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**SPECIAL ISSUE: UNSETTLING ARCHAEOLOGY**

*Guest Edited by Lisa Hodgetts and Laura Kelvin*

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Cover image: Maggie and Billie Jararuse and their daughter Billie-Jean Tuglavina (at left) stand on the remains of their family home in Hebron. Image courtesy of Michelle Davies.

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## SPECIAL ISSUE: UNSETTLING ARCHAEOLOGY

*Guest Edited by Lisa Hodgetts and Laura Kelvin*

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# Unsettling Archaeology

Laura Kelvin<sup>†</sup> and Lisa Hodgetts<sup>‡</sup>

**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.

**T**WENTY-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 heteropatriarchy<sup>1</sup> and heteropaternalism<sup>2</sup> 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 approaches<sup>3</sup> 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. Danii 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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# Broadening #MeToo: Tracking Dynamics in Canadian Archaeology Through a Survey on Experiences Within the Discipline

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**ABSTRACT.** The #MeToo movement has turned global attention to structural power differentials grounded in gender, race, sexual orientation, and other aspects of identity, leading archaeologists to confront injustice in different sectors of our discipline, with a focus on sexual harassment and sexual assault. In 2019, the Canadian Archaeological Association's Working Group on Equity and Diversity conducted a survey of Canadian archaeologists to identify the extent of both sexualized and non-sexualized forms of discrimination, exploitation, harassment, and violence in our field. Our survey yielded 564 responses from archaeologists representing a wide range of genders, ages, career stages, and sectors. The results indicate a large portion of Canadian archaeologists have had negative experiences in the course of their work and study. This first stage of analysis focuses on demographic trends among survey respondents and noteworthy differences in their experiences based on gender, career stage, and participation in the academic or cultural resource management sector.

**RÉSUMÉ.** Le mouvement #MeToo a attiré l'attention mondiale sur les écarts de pouvoir structurels fondés sur le sexe, la race, l'orientation sexuelle et d'autres aspects de l'identité, ce qui a amené les archéologues à faire face à l'injustice dans différents secteurs de notre discipline, en mettant l'accent sur le harcèlement sexuel et les agressions sexuelles. En 2019, le Groupe de travail sur l'équité et la diversité de l'Association archéologique canadienne a mené une enquête auprès d'archéologues canadiens

afin d'identifier l'étendue des formes de discrimination, d'exploitation, de harcèlement et de violence sexualisés et non sexualisés dans notre domaine. Notre enquête a reçu 564 réponses d'archéologues représentant un large éventail de sexes, d'âges, de stade de carrière et de secteurs. Les résultats indiquent qu'une grande partie des archéologues canadiens ont eu des expériences négatives au cours de leurs travaux et de leurs études. Cette première étape de l'analyse met l'accent sur les tendances démographiques chez les répondants à l'enquête et les différences notables dans leurs expériences fondées sur le sexe, le stade de carrière et la participation au secteur académique ou de la gestion des ressources culturelles.

*Our sciences stand to be better—  
more rigorous, more creative, more  
inclusive—if a greater diversity of  
people is involved in their practice.*  
— Alison Wylie (2010:241)

**M**ANY CANADIAN ARCHAEOLOGISTS, like those elsewhere, were ini-

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tially drawn to the discipline by the excitement of connecting with people in the past through the things they left behind. Many of us look back fondly on our formative experiences as students, when we first fell in love with archaeology (e.g., Supernant et al. 2020; Welch 2020). The challenges and rewards of material analysis and fieldwork led us to continue our studies and pursue archaeology careers. We all have stories to tell about our journeys as archaeologists—a favourite class, the long hours in the lab that led to an “aha” moment, the humour and camaraderie at a field site. There are other kinds of stories, too, that get told more quietly, to more carefully chosen audiences—the unjust supervisor, the passive aggressive co-worker, the casual “joke” about the attractiveness of a student, the acts and events that happened in the field that “should stay in the field” (Radde 2018). These experiences inform and imbue the culture of archaeology.

The four of us came to this work because we are all aware of a range of negative behaviours that have continued to occur as we progress through our careers, but have not seen our institutions and professional organizations take decisive action to assess nor address the problem. Events at the 2019 meeting of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) precipitated action by professional archaeological associations worldwide to develop policies to support member safety in all workplace contexts<sup>1</sup> (Bondura et al. 2019; Foxx et al. 2019; Hays-Gilpin et al. 2019). While these developments are aimed at some of the most serious forms of negative behaviours in archaeology, our collective experiences in the discipline suggest that the problem is much broader. As established professionals, three tenured university

faculty (LH, KS, JW) and a director of a private cultural resource management (CRM) firm (NL), we feel we owe it to our students and junior colleagues, who are situated in more vulnerable positions, to bring these concerns to light.

As four archaeologists with more than a century of aggregated practice, we have lived, witnessed, and heard from colleagues, students, and other archaeologists about many forms of negative experiences. The two most recurrent negative anecdotes that come to mind—which generate different responses depending on the individual’s standpoint—are as follows. First, archaeology has a fieldwork culture that can range from irreverent to coarse, what one of our respondents called the “wild west”. Alcohol overconsumption often plays a role when archaeologists socialize in field and other contexts (Miller 2018). There can be considerable pressure to partake in the widespread drinking culture, and it can facilitate and be used to justify many forms of inappropriate behaviour. While many thrive in this culture, others have been excluded, repulsed, and/or harmed by it.

Second, young scholars and practitioners, and particularly women and visible minorities, have suffered discrimination and other abuses from senior faculty and CRM management, demographic classes that remain predominantly white, cisgender, and male. This senior demographic has varying levels of awareness of their privileges, of the powers they wield in others’ lives and futures, and of the harms they can cause. Ongoing demographic shifts toward gender balance and greater diversity in our discipline are neither a guarantee of a cultural change nor a rationale for inattention to historical and current patterns of behaviour. We

need continued attention to how we treat one another within our community of practice.

The #MeToo movement has helped to upend the doctrine of silence around sexual abuse and other forms of inequity. This movement, founded by Tarana Burke in 2006, is dedicated to gauging the status and magnitude of the problems of sexual abuse and harassment against women and marginalized peoples and to creating resources to support survivors of sexual violence. It catapulted into public consciousness in 2017 with the #MeToo hashtag and has since grown to examine power structures along multiple vectors, including inequalities in workplace environments related to gender-based power, pay, and opportunity differentials. The pervasiveness of the movement is unsettling cultural norms and professional standards around the world, including those in archaeology (Jagsi 2018; Lukose 2018; O'Neil et al. 2018).

In early 2018, we asked the question: What does #MeToo mean for archaeology in Canada? Originally, we had only anecdotal evidence on which to draw, because we lacked even basic demographic data for the Canadian archaeological community, let alone nation-wide reporting on the experiences of individual archaeologists. This lacuna prompted us to form the Canadian Archaeological Association Working Group on Equity and Diversity and to set about gathering data to fill this void. In February 2019, we launched a survey to document disciplinary demographics and to gather data that would help us understand how different identity categories intersect to shape the experiences of individual archaeology students and practitioners. The survey solicited information on a broader spectrum of nega-

tive behaviours than previous surveys of field disciplines (e.g., Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2015; Meyers et al. 2018), including discrimination, verbal harassment, exploitation, physical violence, unwanted sexual touching, and sexual violence. The survey sought to capture the full scope of these behaviours and to enable and guide follow up interviews to understand historical and experiential dimensions of negative incidents among a sample of archaeologists with diverse backgrounds.

Our work is unsettling on several levels. The survey results point to systemic inequities and pervasive negative experiences within archaeological practice in Canada. This should concern all Canadian archaeologists and encourage behavioural self-study, more cognizant witnessing, and introspection and discourse about the desired futures of our discipline and its attendant culture. Reflections on how and why we may have, perhaps unwittingly, supported inequities and related harms may be uncomfortable, but this discomfort is important in exposing and ultimately dismantling the power structures and precepts of our professional culture that systemically disadvantage many archaeologists based on intersectional identities. Our position is that the discipline benefits when it is practiced by people with a wide variety of backgrounds and personal experiences, who approach archaeology from multiple perspectives and knowledge bases (Wylie 2010), consciously and with care for each others' wellbeing (Lyons et al. 2019; Supernant et al. 2020).

In this paper, we present our first phase of analysis of the survey responses. We start with a review of current research in equity and diversity issues. We discuss the design of the survey, its scope and

definitions, and what factors influenced our choice of categories, questions, and options. We outline the demographics of our respondents and break down the frequency with which they reported negative behaviours based on their gender, workplace sector, and career stage at the time of the incident. We examine the perpetrators' demographics and the setting in which incidents took place. Our next phase of analysis will take an intersectional approach to the quantitative data below and use qualitative interviews to explore the nuances of negative experiences. Above all, this project aims not to assign blame, but to promote dialogue and to encourage all Canadian archaeologists to contribute to positive change. We join colleagues in the SAA and other professional archaeological organizations worldwide in striving to make archaeology safer, more accessible, more inclusive, and more reflexive (Blackmore et al. 2016; Bondura et al. 2019; Foxx et al. 2019; Hays-Gilpin et al. 2019).

### Context

A growing body of research explores equity and diversity issues in archaeology. Demographic studies are providing essential baselines using commonly documented categories: gender and age/career stage, followed by ethnicity and race. Recent demographic data on archaeologists in the United States (SAA 2015), United Kingdom (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013), and Europe (Lazar et al. 2014) show that in those regions, women are approaching parity with men. Among practitioners under the age of 40 (45 in the US) women outnumber men; the inverse is true among those over 40. There are approximately twice as many women as men among archaeology students in the US (SAA

2015) and in many European countries (Lazar et al. 2014).

Among archaeology faculty members at Canadian universities in 2019, there are almost twice as many women as men at the assistant professor level, men slightly outnumber women at the associate level, and men outnumber women by a factor of more than 2:1 among full professors (Overholtzer and Jalbert 2020). These numbers include archaeologists, bioarchaeologists, and classical archaeologists. The large proportions of women among assistant and associate professors are largely driven by their representation among bioarchaeology and classical archaeology faculty. If archaeology is considered alone, women comprise 46% of assistant professors, 29% of associate professors, and 31% of full professors (Overholtzer and Jalbert 2020). In CRM, men received almost twice as many permits as women across Canada between 2012 and 2014 (Jalbert 2019:149). When it comes to Canadian students, women form the majority of students enrolling and graduating in archaeology and anthropology at all levels. Women outnumber men by a factor of 2:1 at the undergraduate and master's levels, and continue to outnumber men, though to a lesser degree, in PhD programs (Jalbert 2019). In Canada, as elsewhere, it appears that disproportionately more women than men are leaving archaeology as they advance through the ranks (Overholtzer and Jalbert 2020), reflecting the "leaky pipeline" phenomenon (Van Anders 2004).

Ethnicity and race are social categories where archaeology shows little demographic diversity. Archaeological practitioners in Western, English-speaking nations remain largely white. The most recent data from the US is the SAA 2015 Member Needs Survey

(SAA 2015). For ethnicity, 2,521 people selected from 8 possible categories as follows: African American 0.3%, Asian/Pacific Islander 1.9%, Caucasian (non-Hispanic) 77.7%, Hispanic/Latino(a) 6.7%, Native American/Alaskan Native 0.8%, Multi-racial 2.5%, Prefer not to answer 7.7% (SAA 2015). Relative to the US population, African Americans remain highly underrepresented, as are Asians and Native Americans, though to a lesser degree. In the UK, the discipline is even more homogeneous, with 99% of archaeological practitioners who answered a survey identifying as white, a number unchanged since at least 2008 (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013:98). Diversity among UK archaeologists does not reflect the diversity of the broader population. Until recently (Jalbert 2019), there was little quantitative data about the ethnic diversity of Canadian archaeologists.

Explorations of the interplay between identity and equity issues within archaeology have so far focussed largely on gender. Studies show that in the US and Canada, women are hired into faculty positions at PhD granting universities less frequently than men (Gonzalez 2018; Speakman et al. 2018). Women are consistently and substantially underrepresented as lead authors across a range of American archaeology publications (Bardolph 2014; Tushingham et al. 2017) and are markedly under-cited compared to men (Hutson 2002). They submit and re-submit manuscripts at much lower rates than men (Bardolph and VanDerwarker 2016; Bardolph 2018; Heath-Stout 2020a) and journal prestige is correlated with the percentage of authors who are straight, white, cisgender men (Heath-Stout 2020b). Women also submit fewer grant applications than men (Goldstein et al. 2018) and

receive, on average, half the amount of funding awarded to men (Jalbert 2019).

Several recent surveys have explored experiences of sexual harassment and assault at archaeological field sites and those of other field-based disciplines in the US (Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2015; Meyers et al. 2018). These studies recognize the importance of documenting fieldwork experiences as distinctive contexts that entail intense interpersonal relationships, vulnerabilities, and power differentials. A majority of those who responded to these surveys report experiencing sexual harassment, with women three to four times more likely than men to experience sexual harassment and four to five times more likely than men to experience sexual assault (Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2015; Meyers et al. 2018). Trainees and people in the early stages of their careers are far more vulnerable to sexual harassment and assault than those at later career stages (Clancy et al. 2014). Gender, sexual orientation, and other aspects of identity also shape the experiences of people of all genders and career stages, but these issues remain underexamined (but see Jalbert 2019; Radde 2018).

VanDerwarker and her students (Brown 2018; Gonzalez 2018; Radde 2018; VanDerwarker et al. 2018) undertook a survey of the California archaeological community that assessed co-linked factors influencing harassment, equity, and mentorship. Radde (2018) confirms that, although reporting rates are low, harassment comes in many forms and is experienced at disproportionately higher levels by vulnerable communities across different workplace settings in archaeology. Gonzalez (2018) found that subtle gender discrimination is part of the cultural fabric of both CRM and academia and deserves attention alongside

more blatant forms of disparity, such as pay differentials and processes for professional ranking and advancement. Brown (2018) explored the role of suitable mentors in decision-making processes through the graduate school years and beyond, noting that women and students of colour have been historically underserved by their advisory relationships.

### **Survey Design and Dissemination**

Our aim with the Equity and Diversity in Canadian Archaeology (EDCA) survey was to better understand both the demographics and experiences of archaeologists within the Canadian archaeological community. Basic questions drawn from anecdotes and surveys in other jurisdictions anchored our study. We wanted to know if, how, and under what circumstances Canadian archaeologists have experienced a range of negative behaviours. How common are incidences of sexual harassment and sexual violence, as well as other forms of harassment, violence, discrimination, and exploitation? Do Canadian archaeologists experience these behaviours equally in different work and study settings? Is their highest incidence in the field? Is there variation across academic and CRM sectors?

In designing the EDCA survey, we strove to balance the depth and breadth of the questions against the time it would take respondents to complete, given that completion rates decline as survey length, question length, and question difficulty increase (Liu and Wronski 2018). To streamline the process, “no” responses took users directly to the next section, while “yes” responses prompted follow up questions. We wrote the survey in English and had the final version translated for parallel delivery in French. The survey was divided into sections that invited responses about respondents’

demographics, their awareness and sense of the effectiveness of institutional policies, and their experiences (personal or witnessed) of discrimination, non-sexual violence, verbal harassment, exploitation, unwanted sexual touching, and sexual violence and assault. We offered open text boxes to invite both comments on how individual experiences impacted their careers, and suggestions for making the disciplinary culture of archaeology in Canada safer and more inclusive.

In the demographics section, we asked respondents to report their gender identity, age, sexual orientation, ethnic/racial background, career stage, and workplace sector. We had to make many choices about the nature and breadth of responses for each of these questions. For gender identity, we used an open text box to allow for diverse gender identification without limiting people to predetermined categories. Choices for sexual orientation included asexual, bisexual, gay, heterosexual, lesbian, pansexual, queer, questioning, and other. For ethnic/racial background, we used categories from the 2016 Canadian census<sup>2</sup> because pilot testing suggested that an open text box was too ambiguous. Some respondents critiqued the available choices and the conflation of ethnicity and race. As arbitrary social constructs, ethnicity and race are difficult to tease apart. They impact the lives of archaeologists differently and represent an important vector of potential inequity to explore. Career stage included one question about highest degree obtained and another about current work or study position. Workplace sector included avocational, college, CRM, Federal Government, Indigenous Government/Organization, Municipal/Regional Government,

Museum, Provincial or Territorial Government, University (graduate), University (undergraduate only), and Other (please specify).

Our categories of negative experience are defined in Table 1. For each category, the survey asked about the respondent's career stage at the time of the incident, the perceived gender of the perpetrator, and the perpetrator's relationship with the respondent. It also asked where the incident(s) took place and whether or not the respondent reported it. We asked about the frequency with which respondents had witnessed such behaviours directed at others. We asked for further details about any witnessed events, but those responses are not considered at this stage of our analysis because more intensive study is needed to allow us to better understand the prevalence of negative behaviours and the relationship between bystanders and reporting (National Academies of Sciences and Medicine 2018). Given the breadth of the survey, and following Clancy and co-authors (2014), we did not ask for details of

multiple incidents of any given negative behaviour, but rather the one that was most significant to the individual.

Our working group drafted the survey and revised it several times based on feedback from our eight-member advisory board and practitioners we invited to complete pilot versions. The CAA directors reviewed and approved the final version. The preamble included both a trigger warning to alert participants to the possibility that the survey could refresh traumatic experiences and a list of support resources for survivors. We received ethics approval from the University of Western Ontario Non-Medical Research Ethics Board, and all respondents provided informed consent. The final version was implemented using the online survey platform Qualtrics.

The survey was open from February 14 to April 10, 2019. It was advertised through the Canadian Archaeological Association e-mail list and provincial and professional archaeological associations across Canada. We shared the survey link on social media, targeting Canadian archaeology groups on Facebook and

TABLE 1. Definitions of negative experiences used in the EDCA survey.

<b>Negative Experience</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Discrimination	Being belittled, made to feel uncomfortable, bullied, or overlooked on the basis of your age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or some other identity category
Verbal Harassment	Having inappropriate remarks, or derogatory jokes or comments directed at you
Exploitation	Being expected to work without pay or faced with unreasonable expectations from a person in a position of authority
Physical Violence	The threat of or actual non-sexualized physical violence such as verbal threats, shouting, pushing, physical intimidation
Unwanted Sexual Touching	Being touched, kissed, fondled, or grabbed in a sexual way without consent
Sexual Violence/Sexual Assault	Violent non-consensual forms of sexual contact such as rape and attempted rape

circulating it on Twitter. We received 564 responses to the survey, with the largest number of responses coming in the first few days the survey was open, and within a day of subsequent reminders sent out through e-mail and social media. Two hundred and seventy-four respondents (48.6%) indicated that they were CAA members, representing 41% of the 664 members of the CAA. Many indicated membership in provincial archaeological associations in Canada. All respondents self-identified as living and/or working in Canada.

The responses form a rich and robust dataset representing many different perspectives from within the discipline in Canada. As with any survey, there are biases and limitations. Respondents are self-selected and are likely a better representation of Canadian archaeologists interested in the topic than of the nation's archaeologists (Dillman et al. 2014; Saleh and Bista 2017). There is no way of knowing if our sample is biased towards people who have experienced harassment or other negative behaviours or if those individuals chose not to complete the survey to avoid reliving trauma (Clancy et al. 2014).

### Survey Results

Our dataset speaks to the nature, structure, and pervasiveness of negative experiences among Canadian archaeologists during their training and in the course of their work. Our survey results demonstrate that negative experiences are widespread among respondents in the Canadian archaeological community. A full 80% of women and 75% of men indicate that they had one or more negative experiences “a few times” or “many times”. In the following presentation of results, we address several broad questions: Who did we hear from? Who

experienced various negative behaviours and under what circumstances? Who are the perpetrators? Are these incidents reported? To protect respondents' privacy, we combined categories any time there were three or fewer respondents in a category. If there was no way to combine categories, we excluded these responses from the reported numbers. We recognize that combining or excluding categories from our quantitative data analysis might silence some voices; our intention is to draw out these experiences in future qualitative data while protecting the privacy of our respondents. For this first round of analysis, we have chosen to focus on gender, sector, and career stage of our respondents, with further analysis to follow.

### Who Did We Hear From?

In this section, we present demographic information about the survey respondents.

#### *Gender, Age, and Sexual Orientation*

Among survey respondents who indicated their gender (n=495), cisgender women accounted for 63%, cisgender men 35%, and non-binary people 1.4% (Figure 1). The “non-binary” category includes all respondents who self-identified as something other than woman/female or man/male, and includes responses of “non-binary”, “bigender”, “kinda male”, “genderqueer”, and “trans man”. Women outnumbered men in all the under 60 age categories. Women outnumber men by a factor of over 3:1 in the 20–29 age category, the age at which most people are completing their undergraduate and graduate training. We saw the largest response from people aged 20–29 and 30–39. Within these two age groups combined, more than twice as many women responded (71%) as men

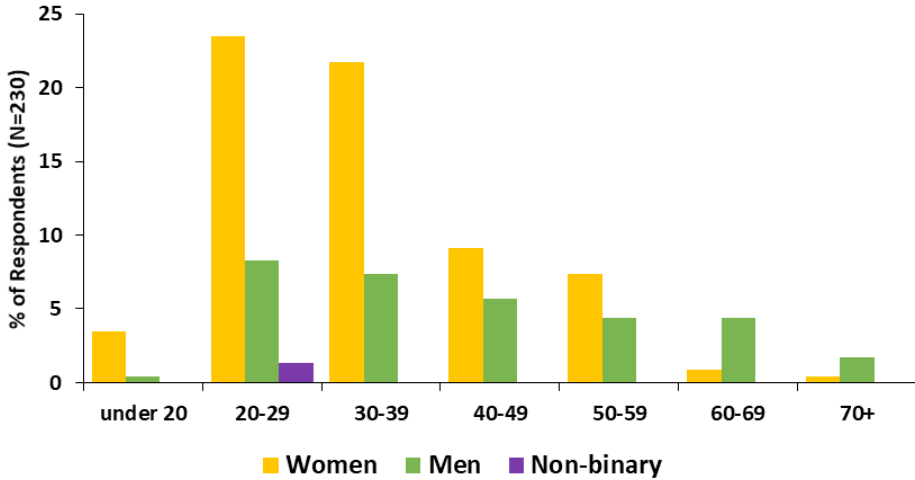


FIGURE 1. Proportion of respondents by age and gender.

(25%). Women also outnumber men to a considerable degree among our 40–49 and 50–59 year-old respondents.

Table 2 reports the sexual orientation of respondents. Most respondents identified as heterosexual, with bisexual the next most frequent category. Asexual, gay, and lesbian were all reported at the same rate, with pansexual, queer, other, and questioning following in descending order.

TABLE 2. EDCA survey respondents’ sexual orientation.

Sexual Orientation	Percent of Respondents (N=563)
Heterosexual	78.2
Bisexual	10.0
Asexual	2.1
Gay	2.1
Lesbian	2.1
Pansexual	1.8
Queer	1.4
Other	1.2
Questioning	1.1
TOTAL	100.0

Similar demographic trends for age and gender were noted in the SAFE survey (Clancy et al. 2014) and the Survey of Southeastern Archaeologists (Meyers et al. 2015). As discussed above, women outnumber men up to the 40–49 age category, where men begin to outnumber women (Jalbert 2019). With the age and gender responses we received, it seems likely that response rates for our survey were higher among women than men, perhaps because women are more likely to have these types of experiences, making them more likely to respond.

*Geographic Distribution and Ethnic/Racial Diversity*

In this section, we look at the social and geographic diversity of survey respondents. We received responses from all Canadian provinces and territories except for Nunavut. The highest proportions of respondents (N=560) listed Ontario (33.1%), British Columbia (25.2%), and Alberta (17.3%) as their primary place of residence. While people reported doing fieldwork on every continent (N=820), most respondents work



within Canada (71.0%), particularly the Western (29.4%) and Central (24.0%) regions. Individuals could select more than one location for fieldwork, so the reported percentages are calculated based on the total numbers of responses, not respondents.

Table 3 presents the distribution of ethnicity/racial background responses in the survey and compares it to 2016 Canadian census data. In creating the table, we assigned some of the “Other” survey responses to existing census categories, as appropriate. We grouped “European” and “French-Canadian” in the “White” category and combined all categories of Asian respondents to protect anonymity.

Our results confirm that Canadian archaeology (N = 551) remains a very white discipline (87.3%). Indigenous practitioners (5.3%) constitute a slightly higher proportion than in the Canadian census results. Asian Canadians (2.7%) and Black Canadians (0.0%) are substantially underrepresented among respondents relative to the Canadian population. Compared to the demo-

graphic data from the SAA Member Needs Survey, EDCA respondents demonstrate greater Indigenous representation and less representation from Latinx, with similar underrepresentation of Black and Asian communities (SAA 2015). Our survey population has a slightly higher proportion of “white” people than either the SAA survey or UCSB survey for California (VanDerwarker et al. 2018:142). Our next stage of analysis will take an intersectional mixed-methods approach, examining whether ethnic diversity is increasing in younger generations of archaeologists and how it intersects with other identity categories to affect the incidence of negative experiences.

#### *Work/Study Sector*

We heard from archaeologists across the full range of sectors represented within the profession in Canada, with responses from both those employed in archaeology and students studying archaeology at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Figure 2 presents the overall distribution of respondents by work/study sector

TABLE 3. Comparison of Ethnic/Racial background of survey respondents to 2016 census data.

<b>Ethnicity/Race</b>	<b>% of Respondents (N=551)</b>	<b>% of Canadian Population (N=34,460,065)</b>
Asian <sup>a</sup>	2.7	14.9
Black	0.0	3.5
Indigenous	5.3	4.9
Latin American	1.1	1.3
Multiple	2.4	– <sup>c</sup>
White	87.3	72.8
Other <sup>b</sup>	1.3	1.9
Total	100	99.3

<sup>a</sup> Includes the following 2016 Canadian Census Categories: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, Southeast Asian, West Asian.

<sup>b</sup> Includes the following groups from the EDCA survey with small numbers of respondents: Arab, Caribbean, Jewish, Polynesian.

<sup>c</sup> Comparisons to 2016 census data are difficult because of the way they were reported in the Census in Brief. 0.7% of Canadians reported being part of multiple visible minorities, and 41.1% report multiple ethnic origins, though they might not represent more than one of the broad categories listed here.

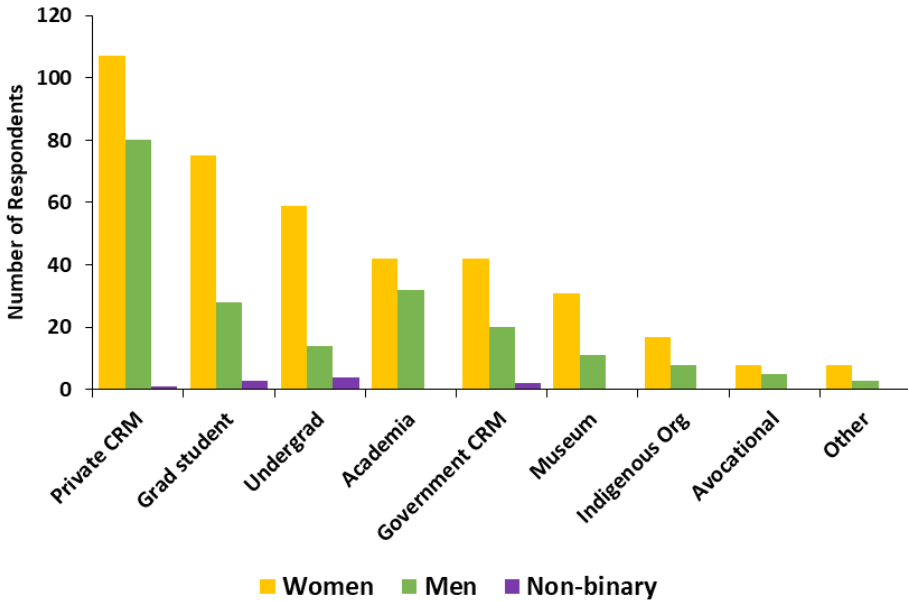


FIGURE 2. Number of respondents by sector and gender.

and gender. Because respondents could select more than one sector, we calculated the percentages based on the total number of responses (N=600) rather than the number of respondents.

The largest number of responses were from the cultural resource management sector (46.2% in total), including private firms (31.3%); government CRM including national, provincial, territorial, and local government agencies (10.7%); and Indigenous governments, organizations, and firms (4.2%). Students and people employed in the academic sector comprised the second largest category of responses at 42.8%. Within this group, graduate students comprised 17.7% of responses, undergraduate students 12.8%, and college and university faculty, staff, and postdoctoral researchers (“academia”) 12.3%. The remaining 11.0% of respondents indicated work in museums (7.0%), avocational archaeology (2.2%), and employment elsewhere

both within and outside of archaeology (1.8%). Responses from women substantially outnumber those from men in all categories<sup>3</sup>.

### Who Experiences Discrimination?

In this section, we look at who experiences discrimination. Because discrimination encompasses behaviours that may also have been reported in other categories, we present these results separately. Our analysis uses proportions within gender categories, rather than absolute numbers, so the large proportion of women in the sample does not dominate the results. Because of the small number of non-binary respondents, and reports of discrimination or harm from those respondents, we were concerned about protecting their anonymity and decided not to include these responses in the quantitative analyses. Instead, because of the clear importance of the experiences and perspectives of non-binary archae-

ologists, we highlight these in the discussion and plan to focus on issues and concerns linked to non-binary identities in the next stage of our analysis.

Table 4 summarizes the rates at which people report discrimination and indicates that cisgender women experience discrimination at higher rates than cisgender men. Figure 3 presents the basis on which respondents report discrimination. Respondents could select more than one category, so we report percentages based on the total number of responses in each gender group. Women report being most frequently discriminated against based on gender (49.6%) and age (20.4%). Men report

discrimination primarily based on age (27.7%) and seniority<sup>4</sup> (26.8%), which are often linked, and ethnicity (21.4%).

**Who Experiences Harassment, Exploitation, Physical and Sexual Violence? A Comparison of Negative Experiences**

We take a comparative approach to the range of other negative behaviours and actions experienced by Canadian archaeologists. Table 5 presents the frequency with which respondents report each type of experience. The categories are listed from most frequent to least frequent. Among all respondents, 60.3% report at least one experience of verbal harassment, 49.4% report experiencing exploitation, and 32.5% physical violence. The values are considerably lower, though still very concerning, for unwanted sexual touching (14.7%) and sexual violence/assault (4.3%). In the following sections, we compare data across this spectrum of negative experiences through the

TABLE 4. Frequency of discrimination reported by gender category.

	Women (N=290)	Men (N=166)
Never	20.7%	50.0%
Once/A few times	54.8%	42.2%
Many times	24.4%	7.8%

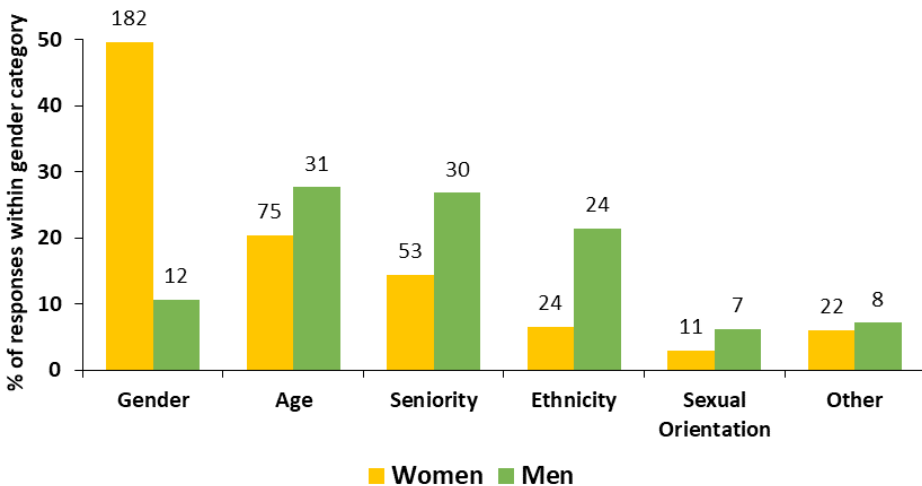


FIGURE 3. Proportion of respondents within each gender category to report experiences of discrimination based on a range of identity categories. The values above the bars indicate the number of respondents (N) who indicated discrimination on that basis.

TABLE 5. Frequency with which respondents report negative experiences

	Never	Once	A Few Times	Many Times	Total to Experience
Verbal Harassment (N=484)	39.7%	7.4%	36.6%	16.3%	60.3%
Exploitation (N=466)	50.6%	5.6%	26.2%	17.6%	49.4%
Physical Violence (N=492)	67.5%	13.4%	16.9%	2.2%	32.5%
Sexual Touching (N=463)	85.3%	6.9%	6.9%	0.9%	14.7%
Sexual Violence/Assault (N=460)	95.7%	3.0%	1.1%	0.2%	4.3%

lenses of gender, workplace sector, and career stage.

*Negative Experiences by Gender*

Figure 4 presents the five types of negative experiences by gender category. The data track the reported incidence of these experiences by cisgender women and cisgender men, from generally less to more egregious behaviours (left to right on the x-axis). One or more experiences of verbal harassment were reported by 66.5% of women and 49.7% of men. Exploitation was reported by 47.7% of women and 53.3% of men. A total of 29.7% of women report experiences of non-sexualized physical vio-

lence in comparison to 36.1% of men. Five times the proportion of women (21.7%) as men (4.1%) reported at least one instance of unwanted sexual touching. Women reported sexual violence and assault at twice the rate of men: 6.3% of women and 2.7% of men.

Female respondents are more likely than their male counterparts to experience verbal harassment, unwanted sexual touching, and sexual violence and assault. Gendered differences are less pronounced for exploitation and physical violence, and in both cases, a higher proportion of men report these experiences than women. Respondents experienced unwanted sexual touching

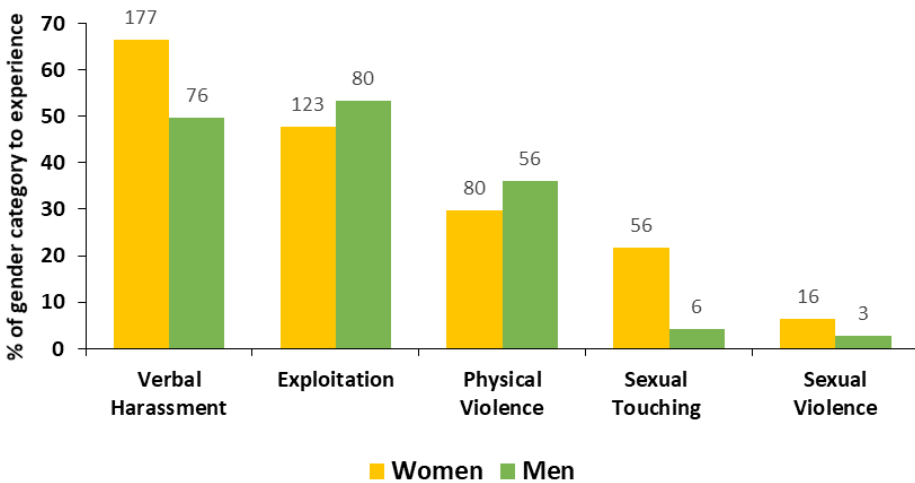


FIGURE 4. Proportion of women and proportion of men to report negative experiences. Numbers above bars indicate the number of respondents (N) to report each type of experience.

and sexual violence at much lower rates overall but with more pronounced differences between men and women.

*Negative Experiences by Sector and Career Stage*

A comparison between the two largest sectors in which respondents work or study, CRM and academia (universities and colleges), suggests that the prevalence of different types of negative expe-

riences varies between the two. For this first stage of analysis, we draw the CRM data only from the largest CRM category, private firms. Figure 5 charts the incidence of negative behaviours in CRM and academia by career stage, calculated as a proportion of all respondents who reported each type of experience.

These data provide a time-averaged picture of trends within Canadian archaeology over at least the last 50

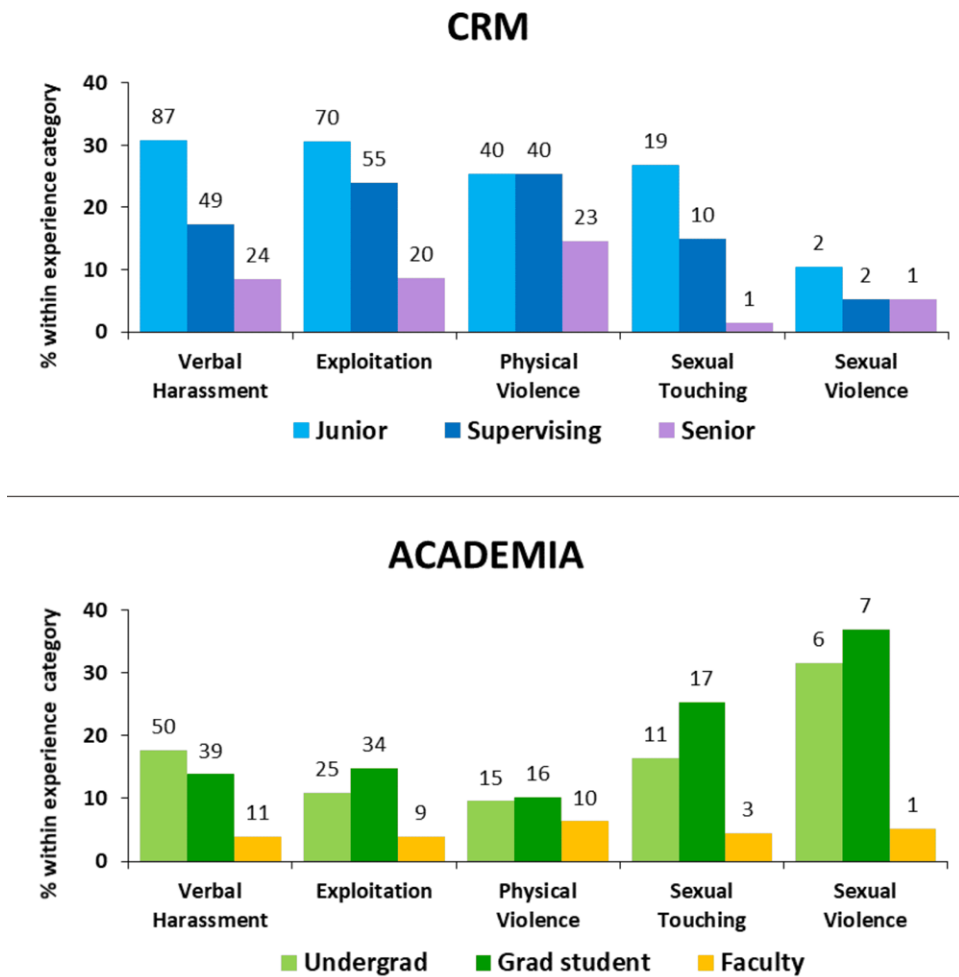


FIGURE 5. Proportions of reports of each type of negative experience by sector and career stage. Values above bars indicate number of respondents (N) in each category.

years. Older respondents, some of whom were over 70, are looking back over their entire careers when completing the survey. Younger respondents, who are in the majority, are reporting on shorter time periods. All archaeologists have at least some experience in academia (i.e., as students), and many move between sectors during their careers. It is therefore impossible to determine how varying response rates from different sectors might have influenced the results. The data suggest general trends that we will investigate in follow-up interviews examining individual career trajectories.

Verbal harassment, exploitation, and physical violence are reported at higher rates by those in CRM roles at the time of the incident. Over half (56.7%) of all reports of verbal harassment occurred when the respondent was in CRM; 35.5% occurred when respondents were in academia. The difference is more pronounced for both exploitation and physical violence: 63.3% of experiences of exploitation and 65.6% of experiences of violence occurred when respondents were in CRM roles, while 29.7% of experiences of exploitation and 26.1% of experiences of violence occurred when respondents were in academic roles. Unwanted sexual touching is reported at similar rates by those employed in CRM (43.2%) as by those in academia (46.2%) at the time of the incident. Sexual violence represents the largest difference between sectors, with more than three times the proportion of reports indicating that survivors were in academic roles at the time (73.7%), than in CRM roles (21.1%), though the sample sizes are small.

As noted in earlier studies (Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2015; Meyers et al. 2018; VanDerwarker et al. 2018), people

report negative experiences at earlier career stages much more frequently than at later career stages across both CRM and academic sectors. Across all types of experiences, the lowest proportions of reports come from those in the most senior positions at the time; CRM directors and faculty comprise considerably lower proportions of reports than their junior colleagues. In both CRM and academia, senior practitioners report physical violence at higher rates relative to junior colleagues than other types of negative experiences. Within CRM, field technicians comprise the largest proportion of reports across all categories (Verbal Harassment 30.9%, Exploitation 30.6%, Physical Violence 25.5%, Sexual Touching 26.9%, Sexual Violence 31.6%), though field directors account for an equivalent number of reports of physical violence. In academia, graduate students generally account for a larger proportion of reports of negative experiences than undergraduates (Grad students: Verbal Harassment 13.8%, Exploitation 14.8%, Physical Violence 10.2%, Sexual Touching 25.4%, Sexual Violence 10.5%). This trend is likely attributable to the reality that grad students tend to devote more of their time to archaeology than undergraduates and have different relationships with supervisors, both of which could put grad students more at risk. Verbal harassment is an exception to this rule: those who were undergraduates at the time account for a slightly higher proportion of respondents (17.4%) than graduate students (13.8%).

#### **Who Are the Perpetrators?**

We asked respondents to identify the perceived gender of their perpetrator(s). Across all categories of negative experiences, perpetrators are overwhelmingly identified as men. The proportion ranges

from 61.5% for exploitation to 92.3% for unwanted sexual touching (Figure 6). Men account for 79.5% of perpetrators of physical violence and 89.5% of perpetrators of sexual violence and assault. Respondents identified women perpetrators in every category: they constituted between 1.5% (unwanted sexual touching) and 26.2% (exploitation) of perpetrators. Respondents also indicated “both men and women” as perpetrators, particularly for exploitation (9.3%) and verbal harassment (7.0%). In the exploitation category, some respondents identified CRM firms or university departments as the perpetrator (2.8%).

The survey asked respondents to specify their relationships to perpetrators for all categories of experience except exploitation, where, by definition, the perpetrator holds authority over the respondent. In Figure 7, we show that for most categories, the perpetrator is most commonly someone with authority over the respondent. However, all types of experiences are frequently also per-

petrated by peers, and peers comprise the majority of verbal harassers (47.1%). Physical violence is the only category where subordinates form a considerable proportion of perpetrators (19.1%) relative to other groups. The “other” category accounts for a considerable proportion of perpetrators of physical violence (26.8%), unwanted sexual touching (22.4%), and sexual violence (21.1%), suggesting that many of these experiences are perpetrated by non-archaeologists with whom archaeologists interact in the course of their work and study, a pattern also noted by VanDerwarker and colleagues (2018).

### Where Do Incidents Happen? Workplace Context

We asked respondents to identify workplace contexts for their negative experiences. Choices included field sites, place of work or study, and other settings that respondents were invited to specify. Field sites were the most common setting for all types of negative experiences

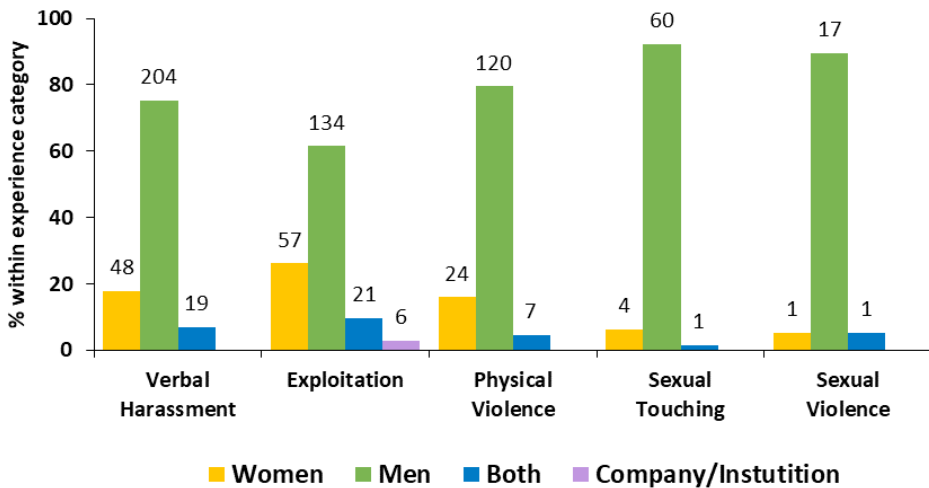


FIGURE 6. Gender of perpetrator illustrated as a proportion of all perpetrators within each category of negative experience. Values above bars indicate the number of responses in each category.

except sexual violence (Figure 8), which primarily occurred in “other” contexts (47.4%) but also occurred frequently in the field (42.1%). Verbal harassment (67.5%), physical violence (72.4%), and sexual touching (54.5%) are reported

at double to triple the rate in field settings than other contexts. Exploitation is almost as common in institutional (42.5%) as field contexts (51.3%). In addition to field sites, unwanted sexual touching frequently takes place in

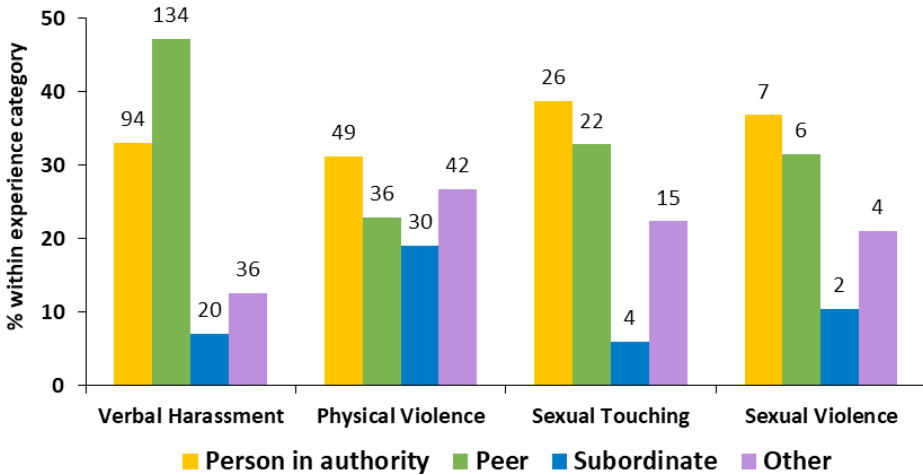


FIGURE 7. Relationship of perpetrator to respondent illustrated as a proportion of all responses within that category of negative experience. Values above bars indicate the number of responses in each category.

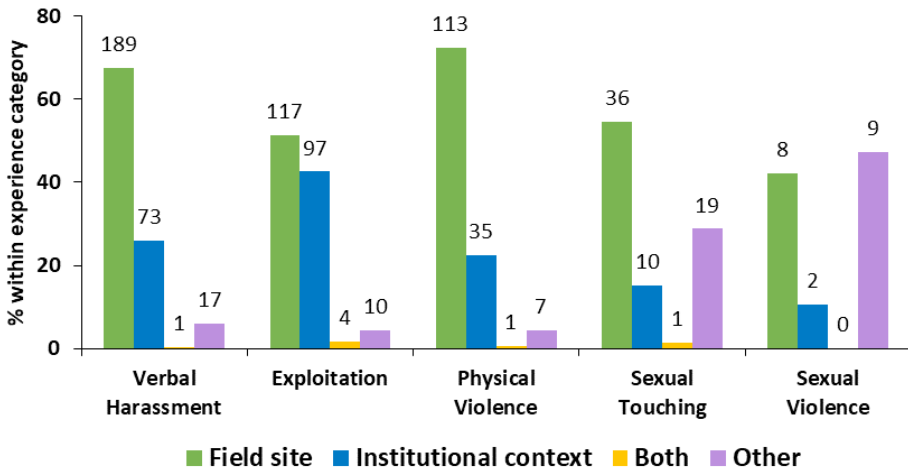


FIGURE 8. Context in which negative experiences took place illustrated as a proportion of all responses within that category of negative experience. Values above bars indicate the number of responses in each category.



“other” locations, often liminal spaces less clearly linked with expectations for professional conduct, as discussed below. Incidents of sexual violence reported in our survey were most prevalent in such “other” settings, followed closely by field sites. Our results therefore support conclusions from prior studies indicating that field sites are not safe spaces for many archaeologists (Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2018).

**Are Incidents Reported?**

The vast majority of all types of negative experiences go unreported (Figure 9). Exploitation is seldom reported (15.7%), followed in ascending order by verbal harassment (23.2%), sexual touching (25.0%), sexual violence (31.6%), and physical violence (44.2%). Our respondents suggest that when these incidents are reported, they generally experienced low levels of satisfaction with the official responses to the reports.

Most of these incidents take place within small communities of people—field crews, university departments,

CRM offices—that are hierarchically structured. We posit that verbal harassment and exploitation go unreported for various social reasons: perpetrators remain in proximity and may amplify their efforts or take revenge; reporting mechanisms and/or those responsible for responding are seen as ineffective. Because someone in authority often perpetrates the negative experiences, reporting could result in job loss or reduced access to professional opportunities, letters of reference, or promotion. Though the #MeToo movement has begun to affirm respect for survivors, sexual touching and violence often go unreported because of victim shaming. Finally, it takes effort and commitment to report and assure due consideration and just resolution of even minor incidents. Doing so often exposes survivors to both re-traumatization and to further social sanctions for “rocking the boat.”

**Discussion**

Our survey results help to elucidate the nature, scope, and prevalence of

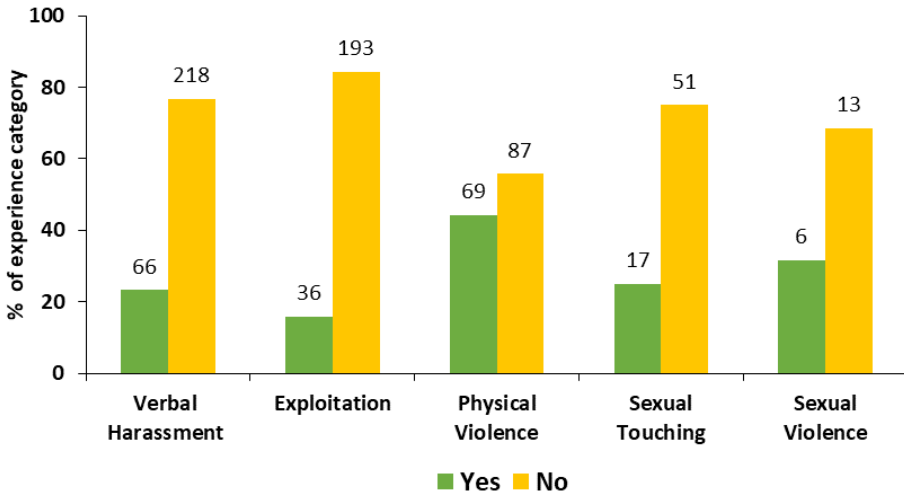


FIGURE 9. Rates at which negative experiences are reported.

negative behaviours experienced by respondents in the Canadian archaeology community. While our study has important parallels to previous disciplinary surveys, it is distinct in its exploration of a broad range of negative behaviours: discrimination, verbal harassment, exploitation, physical violence, unwanted sexual touching and sexual violence. Our first stage of analysis has focused on different forms of negative experiences across gender, career stage, and workplace gender in Canadian archaeology. Overall, our results indicate that negative experiences have been occurring consistently and at high levels. Discrimination and inappropriate behaviors are definitely not confined to a few perpetrators, organizations, or types of working/learning contexts.

Our survey data corroborate and support the anecdotes we have all heard. The results show that archaeologists have negative experiences frequently, although not equally, across gender, career stage, and workplace sector. Cisgender women and younger people within our disciplinary community are more vulnerable. The same is likely true of minority groups, an area we will be exploring in our next phase of inter-sectional mixed-methods analysis and follow up interviews. Despite growing representation of cisgender women within all sectors of archaeology at all levels, they remain more vulnerable than men to discrimination, verbal harassment, unwanted sexual touching, and sexual violence. Many respondents referred to both CRM and academic archaeology as an “old boys club.” Cisgender men, on the other hand, are somewhat more impacted than women by exploitation and physical violence. Non-binary respondents reported lower incidences of negative experiences compared to women and men (again, the

sample sizes were very small). Responses provided in the open text boxes suggest that archaeologists from the LGBTQ2S+ community have to think carefully about their personal safety, in terms of what contexts they choose to work in, how they navigate graduate programs, and what personal details they choose to share with co-workers, echoing the findings of Heath-Stout (2019). Among Californian archaeologists, Radde (2018:252) found that LGBTQ2S+ practitioners often faced harassment from both supervisors and non-archaeological personnel at field sites.

Across all categories, the significant majority of perpetrators identified are cisgender male archaeologists. In the category of sexual violence specifically, most perpetrators are male archaeologists and men who are not involved in archaeology directly, a trend also noted by Radde (2018). There are, however, women perpetrators across all categories. One of our respondents commented:

I would like to ... point out that there are often issues in CRM where there is conflict between female field techs and female supervisors... I have seen it manifest in female crew members not supporting one another in trying to advance their careers, I have also seen ... female field directors behaving in a competitive or demeaning way to female members of their crew.

Our data suggest that exploitation and physical violence are distinct from the other categories in terms of targets, perpetrators, and reporting. Men report both exploitation and violence at slightly higher rates than women. While still in the minority among perpetrators,

women are more likely to perpetrate exploitation than any other category. This category is complex because multiple structures and power relationships come into play. Some respondents identified institutions and companies as perpetrators of exploitation, highlighting the systemic nature of exploitation in both academia and CRM. Unpaid work can be an important part of archaeological training (Burchell and Cook 2014), but without clear expectations for all parties and careful attention to power differentials and intellectual property rights, it can easily become exploitative. Many respondents who work in CRM and are paid hourly reported being asked to work unpaid hours in order to finish a job on schedule.

Physical violence is more likely to be reported than any other experience category, perhaps in part because it occurs across a range of different power relationships, because it is perceived as more serious than verbal harassment, and because those who experience it are less likely to be stigmatized than survivors of sexual harassment and assault.

Our data confirm that all individuals are more vulnerable to negative behaviours as students and early in their careers, underlining the importance of power differentials in many such behaviours. Students and early career archaeologists experience *every type* of negative behaviour at higher rates than faculty and supervisors, echoing the findings of Clancy and colleagues (2014). In the open text boxes provided in our survey, female graduate students often reported harassment by their supervisors, both male and female (cf. Radde 2018). Our respondents shared incidents in which their supervisors belittled them, bullied them, or took credit for their research. A few respondents also reported unwanted

sexual contact from their supervisors. Field technicians, both male and female, reported feeling “disposable” and many women in CRM reported not feeling that they are given the same opportunities as their male colleagues. Many respondents from CRM and academia shared perceptions that reporting their negative experiences would entail repercussions. A woman who left CRM to pursue a degree in another field wrote:

There is a pervasive “old boys” culture in archaeology that requires women to take abuse from male subordinates and colleagues or risk being seen as “difficult” or “unable to take a joke”. In CRM the risk of not being hired back if you make a complaint discourages women (and men) from complaining about their treatment.

Our data allowed us to examine the contexts in which negative incidents occurred. Except for sexual violence, respondents report all types of negative experiences most commonly at field sites. This supports assumptions by Clancy and co-authors (2014), and Meyers and colleagues (2015; Meyers et al. 2018) that field sites, where close working conditions and intimacies are created, may increase vulnerability and foster higher rates of negative behaviours. Sexual violence, however, is most common in “other” contexts, followed by field sites. For our respondents, these other contexts include conferences and liminal spaces like private parties and hotel rooms associated with field and work travel, where vulnerability is increased by circumstance, proximity, the intensity of short-term social arrangements, and often by alcohol consumption, as discussed above.

Our data also point to notable differences between the two primary workplace sectors in archaeology, CRM and academia, indicating that Canadian archaeologists experience verbal harassment, exploitation, and physical violence more frequently when working in CRM than as students or faculty. In contrast, sexual violence is reported at much higher rates in academic settings than in CRM, though the sample sizes are very small. Several respondents gave personal testimonies in the open text boxes about sexual violence perpetrated by male professors in field and institutional contexts. Several poignant testimonies detailed the impediments to incident reporting, the ineffectiveness of reports that they made, and/or the negative impacts on their career trajectories.

One respondent pointed out that many issues faced by archaeologists are part of broader patterns, noting that

[t]hough I have experienced inappropriate behaviour and discrimination in Archeology [sic], I also experience it every day of my life so it's nothing new.

Without discounting this respondent's views, we do not think we should use broad societal intransigence as a rationale for inaction. Because work and study constitute large parts of archaeologists' lives, actions that make archaeology safer can support the most vulnerable members of our community.

Several senior respondents suggested that injustice within the discipline is diminishing. A senior male archaeologist noted that,

with one exception, all this unacceptable behavior reported above occurred some decades ago. It has

been my experience that awareness and behaviour regarding abuse and discrimination has improved.

One of the challenges of our survey data is the difficulty of establishing how long ago the negative experiences occurred. That said, because most of our respondents are younger and report negative experiences at high rates, there is no clear trend toward equity, respect, and safety. Some senior archaeologists may see the discipline getting better, in part, because they are no longer in vulnerable positions or have reduced contact with younger colleagues. We hope that our results help everyone recognize that unacceptable behaviours are still widespread.

Our next set of challenges include working collectively to develop strategies to reduce negative experiences and promote changes in our disciplinary culture. Additional survey analysis is ongoing, but we can suggest several areas for action. First, Canadian archaeology needs greater accountability to professional codes of conduct. Archaeological and anthropological organizations and institutions across North America have reviewed or developed member safety and anti-harassment policies in response to the events of #SAA2019 (e.g., Hays-Gilpin et al. 2019). Second, we need to work to change how we relate to one another in all areas of our discipline. This will need to involve open conversations about the responsible use of alcohol and other substances in all contexts where archaeologists gather. Certainly, those of us in leadership positions need to think carefully about how to foster environments where no one feels pressured to imbibe.

Members of our working group have developed principles of community

and heart-centred practices that we hope help move our discipline toward inclusive and safe spaces for learning and practicing (Lyons et al. 2019; Supernant et al. 2020). We believe that guiding documents that set out clear expectations for appropriate behaviour in different communities of practice, including mentoring relationships, could play an important role in promoting such change (e.g., Colaninno et al. 2020). The most effective are “living documents” that are crafted explicitly for continuous and responsive revision, are aspirational rather than proscriptive, and emphasize what community members should do rather than what they should not (see Atalay 2012; Lyons 2011; Perry 2018). A next step for our working group will be to compile a series of examples of guiding documents from different archaeological contexts for CAA members to use as a guide in developing their own.

#### *Directions and Reflections*

This analysis, like any other, has limitations. Surveys always involve compromises between depth and breadth of the questions and overall length. Several choices we made in designing the survey limit our ability to assess the frequencies and severities of negative experiences and temporal trends in these frequencies. We need demographic data for Canadian archaeologists in order to better interpret the survey results. On our recommendation, the CAA will soon begin collecting demographic information as part of the membership renewal process to track temporal trends in age, gender, ethnicity, and sector of practice. Regardless of the limitations, the results of our survey should concern all archaeologists practicing in Canada and prompt us to reflect critically on

the disciplinary culture we uphold and enable. A culture that contributes to the exclusion, lesser valuation, exploitation, marginalization, or harm of any archaeologist because of their gender, sexual orientation, ancestry, age, seniority, or any other aspect of their identity reduces the diversity of voices in our discipline and therefore diminishes its interpretive power.

There are several next steps for our working group. The interviews underway with about 30 survey respondents who agreed to discuss their views and experiences will provide higher resolution temporal information on negative behaviours. These semi-structured interviews with archaeological practitioners from diverse backgrounds will help us understand the dynamics that underlie their career trajectories and retention in the discipline; their approaches to collegial and mentoring relationships; and their experiences of fieldwork, training, teaching, and management. Areas which warrant further exploration include identifying effective institutional practices for encouraging reporting and changing workplace cultures. We have yet to explore the data on witnessed behaviours or on government CRM and museum sectors. We are also undertaking text analysis of the survey’s open-ended questions, which asked respondents to share their experiences and suggest ways to promote equity and diversity. Finally, while this first stage of analysis examined several cross-cutting identities, it cannot be truly intersectional without a fuller investigation of the ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, and seniority data, and the multiple ways in which identity categories intersect with each other. Our plans for next steps include a closer look at the experiences of Indig-

enous respondents, given their unique relationship with Canada's archaeological record and settler colonial history. We will also dive more deeply into the complex structures and power relationships surrounding exploitation. Our follow-up interviews will explore the complexities of intersecting identities and experiences as they relate to the visibility/invisibility of certain identity categories in different contexts.

Change is often uncomfortable and the changes underway and recommended for Canadian archaeology have the potential to create intergenerational tensions. Participation in the survey provoked discomfort among some senior archaeologists. The CAA received two complaints about the survey, critiquing it on methodological and other grounds. Both were from senior white cisgender men. Several senior cisgender women also expressed concerns, among them a white CRM director (60–69) who wrote:

the way these questions are worded is designed to get a specific response that will do nothing to explicate the real gender issues facing women in archaeology but just frame us as timid, fearful victims who are not able to do our jobs because of our gender.

The tone and content of the critical responses to the survey from some senior practitioners contrasts with comments in text boxes and unsolicited e-mails from early and mid-career archaeologists, and other senior archaeologists, both women and men, who appreciated the survey as a means for giving voice to often-silenced views. Many of them see this work as providing important data to spur action that will address real issues. While

there is clearly a diversity of opinion among senior archaeologists, the fact that negative feedback came exclusively from this group suggests that those who are more established and more powerful in the discipline are more likely to be uncomfortable calling out the injustice of past and present practices.

The results of the survey provide important grounds for us to admit that Canadian archaeology has problems we must confront, that many of us have been complicit in negative behaviours, and that we have much work to do to create a more equitable and supportive culture in Canadian archaeology. Calling attention to the problem and fostering conversations about it can be an important catalyst for change, as we have seen with the #MeToo movement. As one female grad student with CRM experience wrote:

I think often times people don't realize they're being discriminatory and discussing the topic more openly might help people understand all the issues at play.... It's been my experience that people in a position of power often don't recognize some of their own negative behaviour or actions. Making this a larger discussion and discussing specific issues would hopefully have an impact on their actions.

Sharing our stories and providing specific examples of experiences of injustice can help to create a culture where people will no longer stay silent. As four mid-late career archaeologists with different backgrounds and experiences, we were unsettled by these results. We hope you are as well, and we call upon all archaeologists, but especially those in positions of power and

privilege, to lean into that discomfort and work together to create a safer, more inclusive, more equitable archaeology in Canada.

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### Notes

1. In April of 2019, David Yesner, a former professor at the University of Alaska, who had been sanctioned for sexual harassment and sexual assault via a Title IX investigation, was allowed to register for the Society for American Archaeology Annual

Meeting in Albuquerque. Several of his survivors were also in attendance, and the impacts of both his presence and the lack of expeditious and unequivocal action by the SAA to remove him made the annual meeting unsafe for these survivors and others. Using Twitter, a number of archaeologists helped raise awareness of this situation, employing hashtags such as #SAA2019 and #MeToo, leading to wide reporting of the events (Flaherty 2019; Grens 2019; Wade 2019). The fallout continues to reverberate through the SAA and related professional organizations, pushing many to adopt new policies and codes of conduct related to harassment, intimidation, and exploitation.

2. Categories are as follows: Arab, Black, Chinese, Filipino, First Nations, Inuk, Japanese, Korean, Latin American, Métis, South Asian, Southeast Asian, West Asian, White, Other
3. Our respondents show a more balanced representation between CRM and academic archaeologists than other similar surveys. Meyers and co-authors (2015) drew responses primarily from CRM. They report 75.0% CRM respondents and only 8.7% academics and 7.6% graduate students. Clancy and colleagues (2014) primarily surveyed academics. Their survey, which also drew responses from field disciplines outside of biological anthropology and archaeology, counted 58% trainees (undergrads, grad students, and post-docs) among the respondents, as well as 26.9% faculty and a small group of non-academics (6.5% of respondents), which could include CRM practitioners.
4. Seniority relates to the amount of authority associated with someone's position and is usually linked to their

number of years of experience. We separate it from age because younger people can have more years of experience and older people fewer, depending on their career histories.

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# Community-Sourced Archaeology and Relinquishing the Inception of Research

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**ABSTRACT.** Is archaeology of service beyond archaeologists? Part of a Mitacs Elevate Postdoctoral Fellowship developed in conjunction with Sustainable Archaeology at Western University and Timmins Martelle Heritage Consultants Inc., the Research Portal ([www.insituated.com/research-portal](http://www.insituated.com/research-portal)) is a web-based platform capable of soliciting and communicating community-sourced research to potential academic partners. Designed to augment local capacities, foster relationships, and achieve socially meaningful and disseminated academic outcomes, the Portal inverts conventional community-based research conception. Non-academic organizations outline research objectives to which academic partners adapt or design research. Originally conceived to assist commercial archaeologists in promoting additional research related to commercial projects, the Portal's pilot implementation quickly expanded to include other heritage communities, including Indigenous communities, not-for-profits, and a municipal government. Demand for the inclusion of additional research sectors outside of heritage suggests that this archaeology-based initiative may have wider implications. This paper explores representations of conventional collaboration, and the presumptions and promise of a more service-oriented and community-driven academic mandate.

**RÉSUMÉ.** Les archéologues sont-ils capables de pratiquer une archéologie de service? Dans le cadre d'une bourse postdoctorale Mitacs Élévation en partenariat avec Sustainable Archaeology, l'Université de Western et Timmins Martelle Heritage Consultants Inc., le Portail de Recherche ([www.insituated.com/research-portal](http://www.insituated.com/research-portal)) constitue une plate-

forme permettant la mise en ligne et la diffusion, à destination du monde académique, de projets de recherche d'initiative communautaire. Ce portail, conçu pour encourager les initiatives locales, développer les partenariats et encourager l'aboutissement et la diffusion de projets de recherche ayant une portée sociale, bouscule l'approche conventionnelle sur les projets de recherche communautaires. Il encourage les partenaires universitaires à adapter et concevoir la recherche en fonction des objectifs définis par des organisations non-académiques. Créé, à l'origine, comme un outil permettant d'aider les archéologues à promouvoir les recherches liées aux projets commerciaux, le pilote du Portail s'est rapidement enrichi pour inclure d'autres communautés liées au patrimoine, des Premières Nations, des associations à but non lucratif et une municipalité. Et ce projet à l'initiative de la communauté archéologique pourrait avoir de plus larges répercussions, comme le suggère la demande croissante d'inclure d'autres secteurs de recherche, en dehors du patrimoine. Cet article explore les représentations des partenariats conventionnels, ainsi que les ambitions et les promesses que pourraient offrir une recherche académique plus axée sur le service et à l'écoute de la communauté.

**I**N RECENT DECADES, LARGE PARTS OF the archaeological landscape, both physical and philosophical, have under-

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gone fundamental transformations. The emergence of commercial archaeology in the 1970s and the broadening integration of archaeology into state heritage management regimes created a practice focused on efficient fieldwork and reporting rather than reflective of an orthodox archaeology premised on answering research questions (Everill 2007; Ferris 2002; Hamilakis and Duke 2007; McCarthy and Brummitt 2013; McGuire 2008; Schiffer and Gumerman 1977; Smith 2004; Zorzin 2011). From my experience straddling both the commercial and academic worlds in Ontario, commercial archaeology has become more proficient at conducting fieldwork and generating boilerplate reports across multiple sites. Over the same period, academic archaeology has developed new analyses and field methodologies allowing for more time to be spent on the same sites and artifacts. There are, of course, exceptions but this characterization helps explain why, through commercial archaeology, we are aggregating massive volumes of archaeological artifacts, sites, and data while academics are simultaneously doing more specific research on fewer of those same materials.

The inherent logics behind the retention and protection of archaeological resources threatened by development have been framed around the potential to realize cultural and intellectual value from a finite resource (Dent 2016; Hutchings and La Salle 2015; Schiffer and Gumerman 1977; Smith 2004; Welch and Ferris 2014). Notwithstanding very legitimate reasons why certain cultural information should not be shared (Kovach 2009; Smith 2012), the intellectual value of archaeological materials is characterized as only unlocked through subsequent research and

communication of results. This intellectual convention privileges Western research paradigms over the diversity of Indigenous and Descendant community worldviews and research agendas (Smith 2012:127) in the heritage sector. For example, culture-historical State oversight of heritage preservation reifies archaeological conventions into law. The result is a very colonial system of intellectual intervenors negotiating between a Descendant community and the management of, and often access to, their heritage<sup>1</sup>.

The cultural value of sites and artifacts often remains inaccessible to the Descendant communities most capable of defining and contextualizing that value. In commercial archaeology, the combined, realized intellectual and, sometimes, cultural values of these collections are often confined to their moments of rediscovery. For a brief time, people are paid, social capitals are gained and expended, relationships shift, the moment passes, and the materials and data produced are relegated to shelf or file. There they grow more inaccessible with each passing year as methodologies fall out of favor, as formats, and sometimes even as artifacts themselves, fade (Society for American Archaeology 2003). Consequently, because of increasing regional emphases on the preservation of archaeological sites in situ derived from a combination of Indigenous advocacy and developer avoidance strategies, archaeology is starting to feed off itself, as we try and discern meaning from excavations and analyses past (Beisaw 2010; Timmins Martelle Heritage Consultants Inc. [TMHC] 2019). This “snake eating its own tail” model is a sustainable vision for archaeology, and in the near term, certainly a necessary one as so-called legacy

collections from the first generation of commercial archaeologists fall from living memory (Sustainable Archaeology 2011). However, many archaeologists, both commercial and academic, would likely think of this as an unsatisfying vision of the discipline's future.

Recognizing the problems inherent in the status quo division between academic and commercial work, how can archaeology more fully realize the value of its subject matter? Or, perhaps more appropriately, how can others realize value from archaeology? This paper explores conventional collaboration in archaeology and reports on a pilot project intended to further unsettle<sup>2</sup> the community-based paradigm in heritage research generally.

### **The Collaborative Continuum in Archaeology**

The increasing role of some form of collaboration or engagement between archaeologists and non-archaeologists is a consequence of a variety of internal and external factors. The influence of these factors on archaeological practice varies between commercial and academic sectors. Commercial archaeology's interaction with non-commercial archaeologists has been central to the discipline since its inception. Developers, state-regulators, the interested public, and Descendant communities have all seen their exposure to commercial archaeology grow in recent decades. To varying degrees, this exposure has confronted archaeologists with a need to adapt practice and generate meaningful engagement. Academia's recent forays into a collaborative archaeology are not necessarily new either. However, the significant degree to which issues surrounding collaboration currently influence the perceived core identity

or ontology of archaeology is a recent phenomenon (Alberti 2016; Atalay 2012; Cipolla et al. 2018; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2008; Gosden and Malafouris 2015; Nicholas and Andrews 1997). Much of academic discourse grapples with defining and evaluating collaborative practice as manifested under a variety of terms consistent with post-modern disciplinary fracturing. Among others, these terms include "Indigenous archaeology(ies)", "public archaeology", and "community/community-based archaeology(ies)".

Rather than simply proceed by discussing the aspects of collaboration in archaeology as academically defined and understood (Atalay 2006; Cipolla et al. 2018; Nicholas and Andrews 1997), I will extend the rubric of collaboration to include aspects of engagement and consultation as practiced in various non-academic settings, specifically cultural resource management. This extension reflects Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson's (2008:1) "collaborative continuum":

...we see that collaboration in practice exists on a continuum, from merely communicating research to descendant communities to a genuine synergy where the contributions of community members and scholars create a positive result that could not be achieved without joining efforts. Collaboration, then, is not one uniform idea or practice but a range of strategies that seek to link the archaeological enterprise with different publics by working together.

Conceptualizing an applied version of this spectrum provides context for the second half of this paper.

*Genuine Synergy: True Collaboration*

At its most collaborative, Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson's (2008:1) continuum exhibits what they describe as "genuine synergy". Deploying Nicholas and Andrews's (1997:85) "with, for and by" characterization of Indigenous archaeology in describing collaboration more widely, genuine synergy exhibits all three of these characteristics and more. Research goals, methodologies, and results are established, executed, and shared by, for, and with the subject communities involved. Successes are mutually enjoyed, and failures universally lamented. At the heights of collaboration, genuine synergy involves a symbiotic relationship between the researcher and the researched. Arguably, this form of collaboration cannot be the product of any one instance of partnership and instead represents its own continuum of relationship-building and mutual understanding resulting in a series of partnerships. The most immediate example of continuum to my mind, is the work of the Tłı̨ch̨o Government and Tłı̨ch̨o Elders, such as John B. Zoe and the late Harry Simpson with former territorial archaeologist (Northwest Territories) Thomas Andrews (Andrews 2004; Andrews and Zoe 1997; Zoe 2007). In the early 1990s, Andrews, Zoe, Simpson, and other Elders began surveying traditional travel routes within the Tłı̨ch̨o Lands. Their approach combined archaeological and traditional information, correlating and sometimes contrasting traditional place names and functions with archaeological findings. The resulting series of comprehensive archaeological/traditional knowledge understandings became the route for a place-based learning trip conducted annually by Tłı̨ch̨o Elders with Tłı̨ch̨o youth called *Trails of Our Ancestors* (Zoe

2007). When interviewed as part of previous research (Dent 2016), Andrews emphasized the profound effect the collaboration and ongoing relationship with the Tłı̨ch̨o Elders had on him personally and on the wider relationship between archaeology and the Tłı̨ch̨o in the Northwest Territories.

*Participation*

If genuine synergy is with, for, and by Descendant communities then participation is *for* and *with* Descendant communities. In Canada, participation can be considered alongside another term, consultation; although doing so introduces new, but necessarily understood, complexities. Consultation is surrounded by legal implications imposed by repeated Supreme Court of Canada decisions establishing the "duty to consult" under Section 35 of the Constitution Act (Newman 2009). The diversity of consultative practice established in Canada mirrors similar patterns in the United States. Stapp and Burney (2002:119) use a definition employed by the Children's Health Initiative Program:

Consultation is an enhanced form of communication which emphasizes trust, respect and shared responsibility. It is open and free exchange of information and opinion among parties which leads to mutual understanding and comprehension. Consultation is integral to a deliberative process which results in effective collaboration and informed decision making.

Acknowledging this definition as a preferred version of consultation, Stapp and Burney (2002:118) also reference an outdated version known as "decide and defend" whereby:

... an agency or government decided what it wanted to do and then “consulted” with a tribe by explaining the decision and answering questions.

In both cases, consultation is characterized as a form of communication rather than of mutual action. Varying degrees of consultation acknowledge the interpretation of relevant legal decisions summarized by Newman (2009:18) as constituting a “spectrum”. Consultation *with* communities explicitly references the communicative function, while consultation *for* communities references the fiduciary obligations of the State. The myriad of state interactions with Indigenous communities, notably those of the National Energy Board, represent variably successful examples of consultation/participation imagined here<sup>3</sup>. The academic equivalent of this collaborative approach would constitute inquiries directed from researchers to Indigenous communities and individuals, whether through interviews and other means, together with ongoing conversations about the interpretation of data and production of results.

I will reinforce that in Canada, the legal definitions surrounding consultation make the term difficult to apply without invoking the obligations imposed by the term’s jurisprudence. Although sometimes framed as consultation, participation of Indigenous communities in the commercial, as opposed to the state, domain of heritage management is often and specifically referred to as engagement, a term that does not correlate with the final point on Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson’s (2008) continuum, resistance. Resistance represents a complete absence of cooperative participation by Descendant

communities in research relating to their interests. Unfortunately, this form of what amounts to anti-collaboration is common in academic and heritage management settings (Dent 2016). For much of the remainder, particularly in heritage management, a new term occupying the space between participation/consultation and resistance was necessary.

#### *Engagement*

Engagement represents collaborative practice *with* and *by* Descendant communities. Notably absent here is the *for* element. Engagement has been entrenched as the terminology blanketing interactions between archaeologists and Indigenous communities in the Canadian context. In this environment, the research conducted is done, in the CRM context, for the developer and to a lesser extent, for the archaeology. In academia, research objectives are more flexible, although the prevailing focus is the realization of intellectual, and during community-based projects, cultural values. The participation of community members in various roles (observers, monitors, participants), up to and including the primary researcher on a specific project (George 2010; Nicholas 2010) constitutes the *by* and *with* aspects of collaboration. Engagement distinguishes itself from consultation not only in being inclusive of community participation, but in spanning both communicative and physical actions. Engagement can be represented by simply communicating intentions and results or can be representative of physical participation by community members in the actual archaeological project.

It is under this rubric of terminology that critical epistemologies operate to confound the colonial, social class, and



other elitist structures within archaeology with the objective of arriving at an “emancipated archaeology” (McGuire 2008). Archaeological projects “with, by and for” (Nicholas and Andrews 1997) communities outside the formal bounds of the academy, especially Indigenous communities, are conventionally first conceived of by academics who then look for communities who may be interested in participating. Archaeology “with, for, and by” communities is therefore often an archaeology already imagined by archaeologists. That is not to say these are neither worthwhile projects nor capable of realizing community-generated objectives, only that the agency to conceive research conventionally lies in the academic realm. To achieve, forgive the redundancy, *true* genuine synergy in collaboration, archaeologists must undertake projects not just with, by, and for but *from* communities as well. The remainder of this paper describes a pilot project facilitating community and non-academic generation, definition and communication of their own research projects to academics to provide this missing piece of genuine synergy.

### **The Research Portal Pilot Project**

In 2016, Timmins Martelle Heritage Consultants Inc. (TMHC), Sustainable Archaeology at Western University, and I pitched to Mitacs—a national funding agency—a postdoctoral fellowship theorizing a comprehensive digital heritage platform with opportunities to create functioning components where possible. Sustainable Archaeology at Western, much of which is now under the jurisdiction of the Museum of Ontario Archaeology, was a multi-million-dollar project with a mission to consolidate the physical archaeological record of Ontario (archaeological collections)

and associated archaeological data and convert these elements into “accessible information”<sup>4,5</sup>.

Our successful application led to work beginning on three components of that imagined platform: digital field forms with office/lab-side data management (TMHC 2018), a multi-jurisdictional site inventory tool (Dent 2019), and a research networking service, initially and simply named, the Research Portal (Dent 2017). The Portal was originally conceived of as means for TMHC to identify materials and data produced through commercial archaeology that the company felt deserved more attention. This attention might be warranted through a recognition of intellectual value held by certain sites, collections, or datasets. It may also emerge from the cultural value perceived by other communities, institutions, or individuals involved in a project. Descendent communities were often also interested in further investigation of the heritage subject matter revealed or produced during commercial work, as too were clients sometimes.

The project sought to create a means to define these potential research projects, outline what resources could be coordinated, and then communicate these as opportunities to academics in an increasingly community-based research paradigm (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Nicholas 2010; Smith 2012).

### **Portal Design**

To recap, the archaeological motivations for initiating this project were to extend the research potential of commercial archaeology, address the research gap with academia, and provide a means to communicate non-academic projects to

academics. However, there were other considerations that factored into the pilot's technical design.

The testing version of the Portal was built within the Wordpress content management environment. It consisted of a user identification and permission system or "widget" (since removed), a backend adapted job listing widget, and a suite of informational webpages, documents, and contact forms. The Wordpress environment was selected because it was an efficient way to pull together these various, open-sourced components. These components were adapted through adjustments to their operational code and design, and the development of content that addressed several pre-existing conditions of objectives the Portal could accomplish.

Foremost were two reflections of conditions of Indigenous engagement outlined during my doctoral research (Dent 2016) and identified by others (Connaughton et al. 2014; DeVries 2014; Markey 2010; Mason 2013; Zacharias and Pokotylo 1997), community capacity and relationships. Extending these conditions to academic/non-academic interactions writ large, produced several factors the Portal's design needed to consider.

First, that many of the Indigenous communities, not-for-profits, and consulting firms that might be interested in submitting projects to the Portal operate within very constrained and finite operational capacities. In other words, when a not-for-profit does not even have enough staff to answer phones daily, what mechanism would encourage them to take on a research partnership? This capacity deficit, particularly in Indigenous communities, affects not only the ability of communities to participate in academic research, but in heritage management

roles (Klassen 2013; Markey 2010; Mason 2013; Supernant and Warrick 2014:583; Zacharias and Pokotylo 1997). A limited overview of Indigenous community websites in 2016 (Dent 2016), reinforces this deficit. Of 638 communities surveyed, only 53 (8.3%) listed a dedicated heritage department on a website (not all communities maintained a website). It should be noted here that departments responsible for lands and resources, treaty, and intergovernmental affairs may also include heritage concerns within their, often wide-ranging, mandates. In compensating for this capacity deficiency in compliance settings where Indigenous communities have a role, development proponents and government-agencies have sporadically provided capacity-building funding up front to facilitate this participation (Dent 2016). Should the Portal continue operating, we will, and have to-date, consider similar up-front funding mechanisms.

Second, that encouraging long-term relationships between academics and non-academics is more mutually fulfilling than any "get-in, get-out" mentality (Dent 2016). To address capacity issues, the Portal's pilot project implemented several features. First, we developed a process to aid the creation of non-academic-sourced projects through in-person consultations. Information meetings were held with local municipal and First Nations governments and with heritage-based not-for-profits. Either during those meetings or through follow-up discussions, we worked with organizations to figure out where their research needs or interests aligned with the current academic research environment. We identified local resources, community-side contacts, and with one First Nation, developed a memorandum of understanding and a community-side process

for Chief and Council to pre-approve projects. Before scaling back our outreach after high demand, we generated 16 projects from Southwestern Ontario: nine from not-for-profits such as museums, research institutes, and community heritage organizations; two from TMHC itself; four from local First Nations; and one from the City of London. With an original target of 12 projects, it was clear that there was a significant appetite among these communities and organizations to realize self-defined research objectives (Figure 1).

Part of this appetite could be attributed to another Portal design feature created to address capacity, the provision of a digital space communicating research outcomes. A recurring theme in previous research was the gap between

a community's points of contact with researchers and the rest of the community's membership (Dent 2016). Few Indigenous communities have a museum such as the Secwepemc Museum in Kamloops, even if they have the administrative capacity to participate in archaeological engagement. Recognizing this internal communication deficit, the Portal encourages research partners to create a brief non-technical synopsis of their project for a unique Portal Outcomes page. The page's content is determined by research participants but built and maintained within the Research Portal's online infrastructure.

The last capacity feature likely contributed to one of the more significant challenges of the Portal thus far. Recognizing that community agencies and

Masters    Hagersville, Ontario    Posted 2 years ago

**Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation**

**Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation – Archaeology GIS Platform**

Working with the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation's (MCFN) Department of Consultation and Accommodation, the researcher will populate a GIS platform with existing data from archaeological sites in MCFN traditional territory. The researcher will conduct an environmental scan of other Indigenous community heritage GIS applications and, together with department staff, theorize/design/train best practices for the use and maintenance of this information.

**Project Community/Organization:** Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation Consultation and Accommodation Department

**Start Date:** 2019/2020

**Project Contact:** Megan DeVries; Email: [megan.devries@mncfn.ca](mailto:megan.devries@mncfn.ca) (Please note this is not a job ad)

**Partner Resources:** GIS Software; Expertise; Archaeological Site Data

**Research keywords:** Human Geography; Space Appropriation and Management; Artistic and Cultural Heritage

[Apply for project](#)

FIGURE 1. Individual portal project listing example.

organizations do not necessarily have the time or resources to screen potential research partners, the Portal's entire project listing was user restricted. During the pilot phase, researchers wanting to use the listing were required to first register with the site. This was used as a means of screening the potential applicants who would be contacting the communities directly for anyone not affiliated with a recognized institution with research ethics policies and procedures.

At this point, it is important to emphasize that the Portal does not determine which researcher ultimately partners with which community. That decision is left entirely to the community. However, the digital nature of the listing meant we could restrict who had access to project and contact information.

#### **Portal Pilot Operation and Resulting Insights**

The Portal's test platform went live in September 2017. Preliminary projects collected over the summer months were combined with new projects on the listing until December 2017. At this point, the Portal had exceeded the original target number of 12 projects leading to a halt in active outreach for new projects. Focus shifted to securing academic partners for the remainder of the pilot, although we did add a couple of projects to the listing when requested by our existing partners.

We recognized early the potential of limited accessibility to curtail researcher involvement. Predictably, at the end of the pilot in October 2018, we had only nine registered individual researchers and six registered academic departments. This despite sustained outreach to Geography, Anthropology, History, and Indigenous Studies departments

at six Southern Ontario universities. Of the three projects that realized either an outcome or partnership during the pilot, only one researcher was a registered user. The other two partnerships were the result of targeted communications. Due to this experience during the pilot, the listing's accessibility was adapted in consultation with partner communities and institutions. The current Portal maintains both a public listing and a private listing<sup>6</sup>.

It may also have been that we were experiencing the effects of a reluctance on the part of some academics consistent with a strain of discourse resistant to the incorporation of multiple ontologies beyond the academy, most succinctly represented by McGhee (2008) with respect to Indigenous participation in archaeology. Given that the point of the exercise was the development of the Portal and not the ethnographic exploration of academics' opinions of multiple ontological approaches—an extensive, sensitive, and worthwhile project in and of itself—these effects were considered outside of the scope of the project.

Another potential reason for the minimal academic research interest could relate to the geographically confined nature of the pilot project. On several occasions, university faculty noted that they already had relationships with local organizations, particularly, local First Nations. In one instance, researchers suggested that a First Nations-generated project was not worth undertaking because there was a pre-existing formal relationship and set of protocols in place. Ironically, the same First Nation generated the project to grow the capacity needed to engage those very same formal mechanisms. Eventually, it emerged that there may have been a miscommunication about the nature

of the Research Portal as an intermediary listing projects, not an independent research entity seeking to undertake them. It may be that these issues shift, if the geographic reach of the Portal expands and communications about the Portal's functions are refined. The present status of the Portal remains localized to Southwestern Ontario and decisions about where, when, and whether to expand await necessary review of resources.

It is the geographic expansion of the Portal that could hold the most promise. The larger the pool of researchers each project is exposed to, the more likely a project will align with a specific researcher's intended or existing area of interest. More remote communities without a sustained continuum of involvement with research institutions will also have an opportunity to connect with a wide array of researchers with minimal effort on their part. Should a national research network prove effective and sustainable, the resulting relationships could help develop long-term conduits between individuals, institutions, and communities. The digital nature of the Portal allows, even encourages, this scale of network, although the more participants the network gains and more expansive it grows, the more difficult it will be (without significant regional infrastructures) to generate these projects through in-person consultations. However, any expansion of the network could run contrary to some of the very elements that made collaborations, like the one represented previously between Andrews and the *Th̄chq̄*, successful (e.g., proximity, capacity for in-person meetings, etc.).

As implementation progressed, one faculty contact suggested that we start a newsletter to communicate what the Portal was, suggest collaborative best

practices, and promote individual projects (Figure 2). We have produced four issues to-date and will revisit the continued release of issues moving forwards. Despite the limited scope of participation, the response from universities has been largely positive and constructive. The current research funding and institutional outreach environments have resulted in a proliferation of research outreach departments at various universities, many of whose efforts are directed at Indigenous communities (MacDonald 2016). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action, developing legal jurisprudence, and commitments to adhere to international declarations such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), have cascaded through governments and their arm-length bodies<sup>7</sup>. Institutions that rely on these governments for grant funding are unsurprisingly attracted to an easier means of accessing projects originating from Indigenous communities.

The pilot project also sought to better qualify the benefits to researchers and communities for these types of partnerships, while also communicating the risks. Risks surrounded the potential for listed projects to never be realized or to take years to find a partner, and for projects or partnerships to fail once undertaken. To the extent that the Portal's design was capable, we tried to mitigate some of these risks. We explored the active promotion of projects through targeted communications to academics with an identified interest in the subject area. We emphasized the importance of negotiated research agreements delineating the terms of partnerships and addressing issues such as intellectual property and sensitive information. We were explicit about the processes and



FIGURE 2. Final newsletter of the pilot project.

expectations of academic research. The original access-restricted nature of the listing also gave the Portal some teeth in terms of withdrawing credentials from problematic participants.

Balancing against these risks were the benefits as we initially saw them and as they manifested during the pilot. Benefits such as, promoting a project-based (as opposed to publication-based) research

portfolio for academics by referencing the outcomes pages<sup>8</sup>, alternative funding sources through grants available exclusively to one group or another (e.g., the Ontario Trillium Foundation), networking and mentorship, potential future employment (one project has indicated they will likely hire the right research partner), and, most importantly, the real-world implications of realizing community-sourced research. Conventional academic research, particularly in the social sciences and especially in archaeology, rarely has an immediate social impact or realized value outside of the discipline. What the Portal has reiterated are localized manifestations of long-standing demands for realizing socially significant, heritage research objectives in the immediate term (see Atalay 2012; Kovach 2012; Nicholas 2010).

Take these proposed projects as examples:

- the GIS platform that will more effectively inform land management decisions affecting archaeology for the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation (MCFN; currently looking for partners);
- exploring the MCFN repatriation of certain collections from the Smithsonian (project nearing completion);
- Sustainable Archaeology's interest in exploring Indigenous place-naming conventions for archaeological sites in Southern Ontario (looking for partners); and
- a hydrological study for Chipewas of the Thames First Nation (COTTFN; project completed).

For the last project in that list, the Portal was approached by the Canadian Environmental Law Association and

COTTFN in Fall 2017, asking if we could list a non-heritage project that needed a research partner, as soon as possible, before the end of that year. Although the Portal's pilot focused on heritage projects and imagined a less time-limited posting, through our relationship with COTTFN we took this on as an opportunity to gauge interest from other disciplines outside social sciences and to test the effectiveness of actively promoting projects through direct outreach to potential researchers.

A partnership with Western University researchers was initiated 11 days after posting the project on the listing service and reaching out to a preliminary group of three Environmental Sciences departments in southwestern Ontario. A week later, another university also expressed interest<sup>9</sup>. The hydrological project was completed in 2018, and its success led to further funding and a second phase partnership between researchers and the community. The dialogue surrounding the COTTFN project emphasized the potential of Portal-like services to faculties outside of the social sciences.

One MCFN project involved exploring the repatriation of the Dr. Peter E. Jones collection currently held by the Smithsonian in the United States (Smithsonian Institution 2020). The collection is recorded as being donated to the Bureau of American Ethnology by Dr. Jones, a noted Mississauga physician and chief in the nineteenth century<sup>10</sup>. Dr. Michelle Hamilton from the Public History program at Western University undertook the project and proceeded to study the historical context within which the collection was originally compiled and donated. Once completed, Dr. Hamilton's study will be a key element in an eventual MCFN decision about pursuing the repatriation of this

collection. The eventual intent is to create a heritage repository and museum on MCFN lands; this collection could perhaps form part of the core of such an institution.

### Conclusion

It is important here not to suggest that archaeology is a model in how to undertake collaborative research. The discipline has a long, often problematic history of interaction with Descendant communities, particularly when that interaction intersects with State oversight of heritage. However, there is a growing body of critical discourse about that interaction that could help inform disciplines without that collective experience (Atalay 2006; Atalay et al. 2014; Biolosi and Zimmerman 1997; Hutchings and La Salle 2017; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; McNiven and Russell 2005; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Scarre and Coningham 2013; Smith 2004, 2006). Archaeology is often practiced in much

more liminal social environments than other disciplines. Not often will a passerby have an opportunity to poke their head into a chemistry lab window and quip, “Find any gold?” Certainly, there are the much more profound interactions with Descendant community members with a direct lineage to, sometimes even memory of, the sites we work on (Atalay 2012; Nicholas 2010). Increasing numbers of us are recognizing the colonial foundations of our work, embracing the multivocality of differing conceptions of the past, and, often awkwardly, trying to find a place where our passion for understanding this past can be of service to those who lay claim to it; problematizing our own claim in the process.

When the pilot project ended, the Research Portal shifted to a more public listing (Figure 3) and was renamed to distinguish it from other listing systems with similar names. There are still unanswered questions about the newly named Heron Research Portal, how it will uti-

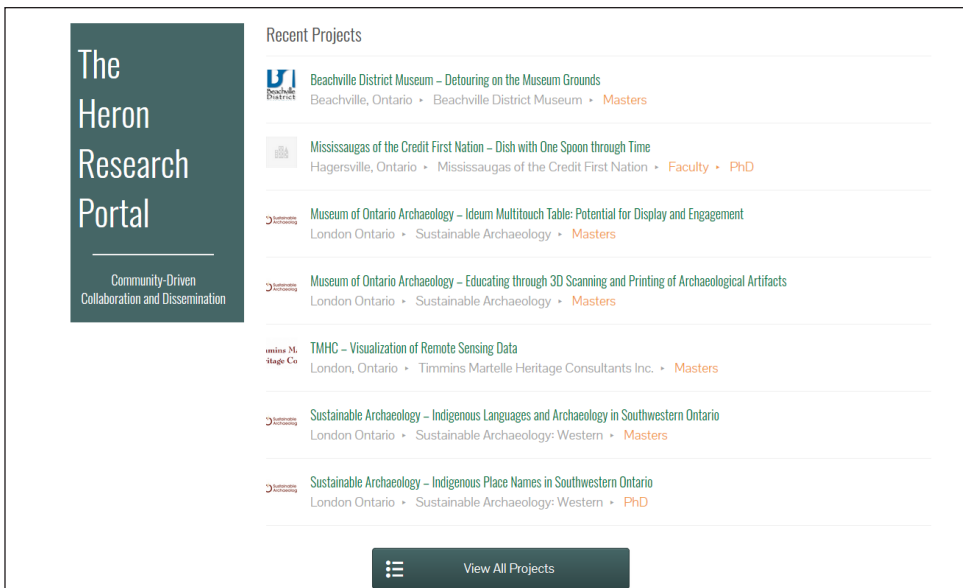


FIGURE 3. Screen capture of recent Heron Research Portal projects (July 2019).



mately function and what sort of funding model can support and maintain the service. Still, even in its pilot phase, the Portal contributed to the ongoing unsettling of archaeology by seeking new reasons for conducting research not originating in academia. The Portal suggests that a systematic means of generating research objectives originating from non-academic communities may be possible. Whether the combination of community- and academic-user interests and available operational resources are sufficient to pursue this or a similar approach, remains to be seen.

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### Notes

1. That is not to say that Indigenous communities are simply passive actors in this arrangement. Indigenous communities and individuals have successfully undertaken a variety of formal and informal actions in shaping and reshaping archaeological processes.
2. Unsettle is used here to infer both the continuing process of decolonization and the disruption of conventional community-based practice.
3. See <https://www.cer-rec.gc.ca/bts/nws/rgltrsnpshts/2016/25rgltrsnpsht-eng.html> for a summary of the NEB's role in consultation with reference to specific examples.
4. <http://sustainablearchaeology.org/about.html#mission>
5. Ontario, prior to this, did not have a conventional system of centralized repositories for archaeological collections resulting in most collections being held and stored by those responsible for their excavation or by the local archaeological offices of the provincial government.
6. <https://insituated.com/research-portal/projects>
7. As of the writing the National Inquiry on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls recently released their Calls to Justice which, we hope, should receive similar attention.
8. Traditional academic publications are not typically accessible (in both formats and language) to partner communities. Conventional academic credentials also prioritize publications and often do not consider project out-

comes as constituting their own form of credential.

9. Through subsequent discussions with faculty from science departments, it was impressed upon me how ill-equipped these bodies are for the contemporary emphasis on community-based research. The paradigm of having non-specialists participate in research as more than subjects is a significant departure from conventional scientific research.
10. <https://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=%22Dr.+Peter+E.+Jones%22>

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# Unsettled Archaeology with a Resettled Community: Practicing Memory, Identity, and Archaeology in Hebron

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**ABSTRACT.** The Hebron Family Archaeology Project is a multi-year project which works towards increasing our understanding of twentieth-century life in Hebron, a former Inuit community in northern Labrador whose residents (*Hebronimiut*) were forcibly relocated in 1959. The primary goal of the project is to provide opportunities for the residents of Hebron to return to their homeland and to record the stories and memories of Elders before they are lost. Based on the expressed interests of community members, the scope of research has shifted from household excavation to non-invasive archaeological recording methods, family-based interviews, and increasing accessibility. Project goals and methods are flexible in nature in order to suit the needs of the people I am trying to serve, and my role as a researcher has changed as a result. While these factors have unsettled the original goals of the project, ultimately, they have provided critical guiding lessons to develop an Inuit-driven narrative that will be relevant and accessible to present and future generations of Hebronimiut.

**RÉSUMÉ.** Le Projet d'archéologie familiale d'Hébron est un projet pluriannuel qui vise à accroître notre compréhension de la vie du XXe siècle à Hébron, une ancienne communauté inuite du nord du Labrador dont les résidents (Hébronimiut) ont été relogés de force en 1959. L'objectif principal du projet est d'offrir aux résidents d'Hébron l'occasion de retourner dans leur terre natale et d'enregistrer les histoires et les souvenirs des aînés avant qu'ils ne soient perdus. Sur la

base des intérêts exprimés des membres de la communauté, la portée de la recherche a été déplacée de l'excavation de foyers à des méthodes d'enregistrement archéologique non invasives, des entrevues familiales et une accessibilité accrue. Les objectifs et les méthodes du projet sont de nature flexible afin de répondre aux besoins des gens que j'essaie de servir et mon rôle de chercheur a changé en conséquence. Bien que ces facteurs aient déstabilisé les objectifs initiaux du projet, en fin de compte, ils ont fourni des orientations essentielles pour élaborer un récit dirigé par les Inuits qui sera pertinent et accessible aux générations présentes et futures d'Hébronimiut.

## Unsettled Archaeology with a Resettled Community

Hebron is a former Labrador Inuit community, located approximately 200 km north of Nain in Nunatsiavut, Labrador (Figure 1). The region was an Inuit homeland long before the arrival of Moravian missionaries in 1831; however, the establishment of the mission drew a thriving community, growing to over 300 people at its peak (Loring and Arendt 2009:35). The larger region is a significant extension of the community, as Labrador Inuit had family fishing camps,

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FIGURE 1. Northern Labrador with location of sites mentioned in the text.

cabins, and traditional hunting areas around Hebron for hundreds of years, prior to the arrival of Europeans (Brice-Bennett 1977:112). Most people did not spend all year in the community, though some of the most prominent memories that people share are from when families returned from their fishing camps at Christmas time; a long-standing social tradition that forged a strong sense of community and shared identity. In the summer of 1959, the community was

closed without consultation or consent, and families were forced to relocate south; an event which forever marked the lives of the people of Hebron and their descendants.

When I first moved to Nain to work with the Nunatsiavut Archaeology Office, I absorbed a sense of urgency as first-hand memories and knowledge about Hebron were in danger of disappearing from the loss of Elders. As an outsider to the community, I was initially

quite cautious to engage with such a sensitive topic. It seemed to be a deep scar in Nunatsiavut that would take a long time for me to suitably understand. However, a significant part of my role as a civil servant is public-facing, and I grew to learn that I gained a richer understanding of the archaeological past in Labrador from listening and building local knowledge of the past with community members. I was considering ways to integrate these developing relationships with the public engagement work we were conducting in the archaeology office, perhaps in the form of a community archaeology project, but had not yet discovered the appropriate opportunity.

*PiusituKaujuut Asianguvalliajuillu/Tradition and Transition* is a research partnership announced in 2015 between the Nunatsiavut Government and Memorial University. It provided a unique opportunity to dedicate time and funding towards a community-based project in Hebron. It has been a worthwhile challenge to develop relevant and appropriate research at Hebron, and over time I have recognized increased satisfaction from the community when we are able to define and achieve shared research goals. Determining those shared goals has not been an altogether straight path, and I see the “unsettling” theme applied in three different, but connected, ways to the Hebron Family Archaeology Project. Hebron is literally an unsettled community, and there are significant challenges related to engaging with the community, which is now dispersed across Newfoundland and Labrador. There are also sensitivities relating to the intergenerational traumas which resulted from the social and economic consequences of their displacement. It relates to my unsettled methodology: every year, as new participants join the project, the way that the

research is conducted changes in both small and dramatic ways to suit the needs of the people I am trying to serve. Finally, it relates to my own unsettled feelings in conducting the research. Although I live and work in the community, I am often confronted with my own feelings of imposterdom in telling the story of Hebron, and challenged by my shifting understanding of community-based research through the intimate work of discovering truly shared research goals. The following paper is a reflection on the process of developing the Hebron Family Archaeology Project with community partners, and the experiences which have ultimately led to re-thinking my own role as a researcher.

#### *The Hebron Relocation of 1959*

The memory of Hebron is often tied to one traumatic event, from which a multi-faceted legacy and a resilient sense of identity has unfolded among the descendants of the community. In the spring of 1959, at a time when most of the community members were preparing to leave for their fishing camps after Easter celebrations, an announcement was made that the store and the Moravian mission would be closing. There was a communal sense that this was going to happen, and the Chief Elder, Levi Nochasak, had previously penned a letter on behalf of the people from Hebron asking to receive sufficient notification in the event that the community was to close (Brice-Bennett 2017:98). Archived correspondence between authorities representing the mission, the province, and the International Grenfell Association (IGA) indicate that the decision to move was largely based on health concerns of overcrowding and the cost of keeping the community open. It is clear that none of the authorities engaged



with the community members or prioritized their concerns and desires before relocation was unilaterally enforced (Brice-Bennett 2017:93). The decision to close Hebron would be determined by a few individuals who never visited the community or discussed the matter with its residents. An often-repeated element of Hebron's oral history is the manner of the announcement, which took place in the church at an Easter service rather than in the community hall—effectively removing any opportunity for discussion or opposition.

The closing was rushed during the summer months after the IGA nurse was withdrawn from Hebron and, expecting to move that summer, families had already begun demolishing their own houses to manufacture moving boxes (Brice-Bennett 2017:96). The communities to which they were moved were unprepared, and many people from Hebron were without work and had to live in overcrowded houses or tents for the first few years after relocation (Evans 2012:112). Inuit from Hebron would have shared many similar cultural practices to Inuit in communities further south, such as traditional hunting, fishing, and Moravian church practices, though there were difficulties adjusting to new hunting grounds resulting in impoverishment and segregation (Brice-Bennett 2000). Devastated by poverty, hunger, and alienation, the long-lasting social and economic consequences of relocation are perhaps most starkly revealed by the disproportionately high mortality rates of Inuit from Hebron after relocation, and the intergenerational trauma which persists among many of their descendants (Brice-Bennett 2000, 2017; Evans 2012). The decision evokes a pattern of similar damaging federal government programs

in the north, such as the controversial relocation program of eight Inuit families from Inukjuak to Grise Fjord and Resolute in the high arctic in the early 1950s (Evans 2012:115; Qikiqtani Inuit Association 2014).

Labrador Inuit quickly organized to address the issues caused by relocation, and by the 1970s were discussing them in community halls and through local media. In 1973, the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) was formed, largely due to the unfair treatment of Inuit from Nutak and Hebron (Evans 2012:142). The political momentum which grew from the grievances of provincial relocation programs propelled Labrador Inuit to submit a land claim, initially filed in 1977 (Brice-Bennett 2017:205). An emotional reunion at Hebron in 1999, organized by Torngâsok, the cultural branch of LIA, further publicized the injustices of the relocation program, and resulted in an apology and compensation from the provincial government (Evans 2012:142). After 30 years of negotiations, LIA members ratified the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement (LILCA) in May 2004. It was approved the next June by the Canadian Senate and came into effect on December 1, 2005, making Labrador Inuit the first Inuit group to achieve self-governance (Brice-Bennett 2017:205). The legacy of Hebron, so often tied to the dispossession of an Inuit homeland, can also be a source of pride and identity among many descendants today.

#### *Towards a Community-based Archaeology Project in Hebron*

When the Hebron Family Archaeology Project began in 2016, I had been living and working in Nain for two years as a civil servant. I had held archaeological permits, organized community meetings and workshops, and was starting to

practice a few words in Inuktitut. I was feeling more comfortable in both my professional and social roles in the community. Having spent my formative years in a predominantly white, middle-class suburb outside of Toronto, it took some time to adjust to the different social and economic realities of Nain. The Nunatsiavut Government has rights and responsibilities over Lands and Natural Resources, Health and Social Development, Education, Culture, Language, and Tourism, among other essential departments (LILCA 2005). However, persistent social issues, including poverty, food insecurity, loss of language, public health and housing crises, as well as disproportionately high youth suicide rates, may be considered symptoms of inequality and the persistent impacts of colonialism in the region, in particular, the forced relocations of Hebron in 1959, and Nutak in 1956 (Brice-Bennett 2017; Evans 2012:141; ITK-NISR 2018:9).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, I learned of these issues secondhand, as my social group tended to consist of community members of a similar age and socio-economic group. The segregated subculture of white southerners in northern communities is a recognizable social dynamic which can intensify the class structure of the community, and can make it difficult to engage with some of these issues in a meaningful way (Brody 1991; Fay 2008:79). The decision to close and resettle the community was a colonial exercise, rooted in a patronizing sense of stewardship that assumed the best for the community and resulted in far-reaching, intergenerational consequences (Brice Bennett 2017; Evans 2012). Any attempt to begin a community-based participatory research project would need to be thoughtfully developed so as not to cause further harm.

I assumed that such a project would follow the same community engagement protocols we typically followed before conducting archaeological research along the coast, as outlined in the permitting requirements of LILCA (LILCA 2005:Chapter 15). This process involves seeking input from the host community, conducting field work through survey and excavation methods as required, bringing artifacts back to Nain for analysis, presenting results, and submitting interim and final reports to the Archaeology Office. From previous experience, I felt relatively confident in my role as an archaeologist: to recover, analyze, and interpret material culture in order to develop a meaningful narrative about the past. I was about to learn that this typically acceptable and standard approach would, in effect, muddy the process of a community-based project at Hebron, and that I would take on a much different role than the one I had anticipated.

There is no single clear path to practice community-based participatory research, though useful guidelines have been thoughtfully developed as archaeologists have embraced the incorporation of different cultural perspectives in the construction of the past (Atalay 2012; Brady 2009; Fay 2008; Lyons 2013; Schaepe et al. 2017). Each instance may be considered a local negotiation of how research is conducted about the lives and heritage of a particular community, and requires considerable time and effort in order to identify the shared goals of the community and the researcher (Atalay 2012; Lyons 2013:7). Communities come to the negotiating table with particular ways of identifying, knowing, and understanding the past, and community-based archaeological practice aims to re-enfranchise marginalized communities to tell their own

stories (Lyons 2013). Labrador Inuit continue to express interest in travelling to Hebron, sharing stories, and learning about the past, before those stories are lost. Developing methods to capture those stories requires an understanding of the trauma of resettlement, the ongoing role of social memory and identity in the narrative of Hebron, and re-evaluating the relationship between community and researcher.

*Memory at Work.* The first year of the Hebron Family Archaeology Project was designed to capture a multivocal past as remembered by those who had lived in the community. In the first few community meetings to discuss the shape of the project, our first shared goal centred on capturing the memories and oral histories of the Elders who had experienced life in Hebron. I had also proposed the collaborative recovery and interpreta-

tion of artifacts from Hebron through household excavations. While this was met with no outright objection, there was no resounding endorsement, either. As a result, the first year of the project prioritized mapping the locations of family houses and conducting interviews. Participants were selected with the help of a volunteer selection committee made up of people from Hebron or their descendants in each of Nunatsiavut's communities. From this foundational work, we hoped to grow a living memory map of areas and practices significant to people from Hebron, and to seek the express permission of families directly related to the households before any excavation took place (Davies 2017).

John Jararuse and Jerry Tuglavina, two Elders who had experienced childhood in Hebron, were selected for their famous memory recall and storytelling skills (Figure 2). Before we arrived, John



FIGURE 2. John Jararuse and Elias (Jerry) Tuglavina mapped the locations of family homes in Hebron during the first year of the project.

and Jerry agreed that there would be a dozen households to record, and that it would take us half a day to finish the work. However, Hebron is a landscape enmeshed with personal experiences, and is rich with the power to evoke memories. Memories are mediated through storytelling, memory props, and symbolic imagery, which may all be accessed through performative archaeology: the physical acts undertaken in unearthing the past, producing memory publicly, and identifying the symbolic resonance of artifacts to a specific audience (Jones and Russell 2012:270; Rubertone 2008:13). As we walked through the former community together, their memories resurfaced and grew beyond their own expectations. We recorded a total of 38 family homes, the school, the two distinct locations of the community hall, the location of structures relating to the US Army during World War II, as well as structures near the beach related to the fishing industry that sustained the community during the mid-twentieth century. While walking through the church on the first day of the fieldwork, one Elder picked up a sieve that was used to scatter sand on the church floor in order to keep it clean and dry. Stories around collecting sand at the beach and the identification of a sandbox in an annex beside the church soon followed, demonstrating the power that a single object can have towards memory production (Davies 2017). The map was well received after we returned, and community members suggested only small alterations as I traveled to each community to present the results of the first field season. It was my hope that we could take this information back to the communities in order to select a family to take part in the excavation of a home, and to record more stories and memo-

ries that artifacts may have produced the following field season.

*Confronting Different Heritage Values.* The experiences of Maggie and Billy Jararuse, the second family to participate in the Hebron Family Archaeology Project, led to a complete redesign of the project goals after we were confronted with the emotional weight of disturbing the remains of a house that may have held connections to more than one family. It also revealed a community project goal that was not obvious to me, as the selection committee voted for Maggie and Billy, knowing that they had not ever had the chance to visit their parents' homeland, and had no direct memories of Hebron to capture. The committee had helped to design the goals of recording Elders' oral histories, but also recognized the value in sharing the experience of Hebron with a generation well removed from the period of occupation (Figure 3). The family eagerly absorbed the landscape, and they were particularly moved by the experience of standing in the physical locations of their family homes and fishing camps. However, as they settled in and reconsidered how many other families were connected to the land and their own family home, disturbing the ground became an impossible burden. Multiple families had claim and personal meaning tied to the properties, and the family exercised their right to withdraw consent for excavation (Davies 2018). Instead, they took part in familiar embodied practices: fishing for char, picking mussels, making dried char, as well as living and walking through the landscape. In particular, an unexpected visit to Tikigatsukulluk, a small fishing camp just north of Hebron, was simultaneously the most joyful and difficult experience of the trip for Billy,



FIGURE 3. Maggie and Billie Jararuse and their daughter Billie-Jean Tuglavina (at left) stand on the remains of their family home in Hebron.

whose family spent most of their time in that location. The indirect memory of injustice from relocation was given a new significance in this locale, as the family experienced the bounty and beauty of their family homeland and all that was lost after relocation.

We spent the week recording the locations of fishing camps in the greater region and examined artifacts on the land, at the houses, and in the church. In examining the objects of which they had no concrete memories, but which held ancestral significance for them nonetheless, meaning was created anew. A form of “disjunctive” memory, which merges personal and social memory, was focused through material culture to create a new sense of connection to the past (Joyce 2003:118). The initial goal of the project was to focus on the excavation of the houses recorded

during the first year of the project, and to produce opportunities for families to help interpret the artifacts from their family homes. However, the meaningful connection to objects from Hebron may also be achieved through examinations of what has already been deemed significant to community members, such as family heirlooms and a local collection of surface finds which have been collected over years of visitation to Hebron and are now displayed on a few tables in the church (Figure 4).

Despite the significant change in field plans and the move away from excavation, I was still keen to return with some objects that would interest community members back home. After all, what was archaeology without some recovery and professional analysis of material culture? I considered wrapping up some artifacts that had already been



FIGURE 4. A local display of artifacts in the church at Hebron.

collected at the church, such as a rusted rifle, a lead weight from the fish plant, and various wood working tools, among others. However, I was gently reminded by a participant that it would be more appropriate to consult with the community again before deciding to change the research design. This was without a doubt the best approach, though I could not anticipate any negative reactions to the material being removed, conserved, and displayed for the broader community in Nain. I had felt so sure of the benefits of community-based archaeology at Hebron, and the therapeutic effects of both excavation and personal interpretation of material culture. As we drove the boats back to Nain empty-handed, I was left wondering: how much of the picture was I still missing?

*Decolonizing Archaeological Research Practices.* Decolonizing methodologies

provide a path to centre Indigenous worldviews, concerns, and concepts in archaeological research practices (Atalay 2012; Smith 2012). It is not centred on the rejection of western ways of knowing; rather, it is meant to intertwine community and archaeological knowledge, to create rich, relevant interpretations of the past (Atalay 2012:27). It does, however, involve doing our best to remove western colonial influence in archaeological practice, and requires a methodology that relinquishes at least partial control over all or part of the project, from collaboratively designing research questions, through developing appropriate field practices and methods of data collection, to sharing the dissemination and benefits of research results appropriately (Brady 2009:35). Unfortunately, archaeology operates in contexts which persist in their marginalization of Indigenous peoples, and even truly collabora-

tive archaeology may not fully escape the complex legacy of colonialism which is upheld through inequitable political, legislative, and educational structures (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007:61; Supernant and Warrick 2014:565). However, by shifting control to marginalized groups and working within those structures towards a shared agenda, archaeologists can help to empower communities, and create spaces for transformative social action (Lyons 2013:13). This shift in control works to decolonize the process and structure of research, and champion the right for Indigenous peoples to define and describe their own past (Deloria 1992).

During the 2018 community engagement sessions, I directly asked if people were interested in seeing artifacts from the church at Hebron brought back for conservation and community-led interpretation. There was some discussion around whether the artifacts were made and used by Inuit: they appeared to have been brought in by the Moravian missionaries and did not represent the kind of activities that people usually associate with life at Hebron. I only managed to recognize a general feeling of disquiet in the group, but could not place the source. After the meeting, a community member came to me to reveal the potential reasons for the rejection of these artifacts—a few Elders saw them as having negative or haunted associations from the old community. A traditional taboo against interfering with ancient graves also applied to old houses and tools in other Arctic regions, and the transgression of taboos in the past could bring about bad luck or hardship (Griebel 2013:236). Ethnographic research in Labrador reveals a twentieth-century practice of leaving grave objects undisturbed or else replacing an object with a token in exchange,

which is likely rooted in a deeper history (Hawkes 1916:136). At a later meeting in Hopedale, another Elder revealed that she had objects from Hebron that she wished to see returned, in order to give them an appropriate resting place. I asked if she would be interested in documenting the meaning of these objects before they were returned, which was met with direct approval. Two years after presenting the ready-made goals of what I thought was required for an archaeological project, I feel as though I am finally beginning to understand what research interests and concerns may truly stem from the Hebron community. It is increasingly likely that these goals lean away from removing artifacts and towards a form of repatriation.

Collaborations which seek to address the imbalance between the discipline and descendant communities must be tailored to the specific interests of the community, requiring significant time and energy from both researchers and descendant groups (Nicholas et al. 2011:12). In some cases, such as at Hebron, the interests vary between different communities and individuals, though these are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Collaboration is not universally applied, but exists on a continuum from colonial control on one end of the spectrum, to community control on the other. The degree to which a community resists, participates in, or collaborates with the research often correlates with the emphasis on a multivocal practice to expand a shared understanding of the past (Colwell 2016:116).

If the goal of Indigenous and community-based archaeologies is to redress the power imbalance in the production of knowledge, then a relationship of equality should be ensured at all stages of the research process (La Salle 2010:406).

For example, the Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage Project (IPinCH) is a multi-institution collaboration between more than 50 archaeologists, museum experts, and lawyers who are working to explore the values underlying ethical knowledge exchange relating to cultural heritage. The IPinCH approach to identifying community concerns includes initial surveys and vetting by the community to ensure no sensitive data is released (IPinCH 2016). This practice reflects a constructive engagement that addresses the needs of the community and the researchers equitably, ensures community control over the data at all points in the project, and guarantees that local values are upheld throughout the research process (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Nicholas et al. 2011:21). Control over the very information Indigenous peoples share during a research project is perhaps the most fundamental way that archaeologists can begin to redress the colonial imbalances of research and work to develop more ethical and equitable relationships with communities (Bell and Shier 2011:38; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007:60). More broadly, asking fundamental questions, such as who has shaped the research topic, who controls the funding, who will do the analysis and interpretation, who benefits from the research, and what influences perspective, can shift research from self-interested extraction to self-representation and sovereignty for Indigenous groups (La Salle 2010:414). The power over research funding and practices needs to be in the hands of those affected by it to reform the colonial epistemology inherent in the research system (La Salle 2010:416).

*Re-Thinking the Role of the Researcher.* The third year of the Hebron Family

Archaeology Project was a practice in relinquishing control. Community consultations leading up to the field season were focused on identifying shared goals between myself and the community. In particular, we discussed how to manage and care for objects without removing them from Hebron, and how to increase people's access to the research data and the site for land-based social programming in the future. Rather than removing objects, research would focus on having a family identify objects which may be of interest for photography, on-site conservation, and analysis. Community members also expressed interest in continuing to record family fishing camps, local place names, and family interviews, as well as increasing long-term accessibility to Hebron.

A family of four was selected by the committee: John Jararuse and his nephew Martin R. Jararuse, as well as his wife Josephine and her daughter Susie. John, having participated in the first year of the project, likely remembers how encumbered I was during that first field season, juggling my GPS, tapes, cameras, and notebooks as I tried to record every aspect of the project myself. This year, having established the shared goals of capturing stories, places, and memories of Hebron, I relinquished my control over aspects of data collection and placed the video camera in the hands of the family (Figure 5). Susie and Josephine were both brimming with questions, with or without me, in the community, in the church, and in the fishing camps. John and Martin were naturally more comfortable to share information with family members, and interviews flowed in Inuktitut. The family selected artifacts in the church that may be of interest for analysis and helped to design a case for artifacts that was made of old church





FIGURE 5. John Jararuse, Martin R. Jararuse, and Susie Semigak conducting interviews by their family home in Hebron.

windows (Brake et al. 2019). By personally stepping back from an authoritative research role, there was now more space for the family to engage more fully and to claim ownership over the direction of the research.

In order to conduct sustainable, ethical research with Hebronimiut, I endeavored to remove myself as the single authorized voice in the construction of the past. The social value of heritage overlaps with archaeological ways of making meaning, and there are often different values playing out in relation to the archaeological record as Hebronimiut continue to dwell on a designated archaeological site (Figure 6). People and communities draw meaning and identity from heritage places, and these cultural resources are weighed against the preservation of archaeological remains (Ferris and Welch 2014:224).

The process of community consultation must therefore shift to a deeper form of collaboration for researchers to accurately determine and understand the complex web of interests, obligations, concerns, and responsibilities that individuals and communities weave around their own heritage resources. The range of values assigned to the past can be acknowledged through the service of archaeology, and the motivations for doing archaeology may therefore be redefined and made more relevant to descendant communities (Ferris and Welch 2014:226).

The tenets of community-based archaeology clearly outline the role of the researcher, who is responsible for explicitly integrating cultural protocols and values into the research design and disseminating results in culturally appropriate ways (Smith 2012:16).



FIGURE 6. Drying rows of pitsik (dried char) display a highly valued activity and ongoing connections to Hebron.

Fostering dialogue with the community and surrendering at least partial control of key aspects of the research process, including design, methods, funding, and dissemination, are some of the ways that archaeologists can begin to work with communities, rather than simply inform them of research taking place (Fay 2008:10; McNiven and Russell 2005; Zimmerman 2013:100). By shifting a sense of accountability away from research institutions and towards the communities, archaeologists can begin to re-situate marginalized interests, narratives, and benefits (Ferris and Welch 2015:73). Archaeologists have useful skills in detailed recording and can apply new technologies to act as technicians for the project interests of a community, rather than the drivers of research which neither benefits nor interests them (La Salle 2010:416). Finally, the

sharing of knowledge and results is not a one-time exercise at the completion of a project, but can be considered a long-term commitment and exercised during multiple stages of the research. By moving beyond the sharing of superficial information to the way that the information was constructed, archaeologists can meaningfully engage communities in defining their own pasts and help to democratize the process of knowledge construction (Smith 2012:17).

My own role in the Hebron Family Archaeology Project continues to be an unfolding process, and each individual interview, field season, and community meeting helps to calibrate the project so that it aligns with the interests of people from Hebron (Brake et al. 2019; Davies 2017, 2018). However, the culturally appropriate dissemination of the research results is an outstanding issue

to be determined with the community. While Informed Consent Forms outline the ways in which the data may be used, such as in meetings, presentations, reports, and on websites, it may not be a sufficient safeguard to protect culturally or personally sensitive information. It is clear that my role also includes facilitating ongoing communication so that this information may be vetted by the community before it is disseminated, and control centred with the people of Hebron.

*Future and Long Term Plans for Hebron.* As the Hebron Family Archaeology project continues, I have asked the Selection Committee to take on more of a decision-making role for the research activities in upcoming field seasons, which includes setting direct goals relating to the documentation, preservation, and potential repatriation of artifacts to Hebron. Discussion surrounding control over funding and the appropriate dissemination of results will be fundamental to working towards the goal of a community-based archaeology project that is truly controlled by the community. In working to decentre my own authority and control over the project, the right for Inuit from Hebron to define and describe their own past can be a shared goal that is both sustainable and ethical and may continue to grow in culturally appropriate ways long after the research project concludes. It is my hope that this project will provide an avenue for an Inuit-driven narrative about twentieth-century life in Hebron, which will be supported and grown from the archaeological, historical, and oral history record and shared with Nunatsiavut communities.

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# Strength-Based Approaches to Involving Inuit Youth in Archaeological Research

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**ABSTRACT.** In this collaborative paper between university-based archaeologists and Nunatsiavummiut youth, we discuss our attempts to unsettle our research while working on community-oriented projects in Hopedale, Nunatsiavut, through the application of strength-based approaches. We outline the need for strength-based approaches for involving Nunatsiavummiut youth in archaeology and the ways we apply these approaches to Kelvin's research project, the Agvituk Digital Archive Project, and Gilheany's dissertation research on the recent history of Hopedale. We incorporate key aspects of these approaches, including: focusing on the whole person and recognizing their social context; actively involving participants in decisions; recognizing strengths and expertise of participants so that everyone is both a teacher and a learner; and encouraging experiences where group members can be successful. We argue that an unsettled, strength-based approach necessitates a future-oriented archaeology.

**RÉSUMÉ.** Dans cet article produit en collaboration par des archéologues rattachés à l'université et des jeunes Nunatsiavummiuts, nous discutons de nos tentatives visant à déstabiliser notre recherche tout en travaillant sur des projets communautaires à Hopedale, Nunatsiavut. Nous mettons l'accent sur la nécessité d'adopter des approches axées sur les points forts pour faire participer les jeunes Nunatsiavummiuts à l'archéologie ainsi que sur les manières dont nous appliquons ces approches au projet de recherche de Laura Kelvin—le projet d'archives numé-

riques Agvituk—et la recherche de dissertation d'Emma Gilheany portant sur l'histoire récente de Hopedale. Nous incorporons des aspects-clés de ces approches, notamment : nous concentrer sur la personne dans son ensemble et reconnaître son contexte social; faire en sorte que les participants jouent un rôle actif dans la prise de décisions; reconnaître les points forts et l'expertise des participants afin que tous soient à la fois enseignants et apprenants; et encourager des expériences pour lesquelles les membres du groupe sont susceptibles de réussir. Nous soutenons qu'une approche déstabilisée axée sur les points forts nécessite une archéologie orientée vers l'avenir.

**ISUMAGIJAUJUK.** Tâpsuminga ikajuttigegijaujumut allakkasâjammik, akungani ilinnivitsuamit-ilinganiKajuk itsasuanittaligijjujunut ammalu Nunatsiavut inosittunginnut, uKâlautiKavugut piniannigigasuatatinnik pijagegasuagiamut Kaujisajattinik suliaKatiluta nunalinni-ilinganiKajunut sulianginnik Hopedale, Nunatsiavummi, taikkutigona ottugautikkut sangijottisigasugiamut-ilin-

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ganiKajunut piniannigigasuatatinnik. Allasimavugut atugialittinik sangijottisigasuaigiamut-ilinganiKajunut piniannitinnik ilautitsigiamut Nunatsiavut inosittunik itsasuanittaliginimmiut ammalu Kanuk tamakkuninga ilisigajammangâta pinianisanik taipsumunga Kelvin-iup Kaujisajammunik sulianganut, tâna Agvituk Kagitaujannut ilijaumajut Piulimajajunut Suliangujuk, ammalu Gilheany-iup ilinniagutigijangata nalunaikkutattâgiamut Kaujisajammunik ilinganiKajumut taimangasuaniusimajuk Hopedale-imi ilinganiKajumut. Ilisisimavugut atuniKatsiatunut takunnâtaujunut taikkuninga pinianniujunut, ilautillugit: takunnâlugit iluingajumut inummut ammalu ilitatsilugit ilonnanginnik inosingita pit-agijanginnik; ilautitsiluni ilauKataujunik kajusiutillutillugit, ilitatsilutik sangiojunik ammalu ilisimallagijunut ilauKataujunut imailinganiammat tamâgik ilinniatsijjuniammata ammalu ilinnialutillu; ammalu pikKujigasualluni atujangit ilonnatik kat-ingaKatigejut ilaliutilet kajusitsiaKullugit. kiumajiutiKavugut pijagettausimangituk, sangijuk-ilinganiKajuk piniannik atuttaugialet sivunnittini-Kaujimagettunillu itsasuanittaliginimmik.

**I**N THIS PAPER, WE DISCUSS OUR attempts to unsettle our research, while working on youth-focused community-oriented archaeology projects in Hopedale, Nunatsiavut (Figure 1). Our research stems from the acknowledgement of the special role that youth have in Indigenous communities and the contributions they can make to research projects. Colonial policies that aim to destroy Indigenous ways of knowing and being are often designed to sever the tie between youth and community knowledge holders, so traditions and culture are not carried forward. As a result, Indigenous youth are often the target of colonial structures, creating physical, social, and emotional challenges for their growth and well-being. Communities often request that youth be involved

in archaeology projects to connect youth to their past and help alleviate these challenges and ensure cultural continuity. Archaeologists have typically employed youth as field and lab technicians, and have looked to Elders to gain intellectual insight of the past (i.e., oral histories or traditional knowledge), while the intellectual contributions youth can make to archaeology have often been overlooked. Our projects aim to involve youth in archaeological projects in ways that go beyond limiting their role to assisting in traditional archaeological work. To effectively engage youth as learners, researchers, knowledge holders, and teachers, we have needed to build projects that understand archaeology as more than survey, excavation, and lab work. This approach means learning to do archaeology differently and expecting different outcomes and products from our research.

This paper is a collaborative effort between Laura Kelvin, a postdoctoral fellow from Memorial University, Emma Gilheany, a PhD student from the University of Chicago, and Denver Edmunds, Nicholas Flowers, Mackenzie Frieda, Claire Igloliorte, Halle Lucy, and John Piercy, Nunatsiavummiut youth from Hopedale. Throughout this paper, direct quotes from the authors are used to properly acknowledge their intellectual and emotional contributions to the understandings of the work being presented. In this paper, we outline the need for strength-based approaches for involving Nunatsiavummiut youth in archaeology and the ways we apply these approaches to Kelvin's research project, the Agvituk Digital Archive Project, and Gilheany's dissertation research on the recent history of Hopedale. An underlying goal for our research is to help empower Nunatsiavummiut youth



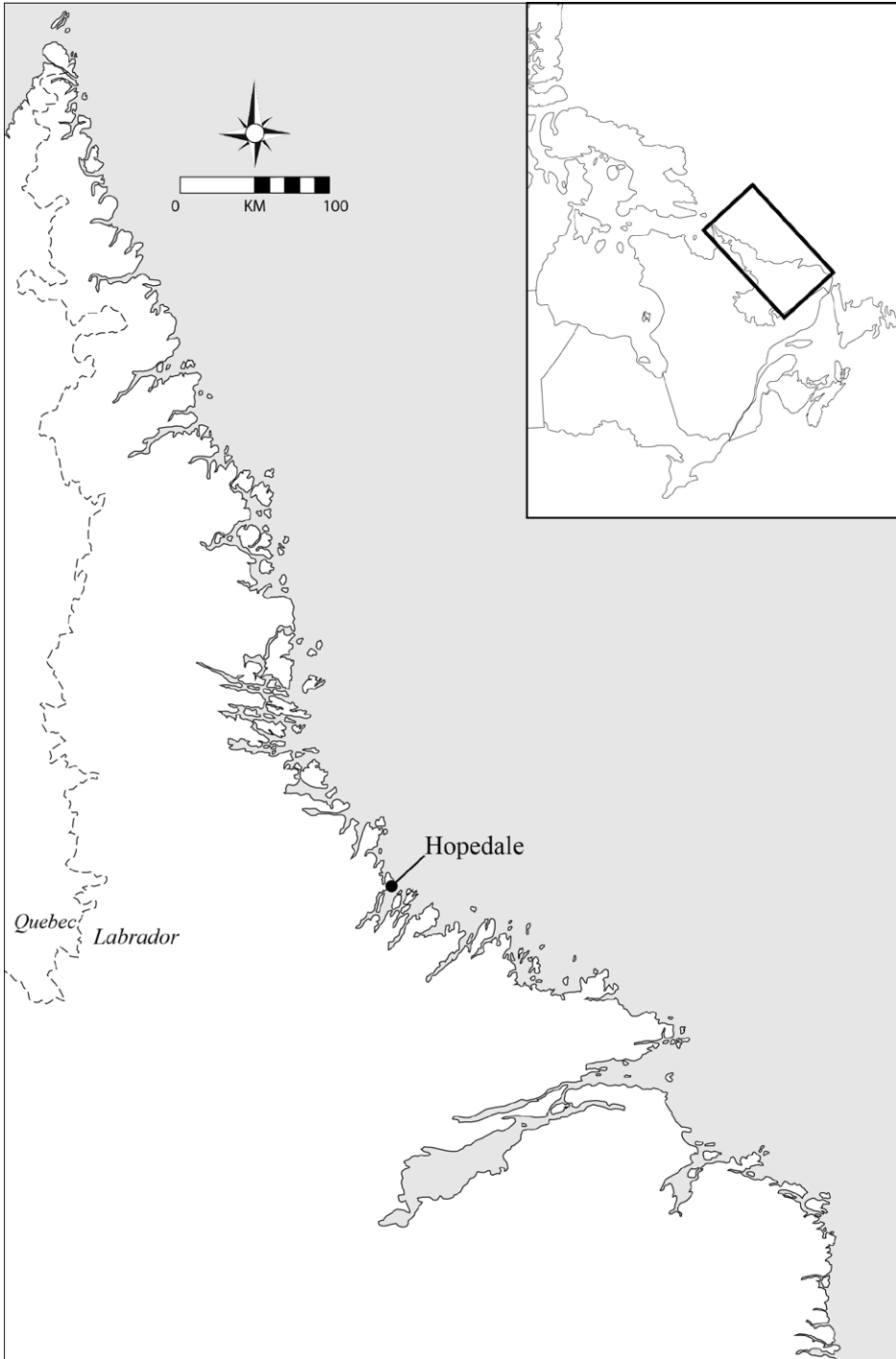


FIGURE 1. Map indicating the location of Hopedale.

through archaeology, so together we can continue to work towards dismantling the settler colonial structure, not just within archaeology but in all aspects of our lives. By looking to the past, we work towards keeping youth future-oriented by applying an approach that encompasses education, employment, and healing.

### **History of Hopedale**

Agvituk (also spelled Avertok) is the original Labrador Inuttitut dialect name for the area now called Hopedale. It expresses that it is a place of bowhead whales. During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Agvituk was a large gathering and whaling site that was an important part of the Inuit-European coastal trade network (Arendt 2013; Bird 1945). The importance of Agvituk was not lost on early Moravian missionaries, who likened it to London or Paris within Inuit society (Kennedy 2009:29). In 1782, Moravians settled a mission next to Agvituk and named it Hoffenthal, meaning “the vale of hope”, which was eventually anglicized to Hopedale. Over time, the occupants of Agvituk joined the mission settlement, and Agvituk was eventually abandoned in 1807 (Brice-Bennett 2003). As the settlement of Hopedale grew and spread over the landscape, houses and roads were built over the remnants of Agvituk, yet the site has always remained important to the Hopedale community. Today, the Nunatsiavut Government takes an active role in mitigating the impacts development has on culturally important sites like Agvituk.

Moravian officials claimed that their aim was to make their mission stations in northern Labrador self-sustaining, and focused on creating a local economy dependent on seasonal natural

resources, relying heavily on Inuit cultural skills and knowledge of the landscape. Moravian missionaries gave sermons and provided formal education in Inuttitut. Although they encouraged Inuit to carry on some aspects of their culture, they were still very much a colonial force—bringing about not only spiritual change in the community, but social, economic, and political change as well. They encouraged traditional activities like hunting, which ultimately economically benefitted the mission, while discouraging many aspects of Inuit ways of being as they were deemed unchristian (Arendt 2011; Kaplan 1985; Loring 1998). In the early twentieth century, Moravians began to face financial hardships and eventually transferred control of their economic affairs in Labrador over to the Hudson’s Bay Company, but continued to operate their missions. When Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, education, healthcare, and other services fell under the control of the Provincial and Federal Governments (Brice-Bennett 2003). This new government structure made the residents of Hopedale subject to colonial policies similar to those operating throughout Canada at that time, including the residential school system, which had a profound negative impact on Inuit culture, language, and well-being.

During the Cold War, the United States military established a network of radar stations, known as the Pinetree Line along the border of the US and Canada and up through the eastern coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, to detect Soviet missiles headed for American airspace. Construction of the Pinetree station in Hopedale began in 1951, and the station was fully operational from 1953 until 1968. The station

included a bowling alley, movie theatre, and bar—which were sometimes open to the Hopedale public. This huge infrastructure, and its decaying batteries and machinery, were left behind when the base was shut down, leading to PCB contamination in the groundwater and the area's hunting and fishing grounds (CBC News 2009; Sistili et al. 2006).

Despite the long history of settler colonialism in Labrador, the Labrador Inuit have remained resilient and have actively worked not only to preserve their culture and livelihood, but also assert their sovereignty. Nunatsiavut is the first Inuit region in Canada to be recognized by the federal government as self-governing. This change was brought about by the hard-fought Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement that grew out of a land claim filed by the Labrador Inuit Association in 1977, and was ratified in 2005. Nunatsiavut, which means “Our Beautiful Land” in Inuttitut, encompasses 72,520 km<sup>2</sup> of land in Northern Labrador extending into Quebec. The agreement established details of land ownership, resource sharing, and self-government, making the Nunatsiavut Government responsible for education, healthcare, and cultural affairs. Hopedale, the second-largest and second-northernmost community in Nunatsiavut, is the legislative capital of Nunatsiavut (Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement 2005).

### **Archaeology in Hopedale**

Agvituk has long captured the interest of European visitors and settlers as an archaeological resource, where cultural materials were extracted and exploited to learn about past Inuit lifeways. Of the earliest archaeological investigations of the site, the best documented are those of Eliot Curwen, William Duncan

Strong, and Junius Bird. Curwen came to the coast of Labrador in 1893 to work as a medical missionary on the Grenfell Mission. He had an interest in archaeology and collected artifacts from Labrador, including Agvituk. These artifacts are now kept at the British Museum in London (Rompkey 1996). Strong was a member of the Second Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition to Labrador from 1927 to 1928. The artifacts he collected from Agvituk as part of this expedition are now housed at the Robert S. Peabody Institute for Archaeology in Andover, Massachusetts. Although the artifacts from these investigations have been cared for over the years, little to no information remains of where in Agvituk they came from and their archaeological context. A large-scale investigation of the site was carried out by Junius Bird, his wife Peggy, and Hopedale community member Heinrich Uisuk in 1934. Together they excavated nine of the 20 house ruins they located (Bird 1945). Most artifacts recovered and notes from this investigation are held at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. However, some of the artifacts remain in Nunatsiavut and are on display in the Moravian Mission Complex and Museum in Hopedale. These early investigations followed traditional archaeological practices that reinforced colonial power relationships by removing Inuit material culture from Labrador, without Inuit permission, to write stories of Labrador's past with very little application of Inuit voices. Furthermore, the interpretations from these excavations were never properly disseminated to the Hopedale community. It was also common practice at the time to disturb burials to retrieve artifacts and human remains. These actions ignored the wishes and beliefs of Inuit to not

disturb burials, and have contributed to negative feelings towards archaeologists held by some Nunatsiavummiut. Some community members feel that there were some benefits to having their material culture on display in museums throughout the world, including educating people about Labrador Inuit in the hopes of combating racism. However, ultimately, some are frustrated that they do not have access to these materials themselves. More recent investigations of Agvituk and the surrounding area are employing approaches that are more community-centred and work towards unsettling archaeological practice.

It is widely recognized by archaeologists who aim to conduct community-centred research, including community-based archaeology and Indigenous archaeology, that every community is different, and has its own needs, goals, and resources, so there is no one method for completing this kind of work (Atalay 2012; Smith 1999). What these projects have in common, however, is the aim to involve community members in all aspects of the research, from the initial research design to the dissemination and ownership of research results. In terms of our research, “unsettling” is an approach within community-oriented research that aims to address criticisms of decolonizing methodologies. It is an avenue to shift away from colonial aspects of archaeology without erasing them from our consciousness. It puts the focus on the work that must be done by non-Indigenous scholars to create space for other ways of knowing, being, and conducting research in academia, rather than expecting Indigenous scholars to solely carry this burden.

Recently, there has been a proliferation of archaeological and anthropological research conducted by

non-Indigenous scholars that claims to “decolonize”. Tuck and Yang (2012) have argued that the easy adoption of decolonizing discourse in advocacy and scholarship turns decolonization into a metaphor, as true decolonization would require the return of Indigenous lands and livelihood. Likewise, we—the authors of this paper—question whether archaeology, a discipline that arose out of colonial expansion and exploration and is built on western fundamentals of time and space, can truly be decolonized. The metaphorization of decolonizing can be dangerous as it makes it possible for settlers to reconcile their guilt, while ensuring their continued benefit from settler colonialism. It is our aim that an unsettling, rather than a decolonizing framework foregrounds the ways that settler colonialism acts as “a structure, not an event” (Kauanui 2016; Wolfe 2006). It asks archaeologists to consider these structures that allow their work to take place and how we can unsettle aspects of these structures so we can build strong collaborative relationships and projects. An unsettling framework maintains that archaeologists must always be cognizant of the ways that: 1) past archaeological emphasis has focused on the colonial moment of contact, which furthers an event-based, rather than structural understanding of colonialism; and 2) unsettling archaeological practice requires archaeological engagement to not only focus on the past but look at the way archaeology intersects with contemporary issues and how it can be future-oriented by creating projects that address these issues and help build strong futures for Indigenous communities. To do this, archaeologists must be careful not to fetishize the past, making sure that their own interest in the past does not become

more important to them than the recent realities of Indigenous communities. This unsettling necessitates that archaeologists acknowledge their own roles in perpetuating colonial practices, and critically engage not only with the issues at the heart of archaeological practice—including concerns regarding labour, intellectual property, and ownership over the past—but also issues faced by Indigenous communities with whom we partner. To unsettle is to be uncomfortable with the legacies and fundamentals of archaeology and to constantly push boundaries towards more meaningful collaboration—collaboration that can serve the specific goals and futures of Indigenous communities.

#### *Agvituk Digital Archive Project*

Kelvin's project, the Agvituk Digital Archive Project, is part of the Agvituk Archaeology Project (formerly the Avertok Archaeology Project), which was initiated by the Inuit Community Government of Hopedale through the Tradition and Transition: Piusitukaujuit Asianguvalliajuillu research partnership between Memorial University and the Nunatsiavut Government. Hopedale community members hoped that an archaeology project could help generate tourism activity and support local interest in the history of Hopedale. The community also requested that youth be involved in the project, preferably in ways that could lessen the community-perceived gap between Elders and youth. The Agvituk Digital Archive Project works to this end by creating a digital archive of archaeological and community knowledge of Hopedale and the surrounding area.

Agvituk Archaeology Project excavation and survey activities commenced in 2017, with the Agvituk Digital Archive

Project working alongside. Kelvin has been documenting, photographing, and creating digital 3D models of artifacts from the archaeological activities, as well as artifacts from Agvituk and the surrounding area that are now housed in museums throughout North America and Europe. She then works with Nunatsiavummiut youth from Hopedale (including the Nunatsiavummiut authors of this paper), who are hired as archaeological field technicians through the Inuit Pathways Summer Work Experience Program, to record community knowledge pertaining to the artifacts and related activities for the archive. To disseminate their research, the field technicians have created a video series which has been shared with the Hopedale community during community meetings, as well as through the Agvituk Archaeology Project YouTube channel and the Nunatsiavut Stories: Nunatsiavummi Unikkauset website. Through the development of the archive, she is aiming to determine a set of best practices for knowledge sharing and research dissemination.

#### *Exploring the Recent History of Hopedale*

Gilheany has volunteered on Kelvin's project while laying the groundwork for her PhD research, which aims to use archaeological and anthropological methods to think about the recent past of Hopedale. She hopes that by focusing on two aspects of the recent past, the Moravian Mission and the US Military Radar Station, she can help reveal the unique nature of settler colonial infrastructures in the Arctic and Sub-Arctic. The central goal of her research is to identify ways that archaeology can be used for and intersect with Inuit sovereignty. Her dissertation project has been framed by conversations with commu-

nity members, the local church, and the Agvituk Historical Society.

Gilheany first became aware of Uviluktok (GiBw-01), also known as Mussel Island or Double Island, when David Igloliorte, the manager of the Moravian Mission Complex and Museum, informed her that it would be an interesting place to consider the long history of Inuit sovereignty and separation from colonial forces. Uviluktok is a historically important summer fishing location, particularly for cod. In 1903, Inuit fishers built a church on the island so they could preside over their own services on Sundays without having to return to Hopedale and interrupt their fishing practices (Rollmann 2009). After many community members expressed an interest in learning more about the island's past, Gilheany conducted an archaeological survey of Uviluktok with the help of Flowers, Lucy, and Piercy in the summer of 2018. She plans to continue working with Nunatsiavummiut youth to survey other sites of resistance or refusal in Hopedale's recent past.

### **Youth, the Past, and Archaeology**

The Hopedale community requested that youth be involved in the Agvituk Archaeology Project, preferably in ways that would nurture their connections with Elders. The inclusion of local youth in archaeology projects is a common practice for community-centred approaches. This focus on youth recognizes their special role within communities. Edmunds, Frieda, and Igloliorte feel that their role in their community is to be respectful while learning from Elders and community knowledge holders how to be Inuk and become adults. Edmunds explains, "We still need to grow proper. How are we supposed to go out and do stuff if we aren't being shown?" Youth

are not only the future leaders for their community; they link the past with the future by relying on the past and their cultural knowledge to ensure cultural continuity, the well-being of the community, and the building of a strong future.

This special role is the reason children and youth often were, and continue to be, the target of colonial policies that aim to destroy Indigenous lifeways, such as the residential school system that operated in Canada from the 1850s to the late 1990s (1940s to 1980s in Labrador, specifically). These schools were developed to isolate children from their families and assimilate them into white culture under the guise of educating Indigenous children from remote and dispersed communities. Barnes and colleagues (2006) recognize that, while attending residential schools, children were placed in harmful psychological situations, such as separation from their parents, becoming immersed in a new culture, having to learn a new language, and the deterioration of their language and cultural knowledge. The racist attitudes of school staff and the countless acts of mental, physical, and sexual abuse carried out by staff against students further contributed to these psychologically harmful situations. The devastating effects of the residential school system are still felt today by the people who attended them, their families, and their communities. Indigenous children continue to be removed from their homes, only now they are placed into foster homes instead of residential schools. Indigenous children account for 52.2% of the children under the age of 15 in foster care in Canada, while they only make up 7.7% of the country's child population (Government of Canada 2019). In Newfoundland and Labrador, 1.3% of the population identify as Inuit

(Statistics Canada 2016), but Inuit children account for 14.9% of the children in care and many of those Inuit children are sent to non-Indigenous rural communities in Newfoundland (Office of Child and Youth Advocate Newfoundland and Labrador 2019). The disproportionate number of Indigenous children in foster care reflects a colonial structure that would rather place Indigenous children in often unstable and ultimately damaging care than work with Indigenous families to provide the tools needed to care for children (Sinclair 2016). The trauma of residential schools and similar colonial policies has manifested across generations within Indigenous communities through depression, anxiety, addiction issues, violence, and the loss of language and culture (Kelvin 2017). Nunatsiavummiut youth are facing an overabundance of challenges not limited to the transgenerational trauma of the residential school system, but also food insecurity, poverty, isolation, and inadequate access to mental health care and housing, or as Edmunds puts it, “too many things to name.” These challenges make it difficult for youth to learn “how to grow proper” and have resulted in a youth suicide rate in Nunatsiavut that is more than 20 times higher than the Canadian average (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2016; Pollock et al. 2016).

There is a concern within Hopedale that not enough traditional knowledge is being passed on to youth. Flowers believes,

Not too long in the future today’s technology will overrun it, and it will be lost into the soil, into the ground. And I think a lot of knowledge is being lost when our Elders pass away, and I think there should be more youth and young

people just getting out there and learning more of the knowledge and wisdom of our ancestors and Elders.

Edmunds, Frieda, and Igloliorte feel that the residential school system resulted in many community members not learning traditional knowledge, especially knowledge of the deep past, so they are now unable to pass it on to the youth. They also feel that although there have been great improvements to the education system since the establishment of the Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement, more could be done to include traditional knowledge in their formal education. They also believe that being on the land is the best place to learn traditional knowledge, but time, money, and issues pertaining to mental health limit the amount of time many community members can spend on the land. It can be hard to make time to go on the land with a busy school and/or work schedule. A skidoo or boat and gas can also be very costly, particularly in the North, making it difficult for many families to afford (on February 9, 2020 gas was \$1.53 CAD/L in Hopedale compared to \$1.04 CAD/L in Winnipeg). Additionally, anxiety or depression can make it hard to travel. The Hopedale community has been proactive in working to enhance traditional knowledge transmission in many ways, including requesting youth participation in archaeology projects.

As Inuit throughout Inuit Nunangat have regained political control of their lands over the last 50 years, they have made it clear to archaeologists that they want to be included in the production and management of their history, sometimes by denying permission for archaeologists to excavate (Helmer and Lemoine 2002; Rowley 2002). Beginning

in the 1970s, archaeologists established a series of archaeological field schools in the North involving Inuit youth and Elders to address Inuit concerns regarding archaeological research and attempt to open dialogue between Inuit and Western understandings of the past (Arnold and Hanks 1991; Bertulli 1985; Bielawski 1989; Hart 1994; Rigby and Stenton 1995; Rowley 2002).

Although this model can have merit depending on the community and their needs, many archaeologists have since recognized the inherent colonial structure of including Inuit in archaeology without actually changing the way we understand archaeology or conduct our research (Griebel 2010; Hodgetts and Kelvin 2020). This recognition has led to a shift towards practices that can better encompass the specific understandings, needs, and goals of the communities they partner with and their youth and has led to the development of projects that go outside of the traditional scope of archaeology to better engage with youth and the wider community (e.g., Qingauq Archaeology Project [Kitikmeot Heritage Society 2019], Inuvialuit Living History Project [Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2012], Ikaahuk Archaeology Project [Kelvin and Hodgetts 2015], Avataq Archaeology Project [Avataq Cultural Institute 2000]). We are working to this end by developing strength-based approaches for working with Nunatsiavummiut youth. We think that a strength-based approach requires a re-thinking, or un-settling of how archaeologists typically engage with youth.

### **Implementing Strength-based Approaches to Archaeology**

At the 2019 Labrador Research Forum, an Inuit and Innu-led biennial forum

dedicated to sharing knowledge, experience, and innovations about work happening in Labrador, there were multiple calls for researchers to be attuned to the real-world effects of the production of their research. At the two final plenary panels “Arts, Culture and Research in Labrador” and “Youth Perspectives and Suggestions for Research”, both of which were all Inuit and Innu panels, there was a strong call for researchers in Indigenous contexts to complicate and oppose overwhelmingly negative narratives of Indigenous communities. Panel members discussed the ways that these narratives make their way out of academia and into mainstream media to inform non-Indigenous understandings of Indigenous people and communities, which creates and reproduces negative stereotypes. Panel members urged researchers to illuminate the positive aspects, strengths, and resiliencies of Indigenous communities in their work. We hope to do this by incorporating an approach that highlights the strengths of our youth participants to empower them, and challenges often-racist preconceived notions of Inuit held by outsiders.

Strength-based approaches are rooted in a social work practice theory that emphasizes peoples’ self-determination and strengths, and are increasingly being applied beyond the field of social work. These approaches do not set out to fix a problem, but rather to create an opportunity to explore the strengths and capacities individuals might have in the process of taking control and learning (Graeme 2016; Hammond and Zimmerman 2012; Lietz 2007; Pollio et al. 1997). For example, the Daughters of Mikak project employed a strength-based approach to re-frame and re-affirm a narrative created by and about Inuit women in Nunatsiavut that recognized



and celebrated strength. This project aimed to build on this strength by recognizing and celebrating the historical and contemporary leadership roles that Inuit women play in creating and maintaining healthy communities in Nunatsiavut (Tradition and Transition 2016). Some key aspects for this approach that we try to incorporate are: 1) focusing on the whole person and recognizing their social context; 2) actively involving participants in decisions; 3) recognizing strengths and expertise of participants so that everyone is both a teacher and a learner; and 4) encouraging experiences where group members can be successful (Graeme 2016; Hammond and Zimmerman 2012; Lietz 2007; Pollio et al. 1997). Although strength-based approaches can be a great way to empower youth, we cannot ignore criticisms of these approaches. They have been criticized for only focusing on strengths while ignoring weaknesses and for taking responsibility from people in power and placing it all on marginalized people (Gray 2011). We have kept these criticisms in mind while trying to develop our approaches.

As mentioned above, archaeology projects often employ youth to perform labour such as assisting with survey, excavation, and lab work. This framework is problematic for many reasons. Most importantly, it attempts to “Indigenize” archaeology simply through the incorporation of Indigenous labour into existing models of archaeological fieldwork, the same models that are criticized for their colonial foundations. This framework places western academic understandings of contribution and productivity on Indigenous youth. They are expected to contribute in the same ways, and sometimes even at the same levels, as professional archaeologists or university

students who study archaeology. It also values the physical labour of Indigenous youth over the intellectual contributions they could be making. Training Indigenous youth in only specialized archaeological techniques is also short-sighted, as most of the youth who participate in these projects do not desire to pursue a career in archaeology. To meaningfully involve Indigenous youth in archaeology projects in ways that can have lasting benefits to them requires a restructuring of fieldwork and a reimagining of the products of an archaeology project.

We are aiming to include youth as interlocutors for building projects that recognize their cultural roles and the intellectual contributions they make to their community. This begins with focusing on the whole person and recognizing their social context. The Nunatsiavummiut authors of this paper have stressed that they think it is important for outsiders who come to their community, particularly those who are working on community-based research projects, to spend a significant amount of time learning about the issues that contemporary Indigenous communities face before developing their research program.

During the first year of the Agvituk Archaeology Project, the Nunatsiavummiut youth that were hired to work on Kelvin’s project also helped excavate and clean and catalogue artifacts from the Agvituk Archaeology Project’s excavation that year. Afterwards, the youth told Kelvin that although they felt comfortable working with her and Gilheany in the cataloguing lab, they were often uncomfortable when we went out to site and were with the rest of the crew. This was in large part due to their suddenly becoming the minority among highly educated, white people from the south, which unfortunately led to uninten-

tional microaggressions. For example, the youth mentioned that they felt other members of the crew were judging their work and contributions to the project too harshly. It seemed some crew members expected them to work to the same capacity as the university students hired for the excavation, not taking into account differences in age, archaeological experience, education, employment history, and the factors affecting the youth outside of the work environment which were discussed above. Additionally, the community requested to have youth involved in the project so that they could further strengthen their ties with their heritage. They did not request for the project to hire them solely for archaeological labour, or teach them only archaeological excavation techniques. The youth were there to work, but they were also there to learn, teach, and grow. If there were better communication among the crew about work expectations, and a deeper understanding of the lives of Nunatsiavummiut, the youth would have been more comfortable. By recognizing the whole person and their social context, we can create spaces where everyone can actively participate, learn, teach, and be successful.

We have strived to include youth in the decision-making aspects of our projects. This inclusive decision-making process led to the development of the Agvituk Archaeology Project video series. After documenting hundreds of artifacts from Agvituk and the surrounding area, Kelvin asked the youth she was working with what they thought would be the best way to interview community members about them. Together, they decided that attempting to interview community members about every artifact would be ineffective. Instead, they decided that dividing the artifacts into activities that

they would have been used for, and then conducting interviews about those activities, would make the project more manageable. After completing some of these interviews, they decided to make short videos to communicate what they were learning to the Hopedale community. At the start of every field season, Kelvin asks the youth she is working with what they are interested in focusing on. Together, they decide on topics for the videos and how the work for the videos will be carried out. In 2017 and 2018, the youth field technicians decided they would each produce their own video based on their interests, but all of the technicians would help with the interviewing and filming (Figures 2 and 3). The topics for these videos included carving, kayak making, the use of ground penetrating radar in archaeology, dogsledding, fish netting, bow-drills, and the work of Junius Bird and how it relates to the Agvituk Archaeology Project. In 2019, the youth field technicians decided they would collectively produce two videos, one about sewing and one about Inuksuit. When it comes to interviewing community members and creating videos, Kelvin has tried to work more as a project facilitator, rather than an employer, allowing the youth to develop their own research projects and come up with interview questions that they think are relevant. This has created work that the youth are interested in and confident pursuing.

During Gilheany's survey of Uviluktok, she actively engaged the youth in decision-making. Together they decided what would be of value to the survey. They all agreed that no GPS points or photographs would be taken of any features resembling graves. They also decided that anything that any person on the crew decided was significant



FIGURE 2. Nicholas Flowers, Halle Lucy, Denver Edmunds, John Piercy, and Elder Andrea Flowers after an interview at her home in 2018.



FIGURE 3. Nicholas Flowers, Denver Edmunds, Laura Kelvin, and John Piercy conducting an interview with Reuben Flowers on how to make dry fish in 2018.

would be flagged. This included curious rock formations, animal bones, and recent garbage. This led to more group conversations about what aspects of the past and the present are important to record, and how this can be culturally influenced, rather than relying on a more processual approach dictating the importance of a feature or artifact based on its age. This created a space where students felt confident asking questions and validated in their understandings and knowledge of their landscape.

We have tried to recognize and foster the strengths and expertise of participants in many ways. For both of our projects, we have worked with youth to ensure that everyone is given a chance to learn how to do everything. However, once they have learned, they are able to take on project roles that speak to their strengths. For example, Edmunds is particularly interested in photography and often took on the role of photographer during interviews and survey. If one is to take a strength-based approach to empower youth, we think it is important that archaeological research methodologies are taught in a way that could be replicated by community members. This means using low cost technologies, many of which the youth participants already have access to and may have even used before. For example, during the survey of Uviluktok, Gilheany had the students use both a hunting GPS and their smartphones to take GPS coordinates of artifacts and features. The students were already comfortable with both technologies and felt empowered to know that they could conduct a scientific project with technology already available to them, and without the presence of outsiders. Similarly, Kelvin makes digital 3D models with an iPad, a common piece of technology in Hopedale, and an attach-

ment called a structure sensor, which is a relatively inexpensive technology compared to other 3D modeling technologies.

Kelvin and Gilheany were surprised to learn that the youth they work with do not feel that they hold much knowledge of their past or culture, when in fact, these youths are very knowledgeable. It is important to recognize that the knowledge that youth hold of their past and culture may differ from Elders' knowledge. Knowledge is always fluid and adaptive, and the lives and experiences of Nunatsiavummiut youth are different from those of Elders. Therefore, the knowledge the youth do possess may be applied differently and understood in relation to different things than that of Elders. Nevertheless, their knowledge can still make important contributions to archaeological interpretations, and we have tried to utilize their knowledge whenever possible. The youth applied their own knowledge of artifacts, language, and archaeological sites to the videos they produced, while looking to Elders for guidance. While conducting survey at Uviluktok, Gilheany also encouraged them to discuss what they thought might have happened on the island and how they thought different features they encountered were used.

It is important to create experiences where youth can be successful. Traditional archaeological and ethnographic projects are long, and the end results could take years to emerge, meaning that youth who participate in these projects may never see the results and never feel the accomplishment of the completion of these projects. Kelvin and Gilheany have developed projects where youth participants can see a finished product from their work. These finished products include the video series,

articles written for *Them Days* magazine (Flowers et al. 2018), a paper written for the Labrador Research Forum, and a blog post for Day of Archaeology (Kelvin and Semigak 2017). Edmunds feels that “the best part of doing this work is the feeling of accomplishment when we finish a project.”

### **Looking to the Future: Employment, Education, and Healing**

We believe that the basis for a strength-based approach is creating projects that are future-oriented. We have tried to do this through the incorporation of employment, education, and healing. There are few employment opportunities in Hopedale, especially ones that are available to youth. The Nunatsiavummiut authors of this paper recognize the importance of gaining work experience to build up their resumes for their future. Edmunds first applied to work on the Agvituk Archaeology Project because he wanted to get his first job and get experience. He feels that working on the project helped him set a routine for himself and gave him good work experience for when he gets a full-time job. Igloliorte and Frieda feel that they gained teamwork skills and interviewing experience, which will help them with future employment.

Educating youth about the past was an important request of Hopedale community members. All the youth participants felt that they learned more about the past and archaeology through their experience working on Kelvin and Gilheany’s projects. After completing interviews, Edmunds, Igloliorte, and Frieda were all surprised to learn how much Hopedale community members know about the past and Inuit culture. By also educating youth in research practices, they will be able to think criti-

cally about research taking place in their community. As future leaders for their community, they will have the power to request or conduct research to benefit their community. Conversely, they will also have the power to deny research that does not benefit their community. Kelvin and Gilheany hope they have helped them attain the skills to recognize whether research is beneficial to them and has their best interests in mind, and the confidence to speak up when they feel that it does not.

We have tried to incorporate education into our projects, not just by educating the youth about archaeology and archaeological interpretations of their past, but by also having youth educate Kelvin and Gilheany, as well as the public. The youth participants provided interpretations for archaeological features and artifacts, and taught Kelvin, Gilheany, and Agvituk Archaeology Project crew members about their community and culture. The videos and publications the youth produced through these projects have been used to educate Hopedale community members and the wider public about the history of Labrador. Kelvin and Gilheany hope that the youth will gain confidence in their own knowledge through this role as educators.

An important aspect of our strength-based approaches is recognizing the ways that learning about the past and archaeology can lend itself to the process of healing. As excavation and survey are primarily land-based activities, taking part in them gives youth a chance to go out on the land. Land-based activities are often cited as a way northern youth cope with mental health issues (Hackett et al. 2016; Lys 2018) and there have been successful well-being initiatives that apply this concept to youth programs, such

as *Going Off, Growing Strong*, in Nain, Nunatsiavut (Hackett et al. 2016). Similarly, youth participants recognized that going out on the land is helpful to the healing processes because first, it physically removes them from situations that are causing them stress, and second, the land itself is healing. Edmunds believes,

Going out on the land you don't even need to hunt or anything like that, just to get away from your phone, get out of the house, or just go out on the land to get a break from anything that is bothering you.

The youth found that going out on the land as part of survey and excavation for the Agvituk Archaeology Project (Figure 4) and Gilheany's research helped them heal, especially because they were visiting places used by their

ancestors. Igloliorte feels that a benefit of working on the Agvituk Archaeology Project was

going in a speed boat and going to an island and seeing different Inuksuit, old tent rings, and just being on the land, feeling refreshed.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2016) has identified creating cultural continuity that is strongly grounded in Inuit language, culture, and history as one of six priority areas for their suicide prevention strategies. There are many reasons why knowing the past is important. As Searles (2017:77) explains:

The Inuit past is not just a set of subsistence practices and settlement patterns that can be reconstructed through the recovery of



FIGURE 4. Claire Igloliorte and Mackenzie Frieda taking a break from archaeological survey in 2019.

material remains buried in the ground. The past has become a contested set of truths bound by one essential message: maintaining strong vibrant connection to local and regional history is essential for the ongoing vitality of a culturally distinct and politically self-determining Inuit society.

Knowing the past can also have a comforting effect. Lucy acknowledges: "It's a pleasure to know how our Elders lived." Knowledge of the past can also help youth cope with the challenges they currently face. Edmunds, Frieda, and Igloliorte feel that archaeology can be an important way to learn about the past because they feel a lot of knowledge of the deep past was lost due to the residential school system and other colonial policies. Furthermore, Schaepe and colleagues (2017) demonstrate how archaeology can contribute to community health, healing, and well-being, through promoting interconnectedness and belonging. Edmunds, Frieda, and Igloliorte were surprised to learn during interviews how much Hopedale community members know about their past and culture. They felt that interviewing Elders and community knowledge holders brought them closer together, and they feel more comfortable going to them in the future to ask questions. By studying the past through interviews and archaeological research, youth participants felt better connected to community members and their ancestors. This connection helps build their confidence and focus on their future. Denver Edmunds explains,

Although I am unsure what I will do in the future, I think this work will help me. Learning about the

past makes me more confident because it teaches me more about the people before me, my culture, and myself.

### Conclusions

The unsettling approach that we are outlining is not meant to be methodologically simple, or a blanket one-way-fits-all methodology. It is an acknowledgement that researchers must consider the local histories and nuances of their field sites. Although Canada is a large settler colonial state, the experiences of Indigenous people and their communities vary, making unsettling practices differ between projects. An unsettling approach can be seen as a call for long-term obligation with the local, as this can lead to more effective understandings of research that people might be interested in, or that Indigenous communities might want to implement. It is a response to the criticisms of decolonizing methodologies, by acknowledging that we may not be able to decolonize archaeology because it is so firmly rooted in Western thought. We may, however, be able to unsettle aspects of the discipline and work with Indigenous communities and scholars to Indigenize our research. A key to unsettling practices is shifting from an *extractive mindset*, where cultural objects and structures are considered archaeological resources, and information, knowledge, and artifacts need to be gathered, to a *creative mindset*, where relationships are built, interpretations are co-produced, and personal and collective meanings of, and connections to, the past are made. To conduct future-oriented research using an unsettling approach, a researcher must step away from their own research agenda and goals to ask what research is interesting, important, or empowering for Indig-

enous communities. This might mean stepping away from certain research questions, or research, entirely—and giving communities the opportunity to refuse research (Tuck and Yang 2014). The future of archaeology on Indigenous communities needs to be determined by Indigenous people.

The strength-based approaches described in this article are reactive to conversations in Indigenous spaces, with Hopedale community members, Nunatsiavummiut youth participants, and Labrador Research Forum participants. The approaches are meant to respond to community requests for involvement in research, as well as community concerns, not just with previous research practices, but also concerns over the well-being of their youth and their community. They are also a provocation for archaeologists that are reading this to consider the ways they interact and work with local youth and their expectations of them. To help empower Indigenous youth, archaeologists need to always be cognizant of colonial power structures they are working within and to be aware of and understand both the history and the current social context of the communities with which they work. We should seek to engage with power differences. We should feel unsettled.

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

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

**RÉSUMÉ.** Le titre de cet article, « Unsettling Archaeology » (Décoloniser l'archéologie), fait référence à la façon dont nous, les archéologues, travaillons avec les communautés autochtones au sujet de leur héritage. Une partie essentielle de ce processus implique la manière dont nous enseignons aux étudiants. À ce sujet, l'école de fouilles constitue un contexte idéal afin d'explorer de nouvelles possibilités. Depuis 2000, l'Université du Nord de la Colombie-Britannique a travaillé en partenariat avec de nombreuses communautés autochtones, sur la côte et à l'intérieur des terres de la Colombie-Britannique, dans le but d'offrir treize écoles de fouilles à divers endroits. Un des éléments clés du modèle des écoles de fouilles est

l'intégration et le tissage du savoir traditionnel (traditional knowledge) enseigné par les membres de la communauté, ainsi que l'approche scientifique des méthodes de terrain enseignées par des employés de l'université. Le modèle initial des écoles de fouilles est décrit, et les problèmes et succès associés avec celui-ci sont mis de l'avant dans le texte.

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

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

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

Columbia (UNBC) field school and I have organized and taught all of the field schools since 2007.

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

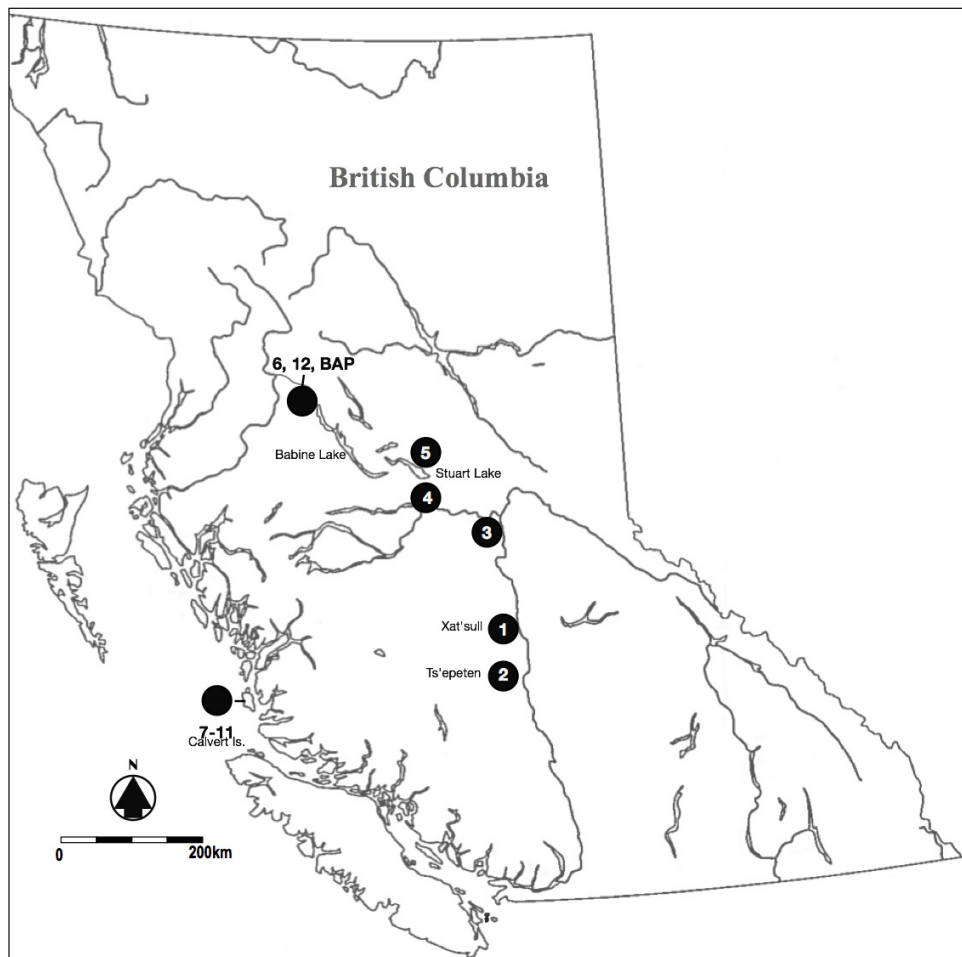


FIGURE 1. Locations of UNBC community-engaged field schools in British Columbia. Base map from d-maps.com.

### The Field School Model

Most Indigenous communities in British Columbia are observing impacts to their claimed traditional territories as the pace of development through resource extraction accelerates, along with environmental assessments (Klimko et al. 1998; La Salle and Hutchings 2012; Nicholas 2006). Archaeological impact assessments are frequently undertaken prior to development, usually by cultural resource managers, and this is generally

the first interaction that communities have with archaeologists (Klassen et al. 2009). Over the past decades, Indigenous communities have justifiably asserted an increased role in all aspects of archaeology from practice to management of resources, as well as permitting. Lack of capacity continues to be a problem as there are still very few Indigenous archaeologists working within the communities. Local community members are frequently hired by consultants to assist

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

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

- 1) Archaeology and traditional knowledge should be placed on equal footing. Traditional knowledge is used here in the broadest sense, encompassing environmental, social, and spiritual aspects. Legat (1991:1–2; cf. Greer 1997:146) outlines a similar and useful definition developed by the Government of the Northwest Territories Traditional Knowledge Working Group. This means observing any cultural protocols as prescribed by our community partners. Archaeological training consists of traditional field techniques and a science-based approach. We also include experiential archaeology under this principle, which includes modules such as making and using stone tools or creating earth ovens.
- 2) Instructors will be qualified academic archaeologists as well as Elders and other community members who wish to share their knowledge (McDonald and Lazenby 1999).
- 3) University students and community members (chosen by the community) enrol in field school courses together, and both groups earn university credits upon successful completion. Community members need not have an academic background to enrol in the field school.
- 4) Research questions and fieldwork locations are chosen collaboratively, with guidance from the community.
- 5) The university and the partner Indigenous communities share the cost of the project so that, at a minimum, communities are responsible for tuition and fees for their students (see below). The university provides staff, equipment, learning materials, transportation and fuel, food, plus more.
- 6) A community day is held near the end of the project with a feast and any necessary ceremonies at the discretion of the community. Students and staff facilitate community interaction and input through display of artifacts and any other material culture recovered.



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

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

<sup>a</sup> Taught by Michael Klassen and Judith Gilbert.

<sup>b</sup> Now Northern Secwepemc te Qelmuw (NStQ).

<sup>c</sup> Co-taught by Rudy Reimer/Yumks and Dave Hall.

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

Central to this model is community engagement, which in this case means striving to ensure that the community

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

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

#### *Courses*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Funding*

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

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

The Hakai Institute, under the direction of Eric Peterson and Christina Munck, generously subsidized our coastal field schools. During the five field seasons on Calvert Island, the Institute provided boat transportation, lodging, and food (Rahemtulla 2013b, 2015). In the remoteness of the central coast, these are not trivial expenses and with-

out this support the field school could not happen at that location.

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

### Implementation of the Field School Model

#### *Consultation and Delivery of Field Schools*

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

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

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

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

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

The field school guiding principles were implemented in the first UNBC field school project in 2000, in collaboration with the then Cariboo Tribal Council Treaty Society (Table 1). The Cariboo Tribal Council consists of four bands, Williams Lake, Canim Lake, Dog Creek/Canoe Creek, and Soda Creek/

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Classes and mapping exercises took place at the Tache Reserve, where the entire group stayed at a community centre. This forced project students and staff to interact with the residents,

and probably the social highlight of the stay was when all members of the field school participated in a karaoke competition one evening. Participation in community events such as this one goes a long way towards building relationships between community members and the non-community group.

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



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

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

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

In 2010, the Lake Babine Nation (LBN) signed a Memorandum of Understanding with UNBC to collaborate on research and training to the mutual benefit of both parties. Soon thereafter, LBN Co-Chief Treaty Negotiator, Joe Michell, requested a meeting with me and indicated that archaeological training (capacity building) and research were a priority for the community. At the outset, Michell envisioned two general research directions; the first was to find out more about the ancient fishing villages on Babine Lake that their ancestors had used for generations. The second research direction entailed searching the north part of the lake for remnants of wood stake fish weirs that had been used historically to harvest many species of Skeena River salmon that spawn in the Babine watershed. These weirs were central to the Babine economy, but they

were forcibly taken down in 1906 by government agencies (Harris 2001). Over the years, community engagement has revealed a strong interest to document and protect the rock art around the lake, which now forms the third general research direction. Michell was aware of the slow nature of the archaeological process and envisioned a multi-year partnership facilitated through the LBN Treaty Office. Field schools would play a central role in this enterprise and the Babine Archaeology Project was thus initiated.

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

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





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



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

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

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

The Hakai Institute generously hosted five field schools from 2011 to 2015, in which dozens of students participated. During the first field school in 2011, four community participants from

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

*Traditional Knowledge, Community Interaction, and Experiential Archaeology*

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

it would have been passed through the generations in antiquity.

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



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

not designed to specifically have a measured outcome.

### Discussion

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

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

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

### *Challenges*

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

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

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

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

that they are not interested in this type of work.

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

#### *Benefits to the Community*

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

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

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



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

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

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

Digital Archaeology (Cook and Compton 2018) is changing and enhancing projects by providing accessible

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

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

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



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

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

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

### Conclusion

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

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

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

Since its inception, 158 students have completed the field school for university credit and of those, 39 are community members with no previous post-secondary education. Of the post-secondary students, an additional 12 identify as Indigenous. As with university students, many community field school participants are still working with CRM firms as field assistants, but hopefully now have a much better understanding of archaeological procedures and identification of cultural material. More importantly, they are exposed to a part of their heritage that they may not have been otherwise. In many cases, community students are emotionally overwhelmed with positive feelings. One band councillor indicated that this type of archaeology

could contribute to Indigenous healing in the post-colonial era. Schaepe and colleagues (2017) have recently argued for a similar outcome, based on projects around the Salish Sea. Our field school model is constantly under modification as per the needs of the communities and of the field school. We have a long way to go, but we are even more resolute now that the process of unsettling archaeology must include how we train the next generation of practitioners of the discipline.

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# Do My Braids Look Different? Indigenous Identity in Archaeology

Danii Desmarais<sup>†</sup>

**ABSTRACT.** This article is a narrative of the challenges I have experienced as a white-passing Indigenous scholar. I discuss my conscious decision to conceal my Indigenous heritage during my undergraduate education due to subtle and overt forms of marginalization. I also examine the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and some community engagement experiences that inspired me to proudly divulge my Indigenous identity during my graduate career. My personal narrative highlights some of the issues that exist for Indigenous peoples studying in a colonial setting. I share how I have coped with these challenges by engaging with my culture, and the Indigenous teachings I have received. It is my hope that my **Truth** will encourage fellow archaeologists to reflect on their own experiences of marginalization, complacency, and/or culpability so that we can work together and move toward **Reconciliation** in a *good way*.

**RÉSUMÉ.** Cet article est un récit des défis que j'ai rencontrés en tant qu'universitaire indigène pouvant passer pour une Caucasienne. Je discute de ma décision consciente de cacher mon héritage indigène pendant mes études de premier cycle en raison de formes subtiles et manifestes de marginalisation. J'examine également le rôle de la Commission de vérité et réconciliation et certaines expériences d'engagement communautaire qui m'ont inspiré à divulguer fièrement mon identité indigène pendant mes études aux cycles supérieurs. Mon récit personnel met en évidence certains des problèmes qui existent pour les peuples indigènes qui étudient dans un contexte colonial. Je partage

comment j'ai fait face à ces défis en m'engageant dans ma culture et les enseignements indigènes que j'ai reçus. J'espère que ma **vérité** encouragera mes collègues archéologues à réfléchir sur leurs propres expériences de marginalisation, de complaisance ou de culpabilité afin que nous puissions travailler ensemble et progresser vers la **réconciliation** de la *bonne façon*.

## My Story

This is my story; my experiences as a white-passing Indigenous scholar studying and practising archaeology. I hope that sharing my experiences from this perspective will encourage other archaeologists to reflect on their own experiences and reconciliation efforts. Engaging with archaeology and speaking my truth is also part of my healing journey. So, while this narrative may not seem archaeologically relevant at times, I ask that you see these instances as bearing witness to build relationships (Wilson 2009), which is an important element of reconciliation. This article focuses on truthfulness, even if those truths are uncomfortable or unsettling and, in some cases, precisely because they are unsettling (upsetting or challenging) and un-settling (moves toward

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personal decolonization). It also focuses on practical utility by exploring how I approach Indigenizing archaeology, and I answer a question I am often asked: “What does Truth and Reconciliation mean to you?” I close with a series of suggestions for people wanting to know more about how they can help and/or be an ally to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, in an archaeological setting or otherwise. Most importantly though, this article is about adding to the space that has been created for other Indigenous archaeologists (Nicholas 2010). I hope that by being open about my challenges, other Indigenous students of archaeology can feel less isolated and misunderstood, and more comfortable and confident with expressing their voice and their truths.

In February of 2017, I received an email from a friend and colleague who thought I may be interested in participating in the “Unsettling Archaeology” session organized by Dr. Lisa Hodgetts (University of Western Ontario) and Dr. Laura Kelvin (Memorial University) for the upcoming Canadian Archaeological Association Annual Meeting, and they were right. Participating in Truth and Reconciliation is an important focus of mine and speaking/writing my truth helps me to decolonize or un-settle my thoughts and actions. So, when I read the session abstract, I knew what I had to contribute, as I have been writing this paper since 2013. That is when, against my many fears, I decided to publicly acknowledge my Indigenous identity in academia. While a few close friends were aware, I never mentioned this part of my life in a professional setting.

To give you a little background, I am of mixed Indigenous and settler ancestry. While my skin is white, my maternal family represents the epitome of colonial

impacts on Indigenous families now struggling to cope with intergenerational trauma. While it is difficult to put together the whole story, my grandfather, Ammie Bernard Jost, was placed in an orphanage and/or residential school from infancy. When my grandfather tried to research his past, he found that the orphanage and/or school had burned down, and with it any clues as to his specific Nation affiliation. However, as a result of the systems of racism engrained in Canadian culture and government as a product of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006), I was still able to experience the harassment that comes from looking Indigenous, or in my case, being related to people who do. It was not until I wrote this paper and received reviews that I understood the depths of my internalized colonization (David and Derthick 2014).

### **My Whiteness**

Before I get further into my history though, I would first like to discuss my whiteness (Figure 1), as that has shaped a large part of my experience. By acknowledging my white-skin privilege, I honour and recognize the past and present struggles of my ancestors, communities, and family. While not all my privilege is derived from my fair skin, the most important privilege has involved not being discriminated against because of my skin colour. This means I have not been subjected to innumerable daily micro-aggressions as a result of my complexion. Security does not follow me as a thief in a store unless I project my Indigenous identity or appear poor that day, but I get to choose whether I look that way; my sister Debbie does not. It means that healthcare professionals do not assume I have come to the emergency room to try to get prescription narcotics. It also means that I do not have to insist



FIGURE 1. My school photo from grade two. I was the only person in my immediate family with blonde hair and hazel eyes.

that I am not Lebanese, Persian, Egyptian, Mexican, etc., on a regular basis.

My fair complexion has meant that I get to be an anonymous female citizen pretty much any time I want. This made it easier for me to get a high paying service job that enabled me to pay for a university education. This also meant that when an Indigenous topic was brought up in class, I was not the one that everybody looked to for a response. While it is uncomfortable at first to “check” or acknowledge your privilege, especially if you have had a challenging life, it gets easier with time. Doing so has afforded me the perspective needed to be grateful for all that I have been given. And while being the whitest or most European looking person in my family was a challenge, it was much more difficult for my sister who has the darkest

skin in my family and visibly presents as Indigenous. Growing up in a diverse city like Toronto made it easy to be colour-blind at a young age, and it was not until I was older and away from my family that I realized that life could be easier.

### **The Undergraduate Years**

When I first went to college, I studied fashion techniques and design. It was at this point that I made a conscious decision to not refer to my Indigeneity at work or school. I rejected the designs and techniques that my mother exposed me to (specifically beading) for anything new and not traditional. Like many young people, I came to think of my family’s ways as dated and not relevant to life today. In college, it was easy to get lost in the work because now my background was finally anonymous, and I was no longer compelled to define or defend my cultural identity. I was going to achieve success with no labels attached and on the merits of my work. I had never heard of internalized oppression or internalized colonization, and I was not aware that this was causing me to be biased against my cultural expressions (David and Derthick 2014).

When I decided to go back to school for archaeology, I continued to conceal my background to some degree. While I never lied, I never shared much information about my past beyond artistic and academic accomplishments. At the time, my sister was living with me so I knew this concealment might be tricky. My sisters have long embraced our Indigenous heritage even without knowing our Nation, often expressing and exploring their roots through their art (Figures 2 and 3). So, when I would come home from class, I was careful not to discuss too much about the Canadian history I was learning. If I did, I would



FIGURE 2. My eldest sister Dawn Desmarais on the cover of her second album *Uprooted*.



FIGURE 3. My middle sister Debbie Desmarais posing with her painting of Chippewa Chief Ne-bah-quah-om which was part of her *Are You My Father?* art installation.

inevitably be greeted with an earful of the Canadian *counter*-history from my sister, which was actually the history she learned from oral teachings. I suspected there was truth in what she said, but it was not going to help me answer test questions in my “Intro to Anthropology” course. I also thought, “Does everything

have to be so political?” I had a taste of anonymous white identity and I loved how easy it was! “Besides, we’re not really Native ... are we?” I would say.

Once I completed the first year of school, my sister moved west to be with my other sister. I was now free to hide in my whiteness once again. “Just don’t wear braids,” I told myself, “and no one will notice.” I always thought that if I wore my braids people would know or suspect that I was Indigenous, and then the questions would start. However, being in anthropology and specifically archaeology, concealing my identity would prove to be fairly challenging. If I kept my mouth shut, I would be okay; a strategy that worked for my undergraduate years, but it was difficult.

One of the challenges I faced involved being in Hunter-Gatherer class and realizing that the discussion at hand related to me, to my history. This, in turn, led me to question whether this history was really mine, exacerbating my already ample anxieties over personal identity. By the time I was 28, I had moved 47 times in my life. I wondered,

Are most people really that lucky to stay in one place for so long? Am I the only one here who sees themselves in the definition of hunter-gatherer that is being discussed? Why do they assume people in the city don’t live like this?

I dared not share those thoughts back then, for fear of sounding like my sister and having no one take me seriously; something both of my sisters have struggled with enormously as strong, outspoken Indigenous women. They might have stated how assumptions about who is a hunter-gatherer can marginalize people in the classroom. At the time,

I saw their approach as a reflection of being “too sensitive”. Why could they not recognize that everyone has struggles, and learn to get along without making people uncomfortable? I have come to understand that they were further along with decolonizing themselves, had different experiences than me, and would no longer tolerate marginalization.

Another example is when I sat in the introductory class for archaeology and there was a young Anishinaabe man, Michael White, speaking up about the erasure of Native history from the textbooks. “Oh no here we go again,” I thought, and “I know he has a valid point but now is not the time. We’re trying to learn here!” I did not realize that *now* was the exact right time to learn these things. I later became friends with Michael, and we shared our first archaeological field experience together working at a few Tsimshian sites in Prince Rupert Harbour, British Columbia. It was the kind of summer fieldwork experience that brought the crew together like a family, and as happens among many families, Michael and I would passionately debate current events, and Indigenous issues, specifically. I would say,

Why not celebrate Canada Day?  
We are all lucky to be part of this amazing country. Why does everything have to be so political? What do you mean I’m not really Indigenous if I don’t speak my language?

This last one really got me. How could I speak my language if I did not know who I was? These debates challenged my complacency on what was really happening in our society for centuries, something I was not ready for. I still believed that I would learn the truth about the past through archaeology. I still believed that

if I did not have proof of my heritage, if I did not know my Nation, or did not have a status card, I was not really Native. It did not matter that my sisters had a different experience, they were just too sensitive. I knew that I was going to deal with these things at some point, but not now. “I’ve got class,” I thought, and class was amazing!

For the second time in my life I could focus on learning instead of surviving. I had a great job serving rich people. My apartment was just off-campus so I could walk to class. And I lived in this home for six years, which far exceeded the duration of any previous address. I was one of the lucky ones. I also had a lot of support at school. The doors of my professors were always open. They encouraged creative approaches and experimentation with archaeology (Figure 4). As well, there were many student groups which I became part of, and I found a community where I could grow. I also received a great tip from Dr. Trevor Orchard, who was a graduate student at the time. He encouraged me to apply for any award I could, because they would help me get bigger awards in the future. So, I did. Well, I applied for most awards. I never applied for a single Indigenous award or scholarship because I was too afraid to associate myself with an Indigenous free education. I thought,

I want to get my awards and scholarships on my merits, not because someone pitied me or gave me a free ride. Plus, I have white skin, so I don’t count for these awards because they’re only for people who look Indigenous or have status cards.

I had heard how non-Indigenous people spoke about the myth of free education



FIGURE 4. The results of my first experimentation with Arctic skin clothing patterns and production for an undergraduate Arctic archaeology course.

and assumed Indigenous students only get their spot because of some form of affirmative action. I should emphasize here, this is not how I currently feel. Trust me, no one is giving an Indigenous person a free ride. Besides the added emotional labour involved with undertaking studies in a marginalizing and repressive colonial institution (Deloria 2004), there are also financial costs that are not covered, regardless of the myth of free Indigenous education (Usher 2009). If the government was successful in separating an Indigenous person or family from their culture, and they therefore do not have a status card, education costs are not covered at all. Even with a status card, only some people receive some funding from their band, because, in reality, there is not even close to enough money to cover the post-secondary education costs of all prospective

and current Indigenous students (Usher 2009). During my undergraduate career, I did not know any of this, and I thought, “I am one of the lucky ones to have white skin,” never realizing that what I gained with white skin was far out-weighted by what I lost in having my culture stolen from me.

I also avoided engaging with the Indigenous community on campus and nearby. I was too frightened to become part of these spaces, as I did not have the strength to assert an identity I was so unsure of; an identity that would surely be challenged without my family there to validate me. Most of this avoidance was related to my fears of not being accepted without knowing my Nation, and not my actual experiences of marginalization within the Indigenous community. In reality, I was welcomed at the few Indigenous community events I attended, but

my internalized colonialization would not let me see this (David and Derthick 2014). So, during the big drum socials on Thursdays, I would stand outside of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto and listen to the drumming from the street, never venturing inside except to pay my membership. At the time, I did not know that I was trying to receive the medicine of the drum and that there were others on the street doing the same.

I learned a great deal over the course of my undergraduate degree, and had many great experiences, but there were also many moments of confusion over terminology that conflicted with my understanding of the world. Hearing and reading terms like “New World”, “precontact”, and “prehistory” privileged a European perspective even though we were being taught that the Victorian ladder approach was how we *used to* think of cultures (Kuper 1988). If the world was only new to Europeans then why is everyone expected to refer to it as new? Why are we not saying pre-European contact if that is what we are referring to? Why are only some recorded histories seen as history and everything before that time is prehistory, when that diminishes the value of other histories? Can people not see that these words are insulting and limiting? By the end of my undergraduate, I had a therapist to help me process the confusion and experiences of marginalization in the academy and the shock of being surrounded with so much privilege.

### **Grad School**

Following my undergraduate degree, I moved west to be with my sisters and undertake a Master’s. I was excited to be in Alberta, connected to so many of my roots and close to where my grandfather was born and grew up. I suspected that I might learn more about my family’s

past and grow as a result of that knowledge. What I did not expect, or rather forgot about, was that I could no longer be anonymous. I also did not expect to experience so much overt racism. But I was back with my sisters again and I was once again privy to their experiences. It was a struggle to watch them be so sure and unapologetic of who they were (Figures 5 and 6). I think I was envious, but I was proud of them as well. I also struggled with my previous strategy of keeping my mouth shut at school.

While completing my course requirements, I sometimes found it difficult to understand who the professors were talking about. I would encounter explanations about human behaviour that made me confused and uncomfortable. I would hear, “So, just like how *we* do this, *they* do this.” I thought, “Who is this *we* you speak of? Was I supposed to have had this experience? Why did they assume I wasn’t First Nations?” But all that came out was “Who is this ‘we’ you are referring to?” The professor replied, “WASPs, us... well except Tanya.” Tanya (not her real name) was the only visible minority in the class. I wanted to say who I was, but my voice froze and I wrote down the word “WASPs” as though it was an important note. It was a small victory for me to ask who he was talking about in hopes that he would realize he was making assumptions, but I knew I could do better. The tide was starting to turn for me. I was indeed engaging with who I was; my sisters would not let me do otherwise.

After processing this experience for a few weeks, I resolved to be ready the next time assumptions were being placed on me. So, when discussions about other cultures seemed to dismiss alternate worldviews, I suggested that their own worldviews were limiting their understanding of the culture.



FIGURE 5. Debbie participating in the “I Matter” campaign of the Marsha Meadows Foundation which raises awareness and funding to aid and assist women and youth at risk.



FIGURE 6. Dawn resting between performance sets. The markings on her face are a tattoo she had done acknowledging her connection to our heritage and honouring our ancestors, her Elders’ teachings, and her vision quest.

While you may consider only organisms that exchange gas of some sort, or grow and reproduce as a “living being”, other cultures and people such as myself believe

differently. For example, I believe that everything that moves is alive; and since everything moves on some level, then everything is alive. The air, the water, this table and even my pencil are alive.

When I finished my point, I suddenly got the feeling that I had sprouted two new heads on my shoulders because the silence and looks from my colleagues seemed to be of confused shock. I was lucky class ended because I was not sure what to think or do. I immediately went home to try and stop shaking. I knew speaking up would be difficult, but I did not know it would make my body react so intensely. Still, I spoke up.

This was also a time of great pain for my family, in part because the abuse my grandfather experienced in the residential school and subsequently perpetrated later in life was coming to light. As the youngest granddaughter with a mother working two jobs to support her three daughters, I spent a lot of my youth at my grandparents’ home. There were many evenings with my grandfather pouring over photo albums (Figures 7, 8, and 9), listening to stories of his travels north and working for the Hudson’s Bay Company as a mechanic on the SS Distributor and other Mackenzie River boats. He took many pictures and would talk for hours. But when the alcohol flowed, so did the recollections of his abuse. I bore witness to his pain and grieving, and I tried to comfort him as best I could. I did not know at the time that I was the only one who would carry those stories for him. He did not tell anybody else. It was only through later conversations when family members were complaining about my grandfather being abusive, that I said, “Well what do you expect with all the abuse he went through?” They





FIGURE 7 Scanned image of a sheet from one of my grandfather Ammie's photo albums documenting his time in the north during the 1930s. Clockwise from upper left: One of the planes my grandfather flew in while working throughout the north; view of a burning coal mine from the Mackenzie River; a Mackenzie River steamboat, the S.S. Distributor, where my grandfather was a mechanic; and an aerial view of Fort McMurray looking east.



FIGURE 8. Scanned image of sheet from one of Ammie's photo albums documenting his time in the north during the 1930s. Clockwise from upper left: Planes parked on the north shore of Lake Athabasca; gear and supplies in the harbour in Yellowknife, NWT; the view from Cracklingstone Point on Lake Athabasca; an image of my grandfather twice in the same shot (he achieved this by opening the shutter while in one position and then opened it again after he moved over a step); and Ammie and one of his friends.



FIGURE 9. Scanned image of sheet from one of Ammie's photo albums documenting his time in the north during the 1930s. Top to bottom: The Hudson's Bay Company in Aklavik, NWT; Ramparts from the Mackenzie River, near Fort Good Hope, NT; and an image of the midnight sun and the moon moving across the sky while my grandfather was on the coast of the Beaufort Sea. He opened the shutter at regular intervals to capture the movement in a single photo.

paused, clearly puzzled, and replied, “What are you talking about, his adoptive family?” I replied, “Well yes, them, but also at the orphanage, or the school... I don’t know, the nuns and the priest.” It was then that I realized they did not know this part of his life. My grandfather was quite a storyteller and all of us would listen to his stories, often many times over, so we all knew most of them. For whatever reason, this part of his story he only shared with me.

All of these experiences combined to take a toll on my health, and I was unable to complete my degree. As is common among North American Indigenous people, I live with the many symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Bassett et al. 2014; Corrado and Cohen 2003; Shore et al. 2009). For a few years, I spent all my time devoted to my health and survival. In addition to my sisters, I am also fortunate to have a compassionate and loving partner and a few very good friends who helped me recover from the more critical health issues I was facing.

By 2012, I had recovered significantly, and I started working in cultural resource management. Luckily, I spent most of my time in the lab, so I did not have to deal with issues between my employer and different First Nations groups when they arose. Though I did inform my boss that it would be best not to put me in the field, as I would not continue to work if the First Nations groups called for a halt. I thought I was taking a stand but really, I just could not face it. I would not have worked if that was what the First Nations groups decided. But telling my boss not to put me there was not taking a stand, it was running away. Looking back, I have no issue with that complacent behaviour, as I still needed to survive and get back on my feet. I was not ready for that confrontation.

It was around this time my partner started working on The Memory, Meaning Making and Collections Project, which was originally developed to mobilize a unique collection of objects under the care of First Story Toronto, to investigate the impact of museum collections on memory and a range of community-based heritage initiatives (Krpmotich et al. 2015). I had attended a few communal feasts with the research group, and before I knew it, I was partaking in the sessions with the seniors and became a volunteer for the group. Participating in these events was having an effect on me, as I connected with many people in the community who had very similar experiences to my own. This was also a time when I started hearing about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and that my grandfather’s experiences were not unique but had happened everywhere in Canada.

These two factors would have an enormous impact on my identity as I realized that my roots were severed by a system of physical and cultural genocide, and it almost worked! Like so many of my peers, I had become a self-hating Indian, or worse, an Indigenous ghost; all through colonial conditioning (David and Derthick 2014:8–9). This realization provided me with the fuel to take a stand. So, when I returned to university to complete my Master’s degree, I would no longer be silent about who I am or what my experience has been. I would no longer cater to the “nice” history that denies my pain, my heritage, and the attempted erasure of my people. It was going to be scary, but I knew I had to honour my ancestors.

### Questions and Answers

I often refer to this time as my “coming out” period. While I had already been

comfortable with my LGBTQS2+ identity and never tried to conceal it, my Indigenous identity was new to many colleagues and even some friends, and understandably they had some questions. This expression of my cultural identity also meant that I now had to deal with people looking to me to provide an Indigenous perspective. I would now have to face all the questions and statements that made me feel marginalized. Questions and statements that I avoided as an undergraduate, such as:

- But you're not really Native, are you?
- What part Native?
- Are you status?
- What Nation?
- Why does everything have to be so political?
- You know you're white, don't you?

It was not until I started writing this paper that I realized these were all the same things I had said to my sisters. I kept quiet for so long because I was afraid of people like me! But when the TRC executive summary with calls to action was released in 2015 (Truth and Reconciliation Canada 2015), I no longer had to keep my grandfather's experiences a secret. And I was ready to answer questions, but on my terms. It is to honour my ancestors and my truth that I share with you what my answers are today.

- But you're not really Native, are you? "Yes. Yes, I am Indigenous. I may not know *who* I am, but I *know* who I am."
- What part Native? This is a tricky one because many non-Indigenous do not realize how marginalizing blood quantum approaches to identity can be (Schmidt 2011). Some-

times I say "this part" and refer to my right gluteal muscles, but most often I say,

unfortunately I do not know my Nation as my grandfather was separated from his family and the orphanage and residential school that he attended has burned down and any records of who his family may have been have been destroyed.

I say all of this because this is me not catering to the "nice history" anymore, and because it is important to acknowledge the truth of my family's experience. I also say all of this because I used to be afraid to say it. I have had to work hard to have the confidence to be who I am, and where I am from, without shame. This is very hard work sometimes, overcoming internalized colonialism (David and Derthick 2014:16–22).

- Are you status? While not always the same, I usually reply,

What a loaded question ... and no I do not have status under the Canadian government's regulations, but I participate and try to contribute to the community here in Toronto and in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region where I work. Even if my grandfather did have his birth records my mother would have lost her status by marrying my French Canadian father.

- What Nation? I answer this question in the same way I answer "what

part Native?” but I also may say that my grandfather was born in Montana and that his mother went back to Alberta after his birth. That shortly afterwards he was taken to a residential school and/or orphanage and never reunited with his family. I could be Blackfoot, Dene, Cree, Métis, or Sioux, but I follow the teachings of the land where I live. Most of these teachings are Anishinaabe. It wasn't until after I presented this as a talk, that one of my colleagues pointed out that my grandfather may have been from more than one community.

- Why does everything have to be so political? For this I currently have a few responses:

Because some people do not have that choice. Because we live in a systemically oppressive colonial society that thinks it is post-colonial [Heiss 2003] but in reality, it is a settler colonial society [Wolfe 2006]. Because I choose to not ignore the influence this society has on my fellow humans who do not have white skin. I guess because I finally started to wake up.

- You know you're white, don't you? “Yes, I have white skin and I have a lot of a white or settler experience, but that is not all of me.” Sometimes I also include,

my whole life has been about assimilating with white society because I was supposedly a part of it. But how can you feel part of a society that

does not acknowledge your family? How can you leave your family behind to be part of that society?

I have never been able to answer those questions.

For Indigenous identity on Turtle Island, I have learned from many different communities that it is not about who I claim to be but who claims me (Hart 2016) and therefore, what are my responsibilities? I can still do some important things even without being recognized as having a specific Nation. I can and do, Indigenize my archaeological content and experiences in the classroom, lab, field, and with publications such as this, by providing another truth, an *other* truth.

In the classroom, I have various approaches depending on my responsibilities as a teaching assistant. If I am to present material that has already been prepared, I will either provide a teaching before class begins or dedicate a minute to providing an alternate perspective of the course content (Cavender Wilson 2004:72–73). I often personalize these teachings as I have been taught by my Elders—designated community Elders (see Stielgelbauer 1996 for a better understanding of an Elder's role in the community)—and elders (those who are older and more experienced than me), being mindful of how traumatizing my story can be (Thorpe 2019). For example, on Orange Shirt Day I explain why I am wearing an orange shirt, what the history of Orange Shirt Day is, how the residential school system and other settler colonial initiatives are the reason why I do not have direct access to my past; then I provide resources if they want to learn more, all in the few minutes before class.

In preparation for when I get to decide course content in the academy, I have designed a course that focuses on my approach to researching clothing production and highlighting the production of Indigenous clothing in the territory where the course would be taught. I structured the course to allow for experimental archaeology and experiential learning in an attempt to bridge Indigenous and scientific ways of knowing (Aikenhead and Michell 2011). I am careful to identify knowledge that I carry and bring in community members to teach on knowledge I do not carry or do not have the right to teach.

This is how I conduct my research as well. I have been taught by my Elders and elders that the best way to learn about something is to experience it. This means that I must learn about sewing from the descendants of the sewers that I am trying to understand from the past. However, I am also taught by my Elders that some things are not meant for me to talk about, let alone take written notes of. Therefore, my participation in some of these events is something that changed my perspectives, but I have no right to talk about the teachings. These teachings are not there for me to extract information from. They have been shared with me for my personal understanding, often through trust that I will not exploit or profit from what I have learned.

To decolonize myself, I no longer hide when I smudge in the field and at conferences, and make sure all who want to participate are welcome. As well, I make a point of beginning and maintaining relationships in the community where I work. I do this by spending time having tea and visiting with people I have met and people who welcome me into their home or cultural centre.

In keeping with the teachings I have received, I am also responsible for sharing any gifts or talents I have with the community. Since I have extensive experience using, maintaining, and even (to some extent) fixing sewing machines, I have partnered with the Inuvialuit Cultural Centre to provide the “Sewing Machine Maintenance and Minor Repairs Workshop” that I designed to empower community members to fix their own machines when problems arise. In the seven workshops I have offered in the last two years, we have managed to save over a dozen sewing machines from the dump, and once I complete my PhD, I plan on touring the Inuvialuit Settlement Region to offer the workshop in more remote locations. While these workshops do not directly tie in with my PhD research studying clothing production in the archaeological record, they are part of my relationship building approach to conducting research (Wilson 2009).

### **Teachings and Learning**

To cope with the challenges of being a white-passing Indigenous/settler scholar, I have been able to rely on my Elders and elders in the Toronto Indigenous community; my sisters, partner, and friends; and the teachings I have received over my years of healing. My eldest sister taught me the Seven Grandfather Teachings of Humility, Honesty, Respect, Courage, Wisdom, Truth, and Love (also known as the Seven Sacred Teachings [Bouchard and Martin 2009]) when I was young, but I just thought of them as more rules. I did not know how to engage with them when I did not feel like I belonged anywhere. If we did not know who we were, how could we follow Anishinaabe teachings? With guidance, however, I have come to understand that

these teachings are important, particularly given that I currently find myself living in Anishinaabe territory.

Not long ago, I had the opportunity to hear Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux speak about the use of narrative for healing and working towards reconciliation, which greatly inspired me to start learning how to tell my story. I have subsequently been inspired by her writings on narrative (Wesley-Esquimaux 2010), the Seven Grandfather Teachings, and PTSD in Indigenous communities (Wesley-Esquimaux 2008; Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski 2004), as well as her work with Indigenous youth. I am grateful to have her words which speak so loudly to me, and have helped me so much. It is to honour this inspiration and her work that I briefly share what these teachings have done for me.

They have helped me to find strength in **humility**, and pride in the **honesty** of being who I am. They have energized me to treat everyone and everything with **respect**, even when I am raging mad at injustices or political figures. They have reminded me of my **courage** and my ancestors' **courage** to continue even when I do not want to or even think I can. The teachings of **wisdom** help me to step back and see where I can use my gifts and the teachings of **truth** help me to focus on peace and a way forward to benefit seven generations to come. And finally, I have come to know that **love** is expressed when I honour these teachings.

So, when I am challenged with a painful statement or a difficult ethnography, I turn to these teachings to help return balance. It is also the teaching of **truth** that has inspired this narrative, and all these teachings have helped me to offer a few suggestions archaeologists can consider if they want to be an ally and/or help other Indigenous students succeed.

This is not a comprehensive list and is only from my perspective. It is possible, and even likely, that other Indigenous archaeologists may disagree with these suggestions, but I can truthfully say these considerations would have, and still could help, *this* white-passing Indigenous scholar.

As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, I am often asked what truth and reconciliation means to me. The response is always changing as I learn more, experience more, and feel more, but I can honestly say that the truth part is not over yet, and reconciliation is nothing without witnessing truth first. This includes me learning the truth as well. I have a lot to read and listen to, and so do many other people. It is going to be a long time before much of the truth is known, as truth can be hard to recognize, and people come to their truths in their own time. As well, the acknowledgment of my privilege and that of others with white skin and able bodies needs to be included as a truth.

Reconciliation for me is the building and maintenance of relationships. Honouring treaties and relationships are paramount to reconciliation and that includes honouring the diverse relationships with the land and *all our relations*. The suggestions that follow may help others recognize ways that they can be part of building relationships.

#### *Increased Sensitivity Surrounding Ethnographic Readings*

For me, one of the most difficult aspects of being Indigenous in archaeology is reading ethnographies. I managed to avoid most of the discomfort by not reading the ethnographies of anyone I may be related to, until one day I decided to challenge myself to learn more about what could be my Dene



history. I was ill-prepared for the near month-long recovery I would need to stop hearing the words, “dirty Indian”, which haunted me in my youth. If there had been Indigenous archaeologists in my department, I may have been guided through the process with more support before I read, instead of the support I received after being traumatized from the reading. If my supervisor had known how it would affect me, I am sure they would have discussed with me a strategy or support resources. We both learned a lesson. I now consider the content of readings and other sources before recommending them to others, so that I can provide warnings about potentially difficult material. Following Atalay (2006), it is also important to acknowledge what these powerful words represent and produce, and

archaeologists might take a more reflexive approach and contextualize the present situation by tracing archaeologists’ (and physical anthropologists’) current position of power to both colonization and the historical reality of the egregious acts that led to the collections held by museums, universities, and historical societies internationally [Atalay 2006:282].

I am encouraged that progress has begun in this regard, with policies being developed that also acknowledge the potential emotional impact and lack of trauma support when people engage with recordings of the past (Thorpe 2019). Indigenous archivist Kirsten Thorpe notes,

Whilst I am enormously proud of the work I have achieved over the past two decades, I know that

much of the objectives achieved have required difficult dialogue: I have spent a long time working to convince people of why we needed to shift practice to respect Indigenous perspectives, histories and cultures, and to keep Indigenous people safe when engaging with library and archive spaces [Thorpe 2019].

In addition to trigger warnings, it could help to provide people with an opportunity to debrief or process difficult records.

*Increased Sensitivity Surrounding Organized Western Religions*

As with ethnographies, we need to be sensitive to the traumas brought about by colonial efforts to subjugate Indigenous lifeways through the forced imposition of Western religion. While there are certainly numerous Indigenous persons who faithfully engage with “Western” organized religious beliefs, the numerous and well documented traumas wrought by settler/colonial religious orders (Truth and Reconciliation Canada 2015) have also caused some to reject or otherwise avoid such concepts. When references to biblical passages instantly make a person feel unsafe, it is beneficial to have some way to process these complex and unwanted emotions and reactions. Even a trigger warning for religious content could help the affected person prepare for that part of the discussion or decide to leave if they are not up for it that day. I think considerations like these would make it easier for Indigenous students to stay enrolled in school.

*Think*

Take a moment to stop and think before you ask a question. Making an Indig-

enous person address questions that may be painful, to satisfy your curiosity, is not helpful. It is also important to remember that one Indigenous person does not reflect all Indigenous experiences. While we as anthropologists may know this, I still get asked regularly about my perspective as an Indigenous person. With over 600 Indigenous Nations on Turtle Island/North America today, I of course cannot speak for others, and generalizing from my experience erases the diversity of Indigenous cultures and experience. Questions can also place a lot of emotional and cognitive labour on the Indigenous person to educate the non-Indigenous, often without compensation or recognition.

### *Listen*

It's hard to listen, but listen. Cause it's much harder living it than listening to the hardships. Still the heart's conditioned to condition the air. When they air their conditions, keep cool. But the more tears, sometimes the clearer the vision [Kabango 2016].

Listen and learn the truth of Canada's history in Indigenous words. Listening to what other family and community members were communicating to me, personally, or in their publications, was the start of an important transformation in my thinking. This allowed me to finally start to heal from internalized colonization and intergenerational trauma, and listening allowed me to engage with the different experiences of my sisters. As anthropologists, we usually appreciate the value of oral traditions that relate to our research, but we spend little time understanding our responsibilities to treaties and Indigenous relationships

in our own communities. Listening and learning the truths of this land takes effort and can shatter some people's views about their country and citizenship, but bearing witness can build relationships that can lead to substantial healing within Indigenous communities and between Indigenous and settler communities.

### *Feel, Even If It Doesn't Feel Good*

When you are listening, try to take in the words. Sit with the discomfort and engage with what it is teaching you. I had to learn this one the hard way. By trying to ignore so many feelings for so long, I had no skills to cope when I could not ignore them anymore. If you do this right, it will not be easy and will likely feel unsettling, upsetting, or cause anger. If it is during a talk, try not to let the emotions you feel overshadow what is being said and who is saying it. Personally, I try to use this anger to fuel my work in the community.

### **Final Thought**

When I consider **truth** and **archaeology** together, I am reminded of that line from Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade: "Archaeology is the search for fact, not truth" (Spielberg et al. 1989). But I have come to understand that we search for fact to try and speak truth and that truth is not separate from fact. We make choices every day on what facts to collect; choices based on our truths. I am proud to say that acknowledging my truths has been un-settling and unsettling for me, and I hope it will be for others too.

*Chì miigwetch*, thank you.

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