settler colonialism, and we need to ask ourselves: *Can we really change archaeology without changing the structures it operates within?*

Tuck and Yang (2012) point out that true decolonization requires repatriation of *life and land*. When many settlers, including settlers in academia, talk about decolonization, this is not what they are talking about. Tuck and Yang (2012) argue that decolonization has, in many aspects, become a metaphor, which re-centres whiteness and maintains settler futures. Decolonization rhetoric within settler circles can sometimes further colonization by working to pacify Indigenous people enough that settlers can carry on the status quo. Some Indigenous scholars assert that decolonization has been co-opted by universities, researchers, and academics, and prefer the idea of Indigenizing over decolonizing. Their approach involves adopting and adapting Western methods under Indigenous paradigms (Wilson 2008). Where decolonization

strips away ideas and structural forms of oppression imposed through colonialism, Indigenization aims to build a world that centres Indigenous people (Kovach 2009; Nanibush and Sinclair 2019; Sinclair 2003).

An optimistic look at community-based approaches is that they seek to minimize colonial and other power imbalances that are present in archaeological practice by applying and respecting the experiences and epistemologies of Indigenous, descendent, and/or stakeholder communities (Atalay 2008). A cynical look at community-based approaches is that they are used as a tool to help relieve settler archaeologists' guilt, so they can carry on their research without making substantial changes to the structures that make archaeology colonial. Regan (2010:11) argues that colonial forms of denial, guilt, and empathy, act as barriers to socio-political change because Canadians want to relieve these feelings rather than look closely at ourselves and the collective responsibility we bear for the colonial status quo. Archaeologists who state they are implementing decolonizing approaches to their work have been criticized by both Indigenous community members (Hodgetts and Kelvin 2020) and other archaeologists (La Salle 2010; La Salle and Hutchings 2016) for co-opting decolonizing methodologies to neutralize the Indigenous threat to archaeological research by *allowing* Indigenous people access to their material culture, giving them a say in research design, and access to research results, etc., so that they can carry on their research unquestioned. Similar to the myth of Canada as the benevolent peacemaker, they argue that archaeologists use the metaphor of decolonization to maintain the future of archaeology.

A reality of community-based approaches and decolonizing initiatives is that most lie somewhere in between their most optimistic aims and cynical criticisms. The field has made strides to make the discipline more inclusive and level the colonial power structures. Although it is important to recognize this and acknowledge the hard work of Indigenous communities and activists, as well as archaeologists (both settler and Indigenous) who have worked tirelessly to make the changes we have seen so far, we need to make sure that these gains do not work as a distraction. Feminists have used the internet meme #NotAllMen to demonstrate the way people derail discussions about misogyny and violence against women by pointing out that not all men are perpetrators. Similarly, we have witnessed the derailment of discussions of the work that needs to be done within archaeology by archaeologists insisting that the discipline has changed a lot and we need to celebrate that. This #NotAllArchaeologists rhetoric distracts from the fact that colonialism is alive and well in archaeology, even within archaeology projects that aim to decolonize.

Community-based approaches alone cannot decolonize archaeology, as archaeology continues to operate within settler colonial structures. The non-inclusive, oppressive, and colonizing nature of archaeology is reproduced and compounded by the settler colonial institutions through which it is practiced, including universities (Desmarais this issue; Grande 2018), museums (Lonetree 2012; Smith 2011), archives (Griffith 2018), different levels of government (Dent 2019, this issue), and by the legislation that governs private sector archaeology (McNivan and Connaughton 2018; Steeves 2015a).

Unsettling Approaches to Archaeology

Unsettling research paradigms aim to disrupt settler colonization in academic work. These approaches do not just target work we do as archaeologists, but also the structures our work operates through. They also require us to acknowledge and confront our relationships to settler colonialism and the ways we participate in it in all aspects of our lives (Fortier 2017). They emphasize the work that must be done by white settler scholars to make archaeology actively anti-racist, anti-misogynist, and anti-colonial, and to create space for other ways of knowing, being, and conducting research, including those of Indigenous people, Black People, People of Colour, and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community. These paradigms engage with criticisms of decolonization rhetoric, and support and promote the Indigenization of archaeology and the structures that facilitate it. Unsettling paradigms will mean different things to different people and play out differently within each project and for each participant, depending on individuals' unique relationships to settler colonialism, their own experiences, and the context.

The unsettling work of the papers in this issue happens through common themes that flow through them in different ways. Truth forms the basis for all such work. Identifying and acknowledging the deeply entrenched and overlapping inequities in our society, and the ways in which they permeate our practice as archaeologists so that we knowingly or unknowingly perpetuate them, is an important step in reshaping archaeology along more equitable lines. We come to truth through listening, learning, and feeling. Relinquishing control is key to the decolonizing aspects of unsettling archaeology, since decolonization

requires upholding Indigenous rights to self-determination with respect to cultural heritage. All unsettling work also involves working together to build strong futures. As Michelle Davies points out in her paper on her ongoing work with Nunatsiavummiut, an unsettling approach is itself unsettled; always in flux because the future of archaeology is shaped by those we are working with, so there will never be a single method, even within the same project.

We can come to truth by listening and giving voice to people's experiences. Lisa Hodgetts and her co-authors share the results of a survey documenting experiences of discrimination, harassment, and violence among Canadian archaeologists in the course of their work and study. The results add weight to anecdotal accounts of discrimination and other negative experiences in the discipline, clearly demonstrating that women and early career archaeologists are disproportionately impacted. Denver Edmunds, Nicholas Flowers, Claire Igloliorte, Halle Lucy, Mackenzie Frieda, and John Piercy, the Nunatsiavummiut co-authors of "Strength-based Approaches to Involving Inuit Youth in Archaeological Research", highlight the need for researchers to teach themselves the truth about Inuit communities and the lives of Inuit before starting research in Nunatsiavut—showing how not knowing the truth and failing to engage with these realities can lead to further harm. Danni Desmarais speaks her truth as a white-passing Indigenous archaeologist—sharing her own experience to call attention to the problems and contradictions faced by Indigenous archaeologists learning in a colonial university setting. Her work demonstrates that it is imperative that archaeologists listen and learn from her experiences, as well as the

experiences of other archaeologists from marginalized groups.

Truth can also be something we learn—through our own mistakes and those of others. Michelle Davies' paper discusses the way Labrador Inuit community members reshaped community-based archaeological research at the resettled community of Hebron. She shares her own journey as an outsider to better understand the values and wishes of the community. By listening and learning from community members, she created a project that steered away from excavation and the removal of artifacts from the site, things she had initially presumed were essential components of a community archaeology project. In sharing her mistakes, she provides an opportunity for other outsider scholars working with communities to learn from them. Laura Kelvin and co-authors share that learning the truth does not mean just focusing on oppression. Learning about the culture and strengths of Nunatsiavummiut and building research projects that build on these strengths also helps decentre whiteness and build strong futures for Nunatsiavummiut and their communities.

Farid Rahemtulla shares his experiences of organizing 13 University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) archaeology field schools in partnership with several different First Nations in interior and coastal British Columbia. Charting the evolution of these courses over more than a decade, he highlights lessons learned along the way about how to make these experiences more valuable and meaningful for the Indigenous and non-Indigenous students and the partnering First Nations. These insights include the importance of having a flexible approach to evaluating course work, placing equal importance on archaeo-

logical knowledge and Indigenous knowledge, recognizing the potential of experiential archaeology to bridge these knowledges, and creating opportunities for informal social interactions between students and other community members. His experiences highlight the importance of always being willing to learn and change.

As Danii Desmarais illustrates in documenting her journey as an archaeology student coming to terms with her Indigenous roots, truth means feeling even when it does not feel good. Her work highlights the need to unsettle ourselves; ask ourselves hard questions about our own motivations and actions. Unsettling archaeology means grappling with uncomfortable topics: discrimination, racism, colonial erasures, transgenerational violence, and the part we play in maintaining them.

Unsettling also means that archaeologists must relinquish control, which requires looking beyond what we find interesting as researchers and asking what is important to the community. It may also mean looking beyond what is archaeologically important. To do this, we must build projects with Descendent communities, as we see in the Nunatsiavut examples described by Davies and Kelvin and colleagues, and in the UNBC field schools outlined by Rahemtulla. We also need to build ways to make this happen. Josh Dent's paper describes the development of the Heron Research Portal, a web-based platform designed to allow communities to share their research objectives with potential academic research partners. This model strives to centre Indigenous and Descendent community interests and desires, allowing them to drive research and framing academic archaeology as service-oriented. He argues that legisla-

tion governing commercial archaeology, which requires the retention and preservation of archaeological materials, assumes that the value of these materials lies in their study and interpretation by archaeologists. This approach prioritizes Western research paradigms over Indigenous and Descendant community worldviews and produces a very colonial system wherein “expert” archaeologists manage access to the material heritage of Indigenous and Descendant communities. The Portal is an attempt to allow these communities to direct research by academic archaeologists on their material heritage, which is excavated in large volumes by commercial archaeologists and usually stored with little further study.

Unsettling also involves working together to build strong futures, which can help to heal archaeology and move beyond its colonial underpinnings. This begins with identifying the failures within our discipline—as highlighted by Hodgetts and colleagues and Desmarais—by listening to and learning from the experiences of oppressed groups. It involves developing ways to support communities in building research programs that are valuable and meaningful to them, approaches illustrated in the articles by Dent, Davies, Kelvin and co-authors, and Rahemtulla. It also means rethinking how we teach archaeology. We cannot hide from the uncomfortable past of our discipline and the ways it oppresses people in the present. We must look to the future to create more meaningful, lasting change. Youth, both within archaeology and the communities we engage with, should be an important focus. Acknowledging and teaching the past and present failings of archaeology, and celebrating the heritage and contributions of the diverse groups we

work with, as illustrated by Kelvin and co-authors and Rahemtulla, must be part of all aspects of our work. Archaeologists must focus on how we can reorient archaeology, the study of the past, towards the future. We cannot just ask: *Who do our unsettling paradigms help?* We should also ask: *Who do they hurt? What are the potential future repercussions of this line of work?*

Unsettling Ourselves so We Can Unsettle the Structures We Work Within

To make archaeology anti-colonial, anti-racist, and anti-misogynist, we need to address the deeply embedded colonialism, racism and white supremacy, and misogyny in Canadian settler colonial structures and society. To do this we must start with ourselves and the institutions we work within. We need to work in a continual cycle of learning, feeling, questioning, and most importantly, acting.

As Canadian archaeologists, however we identify, we must begin by learning the true settler colonial history of Canada, the enduring settler colonial structures and systems of oppression that resulted from it, and the present realities of the full range of people who are oppressed by them. We also need to learn how to become good allies. We can start by listening to and acknowledging friends, family, and colleagues when they want to share stories of their experiences of oppression and ideas of how things can be changed. However, it is unfair and harmful to expect those who are marginalized to take on the labour and burden of teaching us. Instead, we must educate ourselves and our peers, and hold each other accountable (Ault 2020; Bodwen 2020; Roberts 2020). There are countless peer-reviewed publications that illuminate oppression in the colo-

nial nation state of Canada; however, as discussed above, academia is oppressive for many communities and can stifle or silence experiences of BIPOC and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community. These experiences do not need to be peer-reviewed to be valid. We should look beyond traditional academic outlets, to blogs, websites, podcasts, and other media, where people can freely share their experiences, feelings, and ideas. As we learn, we must not only learn about the oppression these communities face. Learning about their strengths and accomplishments also helps decentre whiteness and heteronormality. Learning is an ongoing process—we must never stop listening and learning.

To do unsettling work, we ourselves must feel unsettled. In dealing with social injustice, we often make “moves to innocence”, finding ways to distance ourselves from “involvement in and culpability for systems of domination” (Mawhinney 1998:17). One such move involves pointing to injustices that we ourselves experience, often referred to as participating in the “Oppression Olympics”, which decentres those experienced by others. Learning about the ways we contribute to the oppression of others (knowingly or unknowingly) can be sad, uncomfortable, emotional, and painful, but we must embrace discomfort, as it is a vital part of understanding how we can be better allies.

We need to question our motivations and our actions. Latham Thomas coined the term “optical allyship” to describe superficial participation in social justice movements, often for self-gratification and to boast the “ally” (Saad 2020). We must continually ask ourselves whether our actions simply serve to demonstrate that we care, to help us gain funding for our projects, or do something popular,

OR are actually aimed to unsettle and change the systems of power (Swiftwolfe 2019). We also need to question, analyse, and unlearn our own biases, beliefs, and misconceptions (D. Bowden 2020).

Most importantly, we must continually act on what we learn and feel—silence is another form of violence. As archaeologists, many of us have a platform within our institutions and other workplaces, and more broadly within the community as “experts” on issues around heritage. We have an ethical responsibility to use what power and privilege we have to promote change. There are many actions we can take towards unsettling archaeology (cf. Ault 2020; D. Bowden 2020; Roberts 2020; Swiftwolfe 2019). Some ways we can start are to:

- Acknowledge the role governments, universities, museums, archives and our legal system (or other institutions or structures we work within) play in settler colonialism, and oppressing BIPOC and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community.
- Provide space and support for BIPOC and LGBTQ2S+ community members in our workplaces and communities. For those of us who are not members of these groups, this will likely involve giving up power.
- Hire BIPOCs and members of the LGBTQ2S+ community.
- Those of us who work in higher education can diversify our curriculum. This helps amplify marginalized voices, and shows students from all backgrounds that there is a place for them in archaeology and academia.
- Learn to recognize and address microaggressions in our places of work.

- Actively recruit under-represented groups into our discipline through outreach, which will likely be most effective if targeted at school-aged students.
- Acknowledge and appreciate the knowledge, time, and emotional labour members from these communities devote to educating others.
- Recognize BIPOC and LGBTQ2S+ community ownership, control, access, and possession of their information, knowledge, experiences, and stories.
- Promote more members of these communities in leadership positions.
- Develop relationships and collaborate with members of these communities, within and outside of academia, to conduct research that amplifies their voices and creates change.
- Get involved in local politics.
- Use our platform to teach what we have learned, but also be willing to give up the mic.
- Show up. Those of us who are able should attend events, rallies, and protests to show our support. If we are interested in studying people's ancestors, we need also to be interested in supporting their present, and future.

We also recommend reading and re-reading the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action and thinking about the ways we can apply these calls to action to our work as archaeologists, and to our lives outside of archaeology.

As we note earlier, despite commonalities in terms of the structural nature of injustices and oppression experienced by

BIPOC, members of the LGBTQ2S+ community, and women, we must be careful not to frame all experiences of injustice and oppression as homogeneous. We must ensure that advocating for some does not oppress others (Arvin et al. 2013; Smith 2006). As Canada is a settler colonial nation state built on Indigenous lands and the oppression and genocide of Indigenous people, the dismantling of settler colonial structures should be a theme for discussion in all social justice movements and for all models of liberation. We also need to be cautious and conscientious in our use of terms like "reconciliation" and "decolonization" to ensure that they do not become metaphors that work as moves to innocence.

As Canadian archaeologists act, we will make mistakes. We must listen to criticisms of our actions, feel the weight of these criticisms, and learn from them. As white, upper middle class, cisgender women academics of settler and unknown Indigenous heritage (Laura), and settler heritage (Lisa), we have made, and will continue to make, mistakes. There are undoubtedly mistakes and oversights in this introduction (as well as throughout the issue). Some of these shortcomings we are aware of, such as the lack of discussion of a number of oppressed groups in Canada, like people with disabilities, immigrants, and refugees, to name a few. We were also unable to include a comprehensive discussion on settler colonialism and systems that oppress in Canada. The simplified version presented here glosses over the history, intricacies, and nuances of these systems. Nor have we fully articulated the fluid and multifaceted nature of people's identities and their relationships (oppressive, beneficial, or both) to settler colonialism and Canadian systems of oppression. There are certainly many

more mistakes we are unaware of, but we are listening so we can learn, feel, question, act, and repeat.

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Notes

1. Heteropatriarchy is the social system where heterosexuality and patriarchy are perceived as normal and natural.
2. Heteropaternalism is the presumption that heteropatriarchal nuclear-domestic arrangements, in which the father is both centre and leader, are normal and natural.
3. We use the term "community-based approaches" as a signifier for any approaches that work to involve a community or communities. This can include community-based archaeology (Atalay 2012), Indigenous archaeology (Atalay 2006; Watkins 2000), community-oriented archaeology (Martindale and Lyons 2014), etc.

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