

**ARCHAEOLOGY IN CANADA: AN ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHICS AND
WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE DISCIPLINE**

by

© Catherine L. Jalbert

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Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Memorial University of Newfoundland

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St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

catherine.jalbert@mun.ca

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the demographic composition and current working conditions among archaeological practitioners in Canada. Previous research documenting the archaeological population has occurred most readily in the United States and the United Kingdom; by contrast, little is known about the Canadian context. To explore this topic, I executed a mixed-methods research design that gathered longitudinal data pertaining to education and employment in archaeology, administered an online survey to the current archaeological population in Canada, and conducted semi-structured interviews with women currently situated within the discipline.

The presentation of a long-term, gendered analysis (binary) of available datasets on the archaeological population revealed that more women are educated in archaeology/anthropology departments but are underrepresented in both academic and CRM workplaces. Using both quantitative and qualitative analyses, these structural data were supplemented and compared with the results yielded through the survey and interviews. While the quantitative analysis of survey data further contextualized these findings and aimed to facilitate an understanding of the dynamics at play in archaeological education and work, the qualitative, thematic analysis of interviews allowed these findings to be explored through lived experiences. By approaching this research through a feminist, intersectional lens, these data were used to attempt to develop relational understandings beyond the male/female dichotomy and explore the social composition of archaeology through other identity-based variables.

The results of this study show that these data are consistent with broader literature on demographic compositions in other contexts; while women are entering the field at

increased rates, they are not retained in upper level positions. Similarly, although gender remains the most discernible variable from which to draw conclusions about the archaeological population in Canada, it is also clear that demographics remain relatively homogenous; education and employment sectors lack diversity at all levels. I suggest that while the data in this dissertation provides a mechanism to discuss how various individuals are represented in the present-day discipline from a more intersectional perspective, additional efforts are needed to further understand and examine how exclusionary behaviours manifest and are sustained in archaeological education and practice.

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When I began this dissertation, one thing I often wondered was whether or not this was a topic people cared about. I believe this was due, in part, to the usual baggage that many doctoral students feel, imposter syndrome, emotional (and financial) insecurity, but I also felt it was a matter of support. This is not to say that I did not have the support of my family and friends, whom are thanked below, but it became clear early on that I found myself without the academic support needed for such a massive undertaking like a Ph.D. I think it should not be understated how situations like this, where you need to consider a new supervisor or possibly even quitting, amplifies the already negative feelings you have about your ability, intelligence, and the worth of your research. Due to this, I spent the early years of my doctoral journey frustrated by a lack of supervisory engagement, which in turn made me wonder if doing this degree was even worth it. Clearly this is problematic, but maybe more so for a research topic that deals with people. But I moved ahead and stumbled my way through until year three. That year was pivotal: I finished my requirements, my comprehensive exams, successfully defended my research proposal, and began collecting my data. I was also ready to move away with my partner from Newfoundland. Two weeks before I was to leave the province, my frustrations with supervision reached a breaking point; I needed someone new or I needed to quit. After this realization and through many, many tears, I was lucky enough to be adopted by my current co-supervisors: Dr. Lisa Rankin and Dr. Meghan Burchell. It is because of these two women that I am even writing an acknowledgements section to begin with. And, I am comfortable in admitting, without exaggeration, that if it were not for their support, I would not have completed this degree. I acknowledge that there is a high degree of self-

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

During the latter half of the 20th century, the discipline of archaeology benefitted greatly from diverse theoretical paradigms that prompted critical examinations of both archaeological practice and interpretation. Arguably, one of the most influential of these was the adoption and application of feminist theory. Through a feminist lens, a florescence of literature emerged that critiqued the ways in which practitioners formulated narratives about the archaeological past and provided scholars with the necessary tools to “turn our gaze inward” (Gero 1985). This feminist critique of the practice of archaeology revealed not only how the creation of archaeological knowledge was affected by present socio-political dynamics but also cast light on how these structures impact interactions among archaeologists themselves. This body of work most notably addressed gender biases within the archaeological workplace and postgraduate education, including discriminatory and exclusionary attitudes and practices. Although this research experienced a period of stagnation after its height in the 1980s and early 1990s, interest in addressing how identity-based politics impinge upon the discipline is receiving renewed attention.

The goal of this dissertation is to explore the presence and scale of these issues in a Canadian context. Since much of the literature related to the impacts of socio-politics on archaeological inquiry and its practitioners originated primarily in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, little is known outside of these contexts. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap through an examination of both historical data and present demographics. By focusing on both long-term trends and the current population of archaeologists in professional and academic contexts in Canada, my research questions

address the following: What are the demographic relationships among archaeologists in Canada? What identity-based equity issues exist for this population? Where are these issues most prevalent and why might they be occurring?

In order to address these questions, my research combines both qualitative and quantitative methods, distinguishing it from previously conducted studies that focused primarily on obtaining quantitative data. Specifically, I gathered demographic data on archaeological education and employment from provincial and federal agencies and conducted an internet-based survey and interviews among members of the current community. I argue that this mixed-methods approach is effective for revealing the status of equity-seeking groups, identifying persistent as well as emerging issues, and measuring difference. In keeping with early socio-political research in archaeology, I situate the data gathered in a broader theoretical framework that acknowledges the tenets of feminist-inspired research; however, I work to develop a more intersectional understanding of the structural inequalities present in the field of archaeology.

Feminist-inspired archaeological inquiry developed in archaeology in the 1980s. Driven by the second-wave feminist movement¹ and positioned within the post-processual theoretical turn in the discipline (further discussed in Chapter 2), this framework sought to address social, political, and economic issues in the archaeological past and present. Although the degree to which post-processualism was adopted in

¹ The phases of feminism are loosely defined by the following: First-wave feminism is defined by the suffrage movement and political equality while second-wave feminism sought increased equality for women, advancing women's rights, and workplace issues (Evans 2003). Third-wave feminism is defined by a continuation of second-wave feminism but with attention brought to these issues in a more intersectional manner, acknowledging the dynamics between gender, race, class (e.g., Crenshaw 1989), and sexuality. The current feminist movement, fourth-wave feminist, is marked by resurgence in the feminist movement and heavily adopts the tenets of intersectionality (Munro 2013).

Canada is debatable, the introduction of innovative theoretical approaches that broadly considered socio-political factors nonetheless impacted the development of research questions and how archaeological practice was conducted. Largely, the introduction of a feminist critique to archaeology both advanced an understanding of how present-day social norms and values (Gero 1983) impinge on the discipline and worked to unveil its sociological underpinnings. In particular, it showed “the perceived problems associated with androcentrism in archaeological interpretations and a lack of female archaeological presence within the discipline” (Handly 1995:62). In a field considered heavily male-dominated, these foundational works sought to upend traditional conceptualizations of the male/female dichotomy in the archaeological record and reveal the “hidden voices” of women as archaeologists” (Conkey and Gero 1997:15–16). This research has since resulted in a number of theoretical approaches to gender in archaeology, engendering archaeological data, and illuminating perceived or existing equity issues in the modern archaeological community (Conkey and Gero 1997:16).

Although this area of research is receiving renewed interest, contemporary scholars (e.g., Bardolph 2014; Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Goldstein et al. 2018) are continuing to use, in many cases, traditional conceptualizations of gender as the main variable to draw conclusions about equity in the discipline; though, this is largely linked to the data available for such analyses. While gender equity remains a salient issue, advancements in feminist theorizing, specifically the development of intersectionality, have demonstrated that this variable (gender) cannot solely account for how inequalities emerge and are sustained. My research advocates for undertaking analyses of the archaeological population that take intersectionality into account; this theoretical and

methodological framework more closely addresses how the interaction of identity-based variables produce inequity, providing a better understanding of demographics and their impacts on the discipline of archaeology. In doing so, my dissertation complements the early use of feminist theory in interpreting the dynamics of the archaeological population but aims to more closely align with current feminist approaches that incorporate this important theoretical paradigm.

While I submit that gender remains the most codified variable to draw conclusions about demographics in the discipline of archaeology in Canada, the incorporation of intersectionality and the use of a mixed-methods approach reveals why the discipline needs effective long-term data collection to understand change over time.² Its absence from past research focusing on dynamics between archaeologists illustrates a missed opportunity: not only is it vital for understanding and examining how linkages between structural inequalities are present in archaeology, it is essential for underlining problematic areas of exclusion to which little attention has been brought in the past. It is through such theoretical and methodological approaches, informed by the main tenets of feminist theory and intersectionality, that the socio-politics of archaeology can be analyzed, expanded, and where future directions can be defined.

Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 provides the historical background for this dissertation. I begin by discussing the development of archaeology in Canada, outlining broad shifts to the discipline from its emergence in the pre-confederation era (pre-1905 for many provinces)

² In this dissertation, I strive to use the term “woman” exclusively and I rely more heavily on the term female, particularly in the data chapters; all data collected at the governmental level, and additionally, most past research in archaeology that deals with contemporary practitioners, uses the binary male/female. I acknowledge that this is problematic because it assumes that all women are biologically female.

to the rise of the Cultural Resources Management industry in the 1970s. Throughout this overview, I discuss the prevalent theoretical traditions during these periods, with particular focus on the rise of socio-political research, including feminist-inspired inquiry. Using this as a springboard, I then review how this theoretical transformation was broadly used to address androcentric interpretations of the archaeological past and reveal the equity-based disparities among practitioners in the discipline. This is followed by a summary of feminist-inspired research specific to Canada.

Chapter 3 describes the theoretical and methodological framework that guides this research. Although I continue to use a feminist-lens to address the objectives of this dissertation, I advocate for the use of an intersectional feminist lens. While the theory of intersectionality has been applied in some archaeological research, specifically in historical archaeology, in this dissertation it acts as a much-needed framework to broaden the scope of feminist research that examines demographic dynamics in the archaeological workplace. By applying both the theoretical and methodological tenets of intersectionality, I examine the discipline in a way that seeks to expand beyond the male/female dichotomy to recognize how the interplays between other identity-based variables, or social constructs, such as non-binary gender identities, ethnicity, race, and sexual orientation act in concert to produce marginalization on varying scales.

Chapter 4 details the research methods employed, including data collection and analytical techniques. Informed by the theoretical and methodological implications of feminist intersectionality, I use a mixed-methods approach that combines both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This includes executing a self-completion survey to the current archaeological population, conducting face-to-face semi-structured interviews

with women who are or were engaged in the field, and developing a demographic baseline through data gathered from a number of organizational bodies. In this chapter I also provide a reflexive, critical evaluation of how my situatedness in the discipline, and in turn, my subjectivity, affects my ability to conduct this research.

I present my results in the next three chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7). In Chapter 5, I present a long-term, demographic composition of the archaeological population in Canada. This chapter focuses primarily on aggregated data for undergraduate and graduate students, university educators, and cultural resource management consultants. Additionally, data pertaining to federal funding for both students and faculty members are also presented. Considering federal and provincial agencies disseminate this data, and do not collect demographic data beyond binary gender constructions, this chapter relies on those relationships to discuss difference in the results.

With the establishment of these longitudinal trends, Chapter 6 supplements and compares these results with those yielded from the survey. In particular, this chapter focuses on general respondent demographics and responses that relate to education and career pathways. Chapter 7 discusses how these results emerged qualitatively as lived experiences for both survey respondents (as revealed in the open-ended responses) and for interviewees. Presenting the data in this manner provides a means to examine parallel themes and how they relate to the quantitative, structural data in the preceding chapters.

Finally, in Chapter 8 I further elucidate the quantitative and qualitative results, situate them in the longitudinal trends presented in Chapter 5, and demonstrate how these results can be interpreted within broader theoretical and historical contexts presented in Chapter 2. This chapter also offers future directions and recommendations for continued

work on demographic dynamics in the archaeological workplace. While this dissertation represents an important step in continuing to understand the discipline of archaeology and its practitioners in Canada, I suggest the need for further and sustained analyses of archaeological education and work.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

Introduction

The history of archaeological thought and practice in Canada has undergone significant transformations since its emergence as an antiquarian pursuit at the end of the 19th century. While interest in archaeological research varied among the extant provinces during this time, archaeology would not become a recognized, university discipline until the period following the Second World War. Following this, new heritage legislation that sought to protect cultural resources from industrial development in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a growing need for commercial archaeology or Cultural Resource Management. Just as these significant institutional shifts created new employment spheres that would affect the training and placement of archaeologists, innovative schools of theoretical and methodological thought were beginning to permeate the discipline; these altered how scholars conceptualized archaeology and the interpretation of data and elucidated how a demonstrated lack of accessibility by varied groups of scholars had far-reaching implications for the construction of archaeological narratives.

To this end, I provide a succinct history of the development of archaeology in Canada before broadly discussing how these theoretical shifts influenced the discipline as a whole. I highlight how the emergence of gender and feminist inquiry in the application of archaeological theory and method influenced research related to equity issues in archaeology in the 1980s in Canada and beyond. I argue that although this research stagnated in the 1990s, there has been a recent resurgence in “turning our gaze inward” (Gero 1985) to reveal gender issues in archaeological interpretation and practice. Through this lens, the archaeological community continues to evaluate the effect of gender politics

on the production of knowledge in the discipline (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016), examining whether the same obstacles and challenges remain while simultaneously exposing new hurdles. The literature I review demonstrates that although advances in feminist theory, including intersectional approaches, have begun to emerge, particularly in the field of historical archaeology, they remain largely absent from the discipline in Canada.

The Development of Archaeology in Canada

To understand how reflexive thought emerged in archaeology, we must first recognize the social and political frameworks that allowed the discipline to grow within Canada. This includes clarifying both the historical milestones that mark its development and how the history of archaeology may continue to influence current theory and praxis; this, in turn, can affect how practitioners and their contributions are received and accepted. This section will discuss the emergence of archaeology in Canada which I have broken down into three main periods: the pre- and post-confederation antiquarian era, post-World War II revitalization, and the rise of the commercial archaeology industry in the 1970s. Although the rise of archaeology as both an academic and commercial pursuit is unique to each province, I attempt to synthesize these significant overarching periods marking its development and shedding light on its practice in the country as a whole.

Early Pre- and Post-Confederation Antiquarianism and Origins

In the Western World, archaeological study during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was an antiquarian pursuit practiced by a privileged few who exhibited a strong interest in ‘natural’ history and the amassment of collections (e.g., Burley 1994; Noble 1972;

Trigger 1989; Zorzin 2010a). Pre-confederation Canada was no exception in this regard and as a consequence, strictly avocational or amateur involvement meant the development of early inquiry across Canada was sporadic; provinces, and also individuals, developed an interest in the cultural past independently from each other. It was not until the first professional and non-professional societies were established, namely the Geological Survey of Canada (1842) and the Canadian Institute (1851), that antiquarianism took on a more learned quality; these organizations provided a forum for discussing regionalized scientific investigations and discoveries (Kelley and Williamson 1996:6). While such organizations proved to be important venues for the rise of archaeology in Canada, for most members, archaeology remained a footnote in their larger interests of advancing study in the natural sciences (Kelley and Williamson 1996). Therefore, many of the written descriptions of archaeological investigations and the samples of material culture recovered during this time period vary greatly.

Similar to archaeological inquiry in the United States, explorations in pre-confederation Canada were aimed at understanding the origins of Indigenous populations in colonized North America. These pursuits, which can best be characterized as largely indiscriminate relic hunting (Noble 1972:3) that targeted mostly burials, were predominantly undertaken by men; little is known about the involvement of women during this period.³ Unsurprisingly, given the history of European settlement, the earliest known work of this kind was undertaken in the provinces of Ontario and Québec (1835-

³ It is likely that more women were involved in archaeology during this period, but they have been largely absent from research that focuses on the origins of archaeology in a Canadian context. This said, some volumes have emerged that focus specifically on the contributions of women (e.g., Adams 2010; Cohen and Sharp Joukowsky 2004; Diaz-Andreu and Sorsenson 2000), including the website TrowelBlazers (Hasset et al. 2018: <http://trowelblazers.com>). However, articles that highlight pioneering female Canadian archaeologists are few (see Latta et al. 1998) and typically relate to involvement after this period.

1860). In Ontario, early excavations targeted a number of ossuary sites. These were conducted by individuals such as Dade (1852) who excavated the Call Farm site near Hamilton in 1836 and Van Courtland (1853) who excavated the Bytown (Ottawa) ossuary in 1843. In Québec, much of the early reported archaeological inquiry related to investigations conducted by Sir John Dawson (1880), a geologist affiliated with McGill University (Noble 1972). Archaeological interest in Ontario and Québec was closely followed by investigations of burial mounds by Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908) in Manitoba as early as 1857 (Dyck 2009:4). In the following years, explorations of this kind would continue to extend into the Maritime Provinces and also into Newfoundland, which was not yet part of Canada at the time,⁴ focusing on numerous shell mounds and the Beothuk cultural group respectively. Similarly, in the pre-confederation provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta,⁵ as well as post-confederation British Columbia,⁶ archaeological observations began during the 1870s and continued as part of a larger interest in natural history studies conducted by the Geological Survey of Canada. Occasionally observations regarding sites or material culture were recorded (Dyck 2009; Noble 1972) but as previously stated, small collections of artifacts were obtained as part of larger surveys. This would ultimately result in the rise of regional and national museums (including the now named Canadian Museum of History, originally established in 1856), which aided in storing and exhibiting the accumulating artifacts (Noble 1972:5).

Although it would be some time before Canadian archaeology would be accepted as an established academic field (Burley 1994:78), the individualized interest shown

⁴ Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949. Additionally, Nunavut was officially declared a territory in 1999.

⁵ Saskatchewan and Alberta both joined confederation in 1905.

⁶ British Columbia joined in 1871.

during the pre-confederation period would have a significant impact on the involvement of federal and provincial governments after confederation (see Noble 1972). The Canadian government's concern with the documentation of the precontact period grew substantially during the first half of the twentieth century and essentially relied on the groundwork of organizations like the Geological Survey of Canada to further guide policy development and interest in archaeology. Evidence of a tangible step toward committing to the protection of national heritage can be seen with the establishment of a National Parks system in 1885 and later, Parks Canada in 1911 (Parks Canada 1979; Burley 1994). Involvement by women antiquarians also appears to increase during this time. As Latta et al. (1998:27-28) document, during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (1892-1913) women were writing and publishing in the *Annual Archaeological Reports of Ontario*, if only sporadically. Although this demonstrates women's archaeological involvement in one province, this could be indicative of wider scholarly engagement by women in other parts of Canada; however, Latta et. al observe that their contributions may appear as co-authorships with their husbands or under pseudonyms (1998:35).

In addition to the creation of the Parks system, a number of key legislative initiatives passed prior to 1950 and continued to demonstrate the government's commitment to safeguarding historic sites. These included the enactment of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board in 1919 (and the Historic Sites and Monuments Act in 1953) and the National Parks Act in 1930. This also included a component to the Indian Act (1927), which was heavily influenced by a bill drafted in British Columbia, the first provincial body to pass heritage legislation. By comparison, other provinces would not pass heritage legislation until much later; for example, Ontario first enacted such

legislation in 1975 whereas Manitoba passed their Heritage Resources Act in 1986. In an attempt to curb the collection of ethnographic materials by foreign parties, this portion of the Indian Act “was aimed at protecting mobile and rock art sites and other objects or structures of historic or natural importance” (Burley 1994:79). Inspired by this, and understanding the inherent value of protecting heritage resources from looters and foreign interest, the federal government extended the language in its legislation to include grave houses, grave poles, and totem poles (Burley 1994:79). Despite this advancement, protections from this Act only applied to those resources located on reserve lands and did not include any traditional landscapes where a majority of cultural resources existed.

After this period, however, growth in the field was minimal and in large portions of the country there was a sense of inertia. This is linked to multiple factors including the uneven development of archaeology across the provinces discussed above, insufficient investigations due to the country’s size, and a lack of federal funding (Kelley and Williamson 1996; Trigger 2006). This situation was further compounded by a changing theoretical landscape and archaeology’s overall position in academe. The influence of Franz Boas, the so-called “Father of American Anthropology,” and his four-field approach was becoming the predominant intellectual trend for anthropology in the United States and would later be adopted in Canada. While an extremely influential figure in the development of anthropology, the ideology disseminated by cultural anthropologists during this time was that ethnographic and linguistic data were the only true means of accessing Indigenous cultures on the verge of ‘extinction’ (Jenness 1932; Trigger 2006). Therefore, the placement of archaeology under the purview of anthropology meant that the majority of archaeological practice, particularly its reliance on material culture, did

not yield information considered equally robust about Indigenous lifeways when compared with anthropological approaches. The four-field approach would come to envelop archaeology and have a lasting influence on its development and position in the university system; however, the extent to which this is the case in Canada is often debated (see Kelley and Williamson 1996; Taylor 1977; Trigger 1977; Wright 1977).

Post WWII Revitalization

In the period following the Second World War, archaeology in Canada experienced a sense of revitalization as the field shifted from a largely avocational activity to an increasingly scholarly pursuit characterized by large-scale excavations (Birch 2006:8). This period and especially the 1960s are often referred to as the “boom years”, stimulated by the development of the university system and the creation of joint anthropology/archaeology departments at several institutions across the country, including two independent archaeology departments at the University of Calgary and Simon Fraser University (Burley 1994; Noble 1972; Taylor 1977; Wright 1985). This development in the education sector was combined with an increased concern for heritage legislation and governmental involvement in preserving the nation’s natural and cultural resources at both the provincial and federal levels. Consequently, the expansion of post-secondary institutions, and to some extent museums, not only allowed archaeology to evolve organically throughout the country but it also led to increased pressure to train archaeologists ‘locally’ at these newly formed universities (Birch 2006; Ferris 2002; Kelley and Hill 1991; Kelley and Klimko 1998; Kelley and Williamson 1996). Prior to this, many archaeologists working in Canada had been trained in the American or British schools, and therefore filled the newly created positions at the larger universities, leaving

few opportunities for Canadian-trained faculty (Kelley and Williamson 1996:8; see Table 5.9, pg. 139).

It should be emphasized here that although most scholars who had Ph.D.'s or Ph.D. candidacy during the "boom years" were men (Kelley and Hill 1994; Kramer and Stark 1994; Wildensen 1994) more women were entering the field overall (Symons and Page 1984). However, it would not be until 1977 when the first Ph.D. in archaeology was conferred to a woman: Dr. Martha Latta from the University of Toronto (Reed 2004:5). This may be an indication that growth in Ph.D. candidacy and completion by women at Canadian universities was slow through this era to the early 1990s. Data presented by Kelley and Hill (1991) demonstrate that women in North America held only 17% of faculty positions in anthropology in 1969 as compared to 26% of faculty positions as of 1989.

Along with larger structural shifts and general economic expansion that favourably affected the field of archaeology, Noble (1972) argues for more practical factors as contributing to the unity of the discipline during the "boom years"; these included the creation of the Borden numbering system, the establishment of the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) in 1968, and the advent of radiocarbon dates,⁷ that contributed to regional sequences and aided in synthesizing any newly derived data. The founding of the CAA in particular can be viewed as a significant indicator of growth during this period; increased numbers of archaeologists meant a need for a national society to professionalize the discipline and provide an ethical stance. Although the CAA was not the first organization of its kind in Canada (the Council of Canadian Archaeology

⁷ The use of radiocarbon dating to construct regional sequences was greatly enhanced by Richard E. Morlan in the 1990s with the creation of the *Canadian Archaeological Radiocarbon Database* (CARD: <https://www.canadianarchaeology.ca/>).

was founded in 1966) it was more inclusive than its predecessor whose requirements for membership were a Ph.D. or Ph.D. candidacy (Burley 1994:80). Not only did this requirement essentially reject the very roots of archaeological research in Canada, it also excluded an ever-growing professional community and any students.

Although late to emerge in Canada, it was during this period that the first major shift in archaeology thought, known as the “New Archaeology” or processualism, also gained popularity (Trigger 2006). Most notably led by Lewis Binford in the United States, the main tenets of the processual period acknowledged archaeology’s close ties to anthropology and criticized the discipline’s antecedents for undertaking a methodological framework that “emphasized comparative studies of long-term economic or cultural processes but that failed to serve either a scientific or historical objective” (Patterson 1995:92). Therefore, the proponents of processualism worked actively to fully integrate the hegemony of scientific positivism by adapting the conceptual language, symbols, and the development of universal laws (Patterson 1995:110) to correct these perceived flaws in the archaeological process and to ground research both in the scientific method and the objective testing of data. Researchers alleged that the use of rigid methodologies permitted them to overcome the limitations of the archaeological record and create meaningful ‘truths’ about the correlation between human behaviour and material culture. Although perhaps not fully embraced by Canadian archaeologists, who also integrated intellectual traditions from Britain and Europe during this time period, processualism was nonetheless influential (Kelley and Williamson 1996). As Trigger (1989:312) argues, the rise in processualism in Canada resulted in approaches that combine both processualism and cultural-history; a trend he suggests still dominates Canadian archaeology today.

Processualism persisted as archaeology's theoretical foundation during a period that was significant to the discipline's development, providing a methodological structure that favoured a quantitative, objective approach. Although normative methodologies continue to be heavily used in some spheres, critics disagreed with processualism's strong focus on environmental determinism, arguing that it created a lack of human agency that ignored such variables as gender, ethnicity, and identity in the archaeological past. Opponents of processualism drew further attention to the role subjectivity plays and how inherent biases can enter interpretations regardless of how scientifically formulated the inquiries are (see Trigger 1980). This shift in thinking, known as the post-processual period, is discussed further on in this chapter.

Through this period and into the 1970s, archaeology continued to grow into a viable discipline as the provinces began to formulate their own interests and develop archaeological investigations pertinent to each area (Key 1973). While Canada had previously enacted legislative initiatives (see Pokotylo and Mason 2010), it was not until this decade that a larger body of policies and guidelines was developed and governmental concern over managing heritage resources grew. During this era, provincial agencies were increasingly tasked with the protection and management of archaeological resources (Kelley and Klimko 1998:8) and thus, enacted additional heritage legislation, like the Ontario Heritage Act in 1974 and the 1977 British Columbia Heritage Conservation Act (Ferris 1998; Kelly and Williamson 1996). This was partly the result of Canada's involvement in the ratification of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention in 1972 (Pokotylo and Mason 2010:52), which drew attention to the importance of protecting and preserving cultural heritage (Burley 1994; Canadian Archaeological Association 1986;

Denhez 2000; Ferris 2000a, 2002). Although provinces and territories enacted laws affecting archaeological heritage on an individual basis from the late 1980s up until the early 2000s, and despite Canada's international involvement in UNESCO, legislation at the federal level has largely remained stagnant (Canadian Heritage 2002; Department of Communications 1988; Ferris 2000a; Haunton 1992; Lee 2002; see also Pokotylo and Mason 2010:53).⁸ Regardless of this, the regional development of cultural resource protection measures⁹ continued (Ferris 1998, 2002), in the process creating a new employment realm for archaeologists. This situation coupled with the changing academic labour market propelled the growth of commercial archaeology in Canada.

The Rise of Cultural Resource Management

Beginning in the 1980s, few positions in academia existed for the relatively large numbers of individuals completing undergraduate or graduate degree programs. Instead, though many new graduates did not initially imagine a career in CRM or the heritage sector, this area became and continues to be one of the most viable options where graduates could hope to seek gainful employment as an archaeologist, thus alleviating pressure on academic institutions to provide jobs for new graduates. It was clear early on that although the newly created or expanded anthropology departments began to enrol an increased number of students, those graduating with degrees were a "far greater number than could ever be absorbed by these universities as employees" (Ferris 2002). For this reason, it may be argued that this new employment reality effectively changed the

⁸ In 2016, the Canadian Archaeological Association formed a committee to draw attention to this issue and promote renewed attempts to draft federal legislation (pers. comm Rankin 2018).

⁹ Notably, this includes the IPinCH program, a seven-year international, collaborative research initiative (2008-2016) that sought to explore issues of cultural heritage and intellectual property.

dynamics of work in archaeology as practitioners were gradually drawn to situate themselves within the governmental or private sectors as opposed to academia (Altschul and Patterson 2011; Patterson 1999).

As a result, the growth and development of CRM as a new employment sphere worked to create two distinct schemes in archaeology: academia and the private sector. Birch argues that due to provincial legislation initiatives, “these laws have resulted in the formation of a class of professional private sector archaeologists to attend to concerns about cultural resources” and who are tasked with preservation and protection “as a matter of course in development plans” (2006:8). This situation divided the field, creating tensions regarding the practice of archaeology as an academic versus commercial pursuit. In particular, hypothesizing the theoretical and methodological consequences of an economically-motivated archaeology. The outcome of this has been an ever-widening gap between CRM and academia, both in the methods practiced and the work produced. Although the extent to which this divide is present is often debated, its existence is undeniable. This is perhaps most visible in the Canadian Archaeological Association where membership/participation in annual meetings by CRM practitioners is minimal.¹⁰ Despite this, it appears that CRM archaeologists are still disseminating their work, choosing to publish in less formalized newsletters and regional journals as opposed to national or international journals (Williamson 2000, 2018). Though this is not directly within the purview of my research, I believe it is an important consideration, as this situation has inevitably shaped the attitudes of different actors; on the one hand, the belief

¹⁰ After Birgitta Wallace (Parks Canada), was the first woman to receive the Smith-Wintemberg award for outstanding contribution to the field of archaeology in Canada in 2015, the first and only professional CRM consultant to win the award was Ron Williamson in 2016. The Smith-Wintemberg award began in 1978 (<https://canadianarchaeology.com/caa/about/awards/smith-wintemberg-award>).

by some academics that they practice the theories and methods that are the true core of the discipline (Kelley and Klimko 1998:8), while, on the other, CRM archaeologists consider their work to be equally valuable—their datasets constituting a large body of information that is often ignored or not integrated into academic investigations (Kelley and Klimko 1998:8). Nevertheless, although the rise of CRM has polarized the members of the field in terms of what can be considered ‘valuable’ research, CRM has undoubtedly had positive effects on archaeology in Canada: 1) it has led both spheres to adopt new methodologies; 2) it has allowed for the development of archaeological research in areas of the country that were previously considered inaccessible to be investigated and conserved; and 3) it has created employment opportunities for the increased number of archaeologists trained in Canada (Wright 1977; Kelly and Williamson 1996).

While changes were occurring in the education and employment of archaeologists, there was also a transition in the composition of those who comprised the field during the rise of CRM. With continued emphasis placed on preservation and education in archaeology during the 1970s, these ideals were increasingly operating under a political backdrop where affirmative action initiatives, that sought to provide equal opportunities for underrepresented groups, were becoming commonplace in academic and workplace settings. Wylie observes that although the Employment Equity Act passed in 1986, “provincial, association, and institution-specific ‘equity’ initiatives have been in evidence since the mid-1970s” (1993:245). These initiatives combined with the overall expansion of university programs in Canada contributed to improving the representation of women as both students and educators in a number of disciplines, including archaeology; a discipline considered to be a primarily male pursuit. Despite this, Symons and Page

(1984) note that although an increased number of women were trained and were graduating at a rate higher than their male counterparts in undergraduate and graduate programs, women at this time continue to be underrepresented in faculties across Canada (Kramer and Stark 1988; Wylie 1993; see Chapter 5).

In spite of growth in archaeological employment opportunities, the period between the late 1970s and early 1990s began to starkly reveal the widespread underrepresentation of women in senior level positions in all areas (Nelson et al. 1994). Therefore, as the theoretical underpinnings of the field began to shift, understanding both causes of this and the general situation for women in the creation of archaeological knowledge, as well as the archaeological representation of women in the past, became an important area of inquiry (Bowman and Ulm 2009). With the continued development of post-processualism, and the additional influence of socio-political research, including feminist inspired inquiry, it became increasingly clear that archaeological interpretations were inherently subjective and were constrained and bounded by larger social, political and economic conditions (Gero 1985:347). At the very root of archaeological research, this assertion represents one of the difficulties faced with the creation of archaeological knowledge, the inability to distinguish “the relationships and ideas of those working in the present and the relationship and ideas of those working in the past” (Yarrow 2003:72).

Socio-political Research in the Field

By the 1980s, there were a growing number of doubts among archaeologists in North America regarding the promise of objective, value-free interpretations in archaeological research as espoused by the processualists. With an emergent interest in the history of

archaeology (Trigger 1994, 2006), many archaeologists were now willing to accept the possibility that external influences likely had an effect on both the questions they asked and the answers they were willing to accept (Patterson 1986; Trigger 2006; Saitta 1983). The early criticisms of the New Archaeology (Trigger 1998) and its insistence on the adaptation of universal laws can be broken down into three main areas: 1) the presumption of a certain degree of regularity to human behaviour; 2) processualism's view of social inequality as the end product of natural processes; and 3) the elimination of any conceptual space for understanding the diversity of human behaviour (Patterson 1995:136). It was becoming more apparent that the interpretation of archaeological data could not be viewed as a purely objective exercise and that by accepting the past in these terms, the study of human beings was ultimately separated from their culturally and historically constituted lives, thus depriving the archaeologist of an opportunity to observe and construct meaningful interpretations between individuals and societies (Patterson 1995:114). As such, this theoretical turn prompted archaeologists to further consider the role of agency and self-determination among past people, accessing the theoretical tools already commonplace in the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and philosophy (Croissant 2000; Pinsky 1989). Accordingly, post-processualism sought to distance itself from the application of scientific positivism and toward an emphasis on the humanistic and the individualistic while also accounting for the inherent biases caused by external pressures on both the practitioners and institutions that influence archaeological interpretation and practice. The application of 'new' theoretical traditions aimed toward achieving the main tenets of post-processualism revealed a number of major biases in archaeological practice, most notably racial-ethnic and gender prejudice.

Thus, for example, the study of Indigenous descendent communities in North America has long been influenced by the colonial practice of archaeology. However, the extent to which the discipline's 'authoritative' voice was continuing to work against the complexity of the record itself was slowly accepted among the archaeological community (Trigger 1980; Fowler 1987; Watkins 2005). The introspective view offered by the post-processualists exposed a persistent cyclical relationship between the dominant view that Indigenous peoples remained culturally stagnant over time and revealed the ways that interpretation of archaeological evidence reinforced misconceptions about the past (Trigger 2006:457). However, rather than look toward present day, living members of Indigenous groups as sources of cultural information, post-processualists instead turned toward the abundant ethnographic data recorded during the antiquarian era (Trigger 2006:458), a powerful methodological holdover inspired by the discipline's early ties to cultural anthropology and processualism's use of ethnoarchaeology. Therefore, despite a compelling case for "re-envisioning ethical responsibilities and research paradigms" (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007:59), how these external, often politically motivated influences have impinged on archaeological interpretation did not necessarily result in a rapid shift in dialogue.

Despite this tendency, methodological and theoretical strides to incorporate or adopt Indigenous ways of knowing were made during this period. Indigenous scholars seek similar goals, aiming to dismantle the hegemony of Western knowledge and reach a postcolonial space that challenges the legacy of archaeology and, more broadly, the construction and retelling of historical narrative from a colonial perspective (Nicholas and

Watkins 2014; Tuhiwai Smith 2012). As an example, Yellowhorn (2000) proposes that Indigenous scholars adopt an “Internalist Archaeology” that honours Indigenous ideology and sense of past (or largely, time scales) while “seeking the common landmarks of a global antiquity common to humanity” (Yellowhorn 2002:346). Therefore, at the very core of “Internalist Archaeology” and other Indigenous archaeologies is the proposal that any approach to archaeology requires foregrounding multiple non-Western interests and values, while demanding multivocality in order to integrate “existing methodological ideas and interpretative universes” (Nicholas and Watkins 2014:3784).

It is unclear whether or not recognition of racial-ethnic bias in the post-processual period or the inception and adoption of Indigenous archaeologies has led to an increase in Indigenous archaeologists in Canada. Therefore, the extent to which the adoption of Indigenous archaeologies by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars has been successful is ambiguous. This may be the result of criticism regarding adopting alternative methods that incorporate traditional knowledge in interpretations—such as using oral histories and religious faith (McGhee 2008:580)—or possibly due to marginalization in education, career pathways, and publication (see Watkins 2000). While there is evidence to suggest that there has been an increase in Indigenous practitioners and Indigenous studies programs (Nicholas and Watkins 2014), the situation specifically in Canada remains undocumented.

In spite of this, the relationship between First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples with the archaeological community in Canada has been described as fairly strong (Watkins 2005:434). Watkins (2005:434) suggests the lack of federal legislation has

actually aided in the development of collaborative projects with Indigenous communities on a provincial level rather than a mere checkbox requirement of federally governed frameworks. This situation contrasts with the United States where increased legal control over cultural heritage, particularly with the enactment of the Native American Graves and Rights Protection Act (NAGPRA), has led to dialogue that tends towards confrontation rather than collaboration (Lynott and Wylie 1995; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Thomas 2000; Watkins 2000; Trigger 2006). As attention was brought to issues of racial-ethnic bias and misrepresentation in the record, post-processual scholars also sought to examine gender bias in archaeological practice and interpretation.

Although scholarship in feminism and gender studies emerged in European archaeology as early as the 1970s (Dommasnes 1992; Engelstad 1992), the examination of gender biases in North America did not develop until the 1980s. As a result of advances in affirmative action initiatives and specifically, the awareness and manifestation of gender stereotypes brought to the fore by second-wave feminists in the 1960s, feminist theory developed in many disciplines as an entry point for understanding new questions about the representation of women or more broadly the male/female dichotomy both in the past and the present. Feminist theory was thus perceived as a valuable concept in various disciplines across the social sciences (Stark 1991:187) to examine why women were missing (or excluded) from accounts in the past: ethnographic, historical or otherwise (Claassen 1992; Gero and Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1999; Nelson 2006). This burgeoning area of research eventually influenced and benefitted the intellectual milieu of archaeology as critiques of androcentrism emerged in the study of history, anthropology, and the natural sciences (Haraway 1989; Keller 1985; Kelly-Gadol

1976; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). As a result, post-processual scholars actively adopted approaches to feminist theory from other disciplines, providing a mechanism to initiate a dialogue about the absence of women in the archaeological past and question the status of women archaeologists in the present (e.g., Claassen 1994; Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Williams 1991; du Cros and Smith 1993; Gero and Conkey 1991; Gero 1981, 1983, 1985; Gilchrist 1999; Nelson et al. 1994; Walde and Willows 1991).

Through this lens, the first pioneering study to examine gender biases in archaeological interpretation and practice in North America was conducted by Conkey and Spector (1984). This study was instrumental in revealing the challenges archaeology faced in contemporary society and in particular how it “has substantiated a set of culture-specific beliefs about the meaning of masculine and feminine, about the capacities of men and women, about their power relations, and about their appropriate roles in society” (Conkey and Spector 1984:1). Through their analysis of the study of gender in archaeology and the many key feminist critiques that would follow (e.g., Claassen 1992; du Cross and Smith 1993; Gero 1991; Gero and Conkey 1991; Nelson et al. 1994; Walde and Willows 1991), it was quickly established that women were seriously underrepresented in all areas of archaeological employment and scholarly acceptance (a theme to which I return in Chapter 5). In turn, this marginalization of women affected the production of knowledge in a climate of male-dominated discourse. Hence, the depiction of the past through feminist lenses has exposed numerous epistemological shortcomings and signaled the need for alternative spaces in which archaeological narratives can develop. This advancement works to break free of dominant archetypes that prove detrimental to how we view women and other minority groups in the archaeological past

and how we understand their roles in the production of archaeological knowledge (Diaz-Andreu and Sorsenson 2000; Moser 2001). Essentially, the development of a post-processual archaeology and the use of feminist theories laid bare the “unacknowledged or underappreciated” (Conkey and Gero 1995:16) contributions of women archaeologists.

Queer archaeology is one of these new spaces to advocate for alternative conceptualizations of the past and to challenge deeply held normative constructs of archaeological perspectives. In general, queer archaeology attempts to draw attention to the full spectrum of gender and sexual identities that break free of the heteronormativity of masculine vs. feminine prevalent in much archaeological practice and in understanding the past (Aimers and Rutecki 2016). As with the advent of feminist theory to understand the implications of androcentrism in archaeological practice and knowledge dissemination, advocates of queer archaeology have similar goals, wishing to draw attention to how binary assumptions affect “both archaeological perspectives and the composition of its practitioners” (Rutecki and Blackmore 2016:9). In this way, as much as they advocate for exploring “the ways that sexuality and gender are fluid, complex, and performative” (Rutecki and Blackmore 2016:9) in the interpretation of the past, they also advocate for support and mentorship of LGBTQI archaeologists and students in the present (Rutecki and Blackmore 2016:9).

Bearing in mind the above research, consideration must be paid to one of the key criticisms levelled against the application of gender and feminist inquiry in the social sciences. Although significant progress was made in revealing the presence of equity issues and advocating for change, second wave feminism appeared to fall short since it envisaged the broader category of ‘woman’ as a group which lacked difference. In this

case, most early feminist-inspired studies highlighted the inequalities of middle-class white women but did not broadly investigate how androcentrism might affect women of different ethnicities or social standings, let alone analyze the impact of dichotomous gender and sexual identities, a point emphasized by trans and queer archaeologists. This is true both of archaeological investigations and workplace inequities.

In order to reveal the “politics of ‘difference’” (Conkey 2005:13), third-wave feminism encouraged the use of an intersectional approach in archaeology by examining many “socially constructed differences” (Franklin 2001:109) together, rather than isolating the singular aspect of gender. These differences can include but are not limited to the intersection of aspects such as gender, socioeconomic standing, and ethnicity. Trigger (2006:459) suggests that “this development bears witness to the success of the feminist critique in archaeology”; however, the use of intersectional approaches does not seem to extend far outside the realm of historical archaeology (e.g., Battle-Baptiste 2011; Bünz 2012; Leone et al. 2005; Thedéen 2012) where its success is debateable (see Conkey 2005; Franklin 2001). As I will discuss below, little new research has emerged during the period of third-wave feminism in Canada; there are few known contributions that include intersectionality as either a theoretical or methodological approach to research.

Women in Archaeology

While archaeology was slow to embrace feminist-inspired research to aid in interpretations of the past (Levine 1994; Wylie 2007), the combination of the women’s movement and individual efforts conspired to challenge how archaeologists asked questions and interpreted their findings (Nelson 2006:2). Specifically, the use of feminist-

inspired research as part of the post-processual movement allowed archaeologists to challenge androcentric narratives that characterized the archaeology of the 1970s (e.g., Claassen 1994; Gero and Conkey 1991; Diaz-Andreu and Sorensen 1998; Gilchrist 1999) by developing new questions formulated around the core concepts of sex, women and gender in archaeological sites (Nelson 2006). This was achieved through guidelines promoted by feminist scholars (Wylie 2007) that sought to ask questions pertinent to women, recognize the positionality of both the researcher and the subject, and actively engage with diverse methodological and epistemological approaches (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002:2). Ultimately, this paradigm shift drew attention to the active patriarchal structures promoted by the use of processualism in archaeology and allowed scholars to construct a line of inquiry to tackle omnipresent figures in the creation, understanding, and presentation of the archaeological past (for instance, the narrative of ‘man the hunter’ (Lee and Devore 1968)). In this sense, feminism and the feminist approach to research allowed scholars to deconstruct the built-in assumptions about what women’s work consisted of, how it may be visible in the archaeological record (Nelson 2006:7), and how men and women perceive women’s issues in archaeology differently (Baxter 2005).

Gero (1981, 1983, 1985) specifically examined the relationship between gender and archaeological research by identifying areas that excluded women in the process of knowledge production, particularly in conducting fieldwork. She defined this relationship by analyzing dissertation research in the 1960s and 1970s and found a distinct division of labour not necessarily in the topic of research but in the methods used to complete the work: men were more likely to produce field-based theses, while women produced “non-field oriented, analytic projects” (Gero 1985:345). She suggests this scheme contributed

to the image of the stereotypically male archaeologist who is “publicly visible, physically active, exploratory, and dominant” (Gero 1985:344), an image which contrasted vastly with that of the woman archaeologist who is “private, protected, and passively receptive” (Gero 1985:344). As such, the “woman-at-home archaeologist” (Gero 1981) became an endemic image among women practitioners and is widely understood to portray the woman professional as inferior to her male counterparts, her stereotypically feminine role having more to do with “archaeological housework” (Gero 1985, 1991; Reyman 1992), such as finds processing and lab work (Garrow et al. 1994:198) than the production of knowledge, an area currently perceived as intrinsically linked to fieldwork (Hamilton 2007; Diaz-Andreu and Sorsenson 2000).

This image of women in the discipline as “woman-at-home archaeologists” was extensively studied in an academic context during the 1980s and early 1990s. These studies addressed topics such as recruitment and survivorship (Dincauze 1992; Kelley 1992), inequities in patterns of funding (Kramer and Stark 1994; Yellen 1983, 1991), the number of PhD’s awarded to women and the factors that prevent them from successfully completing their programs (Cusack and Campbell 1993; Gero 1985; Kramer and Stark 1988), the “chilly climate” phenomenon in the workplace (Parezo and Bender 1994; Weedman 2001; Wylie 1993, 1994) and instances where women experience the ‘glass ceiling’ in archaeology (Smith and Burke 2006; Bowman and Ulm 2009).

Pursuing this type of research, however, had many negative consequences for the researchers, and the adoption of a feminist theoretical framework did not come without its challenges. Women found that not only did they have a difficult time getting their work published, but they also experienced discouraging commentary from their colleagues for

pursuing research that dealt with “soft” subject matters such as gender (Hays-Gilpin 2000; Nelson 2006; Wylie 2002). The archaeological community did not take many pioneers of feminist archaeology seriously and several women within the discipline did not want to risk losing the respect they had gained (Nelson 2006:3) by defying the status quo defined by a heavily male-dominated field. This established hierarchical power structure that favoured the upward mobility of men and their achievements became increasingly evident to women archaeologists as they struggled to publish scholarship regarding sex and gender and as they experienced various forms of discrimination and equity issues within both academic and CRM work environments. In a textual analysis of 103 abstracts submitted for the 1989 Chacmool Conference on “The Archaeology of Gender”, Hanen and Kelley (1992) show that approximately 80% of women often avoided using the word “feminism”; this conference acted as a case study to examine just how far gender studies had advanced in archaeology during the 1980s. Similarly, Nelson and Kehoe (1990) were confident that using the terms “feminism” or “gender” in the title of their 1987 Annual Anthropological Association session would result in rejection (also see Hays-Gilpin 2000; Nelson 2006; Wylie 2002).

Recently, a resurgence of interest in understanding “the many ways in which gender politics affect the archaeological community” (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016:1) has brought attention to a variety of new topics that contribute to this body of literature. These include the role of gender in scholarly publishing and how gender imbalances can affect control of archaeological narratives (Bardolph 2014; Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; van den Dries and Kerkhof 2018), the disparity between male/female grant applications (Goldstein et al. 2018) male/female conference

participation (Burkholder 2006), and proposing feminist intersectional approaches to archaeological interpretations of the past and as a means to measure inequalities among archaeological practitioners in the present (Franklin 2001; Levy 2015; Meskell 2002). Recent surveys by Meyers et al. (2015, 2018) and West et al. (2013) have similarly tackled the issue of sexual harassment in various archaeological workplaces, a topic also examined in the broader academy (Clancy et al. 2014; Nelson et al. 2017). Collectively, these works highlight the situations that women experience(d) and make clear the significant challenges still faced in the archaeological workplace.

While together these works comprise a significant portion of individualized aspects that bring into focus the situation for women in the field of archaeology, none has been as comprehensive as the large-scale study conducted in 1994 by the Society for American Archaeology that attempted to synthesize and report on the current workplace situation for archaeologists within North America. The resulting document, *The American Archaeologist, A Profile* (Zeder 1997) revealed that the situation for women had only improved in some areas; long-standing inequities remained in others (Zeder 1997:2). Although more women than men were entering into academia, it appeared that most women were offered only precarious, unstable employment (i.e., non-tenure track positions) while men disproportionately filled tenure-track and CRM leadership positions (Zeder 1997:2). Additionally, “women received less grant money and produced fewer scholarly articles than men” (Oland 2008:22). Based on the aggregate data from the 1994 survey, Zeder (1997:72) states “63 percent of professional female archaeologists make under \$40,000 per year, while 61 percent of males make over \$40,000.” Additionally, Zeder (1997:144) pointedly emphasizes a clear trend where regardless of age, women

were less actively engaged in producing publications than men; recording a 10-35 percent difference in productivity depending on the area of employment. Through the data, Zeder (1997:145) demonstrates that “men who produced article-length publications averaged 7.5 articles over five years, compared to an average of 5.4 articles per female respondents”. These findings aligned with earlier data that suggested that women felt they were “less well-off than men in terms of training, hiring, promotion, tenure, salary, access to research opportunities, and professional credibility” (Wildensen 1980:8). Although it was not initially meant to be a gendered study (Zeder pers. comm. 2014), *The American Archaeologist, A Profile* (Zeder 1997) remains the most comprehensive view of overall employment in the field of archaeology in North America, to date and has produced a significant body of comparative data that can be used for this purpose. Even though responses were received from the United States, Canada, and Mexico, respondents from the United States comprised the majority.

With this in mind, there are important discrepancies produced by the methodology employed between this study and other large-scale attempts to capture demographic information about the archaeological community. Conducted within the United States (Garrow et al. 1994; Meyers et al. 2015; Wasson et al. 2008; Wildensen 1994; Zeder 1997), the United Kingdom (Aitchinson 1999; Aitchinson and Edwards 2003, 2008; Aitchinson and Rocks-Macqueen 2013; Aitchinson et al. 2014; Everill 2009; Teather and Pope 2017), and Canada (Zorzin 2010a, 2010b), these studies have each targeted individuals who are members of specific groups (i.e., members of an organization, labour union, etc.). Therefore, those archaeologists employed within CRM, who likely compose a sizable portion of the archaeological community, have been recurrently absent from

surveys conducted in the past. It is believed that the disenfranchisement of this group was due, in part, to their ‘temporary’ employment as seasonal workers or their lack of membership in a professional organization (Everill 2009; Zeder 1997; Zorzin 2010b). In addition, though the degree to which gender is addressed in the above studies varies, little attention is paid to understanding the CRM labour force and studying the presence of a gender-differential in this area of archaeological employment; the reasons for this include those already mentioned (i.e., transitory nature of CRM fieldwork, temporary status of field employees) and the fact that no formalized systems exist to track this group. This ‘data-gap’ is highly detrimental to our understanding of equity issues for women in archaeology, as CRM or contract archaeological fieldwork has been identified as an area where the underrepresentation of women, particularly in high-level positions, is at its most extreme (Champion 1998; Hamilton 2014). When discussing the CRM industry, researchers rely primarily on the general impressions gained by observing workers on individual projects (e.g., Bernick and Zacharias 1995; McGuire and Walker 1999) as well as anecdotal evidence (e.g., Connolly 2009; Hamilton 2007) to formulate certain assumptions about the role of women in this area of employment.

Research in the Canadian Context

As with the studies discussed above, feminist-inspired research in Canada was slow to gain traction and also experienced a certain amount of inactivity in the intervening years. When research regarding the status of women began to develop in the early 1990s, it was considered innovative, as most “previous reviews of Canadian archaeology focussed on its early emergence from antiquarianism, the development of cultural historical frameworks, and the geographical distribution of archaeologists working within Canada”

(Handly 1995:74). While some of the same issues investigated above are also examined in a Canadian context, a recent study has emerged to better understand CRM and its practitioners, making a welcome, needed, and unique contribution to the discussion of working conditions for archaeologists in Canada and broadly North America. Additionally, studies that support this body of literature have mainly originated from conference proceedings and were developed under the purview of the Canadian Archaeological Association.

Resulting from proceedings at the 1991 Chacmool conference at the University of Calgary, the edited volume *The Archaeology of Gender* (Walde and Willows 1991) was a significant contribution to understanding the status of women in archaeology. Highlighted in this volume were several articles that dealt with the development of feminist theory in the discipline while others specifically examined the Canadian archaeological community. Kelley (1991) and Kelley and Hill (1991) focussed on gender divisions within archaeological graduate programs, examining in particular the training and placement of archaeology graduate students at the University of Calgary and Simon Fraser University, two of the largest archaeology departments in Canada at the time. Kelley and Hill (1991:198) identified definite quantitative and qualitative differences in the career paths of men and women and discovered that both were profoundly affected by the timing of the degree sought and the broader socio-political context. They (1991:199) also demonstrate markedly different research paths taken by men and women in their graduate degree programs, men conducting more fieldwork than women, a trend previously identified by Gero (1985). Nevertheless, the authors concede that the number of PhD's granted to women by this time was too small a sample to produce a meaningful

pattern (Kelley and Hill 1991), a statement that is telling in its own right and illuminates a larger problem with women in graduate programs. In addition to these studies, attempts were made to understand the role of women in Canadian archaeology on a provincial level (e.g., Bernick and Zacharias 1995; Latta et al. 1998) and to provide a historical overview of the contributions of women to the field (e.g., Latta et al. 1998), but these studies have been limited both in impact and number.

Following the 1994 survey conducted by the SAA (Zeder 1997), the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) issued a small-scale membership survey the same year with the aim of constructing a membership profile. The CAA at this time had approximately 481 regular members and the survey elicited a 61 percent response rate (293 members). Based on the questionnaire issued by the SAA, the CAA survey revealed that approximately 61 percent of the membership was male (n=178) while only 39 percent was female (n=115). Although the survey obtained only limited data, it revealed a significant element regarding the composition of membership, the majority of members originating from the academic sector and only 18 percent from CRM (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Employment areas of CAA survey respondents (1995). (Adopted from: Canadian Archaeological Association 1995)

| <u>Involvement in Archaeology (n)</u> | |
|--|------------|
| Avocational | 10 |
| Community College | 4 |
| Federal Agency (excluding museums) | 19 |
| Independent consultant | 3 |
| Municipal agency | 35 |
| Museum agency | 1 |
| Museum - Federal/Prov/Territorial | 23 |
| Museum - Private | 2 |
| Museum – University/College | 4 |
| Other (Crown/Private Corporations) | 3 |
| Private Consultant | 28 |
| Private Foundation | 1 |
| Provincial/Territorial Agency | 17 |
| Retired | 6 |
| Student – Graduate | 50 |
| Student – Undergraduate | 19 |
| University (includes University CRM Programme) | 68 |
| <i>Total Responses:</i> | <i>293</i> |

Although CRM was a well-established industry in Canada by this time, lack of interest in a professional organization is likely a symptom of many factors. As Trigger (2006:312) explains, in many ways processual archaeology remained the theoretical tradition that dominated much of Canadian archaeology for its ability to ‘fill in’ gaps to culture-historical sequences as discussed above. At the same time, many academics influenced by shifting intellectual trends, debated the merits of archaeology’s situatedness as a subfield of anthropology (Burley 1994; Kelley and Williamson 1996; Wright 1977), the rise of CRM adding an additional dimension to this argument, and illuminating the lack of alignment or shared methodological and theoretical linkages between the two (Kelley and Williamson 1996:12). Therefore, it is likely that CRM archaeologists and

academic archaeologists felt they had little to share or discuss, regardless of the fact that the CAA was meant for the whole community. It is possible that it was viewed as too ‘academic’ despite the fact that the number of CRM archaeologists likely outnumbered those in the academic sphere at this time and into the present (Williamson 2018). It has also been suggested that the timing of the annual meeting of the CAA (early May) plays a role in low participation by those engaged in CRM. Nevertheless, after the founding of the CAA in 1968, CRM was providing the majority of jobs in archaeology.

Shortly after the 1994 CAA survey was conducted, Handly (1995) produced a gendered review of two main journals of the CAA, the Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin (CAAB), printed from 1969-1976, and the Canadian Journal of Archaeology (CJA) (publication years 1977-1993). Following Victor and Beaudry’s (1992) analysis of chilly publishing climates in American archaeology, Handly’s (1995:61) main question centered on whether or not a similar situation existed for women in Canadian archaeological journals and the effects of such a situation on “disseminating archaeological information and defining theoretical and epistemological goals for Canadian archaeological enquiry”. Due to many unknown factors, the author was not able to make any conclusions regarding “gender equity” but through straight frequency measures found that representation of women in these journals did, in fact, reflect the situation in American archaeology, with authorship rates for women remaining under 30 percent until the years 1989-1993 where it rose to 37 percent. Handly (1995:74) argues this growth in authorship directly correlates with a “reversal” in CAA Executive and Editorial positions, with women occupying 55 percent of those roles, thus altering who controlled the position of “gate-keeper”. As Handly (1995:74) rightly points out,

continued evaluation of any possible biased practices in Canadian publications should be conducted to avoid an androcentric climate that continues to promote men as the “the leading field investigators and great synthesizers” (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016:1) of Canadian archaeology. There are likely stronger links between the socio-political situation at the time and the relationship between training and placement (see Kelley and Hill 1991) than those examined by Handly, such as more women occupying fewer stable positions in CRM, which might leave little room to publish and act as academic mentors (Reyman 1992:172) and to contribute to the field in a visible way.

Recently, in one of the first studies of its kind in Canada, Zorzin (2010b) has added to this body of literature by examining labour culture among commercial archaeologists in the province of Quebec. Through a mixed methods approach, Zorzin (2010a, 2010b) focuses on the lived experiences of commercial archaeologists, arguing that little is known about this community of workers despite their important and ever-expanding roles in the excavation and preservation of cultural resources. Through the use of political economic theory, Zorzin (2010b:3) suggests this group “lack the tools to understand the socio-economic and political mechanisms in which they are embedded”, further leading to the devaluation of the societal significance of archaeology; an already observed crisis (see Connolly 2009; Everill 2007, 2009; Howe 1995; Rockman and Flatman 2012).

The studies produced in Canada regarding feminist or gender inquiry in archaeology are not plentiful, but they do provide an important historical background and reveal new avenues for further investigation. While much of this research correlates with the emergence of a considerable portion of the feminist inspired research of the late 1980s

and early 1990s in other contexts, little new information has emerged in Canada in the last 20 years. Therefore, this study provides a wealth of new data that can aid in understanding the current situation in Canada and offers comparative figures for other researchers interested in examining the archaeological workplace through feminist and intersectional lenses.

Summary

Although some may argue that aspects of the development of archaeology in Canada are self-driven, external social and political transformations have played a significant role in the establishment of the discipline and its continued evolution. This includes a consideration of the processes that influence the shifting priorities of actors and their impact on the development of certain methodological and theoretical frameworks in archaeology. This is best achieved by examining how histories and different archaeologies emerged, revealing opportunities for lessons-learned, intervening with “the implicit and yet still-pervasive structures of power in the production of archaeological knowledge” (Conkey 2005:10) and more broadly, revealing whether archaeology as a system favours exclusion based on its origins and developmental trajectory.

The adoption of new theoretical trends and the development of alternative archaeologies in Canada during the post-processual period has undoubtedly made a significant contribution to the practice of archaeology, affecting our understanding and interpretation of the past, present, and future of the discipline, and the subjects that comprise archaeological scholarship. Although the post-processual period was marked by a sense of multivocality and the ‘social’, moving beyond dichotomies (e.g., nature/culture, subject/object, narrative/theory, individual/group, past/present, etc.), and

reflecting diversity has been conceptually difficult, remaining a pervasive part of archaeological research. While the rise of feminist-inspired research in the 1990s played an important role in reaching multivocal spaces, the limited amount of new scholarship in this area has not allowed scholars to situate research in the shifting aims of feminism as feminist theory continues to evolve. In this way, by continuing to allow theory to change in the discipline, the implementation of intersectionality promises to broaden the scope of feminist research in the archaeological workplace as it not only includes the man/woman dichotomy but also recognizes how variables such non-binary gender identities, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status can produce marginalization on various scales.

CHAPTER 3: APPLICATION OF FEMINIST THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The emergence of feminist research in archaeology promoted critical and self-reflexive thinking (Conkey and Williams 1991) within the discipline, elucidating the ways overarching structures affected the role of women within the profession. It also provided a mechanism by which to understand how ideological constructs underwrite the cyclical relationship between androcentric interpretations of the past and the structure of contemporary society (Gero 1985:342). In this regard, feminist theory was a vital tool in challenging processualism's critical examination of the archaeological past where contemporary gender stereotypes were commonly transferred onto the interpretation of past societies (Claassen 1994; Diaz-Andreu and Sorsenson 2000; Gilchrist 1999:17). This theoretical framework provided an additional medium to assess the presence of a gender-based differential in the occupational status of practitioners in the discipline (Levine 1994:180). In this case, the use of feminist theory was critical in revealing the overall status of women but most notably, it aided in uncovering their systematic underrepresentation in senior-level positions across all areas of archaeological employment and within graduate school education in the 1980s and 1990s.

Comparable to past applications of feminist theory in archaeology, I suggest that a feminist theoretical approach that involves the use of intersectionality can enhance our understandings of the depth of inequalities in the archaeological workplace. As an analytical tool, intersectionality involves the study of the ways that multiple axes of social identity are shaped by and interrelated to larger historical and global structures (Rice et al. 2019:1) Therefore, the use of this framework can potentially reveal more complex

inequalities that extend beyond the male/female dichotomy. Despite a recent resurgence in the use of feminist theory to the practice of archaeology (e.g., Bardolph 2014; Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Levy 2015; Meyers et al. 2015), traditional conceptualizations of gender are still employed to discuss the differences that might be present in the archaeological workplace. Although gender provides a good starting point, it is essential to think beyond this as a binary and to incorporate other areas of difference that could be perpetuating any witnessed and/or perceived identity-based inequities in archaeological practice.

The first section of this chapter examines the main tenets of feminist theory and will include a discussion regarding its methodological implications and the so-called ‘paradigm debate’ (Oakley 1998). Next, I discuss the utility of intersectionality to feminism as both a theory and methodology, highlighting the advantages and potential limitations of intersectionality in both frameworks. Particular attention will be paid to methodological challenges, where I focus on additive strategies in quantitative research, interrogating micro/macro structures, determining the relevance of variables such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality, and addressing how and/or if one or more of these variables should be prioritized over others. I propose that the use of intersectionality has the potential to highlight ‘invisible’ or obscured aspects of the archaeological workplace in Canada, revealing the multidimensional nature of social inequalities in this area of work, and highlighting diverse equity issues that may exist in the practice of archaeology.

Feminist Theory

The emergence of a feminist critique to the dominant scientific epistemology used in science and social science research began in earnest during the 1970s and 1980s (see Bleier 1986; Haraway 1983; Harding 1985; Keller 1985; Kelly 1979; Narek 1970).

Aimed toward interrogating the long and persistent tradition of objective ways of knowing, it sought to dismantle the notion that there existed a “pure inquiry to science” (Code 1995:13). At the centre of this feminist intervention was the idea that objectivity in the production of knowledge is unattainable because so-called 'value-neutral' scientific and social sciences research is inevitably highly motivated and influenced by the interests of larger social, political, or economic structures (Namenwirth 1986:33). Disrupting the claim that ‘facts are just facts’, feminist researchers use innovative methods to counter the positivist and normative frameworks that have long contributed to women's exclusion from knowledge production and overall historical invisibility. These methods work to place other ways of knowing at the centre of inquiry, while at the same time revealing and overcoming the androcentric biases inherent in scientific epistemology. This is in exact opposition to the conceptualization of how one must conduct scientific research; feminists tend toward actively imbuing value into their research rather than claiming any value-neutrality or objectivity (Code 1995). Therefore, feminist stances not only allow for critical reflection in designing methodology and contextualizing research (Wylie 2007:212) they also create a mechanism by which researchers can be forthright with their objectives (Reinharz 1992:246). To achieve this in both design and implementation, “feminist social sciences have formulated a set of guidelines for doing research in various fields as feminists” (Wylie 2007:211) that can be summarized into four overarching

themes: locality of inquiry, subject orientation, reflexivity, and innovative research paradigms. While the feminist theoretical and methodological toolkit is ever expanding and while this list of themes is by no means exhaustive, these four themes nonetheless provide a sufficient overview of the main tenets of feminist theory and scholarship.

The first theme, locality of inquiry, seeks to address questions that are relevant to women; more specifically it seeks to advocate for research that is not just on women but “*for* women and, where possible, with women” (Doucet and Mauthner 2006:40, emphasis in original). This theme addresses one of the core problems with 'traditional' scientific epistemologies: they focus on the lives of men and their knowledge production. This premise works to confront those who are perceived not only as knowledge-creators but also as knowledge-receivers. In the past, how objective knowledge was created and by whom was viewed as an inconsequential by-product to the outcomes themselves. This inevitably also extended to the individuals who were able to access this knowledge once it was created. In archaeology, perhaps one of the most famous examples of this is ‘man the hunter’ (see Lee and Devore 1968) and how this theory has had a lasting impact on hunter-gatherer research in the discipline; not only was this work written by men about the efficacy and centrality of men’s work in hunter-gatherer societies, the overt omission of women made it clear that this work was intended for consumption by other men.

The notions of 1) by who, and 2) for whom, leads to the second theme, subject orientation. This theme is formulated around the need for feminists to position their research in the situated experiences of women and to identify the social structures that support gender differences (Wylie 2007:211). That is, this theme seeks to center aspects of gendered social life that remain obscured by the normative, masculine focus within

social sciences research. This theme is an important departure from traditional social science discourse as it allows feminist scholars to step away from men and their labour as the general standard for understanding women's work and instead puts women at the center of inquiry (Conkey and Williams 1991). With an aim toward social change, this approach can unveil the aspects of labour that are often rendered invisible, including so-called “archaeological housework” (see Chapter 2), and reveal how such labour is disparately valued and the effects this has on knowledge creation and authority.

The third theme, reflexivity, concerns the stance of the researcher and highlights ethical norms for feminist research (Wylie 2007). By recognizing researcher positionality within the research process, feminists engage in a process of self-reflexivity whereby they both recognize the assumptions inherent in their research practice and aim to understand how their research lenses are influenced by their social background and location (Hesse-Biber 2007:16–17). Though reflexivity is an essential research practice for feminist scholars, it is often a subject of debate regarding: 1) when reflexive practice should be enacted during the research process; 2) the diversity of theoretical conceptualizations of “reflexivity”; and 3) how reflexivity interacts with the feminist theme of positionality itself (Code 1995; Doucet and Mauthner 2002; Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002). As Doucet and Mauthner (2002:42) demonstrate, “by focusing on the researcher's own subject positions, the discussion of reflexivity tends to remain fixed at the level of the researcher and how their subjectivity—especially in fieldwork and in writing up— influences research”. Therefore, accountability for knowledge constructed through the research process is also an important aspect of reflexivity. Although ethical discussions related to accountability are considered by some to be an afterthought to the research

process, it is critically important in ensuring the approach to inquiry and the researcher's findings are valid and truthful (Hesse-Biber 2007; Wylie 2007). Regardless of the number of questions surrounding the best ways to practice reflexivity and how best to remain accountable to one's research subjects, it is clear that reflexivity complements the feminist denunciation of positivism, as it further highlights that no research paradigm will create a value-neutral or objective researcher. All aspects of research should be considered subjective in nature and understanding one's positionality at all phases of the research process remains paramount; this includes understanding how one's positionality impacts research questions/designs, the ways in which analysis is completed, and how and where those results are disseminated.

To achieve these goals, the final theme, innovative research paradigms, highlights the importance of actively engaging with diverse methodological and epistemological approaches (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002:2). This involves challenging the hegemonic frameworks traditionally used in the sciences and social sciences that focus on using objectivity and testable hypotheses to create universal truths, as was promoted by the New Archaeology. By adopting innovative ways of unveiling not only women's experiences but also the range of experiences that exist for women as individuals, engagement with feminist methodologies and epistemologies can destabilize traditional conceptualizations of what 'counts' as knowledge and can demonstrate how conventional research paradigms have excluded various voices. (Doucet and Mauthner 2006; Hesse-Biber 2007; Wylie 2007). Historically, this has been achieved through methodologies that remove the power imbalance between researcher and subject and that seek to ask new questions in different ways (Hesse-Biber 2007).

Although the above themes have provided a guide for feminists to critique positivistic research and to develop a framework to study lived experiences, feminist scholars and activists caution against the tendency to reduce women to a single category with shared characteristics, and have drawn attention to the fact that some women's voices may be subjugated because feminist research models can essentialize the experiences of some women while silencing those of others (Hesse-Biber 2007:12). Therefore, feminist scholars are increasingly aware of the diversity and multiplicity of women's experiences and have emphasized the differences in identity-based variables such as race, ethnicity, class, and gender as a way of overcoming theoretical and methodological hurdles. This shift has made feminist practitioners acutely aware that gender is not the sole factor that affects the status of women; numerous variables need to be considered simultaneously when attempting to address how inequality manifests and is fostered.

To this end, there has been renewed interest in accepting and adopting quantitative methods in feminist scholarship in an effort to effectively capture difference in this manner (McCall 2005; Oakley 1998). This perspective on methods (particularly the mixed reception toward quantitative methods) and how they either uphold or deemphasize androcentric viewpoints, has led feminist researchers to define what it means to *do* research as a feminist, including examining whether there exists a distinct feminist epistemology, method of inquiry, or methodology. What has become apparent through this line of questioning is that as feminist theory has evolved from the assumption that women constitute a single, homogenous group, new theoretical and methodological challenges have arisen in response to the stratified nature of individual experiences complicated through other identity-based variables. With this in mind, I will further

discuss the rejection of quantitative methods and suggest how these methodological approaches might have a place when used in conjunction with qualitative methods in a mixed-method research design.

Quantitative Methods and Feminist Scholarship

During the second-wave feminist movement (see Chapter 1), the connection between quantitative methods and positivist frameworks was seen as counter to the main tenets of feminist theory because of the suggested equivalency between objectivity and quantification. Subsequently, this resulted in a number of critiques toward the effectiveness of using quantitative methodological tools to access the experiences of women and evolved into rejection of quantification in favour of qualitative research methods (see Bowles and Duelli Klein 1983; Mies 1983; Oakley 1981; Roberts 1981; Stanley and Wise 1983). Since quantification was thought to promote a ‘universal’ objectivity, its use represented a legacy that furthered masculine hegemony and power structures in the creation and dissemination of knowledge in social sciences research. In particular, the qualitative/quantitative dualism was thought to parallel others (masculine/feminine, social/natural, objective/subjective, etc.) that either ignored or marginalized female subjects (Oakley 1998:709). Therefore, quantitative methods were thought to silence the voices of women and provided a “smokescreen for male interest, male perspective and male privilege” (Hughes and Cohen 2012a:1). As a counter measure, feminists developed many alternative methodologies that placed qualitative methods as a central tenet of feminist practice. This resulted in a considerable distancing from the use of any ‘traditional’ quantitative approaches such as survey, demography, statistical analyses, or other so-called scientific “ways of knowing”. Although this has

resulted in many positive methodological developments that have greatly benefitted feminist scholarship, the persistence of a qualitative bias from second wave feminism has been argued to be further hampering methodological development and reinforcing the perpetuation of harmful dualisms which feminism has fought hard to dismantle (Hughes and Cohen 2012a).

At its basic level, the inception of feminist research resulted in a paradigm shift away from dominant approaches to knowledge production in use for most of the 20th century and toward more inclusive, qualitative approaches (Oakley 1998:707). By rejecting methods that were said to uncover objective facts, feminist researchers have sought to challenge conventional ways of data collection and dissemination (Doucet and Mauthner 2006: 40). In this way, clarification between methods “as the techniques used for gathering data or evidence” and methodology as “a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed” has proven to be an important distinction in feminist research (Harding 1987:2-3). Although not wholly unique from other approaches in this regard, establishing this difference has allowed feminist practitioners to challenge traditional discourses but has also enabled them to critically examine whether or not there exists a method or methodology that is specifically feminist. While there may not be one distinctive ‘feminist method’, methods need to be used in ways that are consistent with the broader goals and ideology of feminist scholarship (Jayartne and Stewart 2008:47) outlined above.

Though the use of qualitative methods has allowed feminists to construct and disseminate research for, with, and about women in meaningful ways, the segregation of quantitative methods from feminist intellectual spaces has been re-evaluated (see Bowles

and Duelli-Klein 1983; Hughes and Cohen 2012b; Jaggar 2008; Oakley 1998). At the onset, a question existed regarding how feminist researchers reconcile the history attached to the use of quantitative methods before creating a meaningful place for them within feminist scholarship. As Oakley (1998:707) argues, recognition that the initial paradigm debate (qualitative vs. quantitative) was centred on the concept and recognition that methodology is, in itself, gendered, may be a crucial first step. This statement suggests that when the shift toward qualitative methods is intellectualised, it should be viewed as an ideological rather than a practical debate; qualitative methods are understood as equalling the feminine whilst quantitative methods, an extension of positivism, echo the masculine. The consequence of this conceptualization is not only contradictory to the aims of feminism as it reinforces the binary masculine/feminine dualism through the qualitative/quantitative, but it also leaves little room for continued methodological development that focuses on applying the best techniques to varied research situations (Oakley 1998:707). By stepping away from understanding these methods as being in opposition to one another, feminist scholars can reclaim quantitative methods as the historical conduit of masculine ways of knowing and work to reframe these techniques in an emancipatory manner as a “quantification for women” (Smith 1989). This demands that feminist scholars re-adopt and re-evaluate their relationship to quantitative methods, critically examining how sustained critiques of quantitative methods have affected feminist research in both its past production and current trajectory (Hughes and Cohen 2012a:1). Through acknowledging how certain methodologies and largely epistemologies, played a role in the subjugation of women, the main work of feminist researchers can therefore seek to transform quantitative methods by viewing research in a

political context and by applying a feminist lens in the exploration of feminist issues (Jayartne 1983; Miner-Rubino et al. 2007:220).

Although there continues to be debate surrounding what constitutes a feminist methodology, whether a universal feminist methodology can exist, and the best ways to apply it, a feminist epistemology that adopts a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods is likely the best approach (Hughes and Cohen 2012b; Scott 2012; Williams 2012). Therefore, embracing a diversity of methods can prove useful in revealing the complexity and multidimensionality that exists in feminist and intersectional research by providing the appropriate tools to document micro- and macro- levels of gender inequalities. However, continued care is needed in further developing methodologies as a preoccupation with designing “the perfect qualitative or quantitative question harkens back to positivism's ontological tenet that there is some single fixed reality...that can be measured if only the researcher had just the right question” (Bowleg 2008:317). As intersectionality has increased in popularity and has become an important theoretical framework in feminist research, this is ever more apparent; methodological development and the search for a perfect method or methods continues to produce hurdles to feminist inquiry under this theoretical innovation (Denis 2008:668).

Intersectionality

While the term “intersectionality” was first coined by Crenshaw (1989), the roots of intersectionality can be traced back to Black feminist thought that spans from the 19th century work of Sojourner Truth, and later, the members of the Combahee River Collective (Rice et al. 2019:3). In its origins, intersectionality was used as a means to express how race and gender are not mutually exclusive “categories of experience and

analysis”, but rather, how the intersection of these two variables (and others) work together to affect the lived experiences of women of colour, specifically that of black women. Therefore, as a theoretical and methodological approach, intersectionality was seen as a ground-breaking concept for overcoming the inadequacies of using one or another category as a single analytical unit and in turn, understanding how multiple categories or varied aspects of social life work together to create inequality at varying levels (see Crenshaw 1989; Brah and Phoenix 2004; McCall 2005; Browne and Misra 2003; Thornton Dill et al. 2007; Davis 2008; Bilge 2010; Lykke 2010; McGibbon and McPherson 2009; Jónasdóttir et al. 2011; Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012; Orr et al. 2012; Livholts 2012). Intersectionality has since become an important interdisciplinary paradigm which continues to evolve as scholars consider an ever-increasing number of intersections in feminist scholarship.

Although the notion that sex and gender intersect with other parameters has existed in the literature since the late 19th century, this was not widely acknowledged in the social sciences until the early 20th century (Fahlander 2012:141). Seen as a major theoretical paradigm in women's studies, gender studies, and in other areas of social scientific research (e.g., Berger and Guidroz 2009; Hearn et al. 2013; Kohlman et al. 2013; Krizsan et al. 2012; Siltanen and Doucet 2008), intersectionality has now expanded across the humanities and social sciences as a way to shed light on the heterogeneity that exists among individuals in varied contexts (Fahlander 2012:141). As Davis (2008:79) rightly points out, “intersectionality has precisely the ingredients which are required of a good feminist theory. It encourages complexity, stimulates creativity, and avoids premature closure, tantalizing feminist scholars to raise new questions and explore

uncharted territory”. Therefore, the use of intersectionality challenges feminist practitioners to address the analytical issues associated with research on difference through the use of exclusive categories and allows researchers to develop methodologies that look at different and interlocking analytical levels of social division.

Intersectionality has been a key theoretical contribution in feminist sociology of work because it promotes the study of the interrelationship of variables such as race, class, gender, age, sexuality, and others to reveal how inequalities occur over “multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations” (McCall 2005:1771). Tuhiwai Smith (2012:129) refers to this as ‘nested identities’ where an individual has a “multi-layered identity which incorporates each one of the ‘communities’ he or she has inherited”. The use of ‘nested identities’ is a useful conceptualization in understanding intersectionality, as it reveals the complex parameters that define and constrict the lived experiences of individuals. It has been shown that the inevitable effect of focusing on a single category is the obscuration of other lived experiences (Acker 2006:42). In order to reveal the multidimensionality of an individual’s existence, the theory of intersectionality suggests that many variables can interact on multiple and sometimes simultaneous planes to produce the social location of some groups. In this way, social location is defined as the set of factors that determine an individual's place in the context of their “real lives” (Weber 2004:123). Therefore, an intersectional framework is viewed as a more holistic and complex approach to studying communities, as it works to avoid reductionism and instead promotes the need to investigate many different matrices that influence and reinforce an individual's social position. By engaging with different variables, social location can further reveal significant differences in

employment while still taking into account education, experience, and skill (Browne and Misra 2003:506). Thus, different levels of analysis need to be considered in the use of intersectionality in both labour and work organizations that account for what Anthias (2012a) refers to as “societal areas of investigations”.

Accordingly, this can be achieved by including levels of analysis that explore the organizational (structural discourses), representational (discourses), intersubjective (practices) and experiential (narratives) arenas as specific context areas that interlink and influence each other (Anthias 2012a:10). As an heuristic framework, the use of these arenas may reveal “interrelated aspects of social relations that can be analyzed in relation to one another” (Anthias 2012a:11). For example, in archaeology, the organizational arena (how people are structured within the framework of the discipline) may be analyzed in terms of the representational arena, encompassing how knowledge is produced and accounting for the ways actors understand and respond to these in their everyday lives. This approach reveals the importance of context and demonstrates that social divisions are historically contingent as part “of a process relating to boundary-making and hierarchies in social life which might take different forms in different times and should be treated therefore as emergent rather than pre-given” (Anthias 2012b:131). This can illuminate simultaneous, seemingly contradictory, positions where an individual may be subordinated in one context but dominating in another, and enables researchers to weave together an integrated framework that reveals power, identity, and difference within hierarchical structures across multiple temporal periods and social spaces.

While it has been sparsely referenced in historical archaeology (see Back Danielsson and Thedéen 2012; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Franklin 2001), intersectionality has

not moved beyond this subfield. However, I believe using both the theory and methodology of intersectionality to inform research methods and analysis of data can prove integral in accessing the deeper inequalities that may exist among practitioners in archaeology. Through this framework a more thorough understanding of gender dynamics that take other identity-based variables into account can extend our understanding of demographic dynamics in the archaeological workplace beyond the male/female dichotomy.

Theoretical Issues

One of the greatest resources that intersectionality continues to offer feminist studies is its ability to “erode the epistemological boundaries between those who “know” and those who “experience” (Lewis 2013:873); that is, the theory of intersectionality redefines how experience factors into, and should be valued, in the research process. That said, although intersectionality has been argued to be one of the principal means by which scholars can understand the layered, multidimensional nature of social divisions and identity (Brah and Phoenix 2004), recent scholarship has highlighted the limitations associated with its use (e.g., Anthias 2012a; Bilge 2010; McCall 2005; Walby 2007; Yuval-Davis 2006). While the majority of literature has focused on the methodological boundaries of intersectionality, some attention has been paid to the theoretical issues that have arisen with its popularity at both interdisciplinary and global levels (Carbado et al. 2013).

Feminist scholars have suggested that the main theoretical issues that arise from the use of intersectionality include how the shifting subjects and locations of intersectionality affect its utility and how intersectionality continues to be conceptualized as a theory that can aid

in structuring empirical research but also how it can be used to re-examine established ‘facts’.

At the very core of intersectionality's theoretical issues is the importance of acknowledging its roots, and in turn negotiating the initial intentionality of the theory as well as how it has and continues to be transformed by its movement. This consideration encapsulates problematizing any positives and negatives that arise as the theory “travels” to other spheres, both transatlantically (e.g., Lewis 2013; Patil 2013; Yuval-Davis 2006) and across disciplinary lines (e.g., Bilge 2013; Harris 2013), where it has been used to dismantle structural power relations in new contexts (Carbado et al. 2013). Therefore, some feminist scholars suggest that the shifting subjects and locations where the theory of intersectionality is enacted causes one of the main theoretical issues with its use. In other words, is intersectionality suited to interrogate the multiple oppressions experienced by a variety of social groups within specific power structures or must it remain constrained to its area of origin; that is, the intersection of race, class, and gender?

Although intersectionality was originally rooted in Black feminism and used to address the marginalization of black women (Crenshaw 1989), its popularity in a variety of disciplines has resulted in the movement of the theory to different social contexts to examine actors of differing genders, racial-ethnic identities, and sexual orientations and to different geographic spaces (Carbado et al. 2013; Lewis 2013). Considering this, intersectionality's use in other contexts has produced tensions regarding not only which groups are permitted to use it, but fuels continued debate concerning its suitability in analyzing other groups; that is, this situation has resulted in both anxiety regarding its move “away” from the experiences of black women and other women of colour and

toward other groups that might face marginalization. For Lewis (2013:874), “this anxiety resonates with some of the old tensions between white feminists and feminists of colour...but in its new theoretical clothes it is no longer explicit”. In other words, the tensions, and fracturing, that grew from the second-wave feminist movement as a result of homogenizing the concerns of all women under the primary concerns of white women are still present. In this way, by gaining popularity and buzzword status with more widespread use in feminist scholarship, the power of intersectionality will be neutralized or “whitened” (Bilge 2013). On the opposite end, intersectionality has also generated criticism because of the fact that, due to its origins, intersectionality may be *too* focused on black women (Carbado et al. 2013; Lewis 2013). This argument not only suggests that intersectionality can be de-racialized but also broadly perpetuates the myth that western societies have largely overcome issues and problems associated with identity-based discrimination (Bilge 2013:407). In this case, the suggestion that intersectionality may be *too* focused on any group in particular, suggests that individuals in that context no longer face subordination or marginalization in larger power structures.

As intersectionality has moved into the international realm, these concerns have been particularly articulated among European feminists, who have adopted the concept in earnest. Since categories such as gender, race, and class may not carry the same meanings in different contexts, it has been up to scholars to negotiate the degrees to which these categories mutually constitute themselves. It then becomes a matter of “which differences make a difference in situated contexts of time and space” (Lewis 2013:882) This has most notably resulted in conceptualizing the subjects of intersectional research in alternative ways and understanding that intersectionality as a theory was never intended to stay fixed

to one social location; its disciplinary and international movements should be seen as an important progression in revealing new arenas where it is needed and the ways it should be enacted. As such, intersectionality has the potential to develop further in new and revealing ways.

By incorporating other categories of analysis, additional resistance and criticism toward intersectionality stems from the argument that gender would effectively be “washed out” and that this could potentially have the effect of “flattening” other categories that an intersectional analysis might try to incorporate (Berger and Guidroz 2009; Luft 2009). Therefore, intersectionality would affect the earlier work already undertaken by feminists because it was feared that considering other variables would deemphasize gender and further affect solidarity between women, adding little to the feminist movement (Berger and Guidroz 2009; Carbado et al. 2013; Lewis 2013).

The need to incorporate other social categories not only highlights the tensions that existed among feminist scholars themselves but also a significant conceptual problem with intersectionality; how does one determine which categories of difference should be interrogated and how can scholars most effectively use these categories to see and understand difference? Is there a specific set of categories that should consistently be used, especially when we consider the movement of intersectionality? While the methodological implications of this are further examined below, it is appropriate to highlight this theoretical challenge here, especially when it is understood that one of the main tenets of intersectionality is to link structural phenomena to individual experiences and to examine those in simultaneity (Weber 2004).

Clarke and McCall (2013) have suggested that the critiques of intersectionality highlight a problem of process rather than a problem with the theoretical implications of intersectionality itself. They call into question the point at which a research project becomes intersectional, demonstrating that theoretical frameworks are constructed over the course of research, and not just at the beginning (Clarke and McCall 2013). This can allow for the true multivocal nature of intersectionality to shine through, enabling scholars to re-examine and reinterpret what is already known or perceived to be true. By acknowledging one's positionality and adopting an intersectional approach, existing facts can be re-examined through multiple and sometimes conflicting social dynamics rather than a single lens (Clarke and McCall 2013:350). To this end, data can be interpreted and reinterpreted many different times at many different levels in order to reveal complex layers of inequality and the variety of ways they interact. This is precisely what makes intersectionality different from earlier feminist approaches to research; it no longer focuses on a single-axis framework that often concealed the experiences of women and did not accurately reveal the interplay between race and gender (Crenshaw 1989).

The multi-axis nature of intersectionality is potentially tied to an additional conceptual issue associated with its use: one or more categories of difference need to meet and collide at an intersectional location, in the process producing inequalities (Anthias 2012a, 2012b; Davis 2008; Thornton Dill et al. 2007). This notion neglects the fact that categories are already formed and mutually reinforce each other. It also focuses mainly at the scale of the individual and can result in a potentially limitless list of variables that produce difference (Anthias 2012b:128). Regardless, one thing continues to resonate, there does not appear to be one correct way that intersectionality should be

enacted in research across varied scholarly landscapes. As will be examined in the next section, this is linked to one of the main methodological challenges that arise from the use of intersectionality: enacting micro and macro levels of analysis.

Methodological Challenges

Despite the emergence of intersectionality as a major paradigm for feminist research, the methodological challenges associated with its integration into both qualitative and quantitative research design has been an important consideration to its application (e.g., Anthias 2012a; Bowleg 2008; Lykke 2010; McCall 2005; Shields 2008). Acknowledging that inequality is multiaxial and mutually constitutive puts forth a unique challenge for intersectional researchers and calls for a range of methods to be employed to effectively produce a research practice that mirrors the complexities of social life (McCall 2005:1772). Put another way, *how* can the powerful theoretical implications of intersectionality be translated into a methodological framework that complements its intricacies? While there do not presently appear to be any clear-cut answers, scholars are facing intersectional methodological challenges head-on, debating approaches taken in the past and developing future directions (Berger and Guidroz 2009; Cuadraz and Uttal 1999; Lykke 2014; McCall 2005). With this in mind, I will highlight some of the critical methodological challenges that have arisen in intersectional scholarship and some proposed solutions.

When intersectional studies first gained popularity in the 1980s, the act of incorporating additional categories to identify an individual's social location had the suggested result of making gender a less prominent, or absent, factor in understanding

social inequalities. Some feminist scholars thought this produced an unneeded complication in analysis, but an underlying fear also existed that conceptualizing difference in this way would drive a wedge into the feminist movement (Guidroz and Berger 2009:66-67). What this argument highlights is a failure in understanding that gender in itself could not explain how gender complexities emerge unless it is acknowledged as only a part of the whole. This is the situation that initially brought intersectionality to the fore; the experience of one group of women (or men or individuals) will not be the same across racial lines (Thornton Dill 1983; Hull et al. 1982; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981). While it can prove to be a useful starting point, in order to avoid essentialism, gender is not always the most important social identity. Therefore, it is no longer sufficient to rely on explanations that point to ‘gender-as-difference’ and in turn, ‘difference-as-explanation’ (Shields 2008:303-304).

At the theoretical level, intersectionality is the examination of how social power relations are mutually constituted. However, consideration needs to be given not only to the fact that social hierarchies exist (Collins 1998) and how they are formed multidimensionally, but also to the ways macro-level structures work to reinforce social inequality. As Patil (2013:848) concludes, “categories of race, ethnicity, sexuality, culture, nation, and gender not only intersect but are mutually constituted, formed, and transformed within transnational power-laden processes such as European imperialism and colonialism, neoliberal globalization, and so on”. While this is an imperative part of intersectional research, Alexander et al. (1987) have suggested that micro and macro-level phenomenon cannot be captured simultaneously (Perry 2009:236). Underscoring

this assumption is the dialectic between qualitative and quantitative methods and which of these is thought to be best suited to deconstruct the subjects of feminist inquiry.

Although feminist demographers and quantitative researchers are attempting to find suitable ways to use quantification in feminist research, it has been particularly challenging in intersectional analysis, especially when consideration is given to the proposed problems with capturing macro- and micro-level structures. One of the most significant points of contention relates to the use of quantitative data analysis and the danger of adopting an additive rather than intersectional approach when designing research questions. That is to say, an additive approach to intersectional analysis assumes that seemingly separate, independent categories are added, and layered together, to demonstrate how each additional identity has the chance to increase the experiences of social inequality (Bowleg 2008:314). As Bowleg (2008:312-313) argues, an additive approach “contradicts the central tenet of intersectionality: social identities and inequality are interdependent for groups, not mutually exclusive”. While this is also the case for qualitative data collection, specifically in relation to how questions are worded and asked, the situation is particularly complex and pronounced for quantitative methods. This beckons the question: how can a researcher measure many different intersecting identities that may define an individual's social location if the researcher is not able to do so by addition? To compound this issue, in some cases it is difficult to determine what aspects of social identity are most important. As Shields (2008:307) outlines, although gender can prove to be a useful starting point, it is not always the most important social identity, even though it is often the most visible and pervasive. So, one must ask at the onset what the meaning of certain categories are and, from there, begin the difficult task of determining

how each identity defines and shapes the other (Shields 2008:304). In fact, this step might be the most crucial; Bowleg (2008) observes, interpretation at all stages of the research process is the strongest tool at the disposal of the intersectional researcher.

In order to overcome the assumption that micro- and macro-level phenomena cannot be studied simultaneously, Perry (2009) demonstrates that in order to effectively capture the interplay between agency and structure, it is advisable to adopt a mixed methods research design. He suggests that the theories of intersectionality and mixed methods research share many of the same assumptions (Perry 2009:237) and it is this “common ground” that should be used as a starting point to derive a mixed methods approach that appropriately joins the qualitative and quantitative traditions. As such, researchers should aim to have a mixed methods approach informed by an intersectional methodological framework that will effectively portray how inequalities are formed and constructed at the micro-level of analysis but will also encapsulate how macro-level structures work to augment the differences between groups of people or individuals.

In addition to the methodological issues I have already outlined, McCall (2005:1772) has suggested that the very adoption of intersectionality has introduced new methodological consequences that have in fact limited rather than expanded the approaches used to study intersectionality. As part of her work, she has attempted to attend to the complex nature of the multidimensionality of social life and categories of analysis (McCall 2005:1772) by adopting three approaches that can aid scholars in intersectional research; these approaches are interrelated and defined by a varying dependence on the use of pre-existing analytical categories. Defined by McCall (2005:1772-1773), the anticategorical, intercategorical, and intracategorical complexities

are grounded in the intricacies of intersectionality and can be used to help clarify and engage certain features associated with the most common research approaches. The anticategorical approach is based on a “methodology that deconstructs analytical categories” (McCall 2005:1773), with the explicit purpose of demonstrating that social life is far too complex to reduce to simplistic categories that do not account for the range of subjects and structures that produce inequalities. The intercategorical approach, on the other hand, uses categories strategically, “provisionally adopting existing analytical categories to document relations of inequality among social groups” (McCall 2005:1773). Finally, intracategorical approach may be described as the middle point between the anticategorical and intercategorical complexity approaches. As McCall (2005:1773-1774) argues, the intracategorical approach interrogates the boundary defining process while acknowledging the stable relationships between social categories at any given point in time. In this way, the third approach seeks to understand the complexity of lived experiences and attempts to reconcile the fact that actors can cross the boundaries that are constructed around traditional categories (McCall 2005:1774). Although not all research on intersectionality can be categorized by one of the three above approaches, McCall's (2005) reflections on the methodological problems that can and do arise attends to some of the concerns raised with the applicability of this framework.

The challenges associated with intersectionality are an ongoing discussion and further work is required to negotiate the theoretical tenets with a suitable methodological framework. Patil (2013:847) has argued that, “despite the far-reaching reappraisals of patriarchy and the turn to more nuanced, intersectional approaches, unrecognized issues with the former continue to haunt how we conceptualize and talk about gendered

dynamics and power relations within the latter”. In other words, how scholars formulate intersectional analytical approaches may still be informed and influenced by our embeddedness within certain social structures. Therefore, by continuing to scrutinize the theoretical and methodological implications of intersectionality, it is likely that additional clarification of the concepts of patriarchy and intersectionality will provide needed support for conceptualizing intersectional research design.

In summary, it is likely impossible to capture all the categories that might define an individual’s place within a given social location, but focusing on even a small set of categories at both the level of the individual and within overarching structures simultaneously produces significant challenges to how intersectionality should be measured, analyzed, and interpreted. Rather, what seems most paramount to intersectionality is not necessarily how the questions are asked or whether a qualitative or quantitative approach is adopted, but instead the positionality of the researcher and their capacity to interpret data at the level of the individual and the ability to integrate it into larger socio-historical contexts (Bowleg 2008; Cuadraz and Uttal 1999). As such, while some gaps in knowledge will be filled, others may become visible or emergent. In this way, the work of intersectionality is never a complete project but always in progress (Carbado et al. 2013).

Summary

Although the use of feminist epistemologies has aided scholars across multiple disciplines in highlighting and defining issues of research concern for feminist scholars, the use of intersectionality has proven to be an important theoretical contribution to feminist studies for analyzing social inequalities in a more multidimensional manner

(Strangleman and Warren 2008:179). By adopting both the theoretical and methodological approaches embedded in intersectionality, this approach can further illuminate the various scales by which inequality may be present in the field of archaeology. In this way, intersectionality can reveal the modes of hierarchical social divisions that may be present in the discipline by analyzing the multiple levels at which they emerge internally and externally. I am persuaded that this approach is suitable to address the social divisions created by overarching, external structures and that it will prove to be a useful paradigm in understanding the hierarchical structure present in archaeology. Since the hierarchical relationships that define social divisions are linked to historical contingencies through time and space (Anthias 2012a:13-14), the use of intersectionality can potentially reveal, for example, how the archaeological workplace may be further stratifying gender roles as well as reveal how this structure has affected the production of knowledge and how the field itself is conceptualized.

Considering the earlier research on equity issues in the archaeological workplace that I presented in Chapter 2, it becomes readily apparent how re-analyzing much of this data through an intersectional lens might reveal multiple and intersecting inequalities that were not previously witnessed (Crenshaw 1989, 1991). As I will show in Chapter 4, since most of this work and the available comparative data focused on gender, specifically the binary male/female dichotomy, the theory of intersectionality and how it informs methodology (and in turn, methods) has much to offer concerning how different social locations are defined in the way the archaeological workplace is constructed, structured, and maintained.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

In this chapter, I commit to a mixed methods research design that, together, brings qualitative and quantitative approaches into the same conversation. As a cornerstone of feminist social science research, qualitative methods provide a format for participants to express their lived experiences on their own terms while the use of quantitative methods is the best means by which to discover the frequency of specific problems by documenting the similarities and differences between and within groups. When enacting qualitative and quantitative methods in one research design, one does not negate the other, rather, they work in a supplementary way; acting together to fully understand the specific experiences of women, how those experiences differ among each other and with other groups, and as a way to theorize how these experiences can engender social change.

Following this and in line with the aims of intersectionality as described in Chapter 3, I adopt an intersectional mixed-methods research approach to effectively capture the interplay between agency and structure (Perry 2009). This framework provides a mechanism to collect and examine data that are often absent from conversations regarding employment inequities and affords an appropriate theoretical and methodological lens to view already constructed facts. It further has the added benefit of allowing for critical analysis of past interpretations and potentially altering the kinds of future knowledge produced.

Concurrent with the importance of reflexive practice to feminist scholarship, as discussed in Chapter 3, here I present a critical evaluation of my ability to conduct research as both an insider and outsider in the discipline of archaeology and the potential

effects on my overall research outcomes. This is followed by a detailed explanation of the methods used to gather and examine data from members of the archaeological population, particularly women, who currently are or were engaged in the discipline. I provide a description of how I defined ‘archaeologist’ in the planning phases of this research, outline the ethical considerations that arose, and discuss the methods used at each phase of the data collection process.

Critical Evaluation

While it is not uncommon for researchers to study topics or problems that are present within their own lives, this approach can lead to two opposing assumptions regarding the resultant data: 1) the work presented is *more* valid because the researcher is an insider in their field, or conversely; 2) the work presented is *less* valid due to the researcher’s own biases and pre-existing assumptions about the topic in question (Harris 2016:119). While on the surface this may appear to be a question of ‘good’ research practice, it is in reality a question of differing epistemologies. Traditionally, positivist, normative epistemologies would reject a researcher-as-insider because of the perceived lack of objectivity. A feminist epistemology, by contrast, understands that subjectivity is an unavoidable part of the research process and asserts that recognizing one’s place rejects the assumption that we do not influence research and the suggestion that research does not influence us. By understanding and accepting my own subjectivity, I am embracing a feminist epistemology that enables me to articulate my place within the research and understand my role as both internal and external to the process. I argue that this process of understanding and recognizing a researcher’s multiple roles as both within and outside builds on their ability to acknowledge their situated perspective, increasing the validity

and legitimacy of the research project (Hesse-Biber and Brooks 2007:423). This notion is what sets a feminist epistemology and overall research design apart from the dominant forms of knowledge production; feminist objectivity is both situational and based on personal experience (Haraway 2008:348).

As such, I think it is appropriate to discuss here how my position within the discipline of archaeology impinges on the structure of this research and how my own subjectivity will ultimately impact the conclusions I draw from these data collected. When I consider my place within the research, there are particular certainties that are inescapable: I identify as a white woman, as an archaeologist, and as a student. I have been subjected to both overt and subtle discrimination and sexism in the workplace as a student and as a professional within the context of CRM as my career in this area has progressed over time. If I were to ruminate over the ‘why’, I would suggest this has to do with my place as a woman both in archaeology but also in society, two things I consider intertwined and inseparable. I do not believe my own personal experiences influenced my desire to pursue this research at the onset; instead it grew out of a general interest to better understand how women are professionally situated in the field, ultimately aiming to draw attention to the current working conditions in the discipline and recommending improvements, if possible. I acknowledge that perhaps my perception of this as normalized behaviour made me want to understand if this ‘norm’ was also present among women in Canadian archaeology.

Although I feel that I approached the structuring of my research honestly, what consumers of the results will read and interpret will not necessarily reflect my intentions but rather will be “conditioned by the interests linked with their specific subject positions

and by the categories available to them” (Jaggar 2008:345). If we return to the notion that feminist research is situational, structuring qualitative research requires this understanding of our situational self and the situational experiences of our participants. As DeVault and Gross (2007:179) illustrate, recounting experiences needs consideration as “emergent in the moment...telling requires a listener and that listening shapes the account as well as the telling”. Therefore, traces of the researcher and the subjects of research will inevitably be embedded in how the retelling occurs, in this case, in the results chapters of this thesis.

Taking this into account, my subjectivity undoubtedly played a role in constructing my methods and interpreting my results. However, I believe this understanding allowed me not only to examine my own thoughts and feelings but also to more easily understand my place and that of my participants in the overall story of the archaeological workplace in Canada. By adopting a feminist epistemology, my intention was not to offer my story or even a single story of women’s experiences in archaeology, but rather to “recognize that many stories may be told, each incorporating a partial truth” (Jaggar 2008:345). This complexity demonstrates one of the essential shifts away from positivist research that I attempted to embody in designing my methods: there is no single correct narrative or one truth. And, in order to reflect the experiences of participants properly, objectivity as it is traditionally thought of in a scientific research design is not feasible; cultivating research relationship(s) require careful thought about the interplay between researcher and participants as vital elements in the research process.

Data Collection Techniques

To obtain a detailed view of the archaeological population in Canada and to access the current issues facing women in the field, my research is informed by the theoretical and methodological implications of feminist intersectionality. I argue that employing a mixed-methods research design that uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches provides both the tools needed to reach the subjugated knowledge of women archaeologists and provides a method to give voice to their viewpoints and their lived experiences (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006:317). Guided by these principles, I executed my research in three primary phases of data collection that aimed to: 1) create a demographic database by combining data from numerous organizational bodies; 2) issue a self-completion survey to the archaeological population currently practicing in Canada; and 3) conduct face-to-face semi-structured interviews with women in the field. Before detailing each of these components in the data collection process, I will discuss how I defined an individual as an “archaeologist” in the context of this project.

Who is an archaeologist?

Before I could begin data collection, I had to define who I considered to be an archaeologist. This required examining some of the current definitions outlined in various professional contexts with the aim of determining whether they were too prohibitive for the aims of this project, as well as evaluating my own assumptions, not only about the discipline, but also about whom I thought could and could not be defined as an archaeologist. In his research on archaeological field technicians, Zorzin (2010b:127) encountered a similar problem when he aimed to conduct a quantitative analysis of the population of Québec archaeologists, stating that the definitions outlined by the Québec

Association of Archaeologists (QAA) and the Ministère de la Culture, des Communications, et de la Condition Féminine au Québec (MCCCFQ), Québec's permitting organization, were too narrow to capture a large portion of the archaeological population. Therefore, Zorzin (2010b:126) chose to broadly define an archaeologist as "someone who simply makes his or her living from the practice of archaeology, or from a closely related professional activity". Following his assessment, I chose to address this problem in a similar manner, preferring an inclusive rather than exclusive approach to defining the people who constitute this group. This was best achieved by trying to maintain a controlled balance between defined, structurally established group identities and individualized identity formation.

If you ask a variety of archaeologists at different professional levels and in different sectors, "what makes you an archaeologist?" chances are you will receive as many responses as people you ask. That is to say that no two individuals will conceptualize or experience the world or their place within it in the same way. This fluid understanding of our position in many contexts is continually affected by overarching structures that provide the framework for our everyday lives. Our position, and the feelings toward this position, is shaped by a number of factors, including past experiences, such as education and/or treatment by mentors throughout that process, current positions within the discipline, and how the overall production of archaeological knowledge can impact an individual's access to authority and prestige. Not only does this affect how we view ourselves but it can also influence how we view other people. Thus, for example, do undergraduate university students count? What about someone who has a Master's degree but has never conducted any fieldwork? Avocationalists? While these

questions are quite basic and do not include all the information one would need to make a fair assessment, they illustrate how such assumptions only encompass a small fraction of how to conceptualize this problem and point to a variety of situations and positions that need consideration when defining an archaeologist.

The reality is that even though most permitting agencies define an archaeologist as someone who has a Master's degree (depending on the permit), people may think of themselves as an archaeologist, even in the early stages of their training and without this credential. Following Zorzin's (2010b:126) definition of a professional archaeologist as an individual who makes a living from archaeology, I expanded this to include those who are graduate students or precariously employed contract workers. Due to their status within the discipline, they may have multiple income sources and therefore do not solely rely on archaeology to survive. Consequently, I conceptualized the definition of an archaeologist in three groups. Because of the possibility of overlap between them, these groups should not be viewed as hierarchical, especially when we consider how shifting priorities at government and institutional levels have created more precarious positions in both the public and private sectors (Hardy 2014; McGuire and Walker 1999; Zorzin 2010b).

The first group encompasses those members of the discipline who are working in the university/college and museum systems. This group includes graduate students, faculty, teaching staff and archaeological support staff (such as conservationists or lab directors), and archaeologists employed by museums. I chose not to include undergraduate students who are currently enrolled in university. This is partly because undergraduate students might change majors or may not pursue archaeology after the

completion of their degree. Of course, this assumes that *all* graduate students who complete a degree will continue to pursue archaeology. Although this is likely untrue, since an individual's ability to be employed in the discipline is limited by many factors (see Speakman et al. 2018), I believe this is a reasonable assumption; I argue that the intention of completing a graduate degree suggests specialization with the aim of continued employment (see Ginsberg 2016).

The second group focuses on private sector employment, including archaeologists employed by consulting firms, as well as those employed in government agencies such as provincial heritage offices and Parks Canada. This includes those employees who occupy precarious positions such as field technicians or seasonal staff.

The third group provides a space for those who might have been missed by other groups or individuals who self-identify as archaeologists. This is not to say that these members of the discipline have no experience, but it is possible that they still consider themselves archaeologists, regardless of degree qualifications (for example, avocational archaeologists), they are employed in other sectors, or have since retrained. This was particularly important for the survey portion of my research, as there were a number of participants who were considering leaving the discipline, as they are currently unemployed.

Ethical Considerations

To involve actual, living archaeologists from across Canada, a number of key ethical concerns needed to be addressed when designing the research methods. These included the rights to Intellectual Property, Informed Consent, the right to withdraw, unintended deception, the accuracy in portrayal of participants, confidentiality, and financial gain

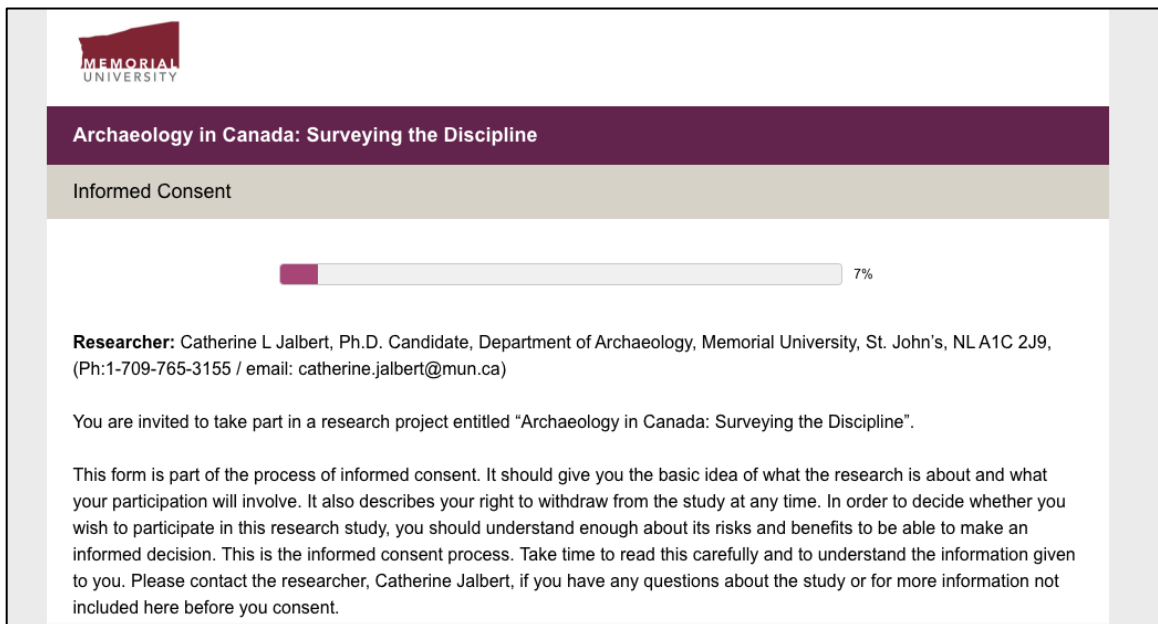
(Plummer 2001). This was particularly important in relation to the use of empirical qualitative data collection in my research, but was also pertinent to quantitative methods, such as the survey and data collected from external bodies. For my research, I addressed many of these issues through the Informed Consent process; first and foremost, outlining the role and rights of the participant, describing the potential benefits and/or risks, and how confidentiality and anonymity of participants will be protected. Below I will discuss how I navigated these ethical concerns in both the quantitative and qualitative data collection phases of this project. Although I allude to some of the technology used in the data gathering process, I present this in the context of ethical concerns that arose from their application. Therefore, I provide a more complete explanation of their use in sections pertinent to each method (Self-Completion Survey and Semi-Structured Interviews).

Ethics Approval

I obtained ethics approval and compliance with the guidelines outlined in the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2)* through Memorial University's Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) (#20141008-AR). Due to the mixed methodology I employed, I needed ethical approval and compliance for both the in-depth interview and survey portions of this project. Once my research was ICEHR-approved, the survey, Informed Consent forms, and advertisements for recruitment were all translated to accommodate participants who preferred to complete the survey or learn about the research in French.

For the online survey, Informed Consent was sought upon accessing the distributed link, where the front page contained the complete Informed Consent form

approved by ICEHR (Figure 4.1, Appendix A for full survey document that includes the Informed Consent). Due to the length of the form, I split it into two pages, the last page requesting their consent before proceeding to the actual survey (Figure 4.2). Although presented in two parts, administering the survey in an online format still allowed participants to navigate back to the first page of the Informed Consent if they wanted to confirm any information. If a participant declined to provide their consent, the system automatically exited them from the survey. Participants were also made aware that they could withdraw from the survey at any point in time; however, once their responses to the survey were submitted, there would be no way to withdraw because the survey did not collect any personal, identifying information. Additionally, the collection of quantitative data from the survey remained completely anonymous, as data presented in the Results chapter (Chapter 6) is in an aggregate form and never identifies the sole responses specific to individuals.



MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

Archaeology in Canada: Surveying the Discipline

Informed Consent

7%

Researcher: Catherine L. Jalbert, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's, NL A1C 2J9, (Ph:1-709-765-3155 / email: catherine.jalbert@mun.ca)

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled "Archaeology in Canada: Surveying the Discipline".

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study at any time. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, Catherine Jalbert, if you have any questions about the study or for more information not included here before you consent.

Figure 4.1 Example of a portion of Informed Consent form from online survey.

*** 1. PARTICIPANT'S STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT:**

- ☐ AGREE: I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation at any time.
- ☐ DISAGREE: I do not agree to participate in this research project.

Figure 4.2 Required Informed Consent for participants in this study.

Informed Consent was also obtained for the in-depth interview phase of the project, regardless of whether or not the participants also completed the survey. The Informed Consent process provided participants with a brief description of the project, how the interviews would be conducted (either face-to-face, over the phone or through Skype), and the estimated time commitment required by the participant (Appendix B). Regardless of the mode in which the interview was conducted, I emailed consent forms to the participants before each interview so they could fully understand their rights and how I would protect their privacy and anonymity. Participants who I met for face-to-face interviews typically completed their Informed Consent form in my presence, asking additional questions as necessary. Those interviews conducted online or over the phone completed the Informed Consent form and sent it back to me via email prior to the agreed upon interview time.

In the last 10 years, one of the key ethical concerns stemming from using any electronic medium for communication is monitoring by government intelligence agencies. No longer limited to just telephone communication, government agencies have the authority to access the records of Internet providers, if necessary, for national security purposes. Since I used SurveyMonkey as the hosting platform for my research, participants were made aware of this possibility with the following statement:

The on-line survey company, SurveyMonkey, hosting this survey is located in the United States and as such is subject to U.S. laws. The US Patriot Act allows authorities access to the records of Internet service providers. Therefore, anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. If you choose to participate in this survey, you understand that your responses to the survey questions will be stored and may be accessed in the USA. The security and privacy policy for the web survey company can be found at the following link: (e.g. http://www.SurveyMonkey.com/monkey_privacy.aspx).

Although this was clearly stated by SurveyMonkey, the situation with other online communication platforms, like Skype, are harder to assess. Even though my interviews were all recorded by a program external to Skype and stored off-line with a separate program, it is entirely possible that the call itself could be accessed in real time by government bodies. As Lo Iacono et al. (2016:14) states, “there is certainly a chance that if certain words relating to matters of interest to intelligence services are spoken, such as terrorism, then Skype video calls might be monitored”. Therefore, researchers have to remain diligent in adjusting their ethical considerations to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of participants’ identities with the use of technological tools in an age of increasing government surveillance.

Other considerations

In line with the representation of quantitative data from the survey conducted for this project, data collected from sources to create a demographic picture of the archaeological population in Canada, namely Statistics Canada and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, are also presented as an aggregate analysis in the results. Data obtained from Statistics Canada already follows its own code of ethics established by the federal government under the Statistics Act of Canada (R.S.C., 1985, c.

S-19) and is required by law to protect the confidentiality of the information provided from respondents. Therefore, no employee of Statistics Canada shall:

disclose or knowingly cause to be disclosed, by any means, any information obtained under this Act in such a manner that it is possible from the disclosure to relate the particulars obtained from any individual return to any identifiable individual person, business or organization.

While all the information collected by Statistics Canada is publicly available, certain steps are taken to safeguard the identity of individuals when data is disseminated to various parties. In preparing the data, Statistics Canada takes the approach of randomly rounding frequencies to multiples of three with the purpose of “producing detailed data but still ensuring that data for individuals cannot be identified” (Statistics Canada 2012:5). For frequencies that might only be one or two, these are randomly rounded to a zero and in turn, treated the same as an actual zero in the data (Statistics Canada 2012:5). This is an important consideration, especially when we use archaeology as an example. When archaeology first became a recognized academic discipline, women represented a very small proportion of teaching staff. Therefore, if the actual counts were presented, it would make it rather easy to identify who these women were, and any personal information disclosed. Statistics Canada admits that preparing the data in this way can create “slight anomalies”, however, this methodology still produces a detailed picture of the subject matter under study (Statistics Canada 2012:5). Statistics Canada makes the user of the data aware of this possibility by producing a number of symbols in their publication that alert researchers to the possibility that data has been “suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the Statistics Act”, data that should be “used with caution”, and data that is “too unreliable to be published” (Statistics Canada 2012:5).

Collection of Baseline Demographic Data

In order to compare the results from the data collection phases of my project, I drew on institutional data to establish a baseline of the archaeological population in Canada. Since there is no single dataset to date that has examined the socio-demographics of the population in Canada as a whole, I needed to access data from a variety of sources over an extended period of time. Collecting diverse datasets on the archaeological population in this way served two primary purposes; the first was to aid in constructing a realistic estimate of the number of archaeologists working in Canada, while the second allowed review and analysis of how gender dynamics have or have not changed. In terms of the quantitative data collected through the survey portion of my research, establishing a clear baseline of the population of Canadian archaeologists practicing in Canada was vital for determining the sample size needed for an acceptable level of confidence that accurately reflected the population. While certain organizations collect socio-demographic data on archaeologists, these data are usually restricted to variables such as gender, professional status, age, and/or salary. Variables such as racial-ethnic identity are typically always omitted, thus making the ability to draw inferences about how these factors have historically affected an individual's position in the discipline more difficult. Below I elaborate on the various types of data I collected while identifying some of the advantages and disadvantages of each in constructing an intersectional analysis of the archaeological workplace in Canada.

Consulting and Cultural Resource Management

To understand the population of CRM archaeologists, I determined that accessing permit information would provide the best source of data. Although the permitting

process is different in each province, all archaeological activity requires a permit regardless of whether ground-disturbing activities will be used (except in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan). Therefore, I contacted the permitting organizations of each province in order to obtain information on consultants who obtained permits or licenses in the cultural resource management sector over the last 30 years or whatever data was available.

Since permitting agencies do not collect demographic information for permitting requirements, I determined the gender of individuals based on first names. If the name was ambiguous, I researched this individual to see if I could determine their gender based on their internet presence. Those individuals who could not be confidently identified were excluded from the study (less than one percent). I recognize that this methodology is problematic because it is based on the biological construct of sex rather than the social construct of gender, presuming that an individual's sex and gender correlate. Moreover, this approach assumes only the binary construct of gender as man/woman and does not take into account other gender identities. While there may only be a limited number of members that have other gender identities, these individuals should not be discounted. However, there was no way to obtain this information based on the data available.

An additional consideration is that this methodology only targets those consultants who sought permits as Principal Investigators and does not take into account the field technicians that might be helping execute the work, a problem commonly faced in other contexts due to the transitory nature of CRM fieldwork (Everill 2009; Zeder 1997; Zorzin 2010b). Therefore, it is possible that consulting archaeologists may have been missed if they were conducting investigations in provinces that did not require them to obtain a

permit. However, I believe this methodology effectively provides an estimate of consulting archaeologists in Canada and can demonstrate how the archaeological population seeking permits has changed over time.

Recalling how I established groups of archaeologists for this study, I acknowledge that Parks Canada should be included in this phase of data collection. However, as a result of the political climate at the time of data collection, obtaining any employment data regarding archaeologists at Parks Canada was not possible. While Parks Canada employees have the opportunity to participate in the Public Service Employee Survey (PSES) issued by Statistics Canada, this survey began in 1999 and was only administered on a three-year basis, the last year being 2008. The one survey that was specific to Parks Canada employees was conducted in 2009, however, Statistics Canada states that a “public use microdata file will not be produced...and data will not be made available through the Data Liberation Initiative (DLI)” (Statistics Canada 2009).

University Students and Educators

I collected data on university students and faculty through Statistics Canada, targeting two programs: the University and College Academic Staff System (UCASS) and the Postsecondary Student Information System (PSIS). The UCASS ran from 1937 until 2010 and collected data from universities and colleges across Canada. The UCASS information disseminated from Statistics Canada was specific to archaeology and anthropology faculty from 1972-2010. This includes what can be considered full-time tenure track faculty at various levels as well as teaching staff positions.

The PSIS was also collected and disseminated by Statistics Canada. PSIS is conducted across Canada with the purpose of enabling “Statistics Canada to provide

detailed information on enrolments and graduates of Canadian public postsecondary institutions in order to meet policy and planning needs in the field of postsecondary education” (Statistics Canada 2016a). Like UCASS, the student data I targeted was specific to fields that include archaeology, in this case, archaeology, anthropology, and classical and ancient studies. I obtained data for the years 1992-2012 (all data available). Although undergraduate students were not a part of the intended study target group, I still obtained this data to understand how the rates of students enrolling and graduating in disciplines that include archaeology across Canada have changed over time. This was to test a primary assumption about changing gender dynamics in the discipline; more women are entering at the undergraduate and graduate levels, yet this change is not reflected in the workplace upon graduation. It should be noted that enrolment data for all programs is collected on a single date chosen by the institution between September 30 and December 1; students who are not enrolled during this time therefore have been excluded. Alternatively, the PSIS collects graduation rates based on the calendar year.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)

In order to add further data to the UCASS, I contacted SSHRC to receive competition statistics for archaeology for both faculty and students. For faculty, I obtained information regarding male and female applicants¹¹ to the Standard Research

¹¹ Until 2016, SSHRC only collected binary gender selections. As of 2018, SSHRC as well as NSERC (Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council) and CIHR (Canadian Institutes of Health Research) implemented the requirement that all applicants applying for funding competitions “self-identify with information on age, gender, Indigenous identity, and status as a member of a visible minority group or person with a disability” (http://www.science.gc.ca/eic/site/063.nsf/eng/h_97615.htm).

and Insight Grants for competition years 1994-2014.¹² For graduate students, general competition statistics for the CGS Master's and Doctoral Scholarships (2004-2014), SSHRC Doctoral Awards (1995-2015), and Postdoctoral Fellowships (1995-2015) were downloaded directly from the SSHRC website (<http://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/results-resultats/stats-statistiques/index-eng.aspx>). This provided general statistics on the number of students applying for grants from each discipline as well as an overall gender and language breakdown of applicants and awards given. To obtain information on winners specific to archaeology, I conducted a search of award recipients on the SSHRC website dating back to 1998. I then reconciled these with the competition statistics published for each award to ensure my gender assignments (binary) were correct.

Self-Completion Survey

The next phase of my research was a self-completion survey. The use of this method in my research was primarily guided by what McCall (2005:1773) refers to as the intercategorical approach to intersectionality as it assumes existing analytical categories (i.e., age, gender, race, etc.) and seeks to document relational inequality between social groups. Since surveys generate data that can be useful in examining the prevalence and distribution of particular social problems (Reinharz 1992), they are seen as a relatively simple and straightforward approach employed to study the attitudes, values, beliefs and motives of a particular target population (Robson 2002:233).

¹² The Standard Research Grant was used until 2011 when the name was changed to Insight Grant. The Insight Development Grants were also introduced in 2011. This program is aimed at emerging scholars where 50% of the funding is specifically earmarked for new Ph.Ds., however, how a new Ph.D. is defined varies and also includes those within the first five years of a tenure track position. Additionally, a researcher is no longer considered "emerging" once they have received a SSHRC grant as a Principal Investigator (http://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/funding-financement/programs-programmes/insight_development_grants-subventions_de_developpement_savoir-eng.aspx#4).

While traditional survey modes have included face-to-face interview, telephone survey, and self-completion (Robson 2002), the emergence and popularity of virtual methods over the past 20 years have made survey administration easier for both the researchers and the respondents. The benefits of using an online survey include the reduction of errors that arise from the transcription of paper questionnaires (Vehovar and Lozar Manfreda 2008) and the inexpensive nature of this form of survey administration, as it eliminates postage, printing, and/or interviewer costs (Schaefer and Dillman 1998). Hence, the mode of dissemination for my survey was an online, internet-based, self-completion survey hosted through SurveyMonkey (www.surveymonkey.com) where respondents from my target population completed the answers themselves. Below I provide details on the structure of the survey and the recruitment methods while reflecting on the limitations that arose from employing this technique.

Survey Construction

The design of the survey was based on an amalgamation of surveys previously conducted in this area, from which many of the questions were adapted (e.g., Everill 2009; Wasson et al. 2008; Zeder 1997). These basic questions, primarily comprised of socio-demographic and employment information, were supplemented with additional questions designed to link specifically to my primary research questions and objectives (Appendix A). A major difference between my survey and those conducted in the past is that it afforded ample space for “open-ended responses” after each section and after some specific questions; respondents were able to provide further thoughts and comments that they would have otherwise been restricted from communicating. Space was also provided at the end of the survey where respondents could write general comments and reflections

on the survey's entirety, as well as a section to indicate whether they would be willing to participate in the interview component of this project.

The survey itself was hosted through the online survey tool SurveyMonkey . I chose this platform because it allows subscribers to dictate the questions asked and gives researchers flexibility in the overall design or aesthetics of the survey, two areas shown to affect the overall response rate (Robson 2002; Vehovar and Loza Manfreda 2008). It was also chosen because of its compatibility with various social media sites where participants can link others in your study group to the survey. Referred to as a *snowball sampling technique* (see Biemer and Lyberg 2003; Konik and Stewart 2004; Miner-Rubino et al. 2007), the use of social media in this way was an important consideration in the selection of SurveyMonkey and the overall objectives of the project. By allowing participants the freedom to "share it", not only was the overall exposure of the project greatly aided, it also increased my survey capture rate.

Before recruitment began, the survey first underwent a pre-test where a small sample of individuals had approximately seven days to evaluate and review it in SurveyMonkey . Once I received this feedback, I made some minor changes before the survey was posted online in April 2014. As described, the survey was open to all archaeologists in Canada in order to understand the attitudes and behaviours of men, women, and non-binary colleagues and to provide important comparative data in discerning the conditions that reproduce inequality and may not be apparent to the targeted group(s).

Survey Recruitment

In terms of capture rates, internet-based and email surveys have been shown to be equally as successful as traditional methods (Schaefer and Dillman 1998). However, when employing an internet-based survey as part of the research methodology, it is often recommended that it be disseminated through various approaches or “mixed modes” (Robson 2002; Vehovar and Lozar Manfreda 2008). Therefore, the sampling strategies employed were a mixture of *convenience sampling*, which recruits easily accessible members of a target population (i.e., academic faculty, graduate students, and senior CRM managers) and *snowball sampling*, which can help identify inaccessible members of a target population (i.e., CRM fieldworkers, contract workers) who have been missed in other large-scale survey attempts (Aitchinson 1999; Aitchinson and Edwards 2003, 2008; Everill 2009; Zeder 1997). This mixed mode of sampling works to both increase the response rates and prevent exclusion to those who would prefer a traditional mode, such as a mail-in survey, or those who do not use or frequent social media. While I strongly believe that this mixed technique aided in obtaining responses from archaeologists employed in precarious positions, it is important to note that it is likely that not all members of the community were contacted or made aware of the survey.

I also relied on email and social media as the two main platforms to distribute the survey among the population of Canadian archaeologists that I identified during the proposal phase of this project. In order to better understand how respondents learned about the survey and the platform they might be accessing it from, I used SurveyMonkey to create a number of unique URL's to distribute through separate modes. In this way, I created three separate links, one for Facebook, one for emails to

academic institutions and museums, and another to be emailed to consulting/CRM firms. Emails were sent individually to all assumed areas where archaeologists could be employed, when their emails were available online, targeting individuals rather than one administrator or supervisor. I made this decision so the survey could reach as many people as possible and also, to reduce any risk of suppression by an individual in a position of power. Due to the topics presented in the survey, it is not difficult to imagine a scenario where an organization may not want their employees to express their opinions, albeit anonymously, about their working conditions. If staff directories could not be found, I sent emails to one individual who I encouraged to forward it onto their employees, graduate students, or others who might be interested in participating. Emails contained an introductory letter regarding the project (approved as part of the Ethics clearance) and contained links to both English and French versions of the survey. Emails were sent in two cycles, once when the survey was first released and again approximately halfway through the data collection period. I did not share the link distributed on Facebook a second time, rather it populated organically through sharing; the link appearing beyond Facebook, on platforms such as Twitter and was distributed to wider email lists at universities and professional organizations.

One of the primary concerns with conducting an online survey is that it may be possible to access the survey multiple times. This concern can be partly attributed to the multiple approaches used to contact the target population and the resultant snowball sampling that can occur as contacts forward the link. While snowball sampling is seen overall as beneficial, the repeated transmission of the link can allow someone to access the survey multiple times or perhaps can cause confusion if they believe the links lead to

different, unique surveys. A participant may try to access the survey for a variety of reasons either unintentionally or intentionally skewing the dataset. Clancy et al. (2014) suggest that participants with negative experiences might be more likely to take a survey multiple times than those with positive experiences. However, the opposite is also possible, a person with positive experiences or someone who has strong political views about the topics presented can attempt to take the survey multiple times to produce positive data.

As has been widely published in both public and academic forums, cyber bullying or trolling is an additional concern when using any online forum to disseminate or acquire information (Campbell 2005; Hardaker 2010; Jane 2016). To safeguard against these concerns, I enabled the “Web Link Collector” feature in SurveyMonkey . In order to prevent duplicate responses, the “Web Link Collector” sets a limit on the URL used to access the survey, only allowing one response per computer by placing a cookie on the individual's browser. The use of cookies prevents that individual's computer from trying to access the survey again (SurveyMonkey 2013). Since this does not prevent someone from accessing the link from another computer, I availed of the other analytical tools offered by SurveyMonkey to help identify if duplicate responses were submitted. These included identifying if responses were submitted within 30 seconds of each other and if the exact same responses (particularly in the open-ended sections) were submitted (SurveyMonkey 2013). In principle, IP addresses can also help identify if duplicate responses were submitted; however, IP addresses were not collected for this survey in an effort to protect the anonymity of the participants.

Once the response period concluded, I exported the data from SurveyMonkey into Microsoft Excel where I scanned it for duplicate responses which were then deleted. Once initial screening took place, I extracted all open-ended responses from the survey and placed them in a separate Excel spreadsheet with the unique identifiers created by SurveyMonkey for each respondent for later analysis with Nvivo, the software suite also used for analyzing the transcripts from the semi-structured interviews. Finally, I imported the remaining data into the statistical software package SPSS for coding and statistical analysis.

Statistical Analysis

Since the number of archaeologists practicing in Canada is difficult to assess due to a variety of factors, including the transitory nature of some archaeological employment, I needed to make certain assumptions regarding the overall size of the population in order to determine the sample size necessary to achieve a suitable level of confidence. With consideration given to both academic and consulting positions, I operated under a cautious hypothesis that the total population of archaeologists in Canada is in the range of 1000-1500 persons. This required a sample size of 278-306 for the conventional 95% confidence level (total survey responses gathered was 315, Chapter 6). Based on data from the Canadian Archaeological Association, there were 413 members for membership year 2014/2015 (CAA Secretary Joanne Braaten, personal communication 2018). Considering the fact that many CRM consultants, including seasonal field technicians, as well as early career academics, those archaeologists employed within the museum sector or who work outside of Canada, and graduate students are not typically captured within this membership organization, I believe my

estimate accounts for these individuals. While it is entirely likely that this is an over-estimate, since it is impossible to know the true number of archaeologists practicing in Canada, I continued to use the 95% confidence level in my statistical analyses in instances where the number of responses to a question was lower than the required sample size (typically between 200-250 participants).

Overall, I analyzed data with a mixture of descriptive statistics and nonparametric analyses, particularly the chi-square test for independence. I chose this statistical test for its suitability for small, random sample sizes and its ability to determine if there exists a significant relationship between two or more categorical (or nominal) variables (Pallant 2010:217). I present results of chi-square statistical tests in the text. Whereas not all respondents answered every question, data were adjusted to exclude the person only if they were missing responses for the specific analysis conducted. With consideration to this, and to the sample size issues discussed above, all results state the number of individuals used in performing each statistical test.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The final component of my methodology was the use of interviews to access the experiences of women and to reveal “people’s ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words” (Reinharz 1992:19). Conducting interviews among a population of archaeologists is not new to studying the practice of archaeology and has previously emerged as an ethnographic component in Canada (Zorzin 2010b, 2010a) and in the United Kingdom (Edgeworth 2003, 2010; Everill 2006; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Moser 1995). Reflecting on the critical evaluation I provided at the beginning of this Chapter, it is important to state that although I was a member of this group, this did not necessary

translate to gaining access to or the trust of the women I wanted to include in this study. This could relate to a number of factors including differences between my research subjects and myself, negative feelings toward academics or the academic process, and concerns about accurate representation.

Through incorporating this method into my research, I chose to take advantage of the increasingly common use of technology to approach the process of interviewing, relying on the use of video-conferencing programs (i.e., Skype) when in-person interviews were not possible. This was aimed both to explore the quantitative patterns revealed by the survey and to illuminate the personal experiences of individuals employed in archaeology. Although I used a semi-structured interview style to produce some consistency in the questions asked (Table 4.1), this method allowed the flexibility to avoid leading participants' answers in a particular direction and afforded space to encourage the subjects to express their feelings and thoughts regarding the questions asked within the survey (Devault 2004:232), in order to produce highly individualized interviews and proceeding in the direction of the interviewee's choosing (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006:126). Below I detail recruitment strategies, how interviews were conducted, and the data management practices used post-interview.

Table 4.1 Structured interview questions about experiences in archaeology.

Interview Questions

What is your current position in archaeology?

When did you first encounter archaeology? How did you know this was a career you wanted to pursue?

What is the highest level of education that you have completed? Have you received any other forms of training?

How long have you worked in archaeology?

Do you or have you experienced gaps in your employment? How do you fill these gaps (i.e., other archaeological work, other industries, time at home, etc.)?

What do you like about your job(s)? What do you dislike about your job(s)?

Do you believe your identity (i.e., race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, etc.) has influenced your career in archaeology?

Do you believe you have ever used gender to your advantage?

Do you believe a study like this is needed in Canada? Why or why not?

Recruitment

As part of his doctoral research, Zorzin (2010b) conducted semi-structured interviews among archaeological practitioners in Quebec, focusing on the impacts of the commercialization of archaeology in that province, and seeking participants both selectively and opportunistically. In this sense, opportunistic semi-structured interviews were conducted in the field, often engaging fellow workers or those encountered by chance (Zorzin 2010b:52). For this research, my efforts focused on targeting conference attendees, in particular, the Canadian Archaeological Association meeting held in St. Johns in May 2015 and the Chacmool conference, held at the University of Calgary in November 2015. Seeking participants in this manner did not preclude the ability for interested participants to contact me beforehand, as both the organizers of the CAA and Chacmool agreed to place an announcement seeking participants on their respective

websites months before the conference began (Appendix C). Interest was also expressed by individuals who had completed the survey and were further interested in contributing to this study by volunteering for an additional interview. Since my announcement was advertised to conference attendees beforehand, and due to the fact that my survey had been released previously to me seeking interviewees, a number of individuals who were interested in an interview but would not be attending these conferences contacted me.

At the CAA meeting, I placed posters around the venue advertising the research and seeking participants for interviews (Appendix C), while the organizers of Chacmool ran the same poster in the conference program booklet. After I attended both conferences, I had completed 11 interviews with women archaeologists at various stages in their careers from across Canada. In the intervening months between the CAA and Chacmool and after the conclusion of Chacmool in November, I received a number of emails from other interested women who sought participation over the phone or via Skype. Between face-to-face interviews and those conducted via phone or on Skype, I completed a total of 17 interviews; originally setting out to capture between 15-20.

Interview Process

Once interviews began, I reiterated the aims of the project and received verbal confirmation that the participant understood their rights and their ability to withdraw consent at any point in the project. Those interviews conducted in person were administered in a location of the participant's choosing. Most chose not to leave the conference venue so a secluded area was found to conduct the interviews so that participants could feel that they were able to speak openly and honestly. All the interviews were recorded with the Edirol R-1 digital recorder. Edirol records audio files in

MP3 or wav format for playback on the device or for later download. Once the interview had concluded, audio files were immediately transferred onto my computer to avoid any risk of losing the data or potentially overwriting the files. When a face-to-face interview was not possible, Skype or phone calls were conducted, depending on the participant's preference. I conducted these interviews alone from my home office. Skype calls were recorded and saved in MP3 format with the program Call Recorder for Skype (<http://www.ecamm.com/mac/callrecorder/>). Call Recorder stores audio and video files locally and not on a cloud-based system, ensuring security. As part of the Informed Consent, participants chose whether or not they wanted to be audio recorded. Therefore, notes were only taken if the participant did not permit audio recording through Skype calls.

On telephone calls, I used the application TapeACall Pro recorder (<https://www.tapeacall.com/>). TapeACall can record your incoming and outgoing calls through a 3-way call system that merges the calls and records an MP3 audio file to an account setup through the app. Once the call is complete, the call is processed and ready for downloading in MP3 format to a variety of platforms. As part of their privacy policy, TapeACall keeps and stores calls on your account for up to one year unless the account holder chooses to delete the call (TapeACall 2016). Therefore, I immediately downloaded calls recorded with TapeACall after the call with the interviewee had concluded and deleted it from my account to reduce the possibility that the recording could be accessed later. In instances where individuals did not consent to audio recordings, I emailed questions to them to complete and send back. This proved limiting in the ability to gather more information or provide follow-up based on the responses of the participant.

Nonetheless, this provided an avenue to create a comfortable environment where participation was possible.

Regardless of whether I conducted the interview in person, on the phone, or through Skype, interview times averaged one and a half to two hours in length. Considering this, I often limited myself to one interview a day to prevent any burnout or exhaustion that would affect my ability to interact with participants effectively. The questions posed to participants prompted them to recall stories and memories that they had not thought about in a long time and additionally effected how they received follow-up questions; this was typically dependent on a variety of factors including the participant's willingness, availability, and/or their emotional state during the interview (Nelson et al. 2017:3). Most interviewees tended to reconsider or re-evaluate the situation they spoke of and their feelings toward it within the context of the question asked.

Transcription and Analysis

After the interviewing process concluded, I transcribed and anonymized all interviews in Word. I transcribed all interviews in a semi-verbatim style and only removed false starts and stumbles. Transcribing the interviews in this way allowed the text to stay as true to the recording as possible.

Although the Canadian archaeological community can be considered geographically dispersed, the community itself can be characterized as quite small. Due to this, anonymity was an important consideration during the Informed Consent and transcription processes. Anonymizing the interviews included not only altering the names of the participants, using the pseudonym of their choice or one I assigned to them, but also concealing or modifying the names of towns, archaeological sites, institutions or any

other locational information that could identify the person. In some cases, participants chose to be clearly identified in the research and did not want their identity concealed. In the qualitative section of this dissertation (Chapter 7), I identify participants with their pseudonym, age range, and a general description of their position within the discipline; for example, *Catherine (31-35) [Graduate Student]*. Other identifiers were not included to continue to ensure the protection of participant identity.

As part of the Informed Consent process for interviewing, participants could choose to review the transcript of their interview once it was complete. This review process allowed participants to make sure they were accurately represented and provided an opportunity to make any additions or omissions to the transcript. Additionally, this promoted the ongoing understanding that the participant was in control of their position in the research and could withdraw at any point up until publication. I sent transcripts to participants via email and I gave them 30 days to respond, stating that if I did not hear back from them, I would assume that they accepted the transcript as is. However, I was never required to enact this understanding because I heard back from all my participants within this time period. I then entered all transcripts into the qualitative software program Nvivo for analysis and coding.

The analysis of this data primarily consisted of employing the descriptive coding technique. Descriptive coding is a common and popular coding method that is suitable for most forms of qualitative analysis (Saldaña 2009:70). With descriptive coding, each transcript is individually analyzed for words or phrases that can be assigned to a topic and then compared to discover similarities and patterns. However, this method does not seek merely to summarize the content but also to understand what is talked about; the act of

descriptive coding is not solely about labeling but also about linking the data in a heuristic manner to discern possible relationships (Saldaña 2009:8).

Summary

As I have noted, the use of a mixed methods research design in one study is thought to produce synergy within a research project whereby one method enables the other to be more effective and provides the researcher with a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006:317). Therefore, I argue the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods in this project allowed me to fulfill the aims of my research while still maintaining a commitment to feminist and intersectional methodological considerations. By incorporating both approaches, I accessed data to establish a demographic baseline regarding archaeological employment in Canada among the three groups of archaeologists that I defined above. By using a self-completion survey and face-to-face interviews, I collected information from participants to identify current patterns of employment while also aiming to reveal the multidimensional nature of social inequality within groups and at the level of the individual. The selection of virtual methods such as Skype and SurveyMonkey facilitated communication to a large number of individuals within the discipline and overcame some of the hurdles experienced through the application of these approaches in the past. Regardless, identifiable gaps in the data were unavoidable and will only be filled if future, additional efforts are spearheaded by federal, institutional, or local level organizations to obtain more complete demographic information.

CHAPTER 5: LONGITUDINAL DATA ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL POPULATION

Introduction

Since limited information exists regarding historical trends for the archaeological population in Canada, this chapter aims to construct a long-term, quantitative picture of archaeologists employed in both the public and private sectors. Using available datasets, this presentation focuses on two main areas: 1) university students and faculty employment based on aggregated data compiled from Statistics Canada, and 2) cultural resource management consultants established through permits issued by provincial regulatory bodies. Concerning the former, I explore further data that relates to federal funding among graduate students and professors, specifically from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and regarding faculty rank and citizenship. In its totality, examining the data through an intersectional lens reveals that since these data focus primarily on binary gender assignments (male/female), there are inherent gaps created at the government level which make an intersectional analysis impossible. With this limitation in mind, gender still provides a good starting point to establish a baseline for understanding how relationships between men and women in the archaeological workplace have changed over time and in turn, a suitable framework for comparison and development. Although this chapter discusses the results in a linear fashion, from early training as an undergraduate/graduate student to employment in the university or private sector, it should not be interpreted in this way. The path from education and training to employment is, for many, a dis-continuous or broken journey. As such, this chapter is meant to be largely illustrative of any changes in gender dynamics that occur throughout

education and employment.

Considering both demographics in education and university employment, significant factors that influenced data collection from the abovementioned sources included archaeology's situatedness as a sub-discipline of anthropology and the fact that there are presently only two dedicated archaeology departments in Canada.¹³ As it is highly probable that many archaeologists trained within the country are emerging from four-field or anthropological archaeology programs, data from both disciplines is presented in a number of instances. This not only provides a more complete picture of potential demographics in archaeological education and employment but also aids in describing the overall situations in anthropology and archaeology departments. In some cases, data drawn from the discipline of classical and ancient studies is additionally considered as Statistics Canada includes archaeology as a component of this program in their data collection and dissemination.

Undergraduate and Graduate Students

As outlined in Chapter 4, I obtained data for undergraduate and graduate student enrolment and graduation rates through the PSIS conducted by Statistics Canada. This annual survey collects information on the nation's students with a particular focus on gaining metrics related to attainment, education, training and learning, and fields of study. An institution's response to the PSIS is mandatory and, therefore, provides one of the most reliable and richest sources to construct enrolment and graduation data on a single

¹³ These two dedicated departments are at Simon Fraser University and Memorial University of Newfoundland. While Memorial University offered training in archaeology under the Department of Anthropology from 1967-2009, the Department of Archaeology became a separate entity in 2009. The Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University was founded in 1971.

program or on Canada's postsecondary education system as a whole.

The next section will provide a 20-year snapshot (1992-2012, all available data) of enrolment and graduation rates between male and female students at the undergraduate, master's, and doctoral levels in anthropology, archaeology, and classical and ancient studies. Enrolment totals include overall totals as well as any undergraduate or graduate credit and qualifying programs that students were enrolled in during a given year. I will then discuss graduation frequencies by age distribution for males and females before considering undergraduate and postgraduate results by age cohort, gender, and award decade. Available data on age cohorts also spans the period from 1992-2012 and is presented in segments from 1992-1999 and 2000-2012. Within these data, a certain proportion of students do not have reported age data, however, in some cases these data are nonetheless represented graphically to demonstrate the relationships between males and females and degree earned. Lastly, I use information obtained from SSHRC regarding various graduate and postdoctoral award programs to underscore whether a relationship exists between enrolment and student funding success rates.

Enrolment Rates

Between the years 1992-2012, the overall enrollment of undergraduate and graduate students in Canada rose considerably, reaching an all-time high for both men and women in the period between 1992-2003 (CAUT 2008:1). Therefore, it is expected that a similar trend be present in anthropology, archaeology, and classical and ancient studies at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Although it appears that enrolment in undergraduate and graduate anthropology programs experienced distinct periods of increase and decrease, the overall enrolment in all three disciplines increased between

1992-2012 (Figure 5.1). While enrolment rates in archaeology appear to be steady, sudden growth in both undergraduate and graduate enrolment in 2009 in Classical and Ancient Studies suggests an increase in available programs and in turn, the ability to accommodate and accept more students. As the data disseminated from Statistics Canada is aggregated by province of study and not university department, it is difficult to understand how department size might influence this dataset.

According to the Canadian Association of University Teachers (2008), in all university programs in Canada, women made up approximately 58% of undergraduate students and now constitute the majority of Master's students, however, they remain moderately underrepresented at the Ph.D. level. This situation is widely affected by the massive underrepresentation of women in many STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) disciplines, comprising only 11% of students in engineering and 18% of mathematics doctoral programs (CAUT 2008:7).¹⁴ Conversely, within social science and humanities programs, females appear to comprise the majority of students enrolled at all levels (CAUT 2008). Table 5.1 demonstrates this trend in student enrolments at the undergraduate and graduate level in anthropology, archaeology, and classical and ancient studies.

¹⁴ The first engineering program in Canada was established pre-confederation in 1854 at King's College (now the University of New Brunswick). Other programs at the l'École polytechnique de Montréal and at the School of Practical Sciences (now a part of the University Toronto) were established in the 1870s (Lajeunesse 2015). With this timeline in mind, the first Canadian woman to be awarded a Ph.D. in electrical engineering was Elise Gregory MacGill from the University of Toronto in 1927 and the first mathematics Ph.D. was awarded in 1930 to Cecilia Kreiger also from the University of Toronto (Gibson 2002; Riddle 2016).

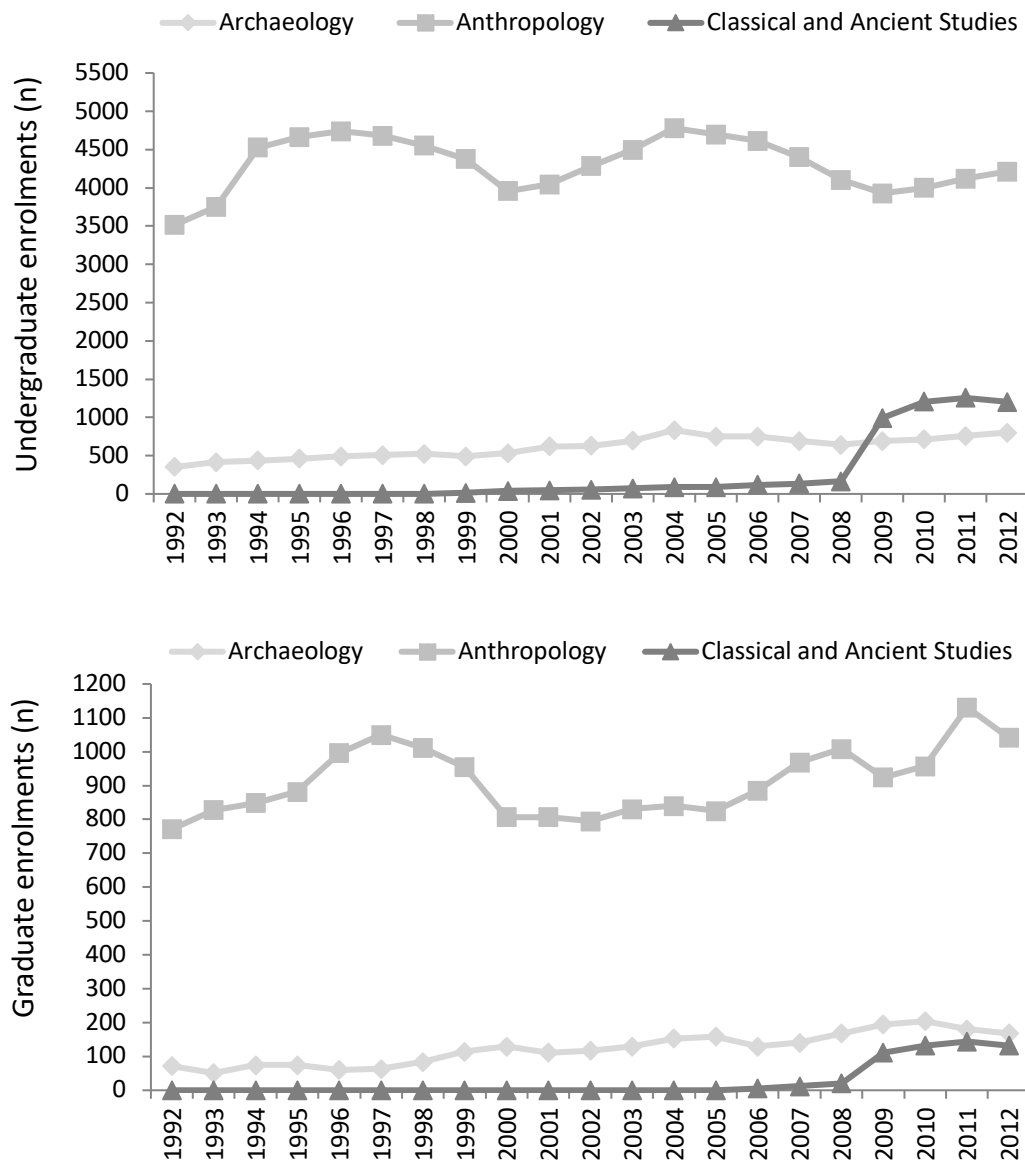


Figure 5.1 Undergraduate and graduate enrollment rates at Canadian universities from 1992-2012.

In archaeology, female enrollment levels are comparably high at the undergraduate (67%) and Master's level (64%) and are equal to their male counterparts at the Ph.D. level (Table 5.1). Although classical and ancient studies as a discipline did not gain visible enrolments until the 2000s, it is apparent that this subject has also attracted a high

rate of female enrolments, constituting the majority of students at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Nonetheless, a higher percentage of students enrolled in Ph.D. programs in this discipline are male (Table 5.1).

Examining total enrolments for all three disciplines for the period between 1992-2012, it is clear that female enrolments outpace male enrolments by almost double in most cases (Table 5.2). It should be noted that students classified as “unknown sex” by Statistics Canada represent less than 1% of the population in archaeology and anthropology respectively; no students of unknown sex were reported for classical and ancient studies during the collection period presented here.

Table 5.1 Enrolment Rates in Anthropology, Archaeology, and Classical and Ancient Studies in Canada between 1992-2012.

| | Anthropology | | Archaeology | | Classical and Ancient Studies | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Undergraduate | 28% n=25455 | 72% n=65085 | 33% n=4224 | 67% n=8562 | 36% n=1991 | 64% n=3507 |
| M.A. program | 34% n=3867 | 66% n=7539 | 36% n=561 | 64% n=999 | 48% n=138 | 52% n=147 |
| Ph.D. program | 36% n=2889 | 64% n=5070 | 50% n=513 | 50% n=519 | 53% n=153 | 47% n=138 |

Table 5.2 Total Enrolment Rates for all programs across Canada between 1992-2012

| | Male | | Female | | Unknown | |
|---------------|-------|----|--------|----|---------|-------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Undergraduate | 31671 | 29 | 77154 | 71 | 18 | < 0.0 |
| MA program | 4556 | 34 | 8682 | 66 | 0 | 0 |
| PhD program | 3555 | 38 | 5727 | 62 | 0 | 0 |

Enrolments and Age Distributions

In addition to general enrolment information examined by gender, the use of age data allowed for the analysis of what, if any, relationships exist between age and gender in enrolments in undergraduate and graduate programs. Since undergraduate and graduate students can be situated in a variety of age cohorts, I present data for enrolments by discipline, then gender, and finally by degree and age. As a result of Statistics Canada's collection methods, the age information presented here has a finer resolution in the younger age cohorts and anything over age 40 is simply classified as 40+. This situation complicates any attempt to understand continuing education among so-called "non-traditional" students and the rates of graduation in older age cohorts. I present a breakdown of age by gender, degree, and award decade for those students that graduated from undergraduate and graduate programs in the next section.

Beginning with the youngest age cohorts (15-17 and 18-21) in anthropology and archaeology, 100% of both males and females are enrolled in an undergraduate degree program with a decline in undergraduate enrolments beginning at 22-24 (Figure 5.2). At this point, enrolment in graduate programs starts to increase, a trend that is evident in all three academic programs. Between both males and females in archaeology and anthropology, peak enrolment in a Master's degree program is among students aged 25-29. As enrolment in doctoral programs reaches its highest point between ages 30-39, Master's enrolments begin to steadily decrease. Yet, regardless of increased enrolment in graduate programs, undergraduate enrolment among females remains over 50% for all age cohorts over ages 22-24, whereas male enrolments fall below 50% in the 30-39 age cohort; a greater percentage of male students are retained in graduate programs,

particularly at the Doctoral level. Enrolment in undergraduate programs hits its lowest point during the 30-39 age group; however, the enrolment of both males and females in undergraduate programs again sees an increase in enrolments at age 40+. While the proportions of males enrolled in graduate programs, particularly at the Doctoral level, remains relatively high in this period (average of 34%), female enrolment in archaeology and anthropology is dominated by an average of 65% enrolment in undergraduate programs, with Doctoral enrolments averaging 20% and Master's enrolments only 16%.

Many similarities exist in classical and ancient studies when compared to the trends seen in anthropology and archaeology, but an increase in undergraduate enrolments is only seen for females aged 40+. Additionally, there is a continued increase rather than a decrease in Master's programs for both females and males after age cohort 30-39. Like anthropology and archaeology, the percentage of males enrolled in Ph.D. programs is proportional to those students enrolled at the undergraduate level.

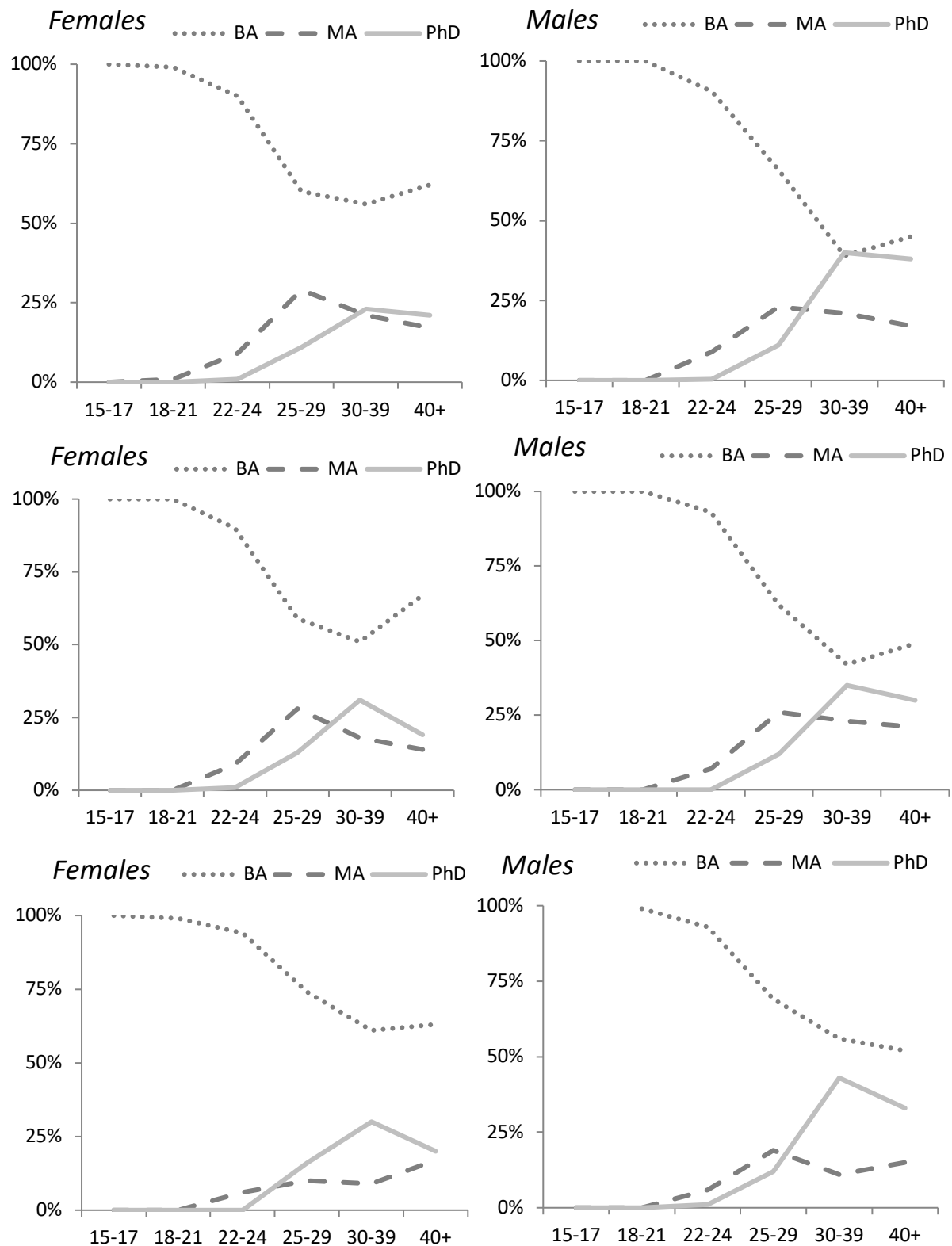


Figure 5.2 Percentage of enrolment for various degrees in archaeology (top), anthropology (middle), and classical and ancient studies (bottom) among females and males by age cohort between 1992-2012.

Graduation Rates

Although it is difficult to compare the numbers of enrolments and graduates in a given year because a correlation does not necessarily exist between the numbers of students who both enroll and graduate, it is still a useful exercise to establish the overall numbers of students that completed degrees during this time period. As with enrolments, the graduation rates among students for archaeology and anthropology have steadily increased since 1992, albeit growth in Master's and Doctoral graduates appears less stable compared to that of enrolments (Figure 5.3). Over this period, the average number of students to complete undergraduate degrees across Canada was 138 per year in archaeology, 1154 per year in anthropology, and 67 per year in classical and ancient studies. As might be expected, these numbers are considerably lower for the completion of graduate degrees, with an average of 26 per year in archaeology and classical and ancient studies, respectively, and 180 per year in anthropology. The averages for classical and ancient students were calculated for years active instead of PSIS survey years (1992-2012) as the small numbers of students enrolled begin to reach undergraduate degree completion beginning in 2000 and graduate degree completion between 2009-2012.

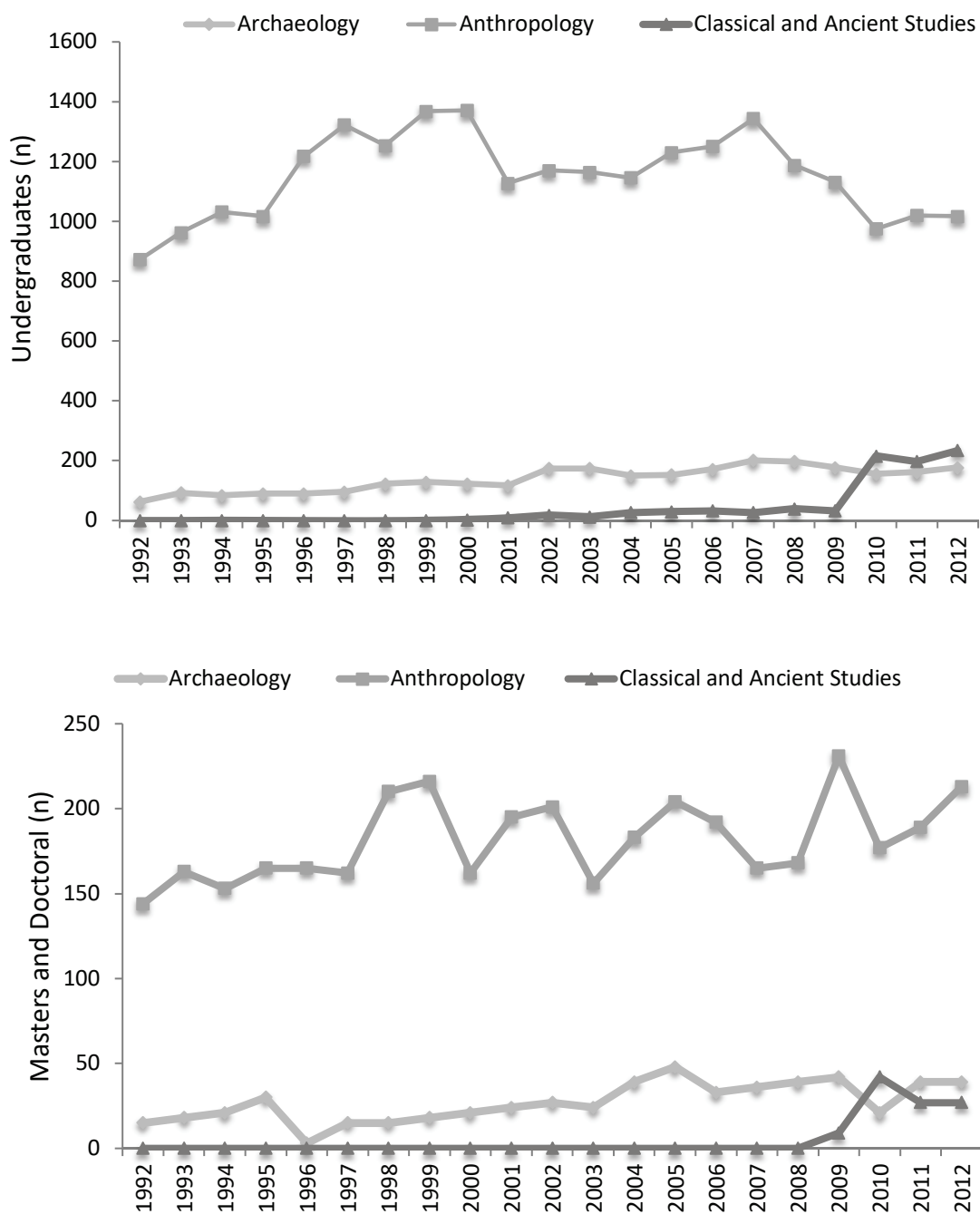


Figure 5.3 Undergraduate and graduate program graduation rates at Canadian universities from 1992-2012.

Table 5.3 appears to demonstrate the results of consistent and steady growth as the overall numbers of successful graduates between 1992-2012 in anthropology,

archaeology, and classical and ancient studies experiences little change; there are similar proportions of male and female students who graduated as compared with those who enrolled (Table 5.1 and 5.2). As with enrolments, “unknown sex” graduation rates comprise less than 1% of anthropology graduates and no unknown sex students were reported for archaeology and classical and ancient studies (Table 5.4). Generally, not only do more female students enroll, they also outperform male students at graduation, comprising more than half of graduates in all cases. Despite the fact that the numbers of students who completed Ph.D.’s in classical and ancient studies is small compared to archaeology and anthropology, it is interesting to see a reversal between enrolment and graduation rates between female and male students; male students accounting for 53% of enrolment during 1992-2012 but only 25% of graduates during the same time period.

Table 5.3 Graduation Rates in Anthropology, Archaeology, and Ancient and Classical studies across Canada between 1992-2012.

| | Anthropology | | Archaeology | | Classical and Ancient Studies | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Undergraduate | 27% n=6477 | 73% n=17706 | 32% n=918 | 68% n=1992 | 39% n=342 | 61% n=537 |
| M.A. program | 32% n=981 | 68% n=2058 | 41% n=174 | 59% n=249 | 48% n=45 | 52% n=48 |
| Ph.D. program | 39% n=300 | 61% n=477 | 49% n=63 | 51% n=66 | 25% n=3 | 75% n=9 |

Table 5.4 Total Graduate Rates for all programs across Canada between 1992-2012.

| | Male | | Female | | Unknown | |
|---------------|------|----|--------|----|---------|--------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Undergraduate | 7737 | 28 | 19698 | 72 | 3 | < 0.00 |
| MA program | 1200 | 34 | 2355 | 66 | 0 | 0 |
| PhD program | 366 | 40 | 552 | 60 | 0 | 0 |

Taken together, these data indicate that although fewer males enroll and graduate, those who reach graduation are proportional to their female counterparts. It should be reiterated that this is not meant to be a direct comparison because of the multi-year nature of undergraduate and graduate degrees; it is merely a demonstration that difference exists between enrolment and graduation rates. This situation is not unique to the fields discussed here but is highlighted for the purposes of understanding the different proportions of students that pursue and complete postsecondary and postgraduate education at each level.

Trends in Age Cohort and Award Decades

Information was compiled on graduates of each program by age cohort and award decade for both undergraduate and postgraduate degree programs. While I have already presented information that concludes the average number of females outnumbers the average number of males both in terms of enrolment and graduation, this exercise identifies trends between the proportions of males and females who completed archaeology and anthropology degrees in Canada. However, it remains impossible to discern whether or not we are seeing the same students progressing through their education and at what level they obtain their final degree. Though I present some data in this section on students in classical and ancient studies, at this point and for the remainder of this section, I focus more on anthropology and archaeology students as I believe these two primary disciplines are more illustrative of the current situation for undergraduate and graduate students in the field and more readily applies to the aims of this dissertation.

In archaeology, after ages 22-24 there is a steep decline in the proportions of undergraduate degrees awarded to both males and females (Figure 5.4). It might be

anticipated that at a certain point or within a certain age range, more students earn postgraduate degrees, narrowing the gap between undergraduate and graduate degrees. However, this situation does not seem to manifest for females completing degrees in archaeology, with the highest proportion of students graduating with Bachelor's degrees in every age cohort. For males, this narrowing becomes more apparent between 30-39, with increased proportions of students (58%) completing postgraduate degrees. The majority of doctorates awarded for both males and females are during ages 30-35. After ages 40+, male undergraduate degree completion rates begin to rise; however, proportions of those completing Master's and Ph.D.'s still comprise 44% of the population as opposed to only 29% for females.

In anthropology, Bachelor's degree graduates experience a similar decline beginning between 22-24. During this time there is an average, steady completion rate for female Master's students between ages 25-40 (25%) before declining to 11% for ages 40+. At this point, the highest rates of Ph.D. graduates are occurring for this population, mirroring the highest enrolment rates (Figure 5.2). Similar to archaeology, there is a more pronounced narrowing between the decline in undergraduate degrees and the increase in postgraduate degrees among the older age cohorts; the highest proportion of this group retained in graduate programs, particularly the Ph.D.

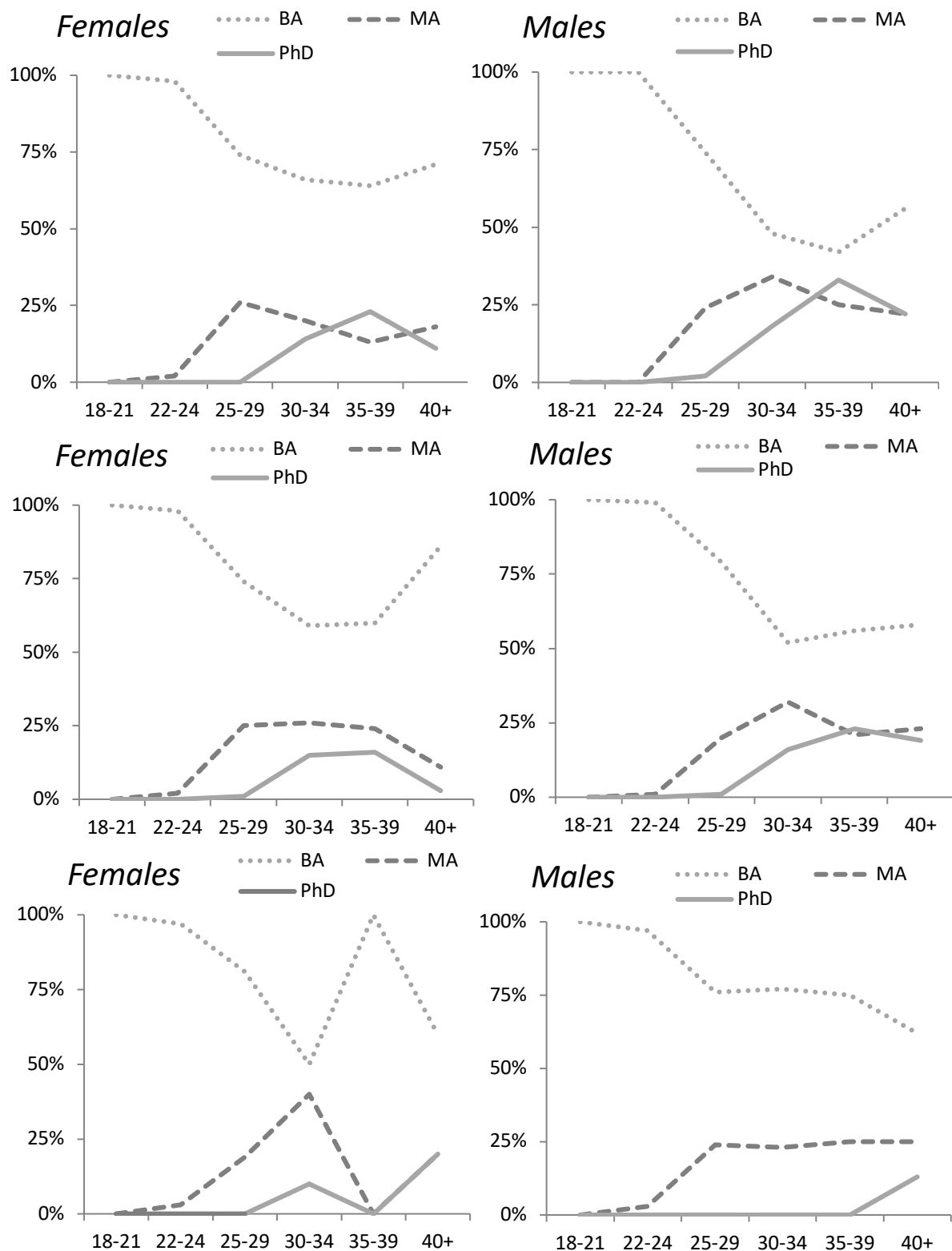


Figure 5.4 Graduation frequencies for various degrees in archaeology (top), anthropology (middle), and classical and ancient studies, including archaeology (bottom) among females and males by age cohort between 1992-2012.

In classical and ancient studies, the proportions of females receiving graduate degrees are equal to that of undergraduate degrees between 30-34 but then drops to 0% for ages 35-39. Resurgence in graduate degree completion is seen after 40+. For male students receiving Master's degrees, completion rates remain relatively stable for all age cohorts after 22-24 but Ph.D. completions only appear in students aged 40+. While illuminating, the smaller number of students and therefore, the smaller sample size makes conclusions about classical and ancient studies less reliable.

When these data are segregated by gender, age, and award decade for undergraduate degrees (Figure 5.5), there appears to be little change between the 1990s and 2000s in anthropology and archaeology. Female students comprise the majority of graduates in both disciplines in all age cohorts with male graduates decreasing by 7% total (including those students whose age cohort was not reported) from the 1990s to 2000s in archaeology. Despite the fact that the proportions of females and males remain comparatively similar in each decade, the increase to the numbers of graduating students is notable. From the 1990s to 2000s, the number of students aged 20-29 and 30-39 almost doubles in anthropology (48%); the same age cohorts experiencing a 60% increase in graduates in archaeology. This said, there is only minimal gain in the number of students graduating in the 40+ age group for both disciplines.

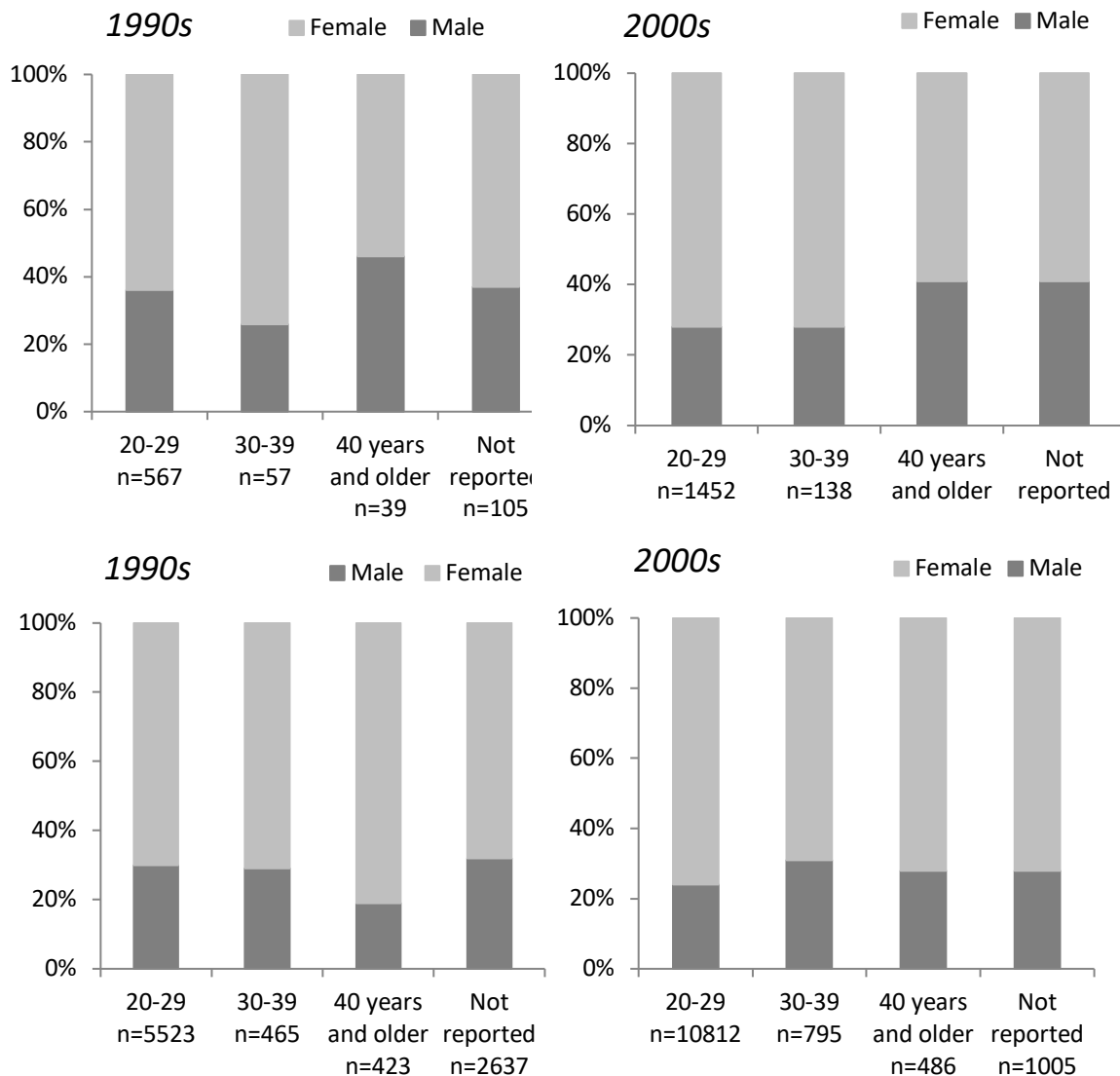


Figure 5.5 Undergraduate archaeology (top) and anthropology (bottom) degrees by award decade and age cohort.

As with awarded undergraduate degrees, there is an increase in the numbers of students graduating with postgraduate degrees in anthropology and archaeology for both genders. When these data are analyzed by gender, age cohort, and award decade, it appears that although there is a similar ratio of females completing Ph.D.'s between ages 30-39, there are proportionally more females completing doctoral degrees in anthropology in the 40+ age group in the 2000s as compared to the 1990s (Figure 5.6).

No females in either decade completed doctoral degrees in the 20-29 age cohort as opposed to a small proportion of males who completed Ph.D.'s in both the 1990s and 2000s.

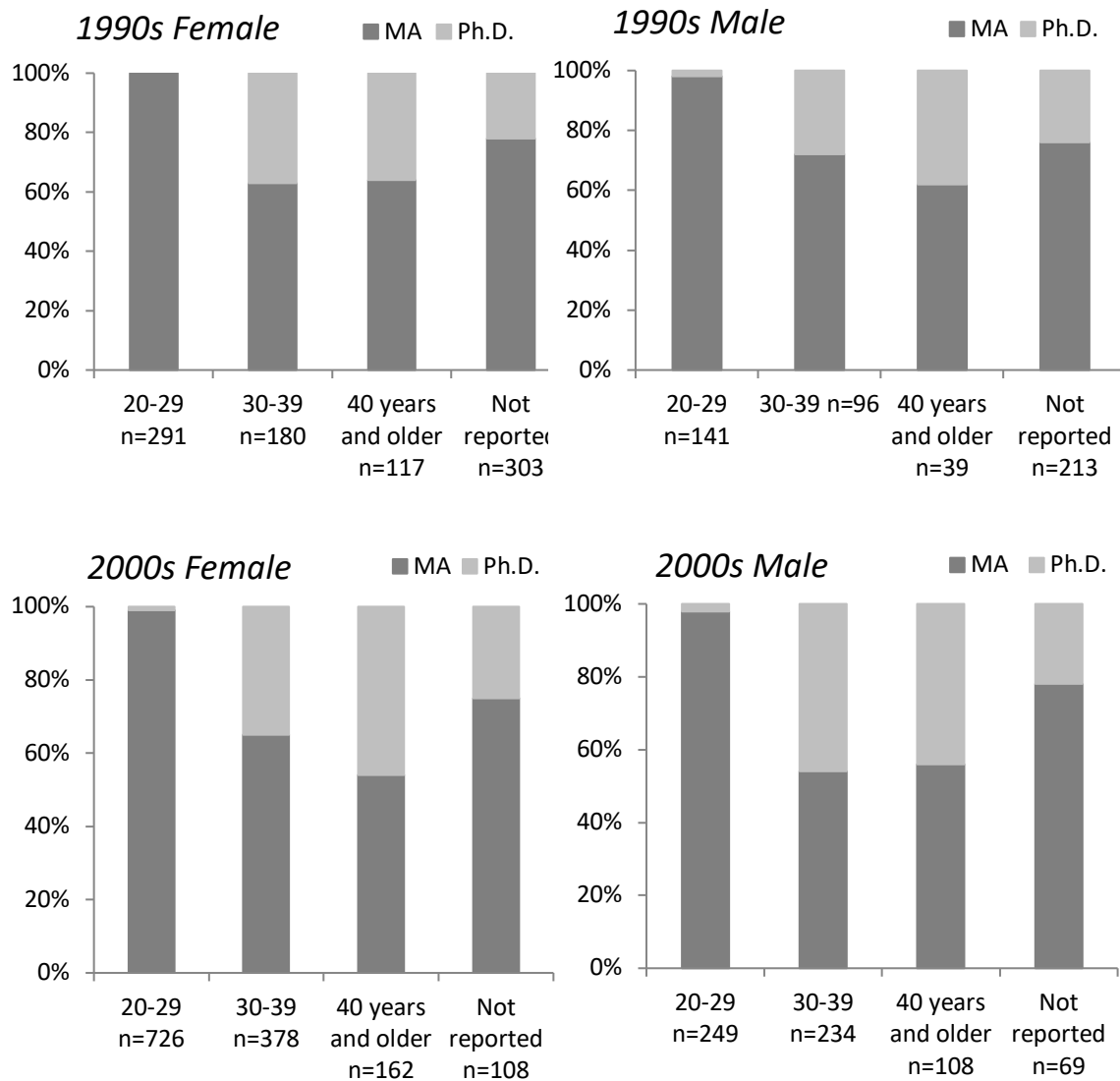


Figure 5.6 Postgraduate anthropology degrees by age cohort and award/ graduation decade.

Compared to the 1990s, for male anthropology postgraduates, proportionally more members of this population are completing Ph.D.'s in the 2000s in both the 30-39 and 40+ age cohorts. While more male postgraduate students completed degrees overall from the 1990s to 2000s, female postgraduates still outnumber males in every age cohort. The most dramatic example of this occurs during the 20-29 age group where females comprise 74% of postgraduates, this number noticeably reduces in older age groups, with 61% of the 30-39 group and 60% of 40+.

Although the numbers of students who earned postgraduate degrees in archaeology are significantly fewer than anthropology, it is still important to note that archaeology has also experienced increases in the numbers of students graduating from the 1990s to the 2000s (Figure 5.7). Of particular interest is the similar lack of Ph.D.'s earned among females in the 20-29 age cohort, 100% of individuals in the 1990s and 2000s earning their M.A. While females earn more degrees overall in the 1990s and 2000s, there is a relative increase in the numbers of Master's degrees earned as compared to Ph.D.'s.

Though male postgraduates experience a similar increase in the number of graduates from the 1990s to the 2000s, the 40+ age category remains relatively stable between both decades. Of significance is the increased proportion of males earning their Ph.D.'s in this age group compared to the 1990s. During the 2000s, males and females in the 30-39 age group are earning Ph.D.'s at almost equal rates. Additionally, males aged 40+ earned more Ph.D.'s while female graduates in this age group decrease.

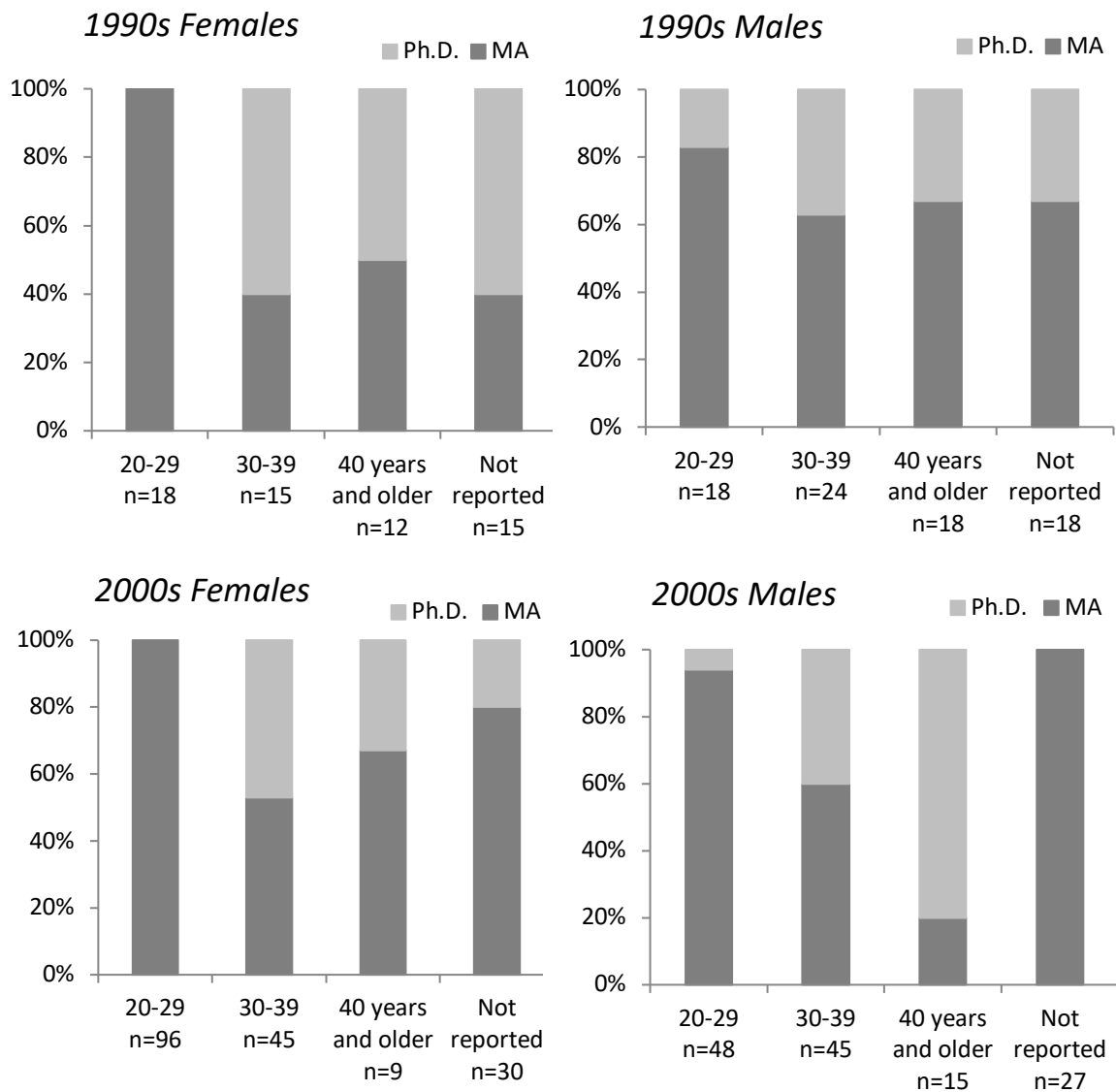


Figure 5.7 Postgraduate archaeology degrees by age cohort and award/graduation decade.

Due to the small sample size and the number of students represented in the “not reported” category, it is possible that the way the above proportions are ultimately understood would reflect a different situation. Since there is no further available data (except from individual institutions) that can produce a finer resolution of the proportions for each discipline, the overall insights of the information compiled here are above all

affected by the reporting standards of Statistics Canada. It is suggested that additional conclusions regarding demographic composition that reflect the situation after post-secondary education can be gleaned from data on employment in archaeological professions.

Funding

As part of the Tri-Council Agencies, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), is considered a major source of funding for post-secondary students enrolled in social science and humanity programs such as anthropology and archaeology. SSHRC conducts yearly competitions where graduate students typically apply from their home institutions, undergoing ranking at the university level before final ranking and decision at the federal level. Even though this is not the only source of funding that students enrolled in graduate archaeology programs can apply to, SSHRC is likely one of the most ubiquitous sources of funding for graduate students enrolled in social sciences or humanities programs in Canada. Though the award allocations vary based on applications deemed suitable and constraints by the federal budget, it is rare that SSHRC awards would not proceed in a given year. As explained in Chapter 4, I used general competition statistics for the CGS Master's and Doctoral Scholarships (2003-2014), SSHRC Doctoral Awards (1995-2015), and Postdoctoral Fellowships (1995-2015) to compile general statistics on the number of award recipients and an overall gender breakdown for the discipline of archaeology. These awards are only open to Canadian citizens or permanent residents, so any international students enrolled in Canadian archaeology programs are not eligible to apply.

The purpose of the CGS Master's program is to give students the opportunity to fully focus on their studies and develop their research skills while completing a Master's degree. In total, the CGS Master's program supports more than 2500 students annually awarding \$17,500 for 12 months (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada 2016). Table 5.5 displays the total awards issued to successful applicants in the discipline of archaeology between the years of 2003-2014. While the 2004/2005 award year shows an equal distribution of awards, on average, females are awarded 67% of CGS Master's grants. Given the higher number of females that both enroll and graduate from Master's programs, this data correlates with those trends.

Table 5.5 Successful CGS Master's Awardees (2003-2014).

| | Female | Male | Total Awards: |
|-----------|--------|------|---------------|
| 2003-2004 | 10 | 2 | 12 |
| 2004-2005 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| 2005-2006 | 12 | 5 | 17 |
| 2006-2007 | 11 | 5 | 16 |
| 2007-2008 | 18 | 8 | 26 |
| 2008-2009 | 18 | 8 | 26 |
| 2009-2010 | 14 | 9 | 23 |
| 2010-2011 | 17 | 9 | 26 |
| 2011-2012 | 15 | 7 | 22 |
| 2012-2013 | 20 | 8 | 28 |
| 2013-2014 | 13 | 9 | 22 |
| Totals: | 153 | 75 | 228 |

At the doctoral level, eligible students can be awarded CGS Doctoral Awards in the amount of \$35,000 for 36 months or SSHRC Doctoral awards in the amount of \$20,000 for 12, 24, 36 or 48 months, dependent on the year of the program year that the student was successful. In both awards, females again comprise the majority of awards winners but in these cases, there is not as significant a difference. For successful CGS Doctoral

awards (2004-2014), females represent 57% of total winners and 53% of total winners for the SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship (1998-2014) (Table 5.6 and Table 5.7).

Table 5.6 Successful CGS Doctoral Scholarship Awardees (2004-2014).

| | Female | Male | Total Awards: |
|-----------|--------|------|---------------|
| 2004-2005 | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| 2005-2006 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| 2006-2007 | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| 2007-2008 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| 2008-2009 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| 2009-2010 | 8 | 5 | 13 |
| 2010-2011 | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| 2011-2012 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| 2012-2013 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| 2013-2014 | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total: | 41 | 31 | 72 |

Although data on the enrolment of postdoctoral fellows in Canada was not available, I thought it prudent to include scholarship data for this group. Successful postdoctoral fellowships are primarily awarded to male applicants, comprising 57% of total awards. Considering what we know about the numbers of male versus female doctoral students who have graduated during this period, this seems counterintuitive. However, this could be the result of many factors, including being unsuccessful in securing a postdoctoral fellowship, finding work directly after completing their doctoral degree, starting a family, or exiting the field to retrain.

Table 5.7 Successful SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship Awardees (1998-2014).

| | Female | Male | Total Awards: |
|-----------|--------|------|---------------|
| 1998-1999 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| 1999-2000 | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| 2000-2001 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| 2001-2002 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| 2002-2003 | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| 2003-2004 | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| 2004-2005 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| 2005-2006 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| 2006-2007 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| 2007-2008 | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| 2008-2009 | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| 2009-2010 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| 2010-2011 | 1 | 9 | 10 |
| 2011-2012 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| 2012-2013 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| 2013-2014 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Total: | 69 | 59 | 128 |

Table 5.8 Successful Postdoctoral Fellowships (1998-2014).

| | Female | Male | Total Awards: |
|-----------|--------|------|---------------|
| 1998-1999 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| 1999-2000 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| 2000-2001 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 2001-2002 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2002-2003 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 2003-2004 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 2004-2005 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| 2005-2006 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| 2006-2007 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| 2007-2008 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| 2008-2009 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 2009-2010 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2010-2011 | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| 2011-2012 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| 2012-2013 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| 2013-2014 | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Totals: | 33 | 43 | 76 |

University Educators

The University and College Academic Staff System, or UCASS, first began in 1937 as a yearly survey aimed at presenting “a national picture of socioeconomic characteristics of full-time academic staff working in universities” (Statistics Canada 2016b). The target population the UCASS aims to capture is all full-time faculty members at public universities whose terms are no less than 12 months in length (Statistics Canada 2016b). Since this survey is mandatory there is no sampling of this population and Statistics Canada typically receives a response rate of 100% (Statistics Canada 2016b). As with the PSIS, the UCASS collects limited demographic data and no data on part-time academic staff (CAUT 2007:1). Therefore, no information is available concerning postdoctoral fellows, lecturers (full or part-time), and short-term contract staff. While the UCASS is useful for studying the status of women in Canada, it does not collect information on race/ethnicity, disability status, religion or sexual orientation (CAUT 2007).

At the time of the information request, the UCASS was cancelled due to budgetary cuts by the federal government following the completion of the 2010/2011-survey year. It has since been reinstated (collection resuming as of fall 2016). As a result, the information presented below covers the span between 1972-2011 for both anthropology and archaeology. To begin, I provide an overview of how the gendered landscape of university faculty has changed in these departments among tenured or tenure-track faculty (Assistant, Associate, and Full Professor) before discussing in more detail the dynamics of faculty rank, age data, and citizenship. As a result of Statistics Canada’s data confidentiality requirements, salary data was mostly suppressed and therefore is not reported here. Finally, I discuss how employment trends among archaeology faculty are

reflected in federal funding programs, particularly examining SSHRC's Standard Research and Insight Grant programs with additional attention paid to other SSHRC funding "codes" that academic archaeologists often apply.

Anthropology and Archaeology Faculty Across Canada

There is a clear, steady rise in the numbers of female faculty members in both anthropology and archaeology over the period from 1972-2011 (Figure 5.8 and 5.9). In anthropology, this rise appears more constant with faculty gains from the 1980s onward. Before the 1990s, females comprised less than 30% of faculty totals whereas the total rises to 34% in this decade (Figure 5.8). This aggregate decreases again below 30% toward the middle of the 1990s before gains are again witnessed toward the latter half of this decade. Female faculty rates continuing on an upward trend, steadily increasing to parity beginning in the 2009/2010 survey year.

The rise of female academics in the field of archaeology follows a different pattern that can be best described as occurring in fits and starts (Figure 5.9). Throughout the almost 40-year span of data collection, there are 10-year periods of increases and decreases that occur with some years having no females present at all. As discussed in Chapter 4, this is potentially a symptom of random rounding conducted by Statistics Canada before disseminating data; minimal numbers of female faculty could be present during those survey years; however, they are represented by a zero. The highest rates of female faculty exist in 2010/2011, with females comprising 38% of archaeology faculty.

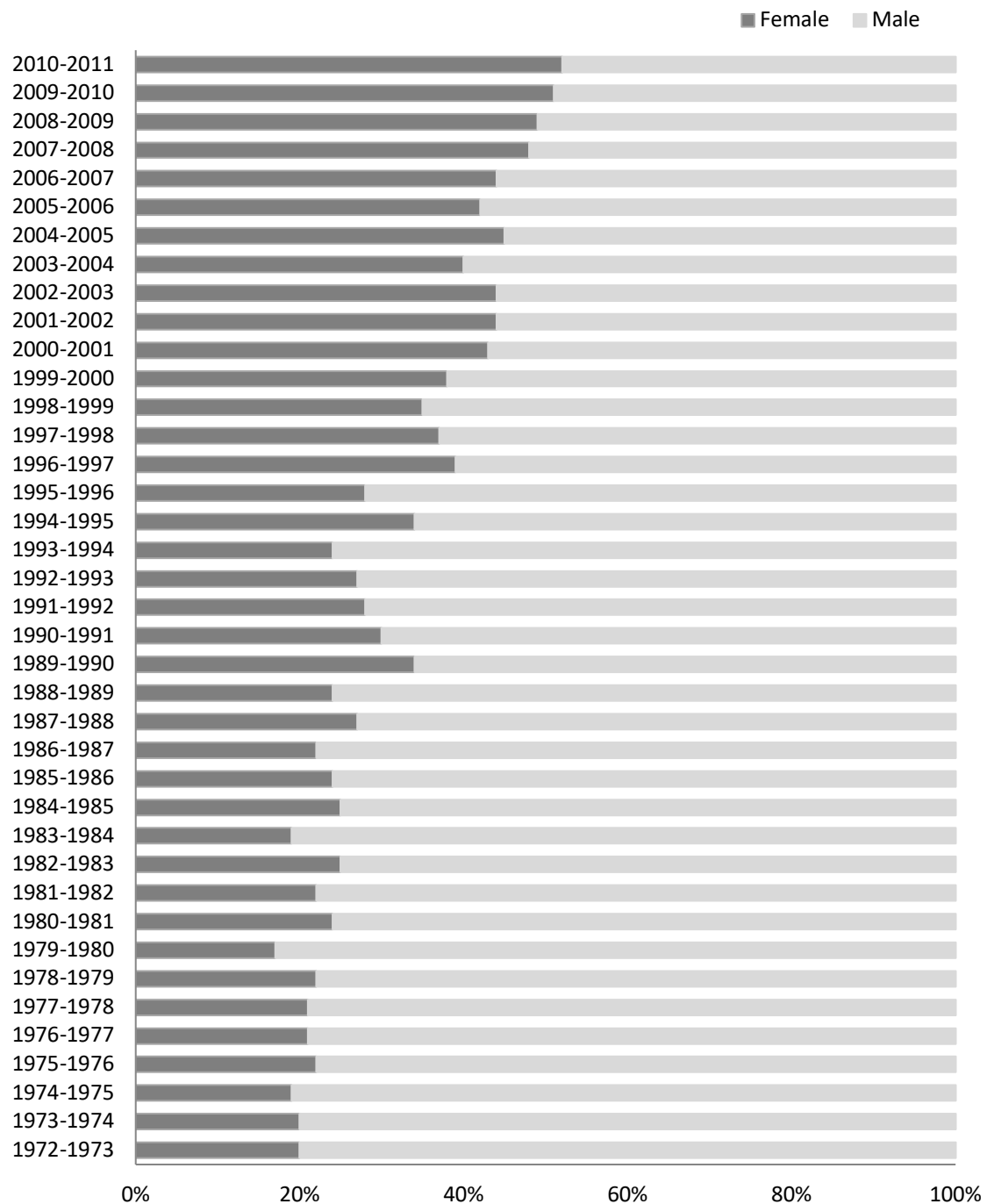


Figure 5.8 Total of anthropology faculty by UCASS survey year across Canada from 1972-2011.

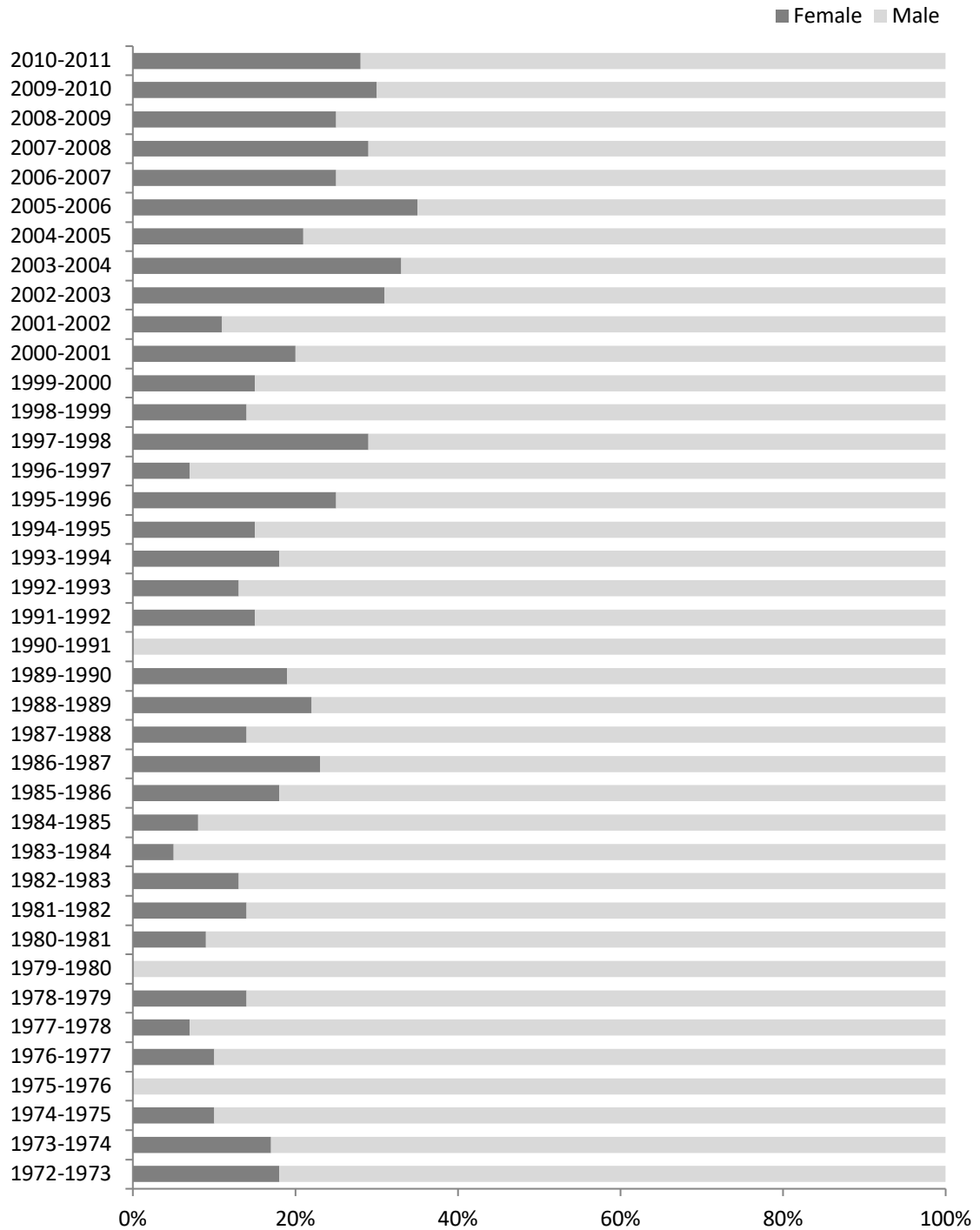


Figure 5.9 Total of archaeology faculty by UCASS survey year across Canada between 1972-2011.

When observing archaeology faculties by age and survey decade some trends become apparent (Figure 5.10). Between 1972-1980, both male and female faculty members are present in the youngest age cohort of 25-29 and a fairly even division among male and female faculty between 30-34 and 35-39. The smallest percentage of faculty during this decade is in the 60+ categories, represented by only 2% male faculty. Over the next three decades (1980-2011) there is a complete decline in any faculty members in the 25-29 age cohort and a significant drop in ages 30-34 for both males and females, while there is a consistent increase in the two oldest age cohorts, 50-59 and 60+ within the last decade (2000-2011). This characterizes the highest proportions of these two age groups over the time period between 1972-2011 with 43% of female faculty and 67% of male faculty in the 50-59 and 60+ age groups. Alternatively, only 22% of females and 9% of males were ages 40 and under as opposed to 45% females and 49% of males between 1972-1980.

In anthropology, a similar situation emerges with the highest proportions of faculty under the age of 40 appearing in the earliest decades (1972-1980 and 1980-1990) before lessening significantly in the latter two decades examined. While there are slightly higher proportions of faculty in the 30-34 and 35-39 age cohorts in the final decade than between 1990-2000, this is also where the highest proportions of 60+ faculties occur, possibly signaling both the occurrence of new hires but also an increasingly aging academic population. This is supported by data presented by the CAUT (2010:1) stating that, in 2006, over 30% of professors were aged 55 and older and 5.6% of professors were over the age of 65. Compared to the earliest decade (1972-80), the latest decade (2000-2011) represents the highest distributions of faculty shifting from the youngest to oldest

age cohorts.

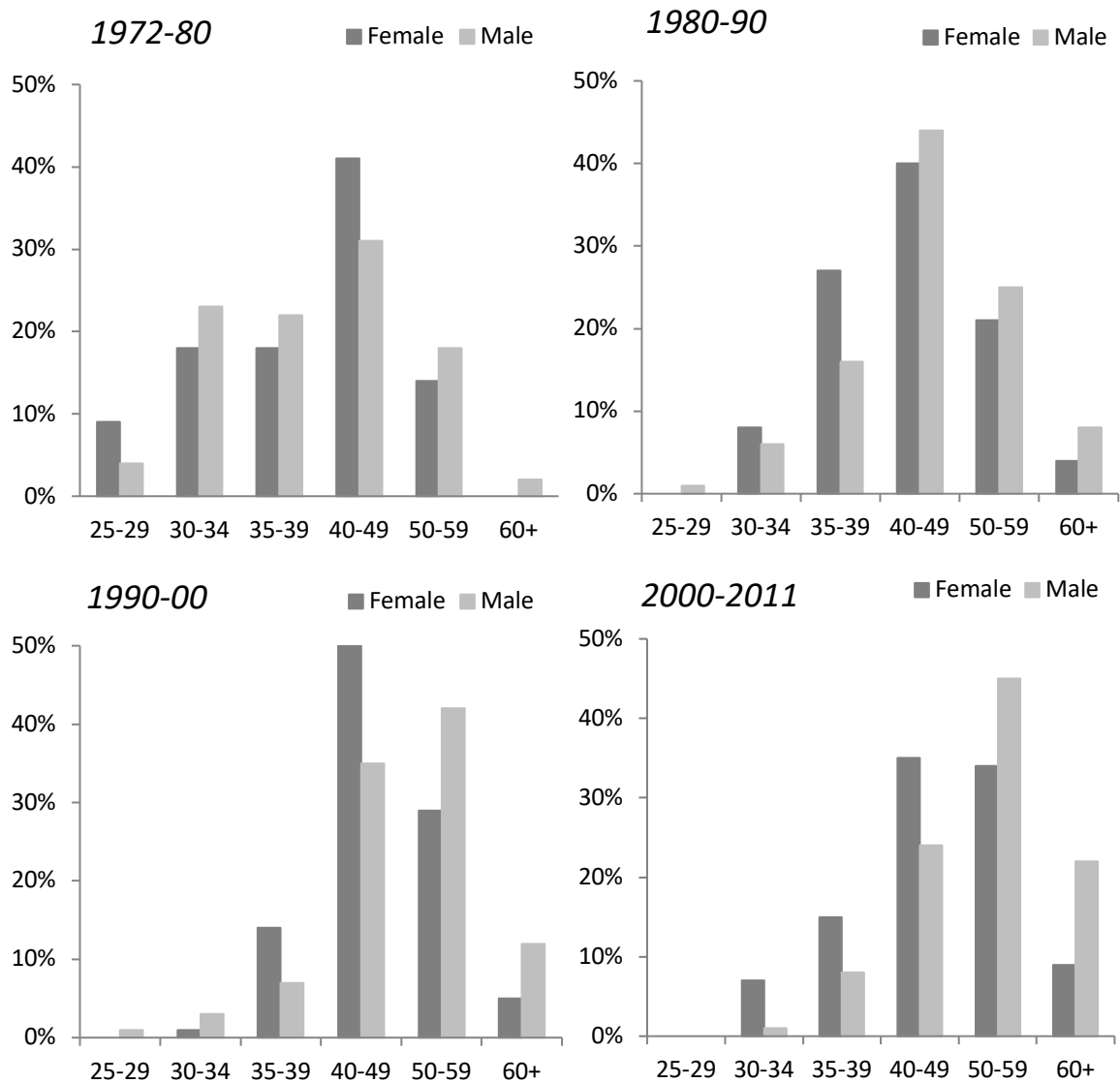


Figure 5.10 Age data by UCASS survey decade and gender for archaeology faculty from 1972-2011.

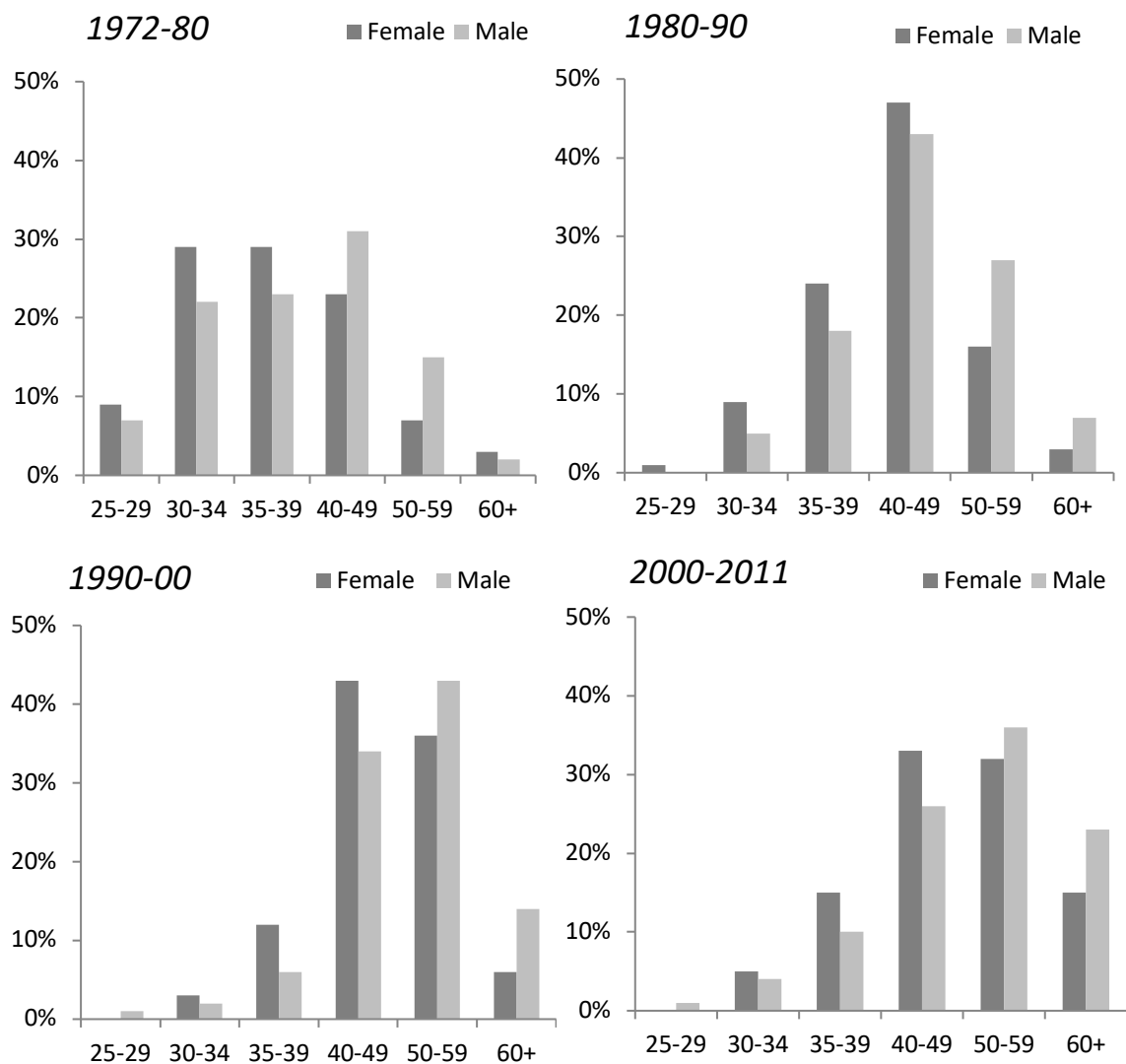


Figure 5.11 Age data by UCASS survey decade and gender for anthropology faculty from 1972-2011.

Rank

After a period where low faculty numbers across all positions produced overlap between the years 1972-1978, there are some trends that begin to develop among male archaeology faculty (Figure 5.12). During 1990-2000, employment in these higher ranks remains relatively stable, while there is a substantial decline in the numbers of male

Assistant Professors. Aside from the mid-70s, the position of 'Other' is the lowest percentage rank for the entire period.

Regarding the numbers of female faculty members in archaeology, the changing composition of faculty rank over time is more erratic (Figure 5.13). It appears that a combination of low female faculty numbers and limited change in rank over the years of the UCASS survey causes a flattening in results during some periods. The rank of Associate shows the steadiest increase, experiencing growth from the period of 1980-2011. Between 2000-2011 the highest proportions of Assistant Professors are seen within this gender group. Changes in the rank of Full Professor can be described as nominal for the whole study period.

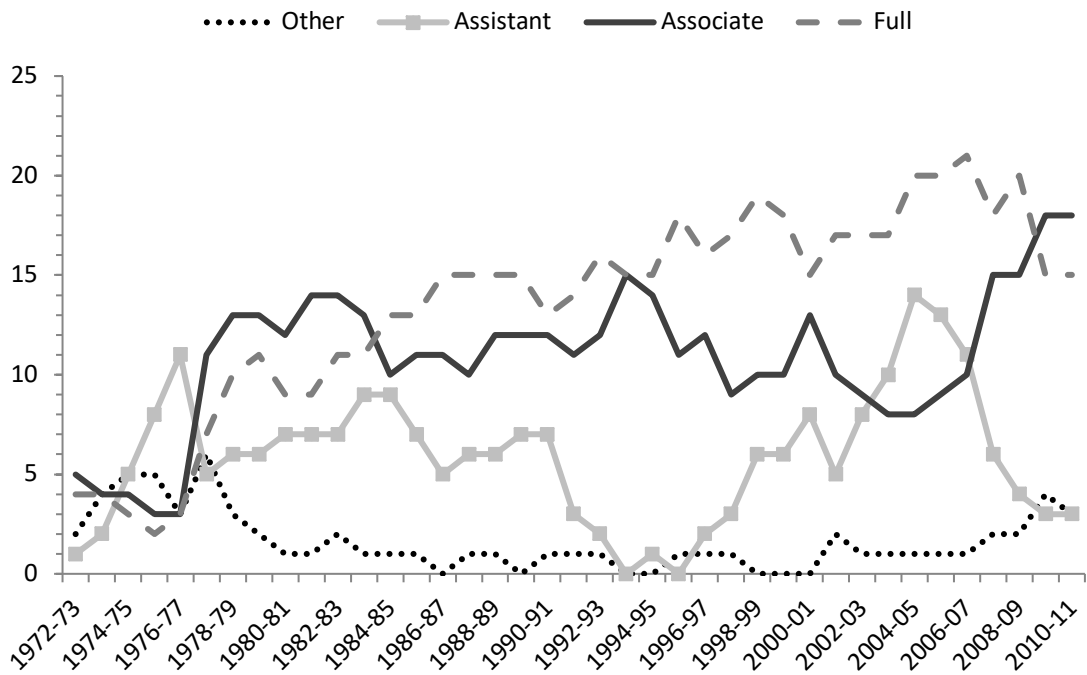


Figure 5.12 Count and academic positions among males in archaeology faculty by UCASS survey year at universities in Canada between 1972-2011.

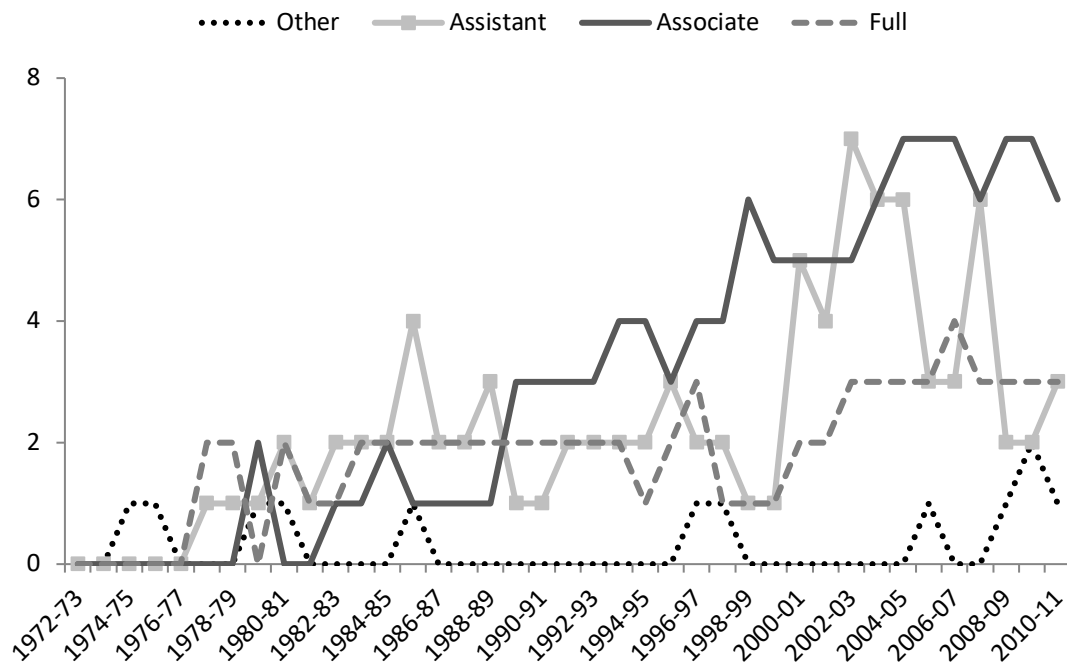


Figure 5.13 Count and academic positions among females in archaeology faculty at universities by UCASS survey year in Canada between 1972-2011.

Owing to the larger number of faculty employed in anthropology departments, it is easier to highlight how the ratios of academic ranks have changed from the 1970s to the present day (Figures 5.14 and 5.15). Among males, the proportions of Associate and Full Professors increase over time. Within these two ranks, there is also a decline in the number of Associate Professors as the rank of Full Professor begins to comprise the majority of male anthropology faculty from the 1990s to the mid-2000s. Even though these two faculty positions experience a relative rise in membership, the Assistant rank sees constant decline, reaching a low point during the 1990s, presumably for similar budgetary reasons discussed above. Employment in this group begins to rise again in the 2000s, as both Associate and Full professor positions begin to decline.

The distribution of female faculty by rank in anthropology is different. While there appears to be some flattening in the rank of Full Professor, overall there is an increase in every rank (Figure 5.15). Unlike the data presented for male faculty members, there are no meaningful periods of decline for females during this period, including the higher ranks of Associate and Full Professor. While these increases appear to represent an overall higher percentage of females in the discipline, the numbers of females attaining the highest rank of Full Professor do not near parity.

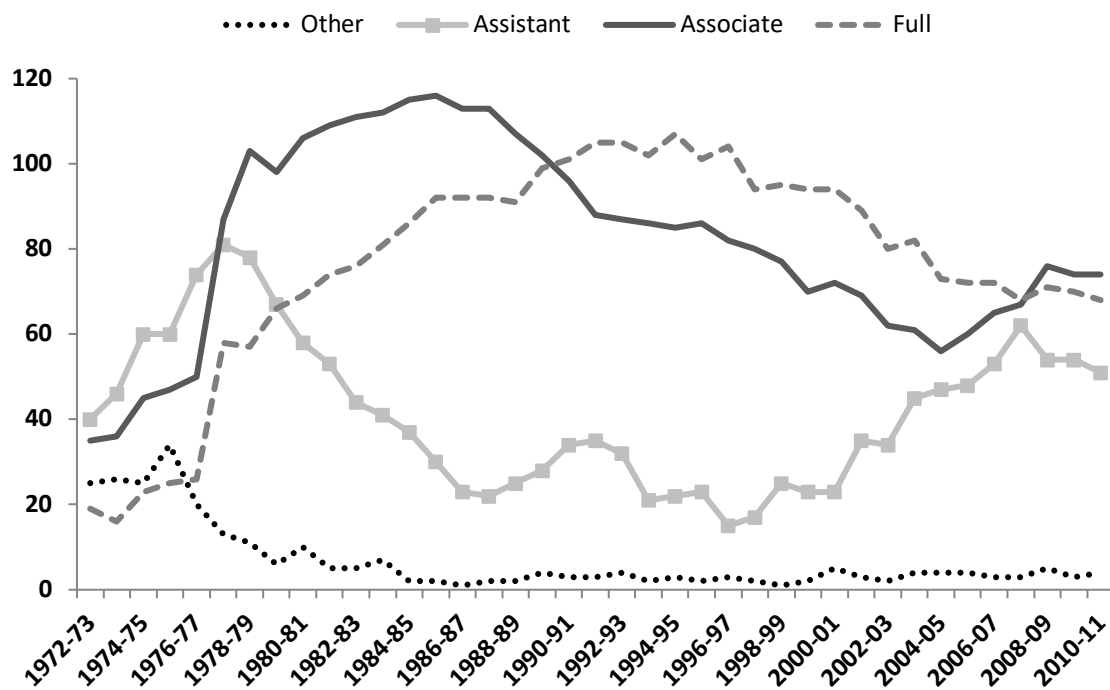


Figure 5.14 Count and academic positions among males in anthropology faculty by UCASS survey year at universities in Canada between 1972-2011.

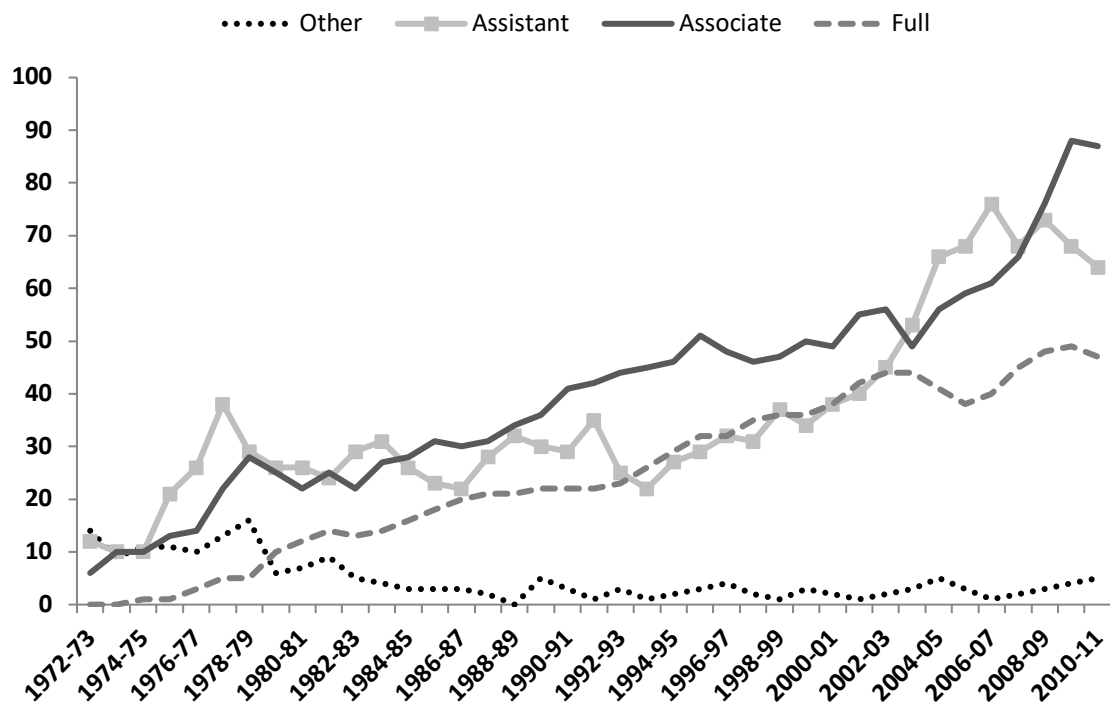


Figure 5.15 Count and academic positions among females in anthropology faculty at universities by UCASS survey year in Canada between 1972-2011.

According to data on rank percentages, decade, and gender, it is clear that females have made gains in each discipline overall; however, the rate and extent of these changes seems to vary. In archaeology, despite significant gains in the number of positions of Assistant and Associate Professor since 1972-1980, females are still vastly underrepresented in the rank of Full Professor, comprising only 14% of faculty members at this rank (Figure 5.16). This represents a number below the national average where females comprised 20% of Full Professors in Canada as of 2006 (CAUT 2010:1). While it is suggested that the other ranks of Assistant and Associate benefitted from significant gains in comparison to earlier decades, it is clear that some barriers were still preventing parity in the discipline.

When the same data are examined for anthropology departments, in some cases females have become the majority of faculty at a given rank. Since 1990, females comprise over 50% of faculty at the Assistant Professor rank and gained near-parity at the Associate rank between 2000-2011. Full Professor ranks remain low for females in anthropology, only comprising 36% of faculty.

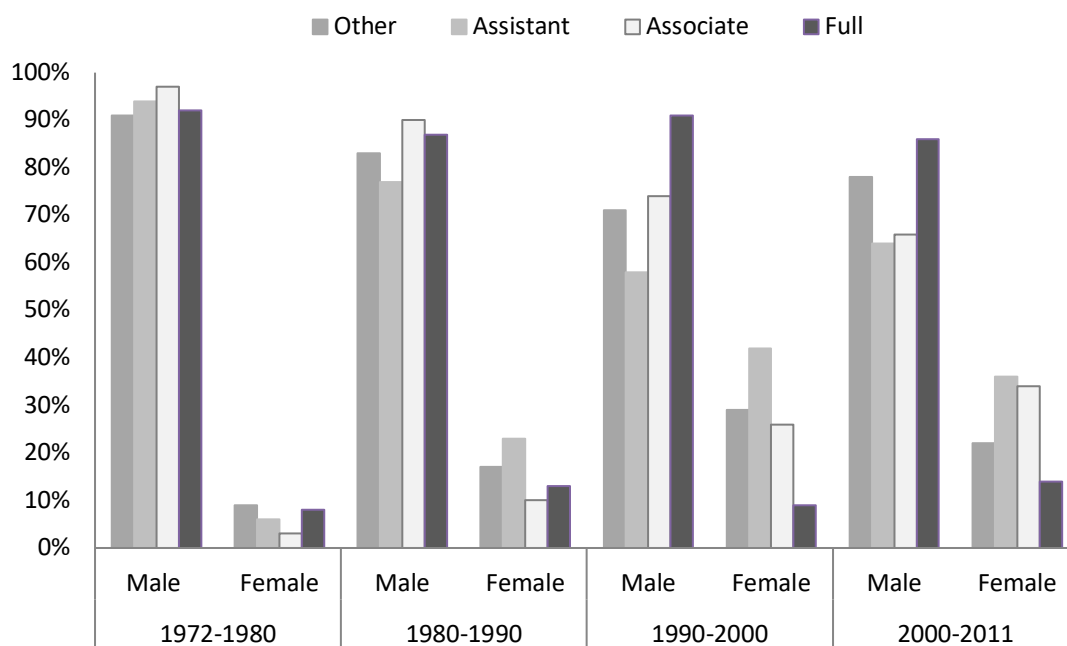


Figure 5.16 Employment proportions by rank among males and females according to UCASS survey year in archaeology departments across Canada by decade from 1972-2011.

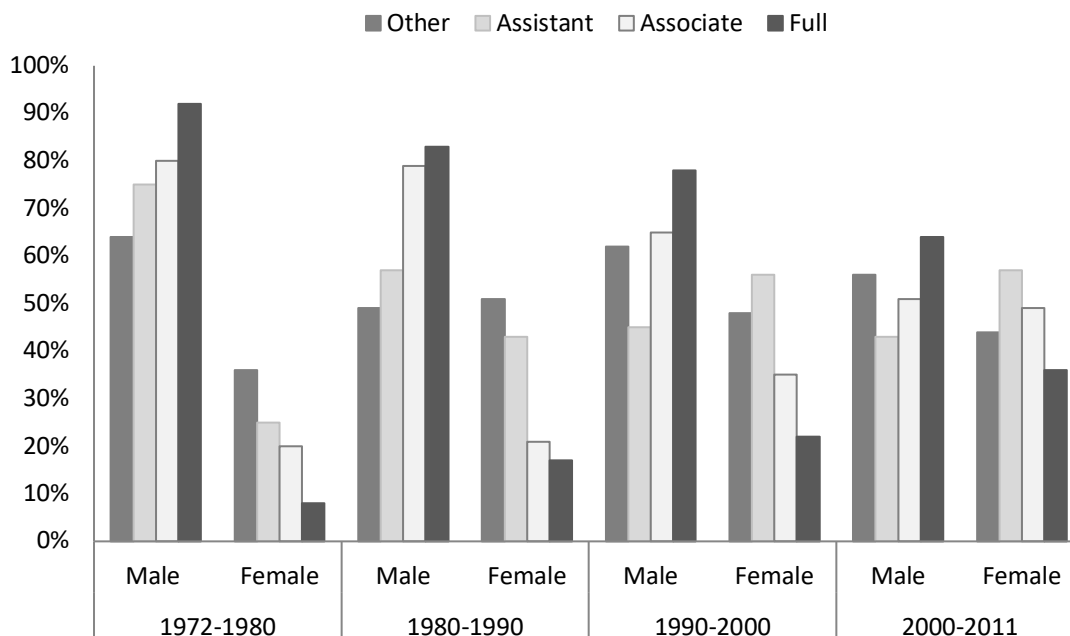


Figure 5.17 Employment proportions by rank among males and females according to UCASS survey year in anthropology departments across Canada by decade from 1972-2011.

Citizenship

As discussed in Chapter 3, Kelley and Williamson (1996:8) suggested that as departments began to expand during the 1950s, an increased need existed for staffing, resulting in the employment of many archaeologists from abroad, particularly from the United States and the United Kingdom. While this group filled many positions at larger universities, their employment left few positions for Canadians (Kelley and Williamson 1996:8). To examine this hypothesis, Table 5.9 provides a demographic profile created from UCASS data on country of citizenship collected for archaeology faculty between 1972-2011. Between the 1970s-80s, it appears that most faculty members were from abroad, the majority from the United States with small percentages from the United Kingdom and Europe. Beginning in the 1980s, Canadian archaeologists begin to enter the job market, and represent the majority through to 2011.

Table 5.9 Country of citizenship for archaeology faculty by decade between 1972-2011.

| | 1972-1980 (%) | 1980-1990 (%) | 1990-2000 (%) | 2000-2011 (%) |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Canada | 40.9 | 59.0 | 68.7 | 74.1 |
| United States | 48.3 | 34.3 | 23.9 | 16.7 |
| United Kingdom | 5.4 | 6.0 | 3.7 | 4.8 |
| Europe | 5.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 |
| Not Reported/Other | 0.0 | 0.7 | 3.7 | 2.4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

When analyzed by country of citizenship and rank, many of the faculty members from abroad were employed in the higher ranks from 1972-1980, with the majority situated as Associate and Full Professors (Figure 5.19). This remains the case for the

position of Associate Professor from 1980-1990; however, this decade represents the beginning of a significant decline in the number of faculty trained outside of Canada. This is likely the result of foreign faculty retirement and replacement with Canadian-trained archaeologists. The last decade analyzed (2000-2011) contains the highest percentages of Canadian archaeologists in all positions.

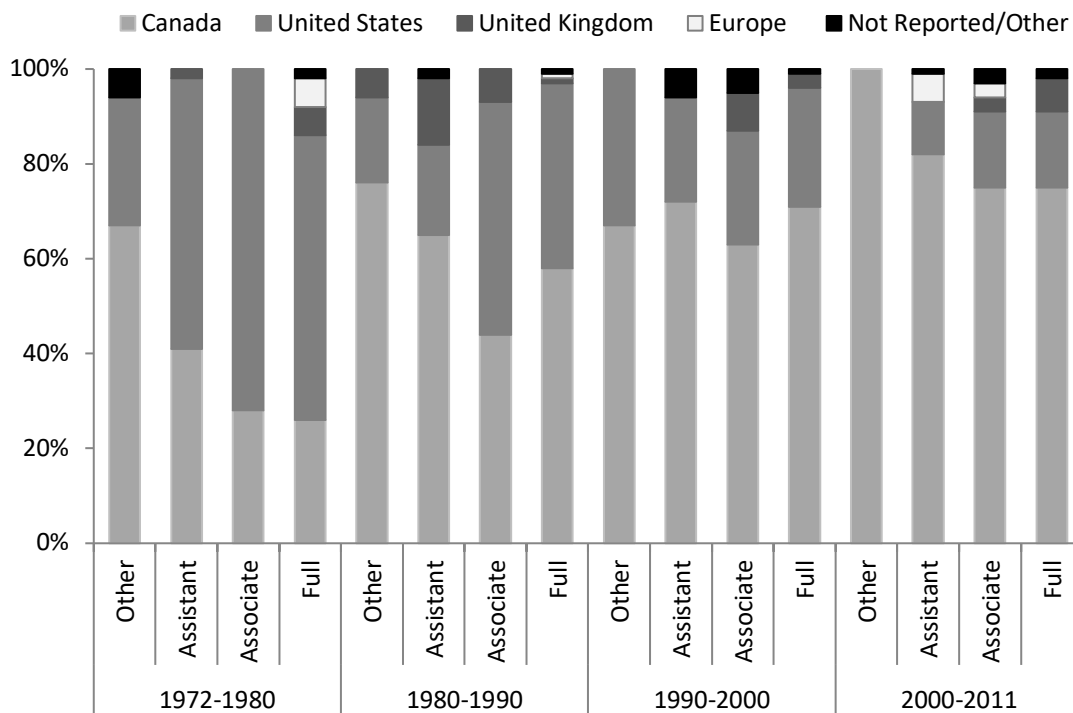


Figure 5.18 Archaeology faculty employed in Canadian universities by country of citizenship and faculty rank by decade.

Funding

As with postsecondary students, SSHRC is considered a major funding source for social sciences and humanities faculty in Canada, providing a variety of programs to promote research on an individual and collaborative basis. Unlike postsecondary students, applicants do not have to be Canadian citizens but instead need proof of affiliation with a

Canadian university. Based on the aforementioned data regarding citizenship it is clear that the major of archaeology faculty applying to SSHRC funding are Canadian citizens. Considering this and the proportions of female and male faculty members currently employed in archaeology faculties across Canada, this section will explore gendered rates of federal funding awarded in the discipline of archaeology. I discuss submission and success rates for the Standard Research Grant (1994-2011) and Insight Grant (2012-2014) as well as a summary of applicants versus awards for other funding opportunities provided through SSHRC for the main discipline of archaeology. This includes both individual and collaborative initiatives such as Northern Research Development (2003-2007), Aboriginal Research (2004-2009), Community-University Research Alliances (CURA) (1999-2009), and Partnership Development Grant (2011-2013).

Between the period of 1994-2014, 732 cumulative applications were submitted for the discipline of archaeology for the Standard Research Grant and Insight Grant programs. Over this time period, male applicants comprise the majority of submissions, averaging 69% as compared to an average submission rate of 31% for female applicants (Figure 5.19 and Table 5.10). With these averages in mind, there is no year where female applications outpace their counterparts in submission, with 2011 as the only year where the nearest rates of submission are seen (47% female versus 53% male). As one can imagine, male applicants also experience a higher success rate in these grant programs (Figure 5.19); however, it is much more proportional as compared to submission rates: female applicants averaging a 34% success rate while males average 38%.

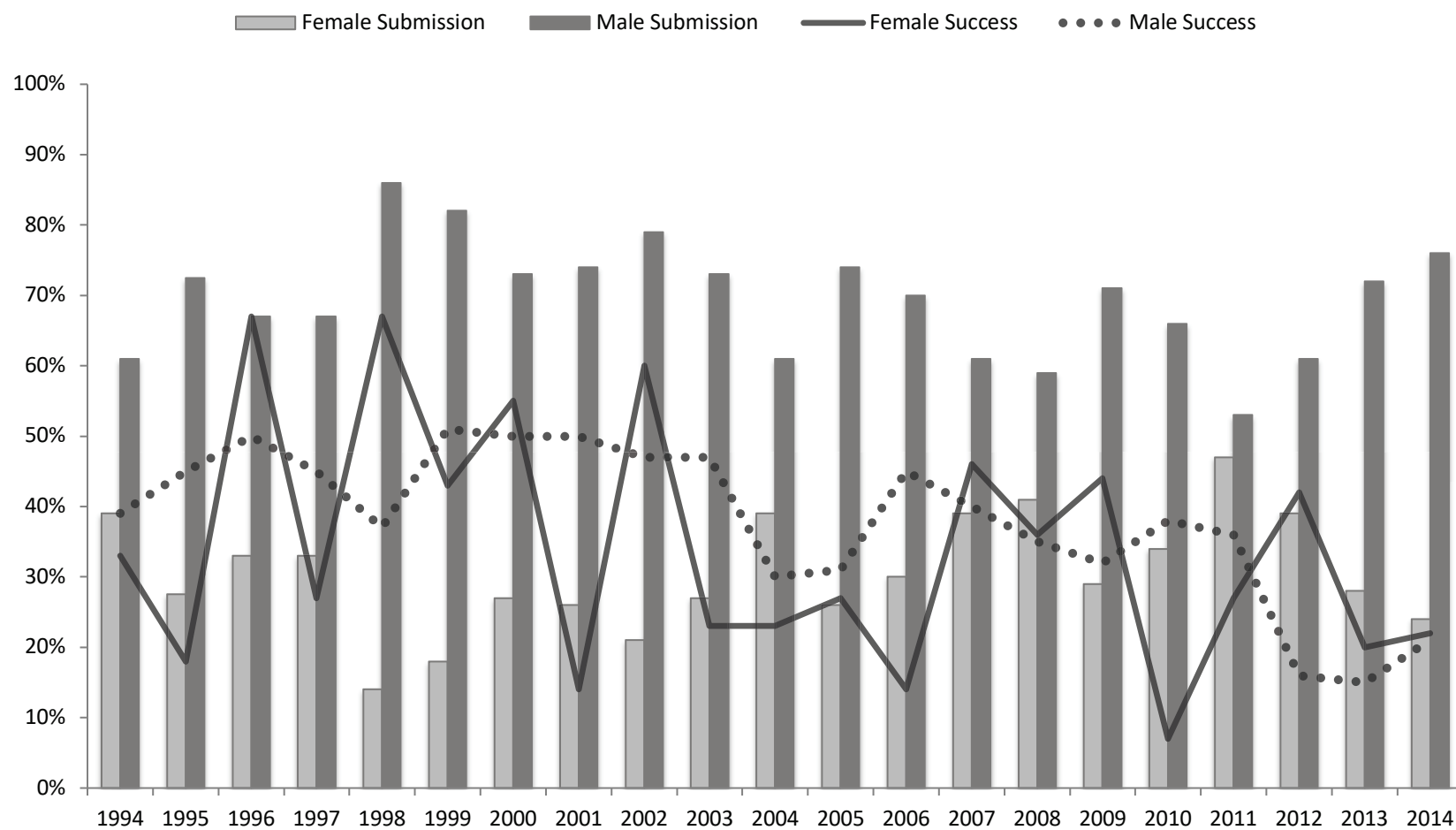


Figure 5.19 Comparison of submission and success rates (%) for SSHRC Standard Research and Insight Grants.

Table 5.10 Percentage of submission and success rates for SSHRC Standard Research and Insight Grants by gender.

| | Female Submission (%) | Female Success (%) | Male Submission (%) | Male Success (%) |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1994 | 39 | 33 | 61 | 39 |
| 1995 | 27.5 | 18 | 72.5 | 45 |
| 1996 | 33 | 67 | 67 | 50 |
| 1997 | 33 | 27 | 67 | 45 |
| 1998 | 14 | 67 | 86 | 37 |
| 1999 | 18 | 43 | 82 | 51 |
| 2000 | 27 | 55 | 73 | 50 |
| 2001 | 26 | 14 | 74 | 50 |
| 2002 | 21 | 60 | 79 | 47 |
| 2003 | 27 | 23 | 73 | 47 |
| 2004 | 39 | 23 | 61 | 30 |
| 2005 | 26 | 27 | 74 | 31 |
| 2006 | 30 | 14 | 70 | 45 |
| 2007 | 39 | 46 | 61 | 40 |
| 2008 | 41 | 36 | 59 | 35 |
| 2009 | 29 | 44 | 71 | 32 |
| 2010 | 34 | 7 | 66 | 38 |
| 2011 | 47 | 27 | 53 | 36 |
| 2012 | 39 | 42 | 61 | 16 |
| 2013 | 28 | 20 | 72 | 15 |
| 2014 | 24 | 22 | 76 | 21 |

However, the outcomes of submission and success rates only represent part of the equation. Since a varied amount of money can be requested under these grant programs, it is important to examine any significant differences in the amounts received by successful male and female applicants. On average, male principal investigators are awarded over double (\$415,644) the amount of funding awarded to female principal investigators (\$158,809) (Figure 5.20). While this is undoubtedly linked to the fact that there are more male than female winners, it is also the case that male applicants are requesting more funding in their applications than females.

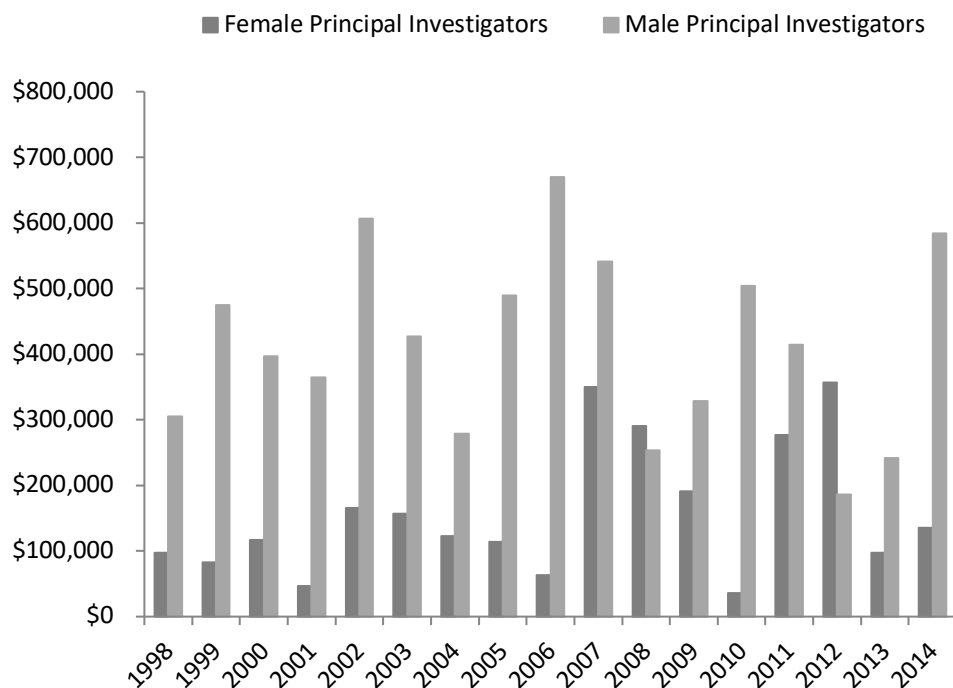


Figure 5.20 Combined award amounts for successful female and male principal investigators for Standard Research Grant (1994-2011) and Insight Grant (2012-2014) applications.

A similar pattern emerges in terms of applications and success rates for other funding programs sponsored by SSHRC. Table 5.11 represents the other SSHRC ‘codes’ under which faculty can apply that also fall under the main discipline of archaeology. While it is difficult to make direct comparisons between these programs because of the varying duration they are or were offered, the data in this Table (5.11) are still illustrative of how successful female and male faculty members/principal investigators are in applying for federal funding. In total, an average of 29% of females comprise the applicants to these funding programs and there are no successful female applicants in three of these. In addition to this, the 0% success rate is most often seen in some collaborative research funding programs; no females applied for the Major Collaborative

Research Initiatives (2000-2011), and while they comprised 20% of applicants, no females were awarded funding under the Partnership Grants (2011-2014). Female applicants were most successful in applying for the CURA (1999-2009), Northern Research Development (2003-2007), Research Development Initiatives (2000-2010), and International Opportunities Fund (2007-2009). Additionally, although female applicants only comprised 37% of the pool for the Insight Development Grant, males and females are almost equally awarded funding under this program.

Overall, these data appear to be in line with the proportions of archaeology faculty across Canada. Since fewer females are employed in all positions, one might logically assume that one result could be that fewer females apply to federal funding programs, such as SSHRC, as well as other funding opportunities presented to university researchers and faculty. In many of the above cases, it could be that a majority of female faculty members are applying for these funding programs but since they only comprise 27% of all faculty positions this fact becomes translated to the number of applicants. However, one could also consider this to be a symptom of gender dynamics at play in academic networking relationships. It has been shown that male academics are far more likely to support their male colleagues ('gatekeeping' practices), while women are excluded from these networks (Husu 2001; Vazquez-Cupeiro and Elston 2006). In addition, fewer female applicants could also be the result of early career women aligning themselves with senior male principal investigators, women seeking networking relationships with each other (inherently resulting in fewer female applicants), or a combination of these (Nokkala et. al 2016).

Table 5.11 Distribution of SSHRC programs, rates of application, and awards by gender for the archaeology discipline code.

| Program and Funding Opportunity | | Application | Award |
|--|--------|-------------|-------|
| Northern Research Development (2003-2007) | Female | 63% | 67% |
| | Male | 37% | 57% |
| Research Development Initiatives (2000-2010) | Female | 36% | 44% |
| | Male | 64% | 31% |
| CURA (1999-2009) | Female | 24% | 25% |
| | Male | 76% | 31% |
| Major Collaborative Research Initiatives (2000-2011) | Female | 0% | 0% |
| | Male | 100% | 36% |
| Aboriginal Research (2004-2009) | Female | 17% | 0% |
| | Male | 83% | 40% |
| International Opportunities Fund (2007-2009) | Female | 17% | 100% |
| | Male | 83% | 40% |
| Insight Development Grant (2011-2014) | Female | 37% | 32% |
| | Male | 63% | 34% |
| Partnership Development Grant (2011-2013) | Female | 43% | 33% |
| | Male | 57% | 50% |
| Partnership Grants (2011-2014) | Female | 20% | 0% |
| | Male | 80% | 25% |

Cultural Resource Management

The cultural resource management (CRM) sector is unarguably the largest employer of trained archaeologists in Canada. However, due to the for-profit structure of CRM and the permitting process, employment in this sector often creates a stratified hierarchy among its employees, where, beyond the field components of a project, field technicians or field workers are rarely visible in the process. This reality, combined with the as needed, seasonal nature of their employment, makes it difficult to track CRM archaeologists within this system. Therefore, although CRM is extremely pertinent to a conversation regarding changes in the archaeological workplace, one consequence is that not all individuals employed in this area will be captured in this section due to the limitations created by this structure. With this in mind, those individuals who are permit holders

become the most visible in the CRM process and therefore will be the main point of discussion in this section. While some complications arise in data collection, since cultural resource management is not governed by federal legislation but rather enforced by individual provincial bodies, this section will aim to provide a picture of the numbers of permits issued in Canada, how the rate of issuance has changed over time, and a gendered breakdown of this information.

The main permits issued in Canada can either be investigatory or mitigative (usually for development or natural resource extraction) and are issued to both researchers and CRM firms. As individual provinces are responsible for their own permitting processes, I contacted each heritage body in order to obtain permit data. Since provincial heritage regulations came into effect at different times, I sought data for permits that began when a province's legislation was first enacted. For the provinces of Manitoba and New Brunswick, attempts to obtain these data were unsuccessful while the territories of Nunavut and the Yukon only provided limited information. For other agencies that provided full names of permit holders, I assigned gender (binary male/female) based on the name of the permit holder since this and/or other demographic data is not required at the time of application. I omitted any permit issued to a group or a consulting firm that did not name a principal investigator from the below data aggregates. As was previously stated in Chapter 4, although archaeologists employed by Parks Canada would be situated in this sector, I could not obtain data for this group. Based on this and the information that could be extracted, this section is still able to provide a fairly comprehensive overview of the numbers of permits issued overall and to men and women; however, it does not account for permits on an individual basis. That is, over the periods presented, one

individual can hold a number of permits. While this highlights the progression of CRM work in a variety of provinces, this data should not be viewed as revealing a specific number of individual archaeologists in CRM in Canada but rather the number of permits issued overall.

CRM permitting in Canada: An Overview

Enacted in Canada in the 1970s, the province of Alberta had the earliest heritage legislation, closely followed by Ontario, British Columbia, and the remaining provinces in the 1980s and 1990s. The number of permits issued from the 1970s until the present day are greatly impacted by the rate of development in Canada. Therefore, two major peaks are discernable during this time period (Figure 5.21). The permits issued in Alberta experience a minor peak in the 1970s before settling around an average of 100 permits a year until the early 1990s, when a considerable rise is witnessed. A similarly significant increase in issued permits is also seen in British Columbia and Saskatchewan during this period. A drastic decline follows the period after 2006; this is likely partly linked to the 2008 recession that adversely affected many development sectors. This decrease is most readily seen in the permits issued in Alberta and to a lesser extent in Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

From the period when legislation is enacted among the other provinces, there is a steady incline in the numbers of permits issued. However, the majority issue less than 100 permits a year for most of this period with the exception of Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia whose permit counts increase close to 300 toward the end of the study period.

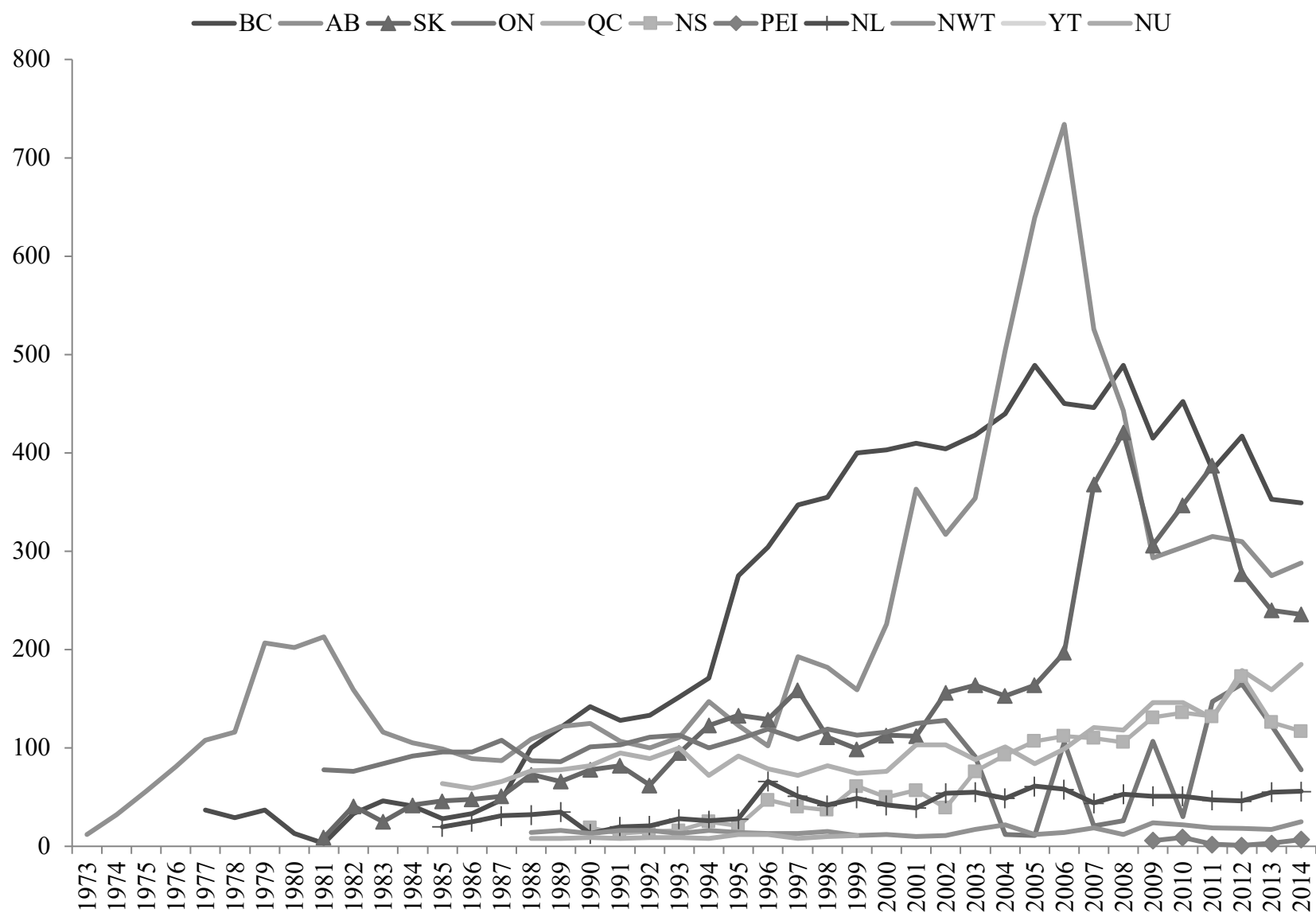


Figure 5.21 Total number of permits issued by province by year.

Although the data source for this information is not available for all provinces, it is important to note the percentage of permits that were for educational or research purposes. This includes permits given to universities and museums. Table 5.12 demonstrates that the number of permits for research versus consulting purposes varies greatly based on the issuing province; suggesting that this is primarily the result of the rate of development each province is experiencing. The provinces located in the easternmost regions of Canada, particularly the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland and Labrador have lower populations and therefore a lower rate of development as compared to other regions. Although population and development are not necessarily synonymous, it is considered a contributing factor here.

Table 5.12 Percentage of consulting and research permits issued by province.

| Province | Research | Consulting |
|---------------------------|----------|------------|
| Alberta | 6% | 94% |
| Saskatchewan | 7% | 93% |
| Ontario | 7% | 93% |
| Québec | 10% | 90% |
| Nova Scotia | 11% | 89% |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 41% | 59% |

In regards to gender, the numbers of permits issued to male principal investigators far outpace those issued to their female counterparts in each decade (Figure 5.22). As can be seen, a low proportion of permits were issued during CRM's beginning in the 1970s, however, as the rate increases through the 2000s, permits issued to male principal

investigators is nearly three times that of female principal investigators.

This decade also contains the highest percentage of permits issued to females, comprising 26% of the permits included in this study that identified a principal investigator. In terms of gender differences by province, there do not appear to be any significant trends; males and females are both secure permits in every province in close proportions. While there is some variation between the percentages of female and male permit holders in each province (Figure 5.23 and 5.24), the sheer numbers of permits issued to males versus females creates the difference rather than the province of issue.

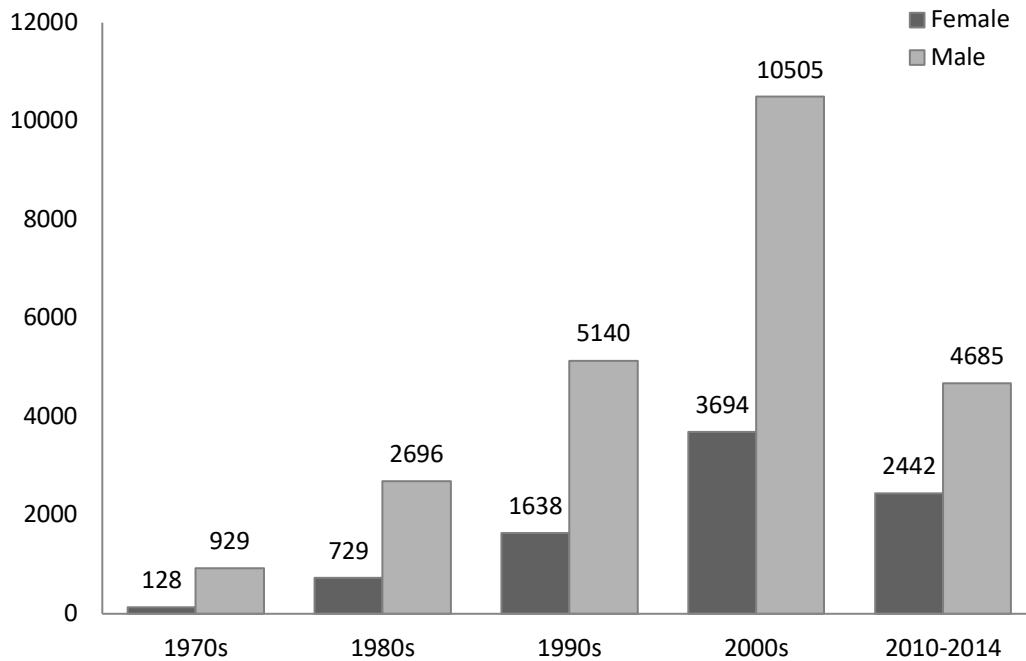


Figure 5.22 Number of permits issued to females and males overall.

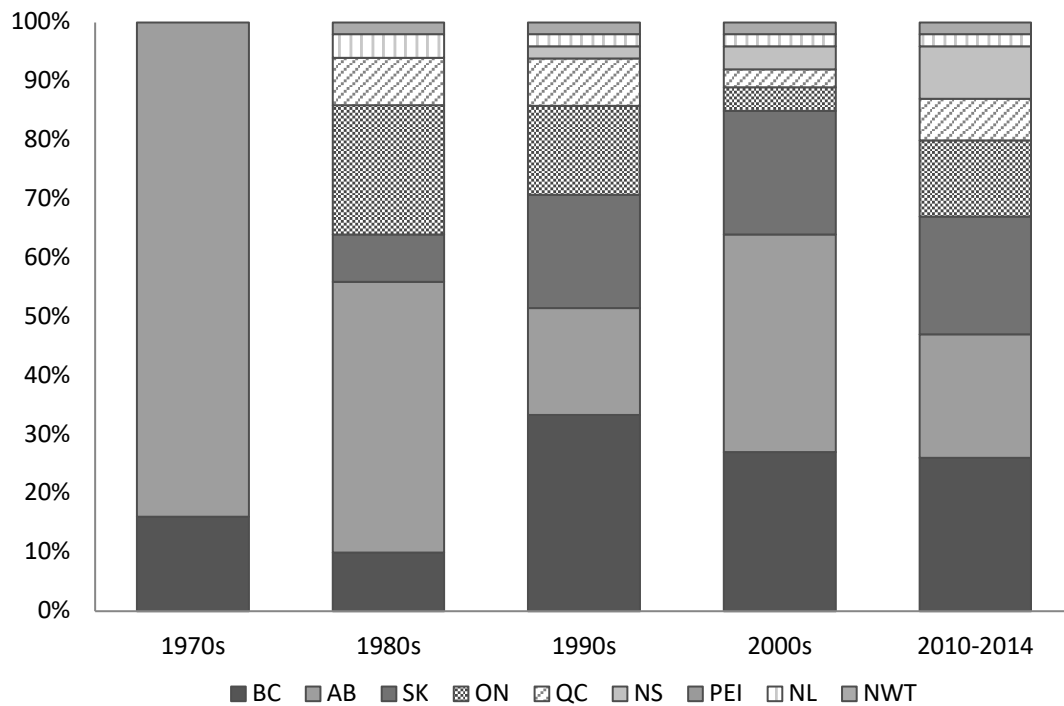


Figure 5.23 Percentage of permits issued to females by province and decade.

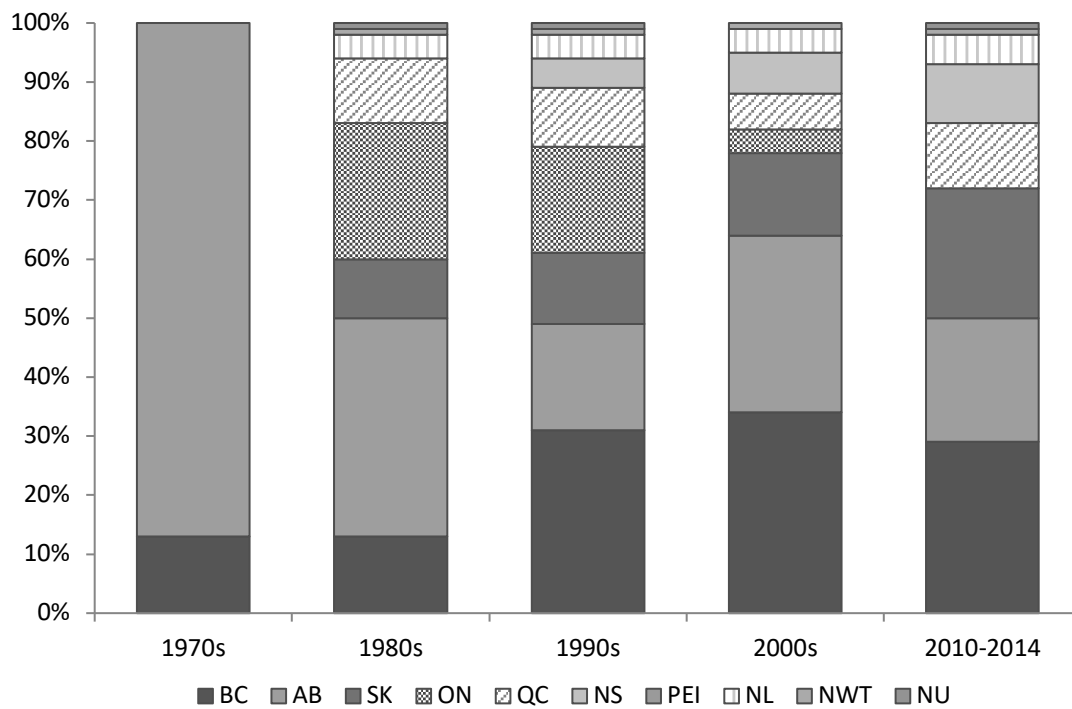


Figure 5.24 Percentage of permits issued to males by province and decade.

Summary

This chapter provided a quantitative picture of the archaeological population in Canada by compiling data on the main areas of archaeological employment. In order to do so, I obtained information from a number of sources that revealed the gender dynamics of anthropological and archaeological education and employment in the both the university environment and the area of cultural resource management. While the data presented here can be considered complete based on what organizations provided, using intersectionality as a key methodological lens revealed the clear lack of demographic variables outside of binary gender assignments; this greatly affects any understanding of how marginalized groups are represented in archaeology both in the public and private sectors. Additionally, since no data are collected in other areas where archaeologists are successfully employed or as a mechanism to track less ‘visible’ staff, like field technicians in cultural resource management, these areas could not be addressed.

Overall, the data trends in this chapter highlight how anthropology and archaeology appear to match the national educational situation in social science and humanities programs; females comprise the majority of students that are enrolling and graduating in both programs at all levels. Since female students represent the majority, they also represent the highest percentage of award winners to SSHRC funding programs in all levels except for postdoctoral awards. Among university faculty, despite making significant inroads in anthropology and reaching parity in some cases, females only comprise 34% of full professorships in anthropology and 14% at the same rank in archaeology.

In cultural resource management, the rate of permitting has increased substantially

across the country from the 1970s to the present day. Although permits can consist of both research/education and development purposes, the percentage of those issued for research varies based on the province. Concerning principal investigators, the numbers of permits issued to females has increased during this time period; however, the numbers of permits issued to male principal investigators significantly outweighs this, particularly in the 2000s.

CHAPTER 6: EXPERIENCES IN THE DISCIPLINE: RESULTS FROM QUANTITATIVE DATA COLLECTION

Introduction

This chapter describes the results of the quantitative data collection of this research project, namely the results of the close-ended survey responses. These responses will then be elaborated on and complemented with an in-depth thematic analysis of both the open-ended survey responses and the semi-structured interviews presented in Chapter 7. Utilizing mixed methods as a medium to approach ‘invisible’ individual experiences, assists in ‘filling in the gaps’ and capturing the diverse lived experiences of individuals operating beneath and within the datasets presented in the last chapter. Since respondents could evaluate the questions and their experiences in both objective and subjective ways (Clancy et al. 2014:2), this allowed for multiple perspectives to the same questions, producing a range of interpretations that were usually contingent on whether the respondent had direct experience or observed the situation that was queried. Questions that related to experiences that are more often encountered by marginalized groups, such as observed or endured harassment, racism, or exclusion, are particularly illustrative of this phenomenon.

Survey Results

As discussed in Chapter 4, I released the survey developed for this project in an online format that sought responses from graduate students and professional archaeologists employed in the public and private sectors between February and June 2015. In total, the survey garnered a total of 315 responses that were downloaded and

coded into the statistical software package SPSS. This section presents the results in discrete sections based on demographics, career and education, and work environment.

It is important to note here that not all participants could be included in each analysis. This is based almost exclusively on the need to protect the identity of participants by adhering to ethical considerations regarding anonymity presented in Chapter 4. Since some descriptors or the combination of descriptors can prove to be distinctive to individuals, especially in small communities (such as Canadian archaeology), it was important to consider the implications of reporting on all individuals for certain questions.

General Respondent Demographics

The majority of participants that responded to the survey accessed the survey in English with approximately 3% (N=9) responding to the French translated version. This appears to be a preference-based decision and not an indicator of the number of respondents from historically French speaking areas such as Quebec or New Brunswick. Survey respondents participated from almost every province and territory, with the highest percentage of responses originating from Ontario and Alberta (Figure 6.1). There were no recorded responses from Nunavut or the Northwest Territories. Most participants appear to be Canadian by birth with 86% of participants (N=264) stating that they were born in Canada with an additional 6% (N=18) born in the United States and 4% (N=14) from the United Kingdom and Ireland.

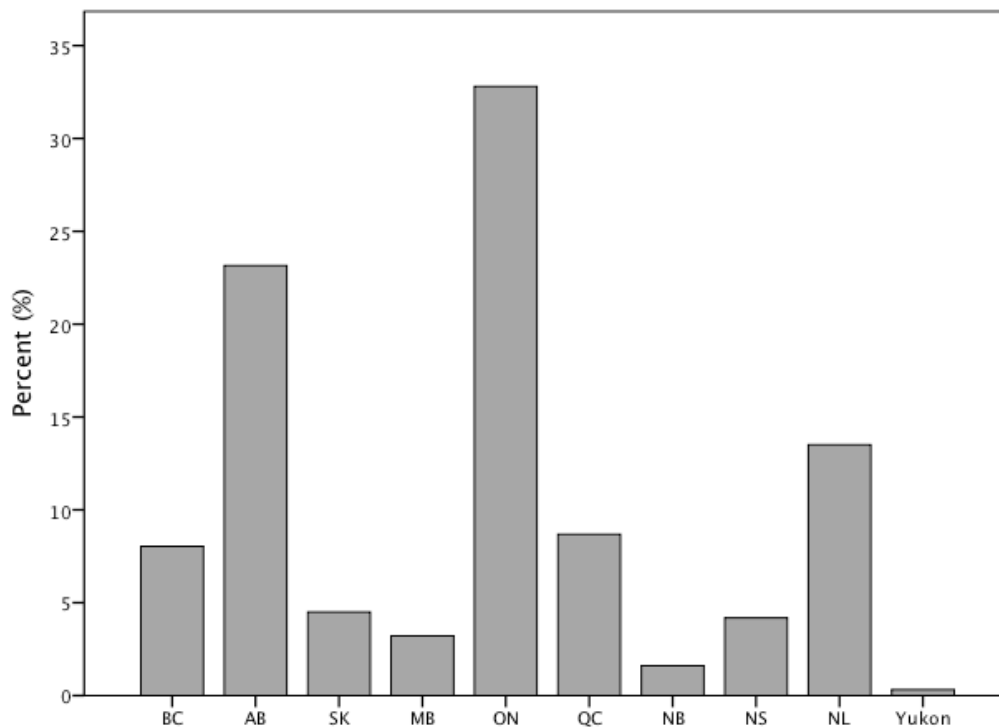


Figure 6.1 Distribution of survey respondents by province.

Over half of respondents (N=191, 61%) identified as female and 38% (N=119) identified as male. Five respondents declined to answer or designated their gender as other than male or female. Due to the sample size, these individuals are excluded from analyses comparing rates and responses from male and female respondents. However, any responses to open-ended questions will be included in the thematic analysis offered in the next chapter.

The overall racial-ethnic composition of survey participants is particularly homogenous with the majority identifying as white (N=280, 90%). A small, combined percentage of participants identified as persons of color; Black, Asian, or Hispanic participants accounted for 2% (N=7) of respondents as did Indigenous identities, including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis (N=6, 2%). Respondents identifying as a

multiracial identity or 'other' consisted of 6% (N=19) of the overall sample. The respondents, who selected 'other' under this question were individuals who either objected to classification on this basis or provided a separate classification, most typically identifying themselves as of European descent. Zeder (1997:13) noted a similar response in her analysis of the Society of American Archaeologists membership survey and concluded that it is likely that these respondents are not situated in minority groups; however, this was largely based on her impressions. While it is not ideal to group these distinctive identities together in this way, it is mainly done here to show representation in the data and not to diminish difference.

The aggregated age data shows that respondents from every age group participated in the survey with the largest proportion of participants situated in groups aged 40 and under (N=211/315, 68%). The highest percentage of female respondents occurred in the age cohort 26-30 (N=55, 29%) whilst the highest percentage of male respondents occurred in ages 31-35 (N=23, 19%). When the overall age ranges of the respondents are examined, the numbers of male participants appear more evenly distributed among each age category as opposed to female respondents who are highly clustered in the three youngest age cohorts ($X^2=19.4$, $df=8$, $p=0.021$) (Figure 6.2). Respondents in the 50+ age groups comprised only 10% of female respondents (N=18) as opposed to 23% of male respondents (N=27).

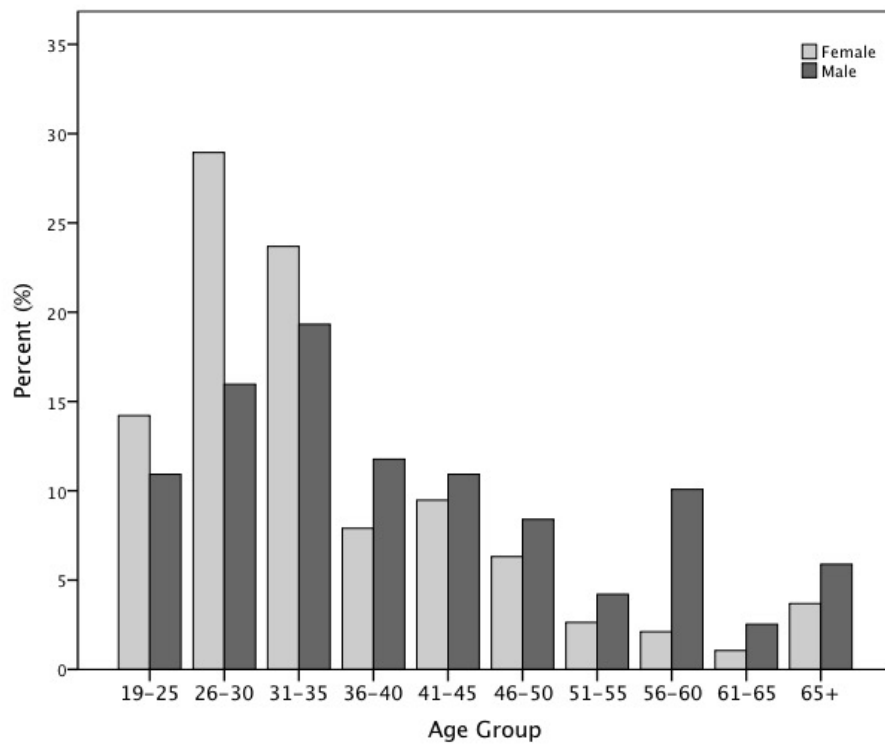


Figure 6.2 Composition of age cohorts among survey respondents.

Regarding current status within the discipline, participants mainly identified themselves as professional archaeologists (N=197, 69%), a category which includes consultants, professors, lecturers, and curators, and as graduate students (N=71, 25%). Additionally, a small percentage identified themselves as amateurs/avocationalists (N=8, 3%) and “other” (N=8, 3%) (Figure 6.3). Thirty-one participants declined to provide their current status in the discipline. Within these groups the closest proportion of male and female participants was in the category of ‘professional archaeologist’. Females accounted for 58% (N=112/193) of this category and for 69% (N=49/71) of ‘student’ respondents (Figure 6.4). Since an individual can occupy multiple spaces simultaneously, the survey afforded participants the opportunity to input a second choice regarding their

current status in archaeology. This option was only used by approximately 12% (N=39) of overall survey participants, with 'student' as the majority response (N=31, 10%).

The distribution of professional archaeologists by province appears to be relatively similar between males and females (Figure 6.5). This said, there is a noticeable difference in the data compiled from participants in Quebec with 14% of male respondents identifying as professional archaeologists as compared to only 6% of female respondents. In the Yukon, there were no female survey respondents who identified themselves as professionals or otherwise.

Among student respondents there appears to be some distinct patterns in regional distributions (Figure 6.6). The highest concentrations of student survey participants reside in Ontario, comprising 53% of female respondents (N=26) and 27% of male respondents (N=6). In British Columbia and Quebec, male students are represented by 23% (N=5) and 18% (N=4), respectively, compared to only small percentages of female respondents. Alberta and Newfoundland and Labrador appear to have comparable proportions of student respondents and only small percentages of female students responded from the Prairies and Maritimes.

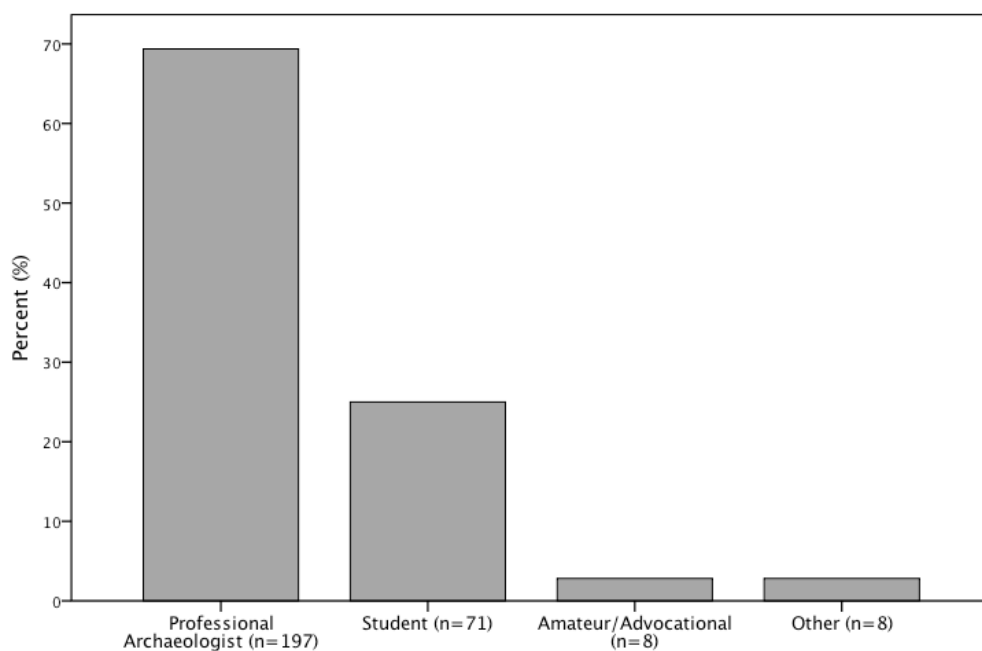


Figure 6.3 Distribution of respondents by current status in archaeology.

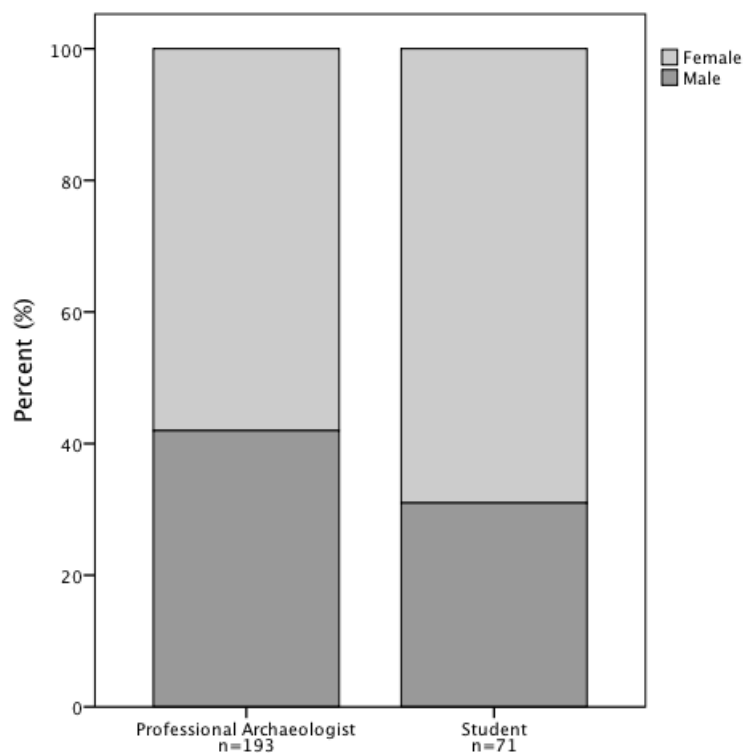


Figure 6.4 Proportions of male and female respondents in the categories of professional archaeologist and student

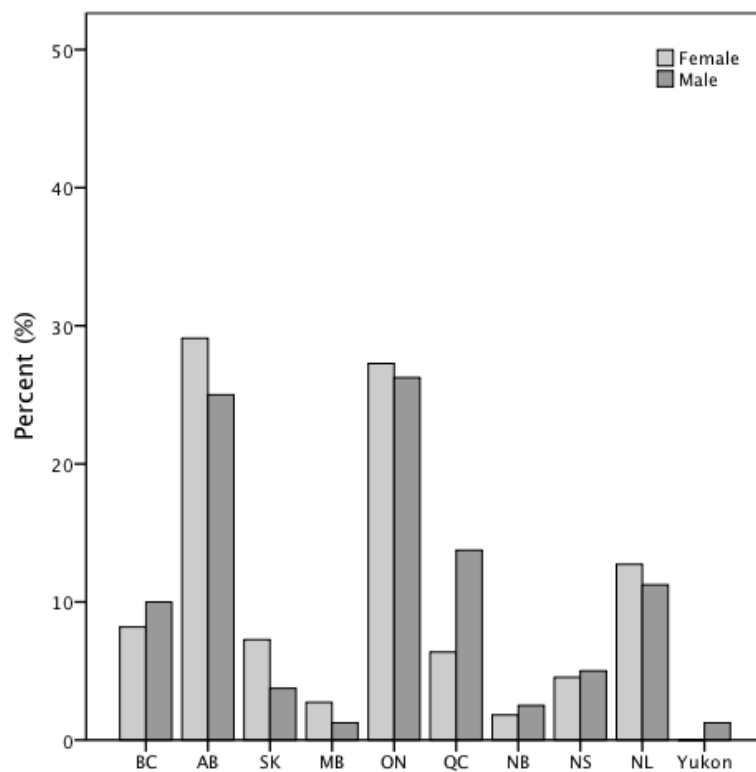


Figure 6.5 Distribution of male and female professional archaeologists by province.

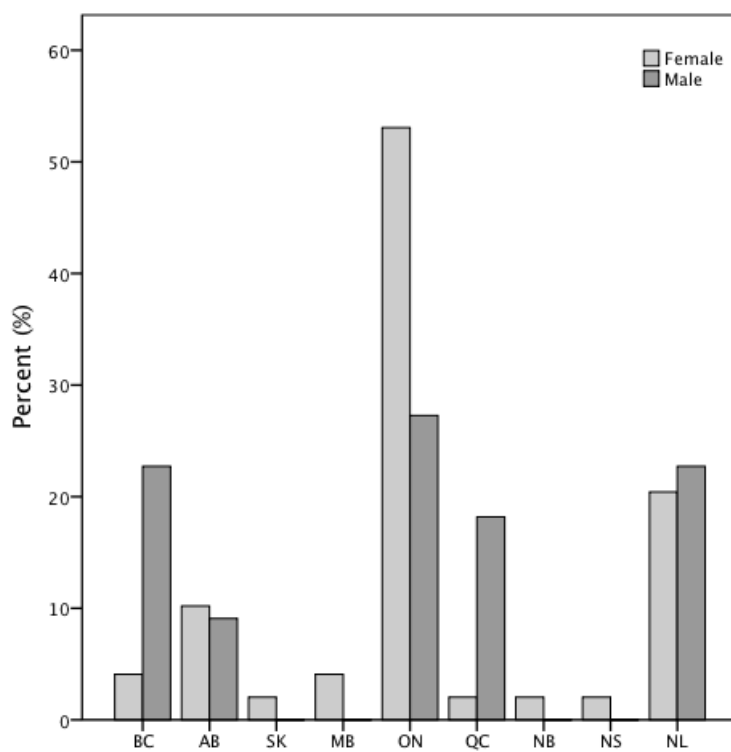


Figure 6.6 Distribution of male and female student respondents by province.

When the survey data are totalled by age range and gender within the categories of professional archaeologists and students, male and female respondents occupy similar age ranges in relatively equal proportions. Both male and female respondents engaged in the role of ‘student’ in the earliest age ranges (19-40) whereas the eldest age categories (41-65+) are comprised wholly of those active as professional archaeologists. A breakdown of professional archaeologists by age group demonstrate a range closer to parity but are still dominated by over 60% female between ages 19-35 (Figure 6.7). After age category 46-50, a shift is seen in the percentages of males and females; the eldest years characterized by a majority of male respondents.

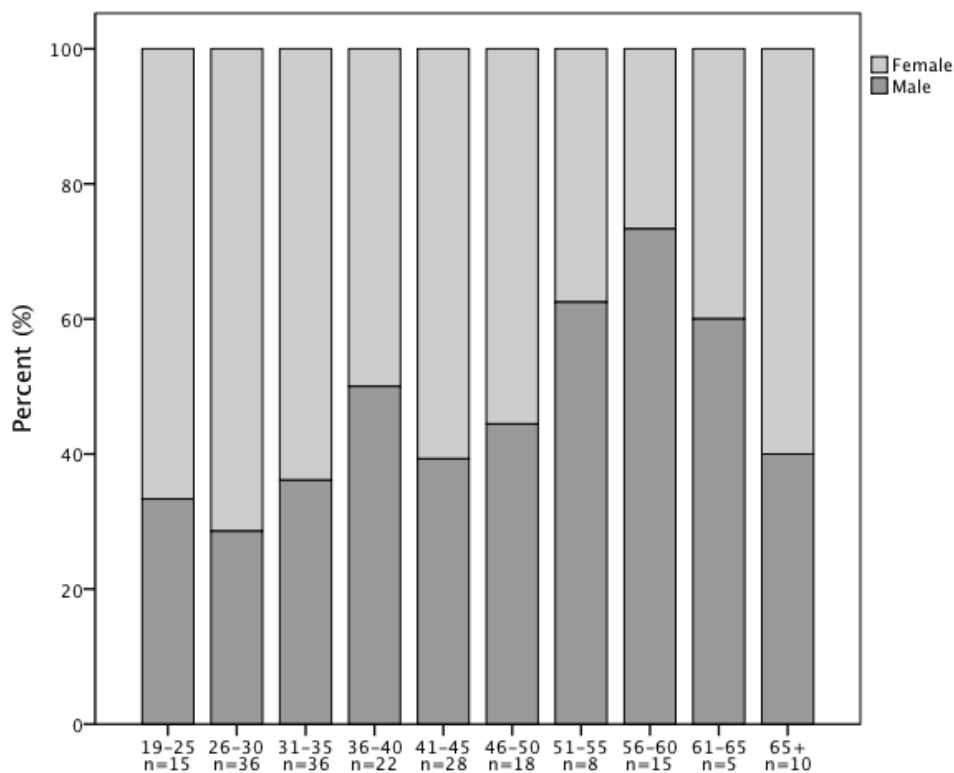


Figure 6.7 Proportions of male and female professional archaeologists by age group.

Education and Career Pathways

“I’d rather eat my young than do CRM.” –R71, Male, 56-60

This portion of the survey asked participants to provide information about their education and employment experiences. First, the survey sought to gather information about the level of education of participants and aimed to address issues related to educational mentorship and satisfaction both in terms of training in postsecondary and postgraduate degree programs but also for teaching. Second, respondents were asked to provide their current area of employment and any motivations that guided their occupation choice within the discipline. Participants were also encouraged to provide their thoughts regarding career trajectory and satisfaction within their current path.

Education

An aggregate analysis of overall survey respondents revealed that 85% (N=269) indicated that they were in possession of a Bachelor’s degree, 71% (N=227) a Master’s degree, and 35% (N=113) had received or were in the process of receiving their Ph.D. In the category of professional archaeologist, 38% (N=73/197) indicated that their final degree was a Masters while 42% (N=83/197) indicated that their final degree was a Ph.D. Only 16% (N=31/197) indicated that their final degree was the Bachelors. Ten individuals (5%) did not provide a response. As indicated by the age cohorts of survey participants, the highest proportion of participants earned both their postsecondary and postgraduate degrees in the 90s and 2000s (Figure 6.8). There are only minor differences between male and female respondents; equivalent percentages of participants were present in each award decade and for every degree. Due to the low proportion of minority representation

in this survey, no comparisons could be made on the basis of racial-ethnic identity, gender, and education.

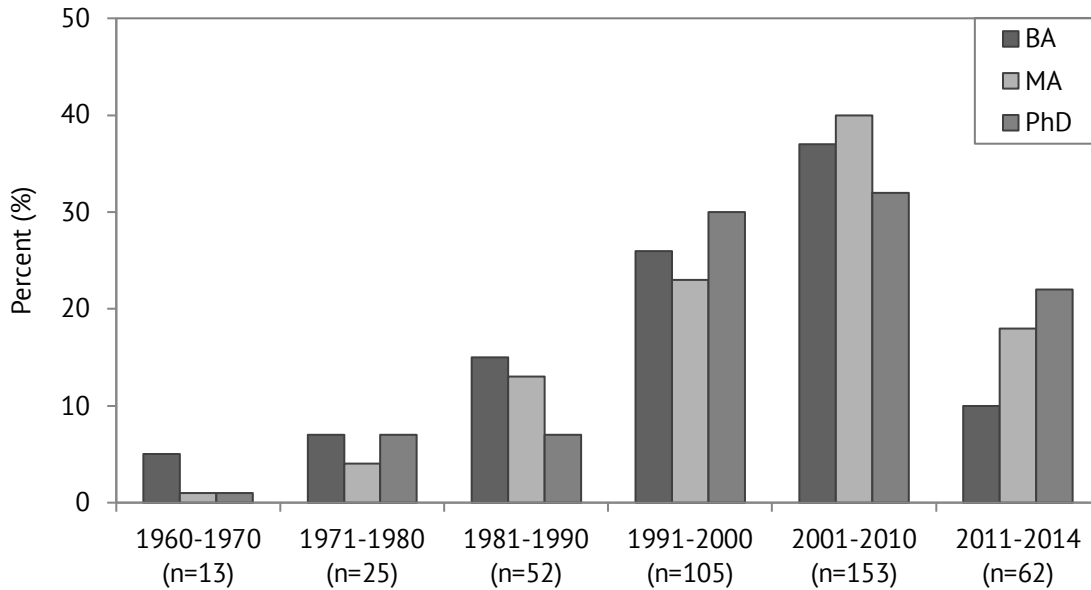


Figure 6.8 Distribution of degrees by award decade among professional archaeologists. (Note: some degrees do not total 100% since “in progress” and “quit degree” were omitted.)

The majority of participants were educated in Canada for all degree categories, with the highest proportion of participants receiving undergraduate education from a Canadian university (Table 6.1). Despite this, there is a marked increase in the numbers of participants receiving their degrees abroad, accounting for 22% of Masters degrees and 20% of Doctoral degrees. Based on these results, equal proportions of men and women (23% respectively) appear to seek postgraduate education outside of Canada at both the Master’s and Doctoral levels. Interestingly, less than five respondents indicated that they were educated outside of Canada, the United States, or the United Kingdom.

Table 6.1 Degrees awarded to survey participants by degree and location.

| | Bachelors (%) | Masters (%) | Doctoral (%) |
|----------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| Canada | 91.5 | 77.3 | 80.1 |
| United States | 5.5 | 6.2 | 10.4 |
| United Kingdom | 2.9 | 16.4 | 9.4 |
| Total | 99.9 | 99.9 | 99.9 |

Participants who completed a postgraduate degree were also asked to broadly define their thesis research as primarily field based, non-field based, or both. The results demonstrate that in Masters and Doctoral programs, women are conducting equal proportions of thesis research that is either exclusively non-field or field-based. Even so, the results also indicate a near-equal proportion of men and women conducting theses based on both field and non-field based methodologies (Figures 6.9 and 6.10). Traditionally, non-field based theses are thought to focus on the analysis of existing collections or in a sub-discipline such as archaeological science, however, it is possible that these also relate to more recent, digitally-based archaeologies. In this sense, digital archaeology relates to the application of digital technologies to the study of archaeology, both in theory and method (see Daly et al. 2006; Morgan and Eve 2012).

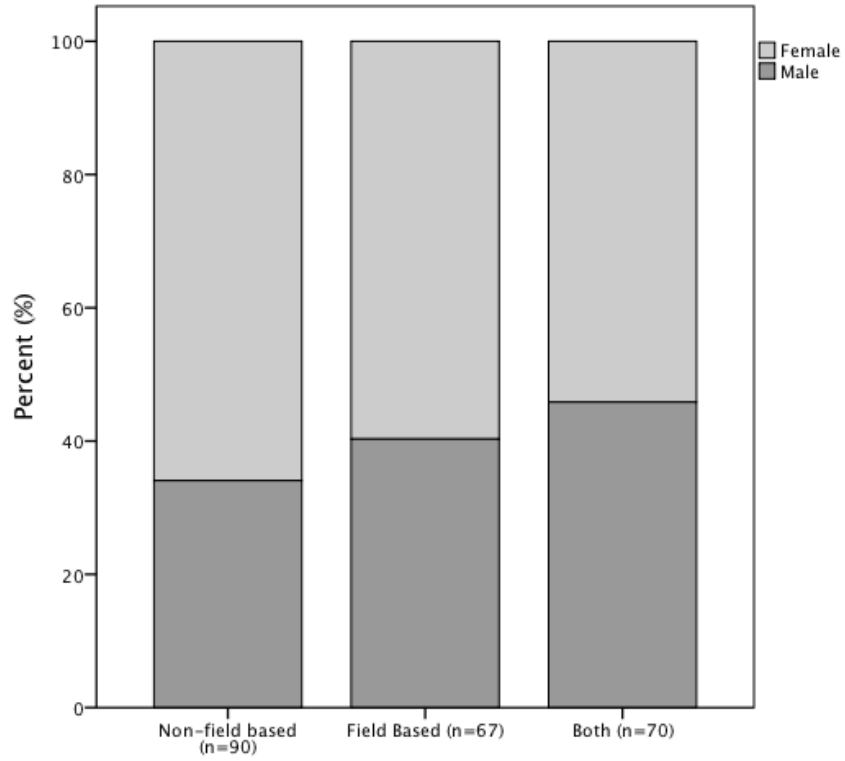


Figure 6.9 M.A/M.Sc. Theses by gender and primary methodology employed

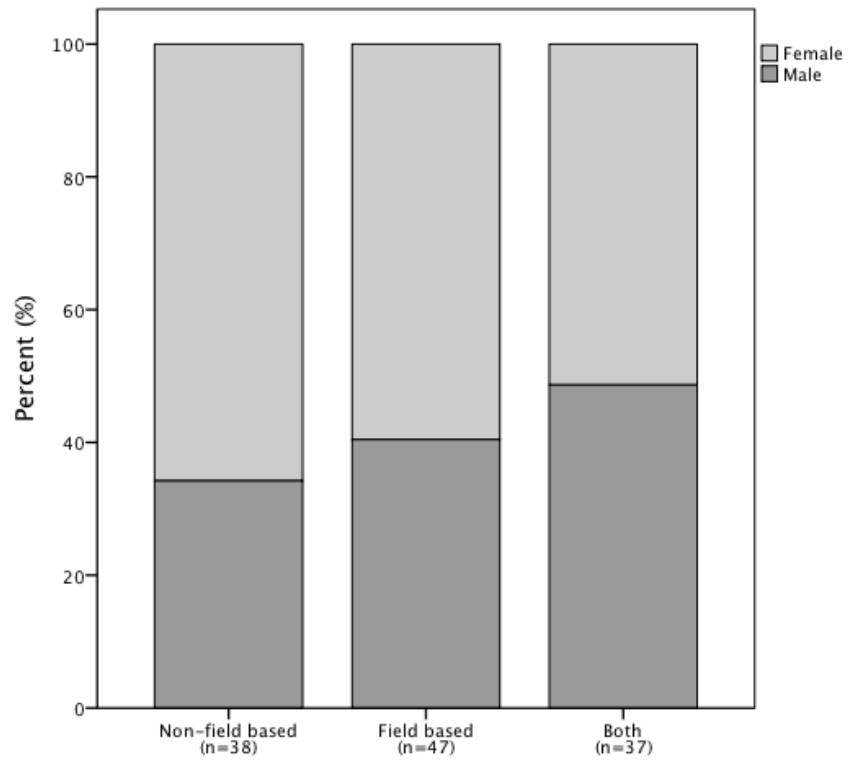


Figure 6.10 Ph.D. Dissertations by gender and primary methodology.

In Zeder 's (1997) survey of the members of the Society of American Archaeology, there was evidence to suggest that there is a link between career satisfaction and university education; however, there did not appear to be a relationship between rates of satisfaction when aggregated by gender in my study. To explore this question, the survey results were examined in this regard and revealed a diversity of experiences with training and satisfaction in undergraduate and graduate education. Most participants who responded to this set of questions indicated they were either highly satisfied or satisfied (combined as a single category) with their undergraduate (N=159/246, 65%) and graduate (N=157/212, 74%) degree programs. However, 35% (N=87/246) suggested only marginal satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their undergraduate training and 26% (N=55/212) were similarly unsatisfied with the training they had received in graduate programs. In both the responses to satisfaction regarding undergraduate and graduate training, a higher proportion of female participants expressed dissatisfaction with their education, however, there does not appear to be a statistically significant relationship between gender and training at either the undergraduate or graduate level. This result is consistent with Zeder's (1997:110-116) findings in which a slightly greater proportion of women as compared to men in public and private sector positions were dissatisfied with their academic training.

Across Canada, the types of training that are available at both the undergraduate and graduate levels varied. When participants were asked about opportunities for fieldwork experiences, over 40% of participants (N=130/315, 53%) attended a field school; however, in many cases, respondents indicated that their home institution did not require it—or they attended a field school outside of Canada since a local option was not

available. Of those participants who responded to whether or not their programs offered training in Cultural Resource Management or coursework related to this employment sector, 62% (N=149/240) did not attend an institution that provided this type of training¹⁵. For individuals who pursued teaching in university departments, the majority of respondents (N=65/99, 66%) appear to be either highly satisfied or satisfied with the training they received for this aspect of their career. However, 34% (N=34/99) of respondents remain only marginally satisfied or unsatisfied in this training category. Despite this, there does not appear to be any statistically significant relationships between identity-based variables and satisfaction in training for teaching.

Career and Employment

Respondents identified an array of employment positions they currently occupy (Figure 6.11). The highest proportion of respondents (N= 98/315, 31%) identified their current area of employment as “consultant” (N=90/315, 29%) or simply as “archaeologists” (N=8/315, 3%). When asked about self-employment, 16% (N=49/315) stated in the affirmative, the majority of whom (N=36/49, 73%) identified themselves in the employment area of “consultant” and/or “archaeologist”. Those situated in universities followed this group, including professors (N=43/236, 19%), lecturers (N=5/236, 2%), Ph.D. students (N=29/236, 12%) and graduate students (N=30/236, 13%) (Figure 6.11). The majority of both students and professors stated that they were either in an Anthropology (47%, N=91/192) or Archaeology (35%, N=68/192) department. Since students often identify themselves as employees of the university, either as students or as

¹⁵ In Canada, Simon Fraser University is the only university which offers a certificate program specifically related to Cultural Resource Management. These results represent an accounting of the situation at universities across the country and are not exclusive to this population.

graduate teaching/research assistances, they are considered as such here. Finally, the smallest percentages of individuals identified themselves in the category of “curator” and “other” (Figure 6.11). Those who identified their employment within a sector that had less than five respondents were not included.

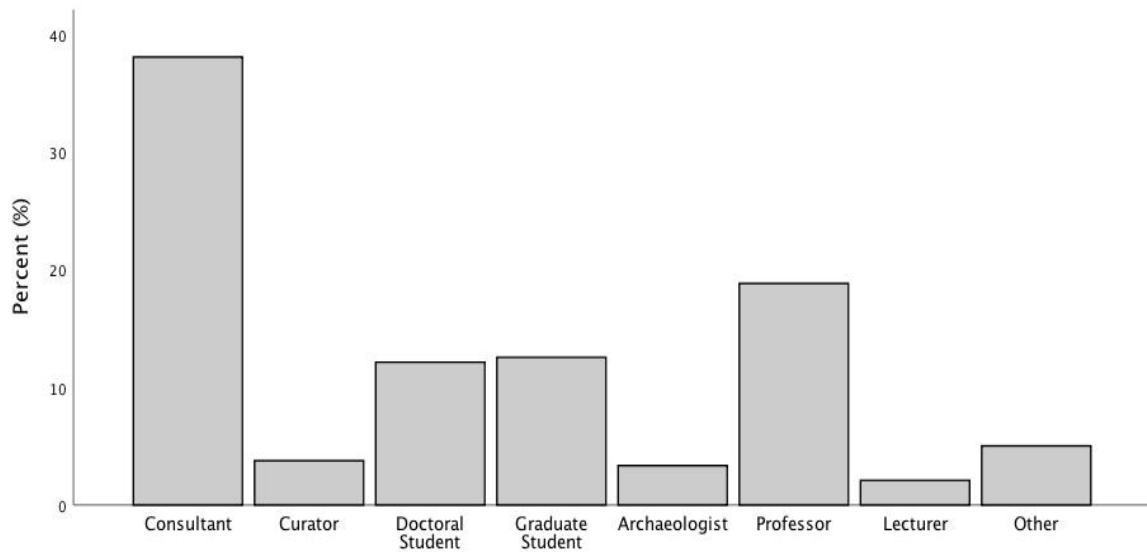


Figure 6.11 Breakdown of respondent’s current position in archaeology.

No major differences are noted in the distributions of males and females within these areas of employment (Figure 6.12). A few exceptions do exist in the category of doctoral student and curator, two areas where a higher percentage of female to male respondents reside. Given what is already known about the greater proportions of both females responding to this survey and, generally, the higher percentage of women enrolled in all levels of education, this result is not completely unexpected.

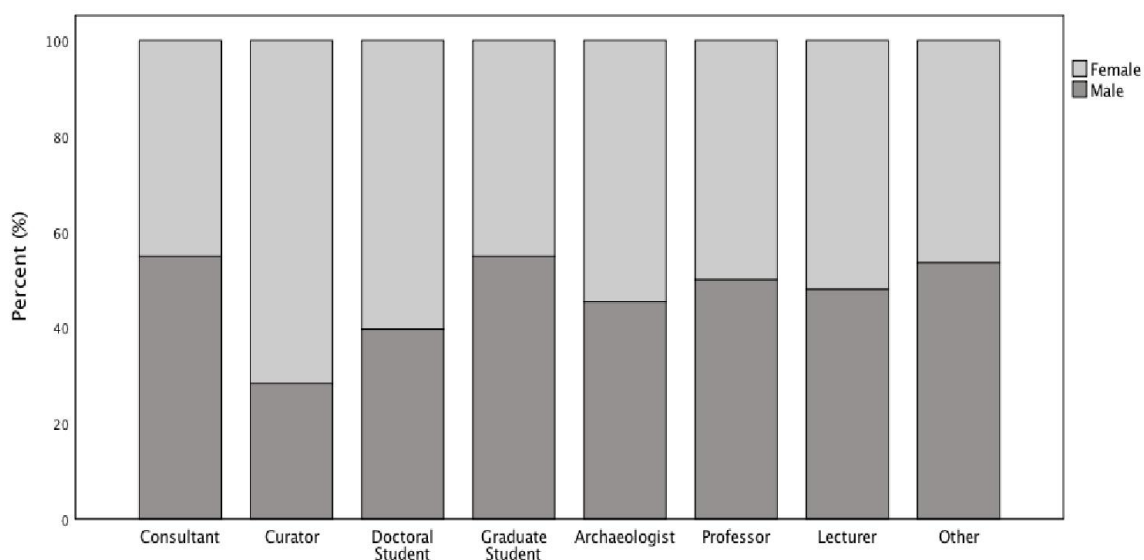


Figure 6.12 Distribution of employment areas among men and women

Particular trends emerge when employment areas, age ranges, and years of employment in their current position are examined. The data revealed that the highest proportion of female respondents (N=51/134, 38%) have occupied their position for only 1-2 years (Figure 6.13). This is opposed to a more evenly proportioned situation for male respondents in the early career years. While there is an increase in both male and female respondents in the 10-15 year range, it is more pronounced among male participants, comprising the highest proportion of male respondents (N=24/97, 25%).

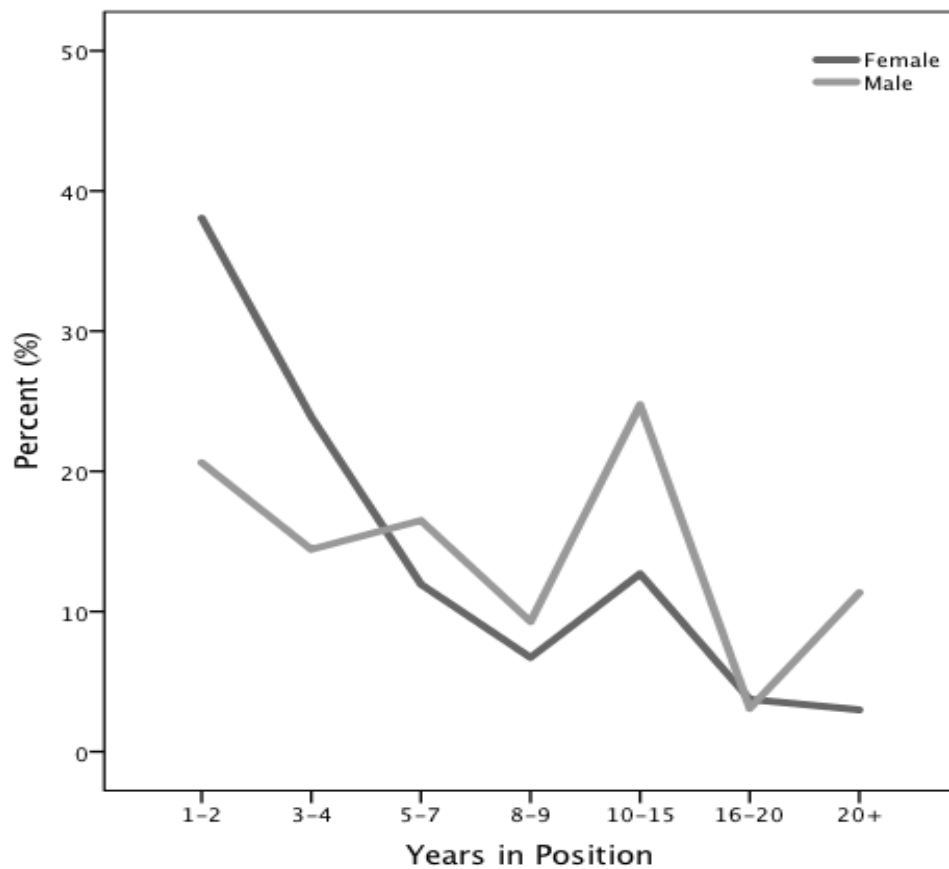


Figure 6.13 Respondents by gender and years in position.

Participants situated in the youngest age cohorts are highly represented in the areas of graduate/doctoral student and as a consultant (Figure 6.14). Based on this trend, it can be assumed that after the completion of undergraduate degrees, individuals are either entering consulting or pursuing a postgraduate degree. When the category of consultant is further examined, there is a pronounced decline in the number of individuals who are engaged in this area of employment after the age range of 31-35. Similarly, this is also seen among graduate students, with low percentages represented in the eldest age ranges. This said, those involved as consultants or professors appear to be fairly equally distributed among the eldest age ranges.

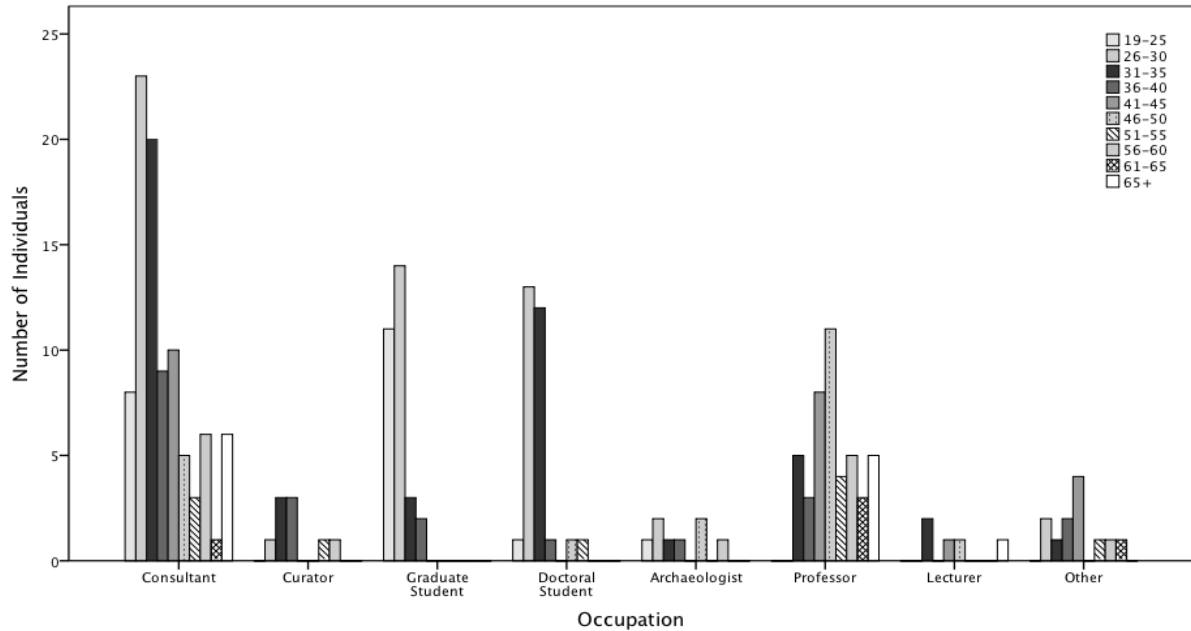


Figure 6.14 Number of respondents by age and occupation.

When asked about their desired occupation, 29% (N=66/229) of respondents indicated that their current position was not consistent with their projected career path. This sentiment seems to be predominantly felt among female respondents, who are situated in the youngest age ranges, particularly between groups aged 19-25 and 31-35 (N=38/66, 58%). Despite this, the majority of participants felt either highly satisfied or satisfied in their current job (N=186/244, 76%) with only 7% (N=18/244) stating that they were unsatisfied.

Addressing the main motivation for their current career path (65%, N=205/315), respondents predominantly identified a mix of better benefits and financial stability (N=68/205, 33%), family obligations (N=26/205, 13%), and a lack of academic positions (N=29/205, 14%). This is not to say that academic positions are the primary goal among those who chose a career in archaeology, but in many cases, those seeking advanced

degrees often see this as the end point (see Ginsberg 2016). Consequently, 7% (N=14/205) identified a dislike of academic environments as their main reason for their career choice, while 10% (N=20/205) identified CRM as their chosen career path.

Respondents identified a wide range of incomes across and within the various positions. Forty-two percent (N=132/315) of individuals identified their incomes as being less than \$60,000 a year; this group primarily comprised of those employed as Consultants (N=61/132, 46%) and Doctoral/Graduate students (N=46/132, 35%). Of these, 54% (N=71/132) are in income brackets less than \$30,000 a year. Although this survey did not provide a fine enough resolution to evaluate varying positions within Cultural Resource Management, it can be assumed that the individuals who occupy the lowest income brackets within this employment sphere are likely those employed as field technicians on a part-time and/or seasonal basis. Those respondents who identified incomes over \$60,000 were most heavily weighted in the positions of Professors or Consultants. This was particularly true in the income brackets \$91-100K and \$100K+ a year (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Breakdown of yearly income (thousands of dollars) by respondent's current position.

| | \$0-10 (n=20) | \$11-20 (n=22) | \$21-30 (n=27) | \$31-40 (n=11) | \$41-50 (n=20) | \$51-60 (n=24) | \$61-70 (n=15) | \$71-80 (n=15) | \$81-90 (n=7) | \$91-100 (n=3) | \$100+ (n=42) |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Consultant | 30% | 18% | 26% | 73% | 85% | 79% | 47% | 26% | 43% | 67% | 29% |
| Curator | 0% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 16% | 0% | 13% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| Doctoral Student | 30% | 22% | 33% | 9% | 10% | 0% | 7% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| Graduate Student | 25% | 50% | 26% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| Archaeologist | 5% | 0% | 7% | 18% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 7% | 14% | 0% | 0% |
| Professor | 5% | 0% | 7% | 0% | 0% | 4% | 33% | 40% | 43% | 0% | 61% |
| Other | 5% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 5% | 0% | 13% | 13% | 0% | 33% | 2% |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 98 |

Income within overall gender groups show the proportions of men and women appear to be relatively analogous across the various income brackets (Figure 6.15); however, there are a higher proportion of females who identified themselves within the lowest income range of \$0-10,000 as compared to males. Knowing that a larger percentage of females responded to this survey and that females comprise a larger percentage of graduate and doctoral students, it is likely that this accounts somewhat for their higher representation in this bracket. After the income range of \$70-80,000, both proportions of male and female respondents begin to decline before a steep increase in the \$100,000 range with a higher proportion of male respondents occupying this income bracket (Figure 6.15).

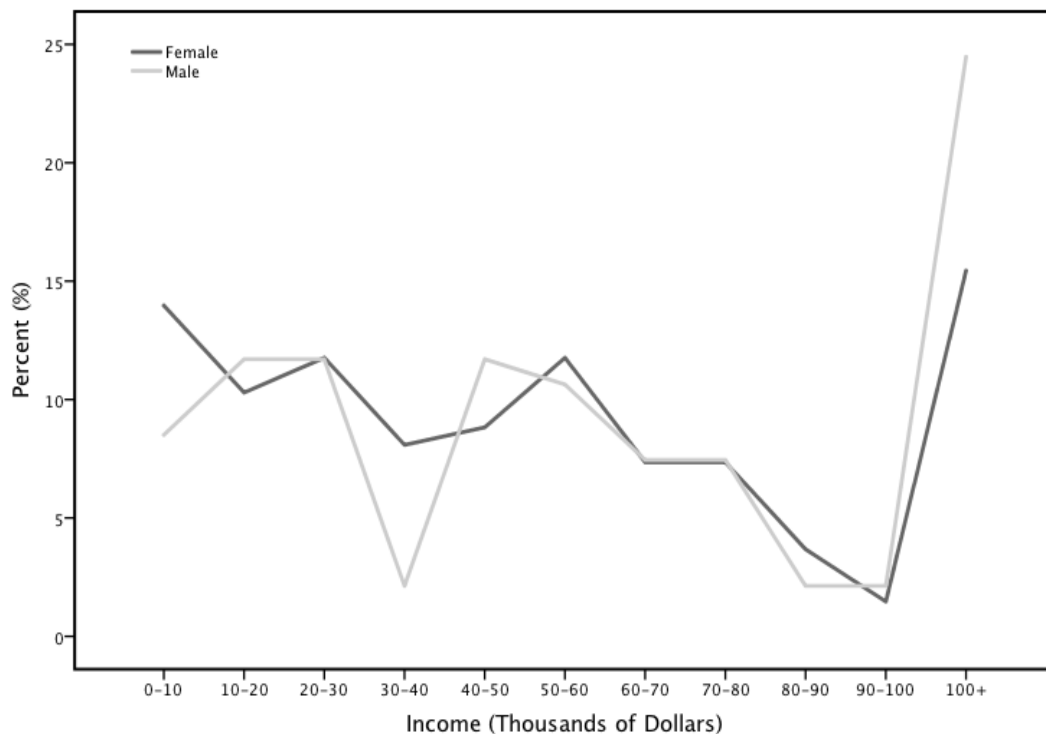


Figure 6.15 Income by percentage of female and male respondents.

While the majority of participants felt their current income was sufficient, 22% (N=51/232) stated that their overall income did not meet their financial needs. The highest proportions of these participants are also those most heavily identified in the lowest income brackets, Consultants (N=24/232, 10%) as well as both Doctoral and Graduate students (N=26/232, 11%). Respondents to this question are comprised of 24% (N=32/135) of overall female respondents and 20% (N=19/96) of male respondents. This is particularly striking when education is considered. As described above, a large proportion of survey respondents are in possession of at least one postgraduate degree. Working under the assumption that advanced degrees lead to higher earning potential (Zeder 1997:80), it is illuminating that of the respondents that felt their income did not meet their financial need, 71% (N=36/51) held Masters degrees at the time this survey was conducted. While low earnings could partly be explained by a lack of seniority since the largest proportion of these individuals have only been employed in their current positions for 1-2 and 3-4 years (N=26/51, 51%), individuals who have been employed in the discipline for 10-15 years (N=10/51, 20%) conversely described experiencing financial hardship related to salaries.

Workplace Issues

The final section of the survey asked participants to report on a number of workplace and family related issues that they may have experienced during their careers in archaeology. Questions encompassed a range of topics that related to gender and racial-ethnic identities and roles, sexual harassment and gender-based harassment, as well as discriminatory and exclusionary behaviours that either affect their current position or could be preventing their advancement in the field. While these questions provided both a closed “yes or no”

question and an open-ended space to provide additional information or clarification, these comments will be included in the qualitative analysis presented in the next chapter.

Career Advancement

A majority of respondents felt that their racial-ethnic identity, gender identity, or both, had a role in effecting their career advancement. Despite a higher proportion of participants describing how these identities have negatively affected them, some participants reflected on how they believe their gender or racial-ethnic identity has benefitted their career advancement.

Regarding gender-based discrimination, 13% (N=41/315) of participants felt that their gender has prevented their advancement in the discipline while 19% (N=59/315) felt that they had been asked to perform stereotypically gender-based tasks or responsibilities. Gender stereotyping was statistically more likely to occur among women than men (N=45/59, 76%, $X^2=10.1$, $df=1$, $p=0.001$). As a suggested consequence of gender-based discrimination, 31% of overall participants (N=95/315) described experiencing the so-called “chilly climate” in the workplace. Although more female respondents (N= 58/221, 26%) reported experiencing the “chilly climate” as compared to male respondents (N=34/221, 15%), this result does not appear to be statistically significant ($X^2=0.539$, $df=1$, $p=0.463$).

In line with this, participants were asked to indicate if they felt their ethnicity or race has prevented them from advancing in their career. Although only 7% (N=16/223) of participants responded affirmatively to this question, interestingly, individuals who identified themselves as white accounted for 63% (N=10/16) of this group ($X^2=15.9$, $df=1$, $p=0.00006$). Alternatively, when participants were asked to address whether or not

they believed their gender and/or racial-ethnic identity had provided them with an *advantage* professionally, 10% (N=32/315) of respondents believed this to be true.

Over 25% of all participants (N=83/315) reported experiencing sexual harassment or other unwanted behaviours from colleagues or supervisors. Respondents who experienced these behaviours were significantly more likely to be female (78% vs. 16%, $X^2=13.5$, $df=1$, $p=0.0002$). Respondents indicated that these behaviours as well as sexist attitudes and practices, were not limited to a particular work environment; respondents reported experiencing these both during fieldwork (N=50/315, 16%) and in office environments (N=28/315, 13%). In both cases, women experienced these behaviours more frequently than men (office: $X^2=22.7$, $df=1$, $p=0.00001$ / field: $X^2=24.4$, $df=1$, $p=0.00001$). Although the way the questions were framed had the unfortunate effect of juxtaposing the field and the workplace, I believe this result sheds light on an overall problem in archaeology. Therefore, these workspaces should be conceptualized as synonymous rather than opposing spheres. However, it is a compelling result that a higher percentage of female respondents experienced sexist attitudes and practices within fieldwork contexts (N=45/135, 33%) rather than outside of them (N=36/135, 27%). Once reported, only 33% (N=27/83) of individuals felt their cases of sexual harassment or inappropriate behaviours were appropriately handled.

Funding and Research

Those individuals engaged in an academic career or those who are currently enrolled as graduate students, are particularly affected by their ability to access funding and the level at which their research is received by colleagues and the archaeological community. When asked about the factors participants thought hindered their ability to

access research funding, 16% (N=51/315) believed that the main cause was their area of research, while 4% (N=13/315) believed this was a result of their gender. Whereas there does not appear to be any difference among men and women who believe their topic affected funding ($X^2=0.861$, $df=1$, $p=0.354$), women are more likely to feel that their gender prevents their access to these resources (N=11/98, 10%, $X^2=3.89$, $df=1$, $p=0.048$).

Participants also pointed to these two variables (topic or specialty and gender) as also affecting how colleagues acknowledged their scholarship. Nineteen percent of respondents (N=61/315) thought their research was disregarded or trivialized due to their main area of interest while 7% (N=24/315) thought the root cause was linked to gender-discrimination. An aggregate analysis of these responses revealed that women are significantly more likely to experience this: 10% of women (N=22/215) versus 1% of men (N=2/215) in response to this question ($X^2=12.1$, $df=1$, $p=0.000485$).

In addition to these factors, 3% (N=8/315) of individuals believed their research or scholarship were ignored due to their race or ethnicity. Given that racial minorities as a group only comprised 10% (N=31/315) of total survey respondents, it seems significant that 25% (N=8/31) of this group believe that their race or ethnicity has caused their research or scholarship to be ignored. Although this is an intriguing result, more data are needed to statistically test this relationship and how it does or does not relate to other variables, identity-related or otherwise.

Family and Work/Life Balance

As part of the questions related to general demographics, participants were asked to provide information on their marital status and whether or not they had children before being asked a series of questions concerning work/life balance. These included how their

family obligations and caregiver status affected their perceived productivity, whether or not they had a supportive network in the workplace, and overall how these conditions affected their work regardless of employment environment.

A majority of participants (N=208/315, 66%) indicated that they were married or in a domestic partnership while 30% (N=93/315) reported their marital status as single. In total, 40% of participants (N=112/315) indicated that they had at least one child; however, male respondents (N=55/315, 18%) appeared to be more likely to have children than female respondents ($X^2=8.44$, $df=1$, $p=0.004$). Despite this, results indicate that female respondents are still more likely to be primary caregivers, either to children or to other family members ($X^2=4.09$, $df=1$, $p=0.043$), than their male counterparts. While only 23% of overall total respondents (N=73/315) provided an answer as to whether or not their role as primary caregiver impacted their ability to attend work-related events such as meetings or conferences, proportions of male and female responses are comparable and there is no statistically significant relationship. There also does not appear to be any discernible relationship between a respondent's work environment and whether or not they had children.

In the workplace, a majority of men and women (N=189/315, 60%) indicated that they had a supportive network; however, women were more likely to have a network that consisted of individuals of the same gender ($X^2=15.0$, $df=1$, $p=0.000103$). Although 20% of total respondents (N=63/315) believed that their workplace was "family-friendly", 17% (N=53/315) indicated that their workplace could do more to support work/life balance. In line with this sentiment, 10% (N=31/315) of overall participants perceived that colleagues felt they were uncommitted to their work when faced with family

obligations. Although a higher percentage of women (N=22/203, 11%) perceived this as compared to men (N=9/203, 4%), there was no significant relationship between how family obligations were perceived in the workplace and the respondent's gender ($X^2=2.1$, $df=1$, $p=1.45$); however, it is interesting to note that the majority of women who felt this way were situated in the discipline as consultants or graduate students (N=13/22, 59%).

Summary

This chapter disseminated the results of a combination of data gathered from survey responses. The collection of this information represents an important step in understanding the composition of archaeologists in Canada; few formal surveys and/or interviews have been conducted exclusively with this population. Although the topics covered in the survey likely influenced which individuals chose to respond, the data allowed for a closer examination of the dynamics that might be at work in university archaeology departments and in the workplace. The data showed that the majority of respondents were situated in the discipline as either professional archaeologists, including consultants, professors, lecturers, and curators, or graduate students and females accounted for the highest proportion of respondents in these categories. While participants were fairly diverse in terms of age and area of employment, the results demonstrated a fairly racially homogenous discipline where the bulk of respondents identified as White; people of color, including Indigenous identities, accounted for only 4% of overall survey participants while multiracial or 'other' consisted of 6%. Experiences documented through the survey also revealed that women were more likely to be subject to gender stereotyping, sexual harassment or other unwanted behaviours, and feelings that their gender or racial-ethnic identities have prevented their access to

funding and/or has resulted in their research being ignored. These phenomena were documented as occurring in the workplace but were more commonly described as arising in the field.

CHAPTER 7: VOICES FROM THE DISCIPLINE: A THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Introduction

To further contextualize the data presented above, this chapter will focus on the results of a thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews and open-ended survey responses. The sample of interview participants (n=17) was chosen strictly from those individuals who contacted me for an interview. All participants identified as women and as archaeologists (or those who have retrained), and represented a diversity of identities and backgrounds, though the majority of the sample identified as White (Table 6.3). In this analysis, the use of intersectionality allowed me to draw further attention to those individuals that are usually lost in larger datasets with the aim of understanding how a variety of social categories are mutually shaped by and interrelated to larger, oppressive structures.

Examination of these data highlighted a range of both positive and negative responses within various themes that elaborated on the survey data. These included; 1) the overall operation of archaeology as a discipline in both the private and public sectors; 2) concerns regarding job/financial insecurity; 3) attitudes toward CRM as an industry; 4) identity-based discrimination; and 5) gendered divisions of labour and how they manifest in the field. Since questions were evaluated through a participant's lens, this, at times, created self-doubt within the participant as to whether or not their lived experiences could be considered "real" or quantifiable. Even though emergent themes were identified across the qualitative data analyzed, participant experiences varied based on employment and educational experiences as well as an array of identity-based attributes such as gender, sexuality, race or ethnicity, age, and others. I present the data in two ways: I identify

interviewees by their chosen pseudonym and age range while I labelled open-ended responses from survey participants with an “R” and their corresponding response number, gender, and age.

Table 7.1 Demographics of Sample of Interviewees

| | Interviewees (n = 17) | |
|---|--------------------------|------|
| <u>Gender</u> | | |
| Female | 17 | 100% |
| <u>Race</u> | | |
| White | 13 | 76% |
| Person of Color (including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit) | 3 | 18% |
| Declined to State | 1 | 6% |
| <u>Region</u> | | |
| Eastern | 2 | 12% |
| Central | 9 | 53% |
| Western | 6 | 35% |
| Territories | 0 | 0% |
| <u>Current Professional Status</u> | | |
| Graduate Student | 7 | 41% |
| Cultural Resource Management | 4 | 23% |
| Public Sector/Non-Profit | 3 | 18% |
| Retrained or Considering Retraining | 2 | 12% |
| Retired | 1 | 6% |

(Note: I was contacted by a total of 25 individuals interested in conducting interviews. Not all interviews were conducted due to scheduling conflicts or the participant changing their mind/were non-responsive upon follow-up).

Education Effects and Job Market Realities

“Archaeology is a racket” –R71 [Male 56-60]

For many of the interviewees and survey participants, feelings toward archaeology oscillated between enthusiasm toward their work and the realities they faced as they

became further entrenched within the discipline. When asked about their initial encounters with archaeology, the majority of interviewees spoke glowingly about their first memories, which ranged from early childhood experiences to influences from popular culture that led them to view archaeology as a viable career option. But as interviewing progressed, common threads indicated a certain level of disillusionment at various stages in their education and career trajectories. This included themes that related to how archaeology is taught, perceptions regarding its operation in different spheres, and the realities of the job market in both the public and private sectors. The latter generates some thought-provoking questions regarding the role of university education in job seeking, mentorship/training, and who should be responsible for providing this guidance. This finding coincides with the survey data which revealed that respondents were only marginally satisfied or dissatisfied with their undergraduate (35%, N=87/246) and graduate training (26%, N=55/212) (pg.166). For many, the issues they first observed with archaeology as a discipline occurred during their tenure as university students rather than in the workplace.

Archaeology as Enlightened Science

The first theme relates to the reasons for varied educational experiences at the undergraduate and graduate levels. These experiences are either linked to specific individuals who impacted participant's learning experiences in the classroom or to the overall schools of thought that dominated their departments. Interview and survey participants described becoming aware of a disjuncture between what they perceived to be the aims of archaeology and the widespread attitudes they confronted at various stages in their education. This included mind-sets and approaches to teaching that diverged from

what they believed to be the very epistemological foundations of archaeology, namely its connection to anthropology and the study of the human past. Therefore, this theme can be divided into two separate but interrelated areas: 1) the idea of archaeology as ‘enlightened’, and 2) the perpetuation of archaeology as ‘science’.

The theme of archaeology as an enlightened pursuit is best understood through observations that recognized a lack of transference between the issues that archaeologists study in the past to the identity-based politics and dynamics that exist in present-day micro (archaeology) and macro (society) structures. To some participants, this was a simple equation: archaeologists study people in the past ergo archaeologists should be cognizant of inclusion in the present. This lack of inclusivity was primarily described in narratives that discussed teaching practices and how conscious or unconscious biases may impact the success of women, and in particular, Indigenous women, in university programs.

At the graduate level, interviewees described situations where they witnessed or believed that male supervisors failed to properly mentor their female students and/or favoured their male students. *Martha (31-35) [Retrained]* experienced this within the classroom when she was studying for her Master’s degree. Martha had no classes taught by women and found that the male members of her cohort were favoured in seminar discussions: “There were also several times in the middle of class, one prof in particular was really bad for this, I’d be in the middle of making a point and he’d interrupt me in favour of letting one of the guys in class talk. It was to the point where some of the other guys in the class noticed it too...” Other narratives described the different ways they saw similar examples of both overt and latent acts of bias emerge in their experiences.

Favouritism and explicit acts that seemed to privilege male students over their female counterparts were some of the most commonly identified experiences:

Eloise (26-30) [Graduate Student]: I think most of the people who don't have my supervisor have male ones and they all seem to struggle in different ways. And I think it is the supervisor. I don't know if it has to do with their gender but they definitely don't seem to take as much interest in their student's work or they're not as supportive or something. And I've had other students tell me that they think their male supervisors privilege their male students.

R40 [Female 31-35] I find my male supervisor is more likely to turn to male grad students to discuss archaeological decisions, in the field and lab, and more likely to turn to female grad students to discuss logistics.

R102 [Female 65+] When I was doing my PhD, one or two professors routinely gave higher grades to male students.

Other participants linked the exclusion they experienced with the content they were taught in the classroom and through the reactions their professors had when their viewpoints diverged from what was being taught. *Mary (26-30) [Consultant]* describes a confrontation she had with a male professor regarding the content in a methods and theories course:

...In the whole thing there wasn't a single female archaeologist that was discussed and I called my prof out on it or I saw him in his office and I mentioned that and then the next class he had a presentation that was women in archaeology and he talked about notable ones. I was happy about it but it also pissed me off. No, that's not what I was asking for. It should be integrated throughout it. We don't want Binford! That's a crazy story about him and his wife. That could be included in it, you know?

Of course, she is referring to the seldom-taught contribution and influence of Sally Rosen Binford to the *New Archaeology* and how her work supported her husband's success within the discipline (see Kehoe 2011). For *Mary*, the exclusion of Sally as a significant contributor to the development of a central theoretical tradition for North American archaeology revealed to her a lack of clear thoughtfulness regarding whose contributions should be considered valuable in the teaching of the history of archaeology. She also

relayed that the women in archaeology presentation was timed at the end of the semester. Even though the professor seemed to respond to Mary's comment, the implication of this approach suggests that the contributions of 'notable women' are less valuable than their male counterparts, and in this situation, act as a footnote to the rest of the course. This not only continues to favour men as the primary contributors of archaeological knowledge but also renders others invisible or secondary to how the discipline was formed and continues to develop; a lack of diverse voices in foundational courses like theory and methods perpetuates the idea that archaeology is a closed, male-dominated space.

Indigenous respondents, in particular, communicated how they believed the way archaeology was taught in the classroom was particularly detrimental to their learning experiences and how they came to perceive the discipline. This was most evident in the overall curricula related to the portrayal of Indigenous cultures but also in how instructors neglected to negotiate how best to teach the history of these groups when descendants are also students:

R265 [*Female 19-25*] The more courses I took the more aware I became about the lack of accurate representation of Indigenous people, and the downplay and often neglectful attitude towards Indigenous women. What was particularly harming was people were learning about prehistory of the world's people, and this included the history of native people in North America, like First Nations, Inuit and Métis, and these were the perceptions other students were being taught about - not only my heritage, but also me as a person.

This participant continues:

Being an Indigenous person, and a woman on top of that, people assume that I am a potential childbearing housewife who should be processing skins for her family—and not an academic archaeologist studying their culture. I am NOT satisfied in my current position. I am NOT satisfied because I become the one that needs to correct these misconceptions when it should be the instructor, the one who is teaching. I am attending a classroom to learn, to share my thoughts, but not be the sole-ambassador of all Indigenous people.

The burden to provide culturally sensitive and accurate information in the classroom by proffering a wider perspective than can be presented by the instructor proves exhausting for Indigenous students and may cause them to question whether or not to pursue archaeology as a career. One may wonder if such situations are restricted to the classroom or if acting as “the sole-ambassador of all Indigenous people” will be a common occurrence when employed as an Indigenous archaeologist, particularly in addressing and working with their colleagues. It is not difficult to imagine how added reflection may be needed at the prospect of this future in the workplace, particularly when their colleagues are likely to be predominately white and educated within the same system where R265 tried to correct taught misconceptions she witnessed as a student. *Sam (19-25) [Graduate Student]* likens the effects of these realities to tokenism (particularly in situations where she was the only Indigenous student) and the expectations that come with being Indigenous in the classroom. She states:

There is the bias that people tell me that I probably have as an Indigenous person coming in and studying my own culture and where I'm a descendent of my people, I would have a skewed perspective...at least I would be culturally sensitive to the history and the treatment of other groups. Like whenever an Indigenous topic would come up people would automatically assume that I'd know everything. Let's say the (*Indigenous group*), which is a totally different Indigenous group than me. And I'm like, I don't know much about it. I know you need to respect their way of being on their own terms. Just like how I'd want them to respect me and my culture for how we do things.

In this case, the use of ‘bias’ or ‘skewed perspective’ works to marginalize *Sam* as an Indigenous student but also continues to decenter Indigenous ways of knowing as archaeology is taught in the classroom. When we consider *Sam* and the discipline overall, the very act of decentering Indigenous knowledge implies that such knowledge is ‘less valid’ while simultaneously reinforcing the importance or validity of so-called traditional forms of archaeological inquiry above all others.

The experienced harmful effects of teaching and how they perpetuate racial or gender-based discriminations appear to extend to any topic that would be considered outside the norm of hegemonic archaeological practice and thought. Although *Holly* (41-45) [*Consultant*] described having some wonderful male mentors, she explains her Master's experiences this way: "I had a really bad experience in my Master's program, as did a number of female students who were basically bullied out of seminars. I was bullied out of my thesis defence, but they were bullied out of seminars by really aggressive male Profs (sic) who were unwilling to hear any kind of other perspective on some very sensitive topics". *Sam* described a similar situation: "where archaeology is such a male-dominated field, it's interesting to be a female archaeologist because it's almost like they never like talking about things that are very interesting, like transgender individuals or two-spirit individuals. They don't like talking about it." This bullying by male professors and/or the dismissal of different perspectives acts as a 'gatekeeping' mechanism to control who does and does not have an authoritative voice in the discipline. While first enacted in classroom settings, these behaviors that both silence alternative voices, and in turn, erase contributions, have broader implications for how students understand who controls knowledge creation and dissemination in the field.

Some respondents linked this attitude to a persistent conservatism that has remained throughout the discipline's history, particularly with the perpetuation of archaeology as a scientific pursuit, but also to more recent, reactive conservative political climates. One participant noted that it was often hard to separate her feelings of marginalization as a result of her gender with that she experienced as a result of her chosen area of research, which includes gender. She suggests this was the result not only

of prevalent theoretical schools of thought in Canadian archaeology (again, as science) but also of overarching social and political structures:

R42 [*Female 56-60*] Despite the nodding acceptance of gender archaeology in newer versions of textbooks, most of my colleagues who are 'scientists' have little time for research in social archaeology, including gender or other social identity issues (considered soft science). This attitude has always been there, but in the last decade or so it has increased with the more right-wing positioning of politics and society.

Other participants made similar observations:

Sam (19-25) [Graduate Student]: But then there's the very obvious downside that archaeology isn't always pro-Indigenous...the negative side where people are still very racist or they're very ignorant or they're just not open to studying or interpreting or finding meaning in something in a way that is cultural rather than hard science.

R12 [*Male 56-60*] Archaeology is very conservative and insecure.

R106 [*Female 46-50*] ...in general archaeologists are very conservative. Thus, if your work is outside the norm it rarely gets cited within the profession. My works have been cited more often by climate and marine scientists than by archaeologists.

Examining the above narratives through an intersectional lens reveals how the interplay between micro and macro structures manifest for participants. In this case, these comments show the link between conservatism at the socio-political level and the ways it translates for individuals at the disciplinary level through oppressive behaviors such as racism and sexism. This is significant because it exposes how experiences of identity-based discriminations are invariably linked to broader structures that constantly impinge on the discipline in significant, ever-present ways.

The attitudes and climates that participants experienced within archaeology at the undergraduate and graduate levels triggered pause for many; the effects of neglect and exclusion based on their gender and racial identities led them to question whether or not they should proceed in the discipline. One participant expressed these feelings in the following way: “an archaeology which acknowledges the real history of Indigenous people and the role of women would make me more comfortable with archaeology as a

career” (R265 [*Female 19-25*]). In other words, how the discipline silences and excludes other ways of knowing or knowledge produced by diverse voices does not appear to provide a space to develop as a student or as a professional. This resulting disillusionment not only rests with the practice of archaeology itself but also with future job prospects. This situation was particularly true for those who felt they did not have proper supervision and were not given the right guidance to understand what life outside the academy could offer.

On the Job Market

The next theme relates to general employment in archaeology and more specifically to what participants identified as the realities of the job market after university. This encompassed perceived career options in archaeology and how the number of overqualified individuals affected career prospects in both academia and private sector employment. It is important to note that these observations were expressed by both individuals on the job market and among those still enrolled in graduate programs at the time of data collection.

Interview and survey participants described a clear lack of direction within their university educations regarding what job opportunities existed. This does not appear to be a problem solely at the undergraduate level, but also for participants who continued on to complete graduate degrees. Many participants expressed concern about what path to take if they were not interested in pursuing a Ph.D. or did not want employment in CRM; these paths were disseminated as the only areas for a viable career in archaeology. Some

respondents felt that, in general, students are not given a proper accounting of what to expect when they hit the job market:¹⁶

Abby (26-30) [Graduate Student]: I find that there is a disjuncture between what we're told as undergrads and then what happens in graduate school. I think that one thing that should be really made apparent to all archaeology students at the undergraduate level is that it's a very difficult field to have a job in.

Megan (31-35) [Retrained]: It helps to have somebody. Where they really help you develop your whole CRM vs. yadda yadda, like they actually talk to you about the two different types of streams like doing private archaeology vs. academics.

The reasons behind this seemed ambiguous for participants; some professors they encountered were simply not adequately equipped to discuss the job market in any real way. *Martha (31-35) [Retrained]* likened this to the insular nature of the university environment, which was out of touch with the realities of archaeological employment in the present day: "How much advice can you give on the modern job market when you've been working in a university for probably forty years? Different world." In a similar way, *Abby (26-30) [Graduate Student]* felt that the training offered in university was simply not conducive to seeking a position outside of academia and that "nobody in the context of the university will train you to get a job outside of that context." For some, the coupled effect of a bad job market and the lack of a mentor, or as one interviewee put it, a "champion", produced the worst possible situation for employment prospects.

What these experiences seem to reveal are present tensions regarding an oft-debated topic in the discipline regarding the disjuncture between training/placement and the best ways to prepare students for new employment opportunities (see Fagan 1996;

¹⁶ Traditionally, it can be argued that the role of the university has been to provide knowledge within an academic unit rather than practical training. But, in an era of increased commercialization and corporatization at the university level, there exists some question as to whether the role of the university has changed: is it the obligation of universities to prepare graduates for employment or does this lay outside their mission statements?

Schuldenrein 1998; Steeves 2015; Weisman and White 2000). In Canada, these debates are similarly present and consider a common thread: what role, if any, should the university take in preparing students amid the changing landscape of archaeological employment (e.g., Ferris 2000b; Kelley and Hill 1994; Williamson 2000, 2018)? Since this by no means presents itself as a simple topic, complex questions need to be asked regarding responsibility and implementation. But, perhaps superficially, one can ask, if the onus to address this issue does indeed fall within the purview of the university, how should it be approached and whose responsibility does it become to provide such training and mentorship? If these responsibilities are to be enacted at the departmental level and will in turn be administered by faculty members, who among this group will assume the majority of this obligation? With recent studies that highlight the imbalance of service work for female faculty as compared to their male counterparts across university departments, it is not difficult to imagine a scenario in which this becomes another significant area of gendered labour (see El-Alayli et al. 2018; Guarino and Borden 2017; O'Meara et al. 2017). This situation and its impacts on both female faculty and students will be further explored in the next chapter.

In line with this, participant observations regarding the archaeological job market were additionally rooted in the view that it remains flooded with overqualified individuals. This was expressed through examples of Ph.D. saturation, a lack of jobs at the academic level, and a general shortage of positions anywhere in archaeological employment¹⁷. As one interviewee put it, she believes this influx of individuals has

¹⁷ While these issues have been documented in archaeology in Canada and the United States (see Speakman et al. 2018), this problem does not appear to be unique to this discipline; issues of employment in academic settings among graduates has been well-documented across a variety of fields in the social sciences and humanities (e.g., American Academy of Arts and Sciences 2015).

resulted in a 'survival of the fittest' on the archaeological job market. *Jessie (61-65)*

[*Retired*] relayed this story of a recent hiring situation in her department:

We just hired a professor that replaced the woman that I had mentioned before and I'm calling her a young professor but she's in fact in her late 30s. There were 26 applications. I went through all of them and there's not one of those people who (all have PhD's) not one has had a permanent job. They're moving all over the country, one semester here, one year there. They're doing some CRM stuff.

As *Jessie* suggests in relation to the candidate files she reviewed, many candidates exist in a transitory state, seeking employment where available, typically within CRM. This is not unique to the hiring experience *Jessie* describes, as several respondents saw CRM as the main area of employment fall back for Ph.D.'s who were not successful in securing a full-time academic job. While some participants described obtaining sessional teaching contracts, many had to abandon this avenue in favour of a CRM career where higher wages helped to support themselves and their families. For others, the lack of academic jobs did not only solidify where they should and should not be seeking employment but also signalled the nonessential nature of pursuing a Ph.D. at all:

R114 [*Female 46-50*] There are no jobs in Academia. I'd have a better chance winning the lottery. I am well prepared for fieldwork and a project manager. I didn't need a PhD for that.

R131 [*Female 65+*] Tenure-track model being eliminated for contract model, not worth investing time/effort in PhD.

Considering the archaeological job market overall, any prospects worth pursuing in the academy seemed less probable to respondents than employment within the private sector. However, the juxtaposition of CRM with the possibility of gainful employment does not seem to represent the reality described by some survey participants who discussed the scarcity of full-time employment within this sector. Instead, these individuals often described finding themselves firmly located within the low-wage,

seasonal nature of CRM labour rather than in a position that they felt was suitability matched to their experience and level of education.

The “Culture” of CRM

Despite data that shows that more archaeologists than ever are employed within CRM in other contexts (see Altschul and Patterson 2008; Doelle and Phillips 2005; Zeder 1997), and that over 90% of archaeological work conducted in Canada today is through the CRM industry (Williamson 2018), the responses produced a range of attitudes as to whether or not CRM could be a viable, fulfilling career option. Opinions were formed based on the perceived reputation of what was described as the “culture” of CRM rather than from a participant’s involvement in CRM work at all. Therefore, the main themes that comprise the practice of CRM include 1) job and financial insecurity and 2) the unethical nature of CRM work. There were circumstances where discriminatory identity-related practices also emerged within the data as related to CRM; however, these will be covered in subsequent sections related to fieldwork practices and overall demographics in archaeology.

As evidenced in the survey data presented above, it should be reiterated that some respondents actively chose CRM as their careers and wanted to contribute to a sector that they believed did good work and as *Holly (41-45) [Consultant]* put it, “producing a good archaeological product even in a business environment”. These sentiments appeared most readily among a few members of the CRM community with permanent employment and those that felt that CRM had provided them with what academia could not.

However, the prevalent attitudes expressed implies that participants felt that not only were they overqualified for many of the positions they were offered in CRM, but

they did not see any room for advancement and/or did not feel compensated for their level of education. Multiple respondents expressed difficulty with the low-paying nature of their employment in CRM and one interviewee, *Megan (31-35) [Retrained]*, felt that, her time in CRM reflected the early days of archaeology as a pursuit for the wealthy; “I feel as though it's almost reverted back to this sort of Victorian idea that if you have the money to do it or you have some sort of other income that's when you can actually pursue something like archaeology because everyone's kind of Malinowski-ing out”. She continued, “I have found that the people that were successful at the company that I worked at stayed there because they did not need the money to exist, they did not need the money to live”. In describing her situation, she also discussed how if she ever encountered problems with her pay or asked about raises, she was made to feel as though she was “classless” for being concerned about her financial security. Other interviewees expressed similar surprise at the low wages they received for CRM work, their inability to live on said earnings, and questioning how anyone could make a career in this sector.

In many cases, this surprise toward the reality of wage scales in CRM was entrenched in how participants viewed their level of education, believing that this should be reflected in compensation. Yet, multiple respondents also recalled how they felt they were treated for possessing graduate degrees. Several interviewees found the personalities they encountered in their respective companies were associated on the one hand, with a disdain for academia or the individuals it produces, and on the other, with a lack of trust or confidence in their abilities. As *Eloise (26-30) [Graduate Student]* recounted when she worked with a CRM company after finishing her Master’s degree:

There was a really big division between people who were hired from academic backgrounds and people who had specifically gone into CRM and I don't really understand the division, but people would think the other people (academic) weren't

as good. I don't know if it's just because of the position I was coming from, but I had never worked on pre-contact stuff before and I felt like people specifically didn't want to help me because they assumed that I should know it. And I was very open about needing help and it just felt like people didn't want to help because they assumed that I would have a bad attitude because I had more education than them? Or something? It was really odd.

This attitude of distrust toward graduates and their abilities has meant that those involved sensed that they were not given opportunities to use their education in relevant ways that contribute to the final product. Instead, they described being exploited for their labour during the on-season and then not being asked to stay on for office work during the winter months. Considering the low-wages they were paid during the field season this further compounded the realities of financial insecurity they faced by seeking full-time employment within CRM.

In line with the assertion that CRM is the only equivalent career to academia, some questioned their ability to be successful in CRM because of what they thought they would be compromising. The comments pointed toward a personal struggle in which interview and survey respondents thought they were required to justify working in this sector with their own individual ethics; the consequence of seeking a career in CRM archaeology ultimately meant giving up or negotiating how work should be done and why. As *Abby (26-30) [Graduate Student]* put it, “the CRM world is filled with politics and tough ethical choices to make ends meet.” Similar sentiments were articulated in various ways:

Mary (26-30) [Consultant]: I don't want anything to do with the oil industry and pipelines and stuff like that. And I would want to move to BC and a lot of CRM there is pipeline related so it just goes against my ethics.

Abby (26-30) [Graduate Student]: It's just so different and if you have academic leanings and you do CRM, there's a point where you just have to back away from your own ethics because there's certain companies who are just being companies.

Jessie (61-65) [Retired]: I ran field schools and I enjoyed it when I was working with students, but the fieldwork became more CRM oriented as time passed because it got into the 70s. And it wasn't the same as when you were doing research projects that were just scientifically oriented. And the CRM thing was rip it out and bag it. That's what it became. And the methods were just appalling. The way things weren't recorded, etc.

When taken together, the overarching implication is that not only is CRM less ethical than archaeology in the academy, but the business-oriented nature of CRM also means that the work is not as methodologically sound or does not seek to answer the “big” questions. Even among respondents who work in CRM and are proud of what they do, there was an acknowledgement that the widespread opinion among Canadian archaeologists is that CRM in Canada is not a well-respected field for these very issues that relate both to the ethical nature of contracting work but also the resultant grey literature that this field produces that is not disseminated to the wider community (see Ferris 2000b; Williamson 2000, 2018:15).

Overall, these comments relate to varying degrees of accessibility to CRM work and the continued juxtaposition of CRM versus academic archaeology. Within these, the prevailing assumption is that academic archaeology is the exact opposite of CRM work; that is, archaeology that occurs in the academy is not politically-motivated or ethically questionable. The financial and job insecurity that is also experienced by many CRM-employees could compound these feelings. As was already discussed, while these comments additionally reveal tensions regarding placement/training for new employment realities, I believe they also illustrate tensions between CRM and academia and how students learn about each. Within the notion that CRM can provide an equivalent career option to academia and with the added consideration that CRM employs the most archaeologists today, this attitude reveals a potential barrier for graduates.

Fieldwork “Rules” and Roles

Issues of job and financial security as described above present some deterrents on their own to seeking a career within archaeology, however, the collected narratives described varying situations and practices that relate to the negative experiences of women particularly in fieldwork contexts. Nelson et al. (2017:5) has described this theme as broadly related to “access” in the presence/absence of clear rules that should dictate professional behaviour in the field. Although rules did not factor into the interviews and survey responds, many similar issues were encountered in the responses as they relate to gendered divisions of labour (survey: 19%, N=59/315, pg. 176) and assault and harassment in the field (survey: 25%, N=83/315, pg.176).

Gendered Divisions of Labour

Though gendered divisions of labour were encountered in office or university environments, they were most commonly experienced in field contexts where different responsibilities were assigned based on perceived societal gender roles. This included contrasting the physical ability of women with their male counterparts, particularly in CRM, and how the perceived limitations of female strength defined and impacted their working relationships with supervisors and coworkers. Additionally, interview and survey participants suggested that the focus on the physical element of fieldwork affected women’s access to gainful employment in heavily field-based projects.

Therefore, one of the central themes that emerged can best be described as maintenance or responsibilities that generally relate to “housekeeping” (see Gero 1985). The duties that women described ranged from maintaining field paperwork to cooking for the crew. The expectation that women would be “in charge” of these tasks at their field

sites was most often linked to narratives that recounted lost opportunities to gain valuable excavation experience, as these duties frequently limited their potential to participate in the discovery/recovery aspect of fieldwork. One participant provided the following account regarding how this situation plays out in her workplace:

R130 [*Female 26-30*] in my current office (archaeology consultant), the men often do not write their own reports and merely drop off their field notes at the end of the day. Thus, the men (with exactly the same amount of education and experience) get more field days while the women spend more time writing reports... which ultimately leads to less pay for the women (lost OT) and a narrower range of field experience. While some of the women may prefer more office than field days, this has led to a status quo of male field teams who 'deserve' the more challenging/interesting assignments because they 'work harder.'

This individual sees the operation of these gender roles as not only limiting opportunity but also damaging the earning potentials for her and her female coworkers.

In this way, some participants suggested that archaeology maintains the stereotypical gendered divisions of labour as seen in early interpretations of hunter-gatherer societies; men go out to the field to conduct research while women are left to lab-based tasks and administrative responsibilities. While this situation is problematic in itself, participants also suggested that this impacted knowledge dissemination in the discipline: “the ones who get to tell the stories are not usually women either, it was the one who collected it. This needs to change” (R265, *Female, 19-25*).

Part of this perpetuation of gendered divisions of labour in field contexts seems to center around female physicality and strength. Questions of ability as related to physical difference between men and women were seen as a barrier by a number of interviewees and survey participants. The manifestation of these attitudes was most frequently witnessed in the field but in some cases, participants expressed a sort of common knowledge that men would be favoured in such positions that were more physically

demanding. *Robyn* describes an example of how her physical ability became central to a job interview for work with a CRM firm:

...when I go in there every third question was either "this is very physically demanding work, do you think you're up for it?" or "the weather's not always going to be nice, are you prepared for rain?" And it was all of these questions focusing on my physical ability or my willingness to deal with being outside essentially and working hard and being dirty and being sweaty which I thought was ridiculous because then of course, I went and I talked to my male friends who had gone through the same interview process with the exact same people and those questions hadn't been mentioned once. Not once.

She expressed surprise that gender difference would be a consideration in the interview process, especially given that the requirements for the position were clearly outlined in the job description. She felt that, "either they thought I was kind of an idiot or they felt it was necessary because I am a little bit shorter, I'm female, whatever reason."

Other female respondents felt similarly that it was a combination of both gender and physique that limited their opportunities and how seriously they are taken by clients, employers, and male coworkers. A few individuals reported that despite having more experience or education than some of the men hired on for field crews, they were passed over simply because of physical strength and speed. The idea of women as weaker and thus less 'productive' seemed to permeate the accounts:

Bridget (30-35) [Graduate Student]: The majority of supervisors are men, and I believe that there is also some stigma attached to hiring women because they are often seen as "weaker" than men, and therefore more likely to complain, or are not able to work as fast/as much. In my experience these things are very far from the truth.

R310 [Female 31-35] Hiring technicians based on productivity seems unfair because women have less muscle capacity. It should be like the Olympics. If they want to hire 10 technicians they should engage the 5 fastest men and 5 fastest women! Of course, even if productivity is often not measured I was told explicitly that they engage workers just for that.

R220 [Female 36-40] As our work is mostly field-based, men are simply stronger, can dig faster, can move more dirt, and can generally be more productive if they put their mind to it. On that note, as a female, I am more productive than a lot of men out there, but I cannot match the best ones (and I have tried, very hard).

Female respondents also reported how these ideas affected the level of respect they received from male field-crew members, particularly when they believed that women were not as physically able or equipped to handle remote field situations. This seems to be experienced by female supervisors in particular, both regarding their preparedness but also as a problem with women in authority positions. R32 [*Female 41-45*] communicated that as a supervisor she often underwent “gender attitudes from men of how they think women should be especially when the woman is the supervisor. Some men do not like taking orders from a woman”.

Despite gendered divisions of labour affecting mostly women, the separation of tasks based on gender was also apparent to some male respondents who felt that they were often asked to perform traditional responsibilities usually ascribed to men. Some suggested that this stereotyping has been accentuated by a shift to more females than males in the discipline or simply, that gender stereotyping like this typically did not exist: “In private sector and especially for smaller sized consulting companies competition for business does not leave any room for gender stereotyping...the business owner does not care which gender you are if your performance is good. If it is not up to their expectations, they will kick you out despite your gender” (R179 [*Male 26-30*]). Alternatively, a few male participants suggested that these very stereotypes have likely caused them to be more successful on the CRM job market than women.

How gendered divisions of labour are perpetuated and maintained can be attributed to both institutionally reinforced ideas of capability in archaeological fieldwork and how those ideas are strengthened on the individual level through personal interactions. The above comment regarding gender stereotyping as a non-factor in

considering work productivity leaves room to consider what the definition of ‘good performance’ is in the context of other narratives in this section: that is, good performance appears to be ascribed to productivity in the field that is equated to physicality and strength, and to which women are suggested to be largely disadvantaged. Indeed, archaeology and its practitioners are entrenched in traditional conceptualizations of gendered divisions of labour, and broadly gender stereotyping. Due to this, these conditions might be invisible or not as readily apparent to other practitioners who are not viewed as being similarly disadvantaged where fieldwork is emphasized in their work contexts.

Issues at Field Sites and Harassment

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, females were statistically more likely to experience sexual harassment or other unwanted behaviours in the workplace, with a higher percentage of respondents reporting these behaviours in the field. In the open-ended survey responses and throughout narratives of interview participants, participants recounted a culture of inappropriate behaviours that promoted their marginalization, particularly in remote field contexts and within CRM settings. The overall tenor of the data suggests that female archaeologists are acutely aware of the potential for inappropriate or violent situations to be perpetrated against them and, in some cases, expressed surprise that no such situations had yet arisen in fieldwork contexts. Whereas some participants suggested that harassment in archaeology is generationally based and therefore is not experienced as readily by early career females, this did not seem to be the case given the diversity of age ranges in the responses. This section will more closely examine the most commonly expressed circumstances where study participants saw these

obstacles arise in fieldwork settings, including feeling unsafe at their work or research site and describing how inappropriate behaviours arose in the workplace.

In both research and CRM contexts, instances of sexual assault and the threat of sexual assault and unwanted behaviours were commonplace. A few participants pointed toward their work with Indigenous communities as the main area where they experienced sexual harassment; however, it was just as likely for participants to describe situations of sexual harassment that were committed against them by colleagues. In one example, *Eloise*, described the issues she dealt with at her field site and how she had to take extra precautions to safeguard herself:

So there are a lot of people messaging me and stuff when they're drunk and just not feeling safe. So I didn't ever go anywhere without bear spray. It was kind of funny last time I was in the field I was staying in this apartment and I kept the bear spray by my bed every night and then my supervisor's crew came into town one male guy on the crew went to sleep in the bed that night because they'd been sleeping in tents so I gave him the bed and he saw the bear spray and he's like, "what's this for?" He was trying to make jokes asking if it was for the bears that break into the apartment. Like everyone else on the crew was female and knew why it was there but it didn't even cross his mind that this isn't a safe place to be.

From this point, *Eloise* discussed how she felt that women experienced different obstacles when doing field-based research, and as evidenced by the attitude of her colleague, how men do not have to be as aware of issues that relate to sexual harassment or assault. She explained that although her department did offer safety training before leaving for fieldwork, she felt it was inadequate for the reality of what field researchers might encounter when dealing with unsafe work conditions. In this case, the safety training she was given focused more on cultural differences related to the way people (in particular, women) dress rather than addressing how to deal with instances of sexual assault or providing resources to educate researchers on staying safe at their research sites. It should be stated here that *Eloise* was the only participant who discussed any instances where

training to deal with remote field contexts and safety were offered *before* they conducted their fieldwork for jobs or research projects.

The inappropriate behaviours (i.e., sexual harassment, unwanted attention, and bullying) that female archaeologists experienced were sometimes thought to be the result of socializing in both research and CRM contexts where fieldworkers are required to spend significant periods of time away from home until the completion of the project. It was suggested by a few participants that this environment produced unsafe situations that were typically amplified by substance abuse, particularly when there was an absence of any sort of workplace policies or when the behaviour was committed by the field lead. As one survey respondent stated, “remote field situations are often associated with heavy drinking. When this happens there is always the tendency for someone’s dick to come out” (R257 [*Female 46-50*]).

These situations produced reportable offences, however, when asked how complaints were handled or if there were any sort of reporting mechanisms in place, respondents stated that they felt they had no avenues for recourse because the complaint would be against their superior or they did not believe it was worth pursuing any action. While the reasons for the latter varied, participants felt that it was better in some cases to try to handle the situation themselves or to “brush it off” or “drop it”. A few participants also described feeling that filing a complaint would “be too confrontational”, “stir the pot”, be subverted under the guise of “just joking” by the offender or those in management positions, and were reluctant because they were aware of what happened to women who “caused trouble”.

Respondents reported the emergence of other sexist attitudes and behaviours when workplace conduct was not monitored or controlled by supervisors. This included feeling alienated by inappropriate workplace conversations, ‘jokes’, and commentary lead by male coworkers. The following story told by *Megan (31-35) [Retrained]*, demonstrates such a situation:

I was on a site with maybe about 30 people minimum. It was a huge project. Two sites running at the same time for a (*project*) and about five to seven of them were women. And I was having men just turn around next to me and be talking with their buddies about how they closed the deal last night. It was like it was a full-on construction site. And I mean, I worked construction monitoring and it was not that bad. You know, it was ridiculous and probably the best part was when, I think they had a two-hour conversation about different things that they'd done with women and then the director was getting in on it. The other director was getting in on the talk as well, not putting an end to any of it...

When *Megan* tried to engage other female crew members, she found them closed off to communication: “I just wanted to change the tune a little bit and it was almost as though it was every woman for themselves.” Among other participants who described similar situations to *Megan*, the sentiment existed that female archaeologists either actively try to ‘asexualize’ themselves in field contexts to avoid unwanted attentions or to conceal the parts that might be considered too feminine in order to “fit in” with heavily male crews and the topics that were discussed during a workday. A few participants also described conversations with male superiors in which they were told that as women they should not exhibit any playful behaviour in the field, as their male coworkers would not take them seriously.

Some female respondents felt their alienation emerged as a result of a lack of consideration toward female-specific needs, causing their exclusion from fieldwork opportunities. In crews that were largely male-dominated, *Bridget (30-35) [Graduate Student]* expressed experiencing a general lack of empathy toward these needs; “there are

times when it is not possible for a woman to take a bathroom break as easily as men can – sometimes there is no option at all”. With limited or no options, this lack of accommodation or an unwillingness to accommodate both men and women in the field was implicated as a mechanism that works to restrict opportunities for women. In one case, a survey participant described a project where an all-male crew was chosen because of “inadequate” facilities for both men and women; the participant, however, felt there must have been a way for everyone to share.

As with the section on experienced gendered divisions of labour, there is a sense that women, in particular, are needing to “learn the rules of the game” to gain access to the discipline in varying ways. This is seen in a mixture of abovementioned behaviors that are designed to discriminate against, silence, and/or exclude. This is particularly true when we consider how women both acknowledged that they knew what happened to women who “caused trouble” and felt the need to “asexualize” themselves in order to fit in with their male coworkers. In considering the above situations, one can wonder to what degree this affects the retention of women in the discipline and additionally, how this may contribute to an individual’s decision to retrain completely or pursue other work avenues in archaeology. What’s more, how does an apparent resistance toward providing adequate facilities or accommodations for women show a resistance toward changing demographics in the discipline?

Demographics and Dynamics

Mary (26-30) [Consultant] Now you see these pockets of forward thinking, but I think it's just too ingrained, the attitudes toward the environment and First Nations rights. It's just not okay what's going on there.

This final section addresses themes regarding general demographics in the discipline and will discuss the competing perceptions on how the composition of archaeologists either remains the same or how it is changing. This includes the perception that archaeology continues to be male-dominated, feelings of discrimination based on their gender or racial or ethnic identities, and the way some participants described navigating their way through a predominantly White discipline. As we will recall, 90% (N=280) of survey respondents identified as white (pg.155). Within this, this section will focus on how participants believe their gender or racial-ethnic identities have either advantaged them, or likewise, disadvantaged them in their training and employment.

(Dis)advantage and the 'Old Boys Club'

Within the topics already discussed, one theme that emerged regarded the overall composition of archaeology; that is, it centered on the idea that archaeology, as a discipline remains largely the same and generally dominated by men. While considering this situation caused some self-reflection among participants in regard to the advantages this dynamic may have produced for them, it was more often the case that respondents felt that because the discipline remains largely homogenous in terms of gender, race, class, and others, that this has caused identity-based discriminations and negative influences on their tenure in archaeology.

In light of this, the term “old boys’ club” was often used to describe the current state of archaeology and the male-dominated nature of its demographics. Interestingly,

not only was this term used as a descriptor for archaeology as a whole but also as a way to frame one's own place within it. While it was more common for female participants to express their feelings toward a gender imbalance in the discipline, some male respondents also viewed it this way (in some cases, using the term "old boys' club" themselves) and revealed how this has likely advantaged them. The comments articulate the opinion that if they had been women they would not have readily been able to pursue their interests or would not have been as successful in their careers:

R184 [Male 46-50] It is still easier for men in a discipline that is still majority men, but the demographic is changing.

R213 [Male 31-35] It certainly feels like there's an entrenched old boys' club in this field. I think it's something that's changing, but I've found the treatment of some female coworkers by older male supervisors to be abhorrent.

R169 [Male 31-35] I don't think a woman would have been as readily offered the opportunities that I've been. My clients are almost exclusively men, and I suspect that a woman would have a harder time working in this market as the principal of a firm. I have no specific evidence of this though.

R152 [Male 51-55] My early work with tribes would not have been possible if I was a woman.

What these responses suggest is that despite an acknowledgement toward shifting demographics, they admit that a combination of the privileges afforded to them as men and continued sexism in the discipline significantly and favourably impacted their professional lives. As a result, the idea that the discipline is "changing" was not equally felt among the majority of women who articulated concern that demographic shifts in archaeology have largely stagnated. Some interviewees identified the shift toward more women entering the field but expressed concern that they were not seeing this effect trickle up to higher positions. Thus, they felt that this did not create a visible shift in employment demographics. As *Alex (26-30) [Consultant]* stated in her interview, "I still

think this career (especially with its colonial roots) is mostly fairly closed. I know it's changing, but it seems to be very slow".

While the overall tone in the commentary conveyed that the whole discipline remains male-dominated, sometimes this was linked to a particular specialty, to CRM companies, or the perpetuation of certain gender-based restrictions in public spaces. The same recollection of how the latter behaviour manifested in their department came up among multiple study participants:

If you can believe it, even a few years ago the department had a 'scotch club,' whereby 'members' (male faculty, grad students, and undergrads) would get together once a month and taste different scotches. After a while I told my supervisor that he should consider how this looked, and if they continued, they should rename it the 'old boys' scotch club.' (R114 [*Female 46-50*])

Although a few participants suggested that the mentality of a 'boys' club' was mainly shared by the older generation of male archaeologists, exclusionary behaviours as described above are likely setting a bad precedent for how interactions between students and colleagues should be occurring. Since early career male archaeologists witness these behaviours, this creates a problematic situation where "the example is set in front of them" (R190 [*Female 31-35*]) and that "the chilly climate is not warming as the old guys leave" (R42 [*Female 56-60*]). This pattern poses a number of questions for those engaged in the discipline. While Cobb and Croucher (2016:953) consider how "our disciplinary culture and practices" might resist the performance of non-normative gender identities, one can ask if upholding this culture and its practices (in this instance, the old boys' club) similarly works to resist diversity beyond gender and across other axes of identity, for example, race, ethnicity, age, and (dis)ability.

As part of the interviewing process, I asked participants to describe if and how they ever used their gender to advantage themselves in securing opportunities. When

considering the discipline as male-dominated, the responses to this question are particularly illustrative for understanding how female archaeologists feel their gender has impacted them in archaeology. When posed this question, over half of interviewees were not sure how using their gender would advantage them at all, but rather, thought it probably *disadvantaged* them in some way. Additionally, some participants had difficulty in conceptualizing this question outside the equivalence of gender and sexuality. One interviewee, *Stella* (31-35) [*Museum*], described how she used her personality to cultivate the perception of being carefree and how this may have helped her gain opportunities:

In our field it's an old boys' club sometimes and if you're this young, happy, bubbly girl and if you make yourself kind of that happy, fun person, they might consider taking you up on another dig. So, yeah, and it's even not just me knowing that. I've had someone say, "oh that's the only reason we bring her up" and it's half joking but at the same time you think it's a negative truth.

Despite this, *Stella*, knows that her acceptance as part of this community comes at the price of a neglectful attitude toward her knowledge or expertise. As the interviewing progressed, she described how many of the “old boys” would comment on how “lucky” she was to be given these opportunities and how this affected her confidence in applying for future positions. However, even in acknowledging this reality she felt strongly that she should be treated as a qualified individual: “It's not luck...there's still a whack of people out there that don't recognize that maybe she got the job because she's really well-suited for the work and she's really good at what she does.”

Racial-Ethnic Discrimination and the White Knapsack

Aside from gender identity, participants elucidated how their racial or ethnic identities have influenced their experiences and the ways this had either produced advantages or disadvantages for them in archaeology. Considering the racial-ethnic

homogeneity of survey respondents as discussed above, the experiences of White individuals outweighed other voices; however, I intend to highlight the ways racial-ethnic discrimination and coping was described among other identities.

Overt behaviours such as comments that conveyed to participants a lack of ‘acceptance’ in various archaeological education and employment contexts were one of the ways respondents felt they were “othered”. This ranged from being told (by White colleagues) of the many obstacles participants faced based on their gender and/or racial-ethnic identities or facing discriminatory attitudes during training. As was already discussed above in the context of education, a lack of consideration toward how the history of Indigenous cultures are communicated to current Indigenous students can be particularly harmful for how they view their place in archaeology when they consider it a discriminatory discipline. One participant shared this story:

It's even worse for Indigenous women because they are considered part of the "dead" culture, the other to the western (predominantly white) researchers. Even during one of my field experiences, my instructor said to visiting tourists "and a little Eskimo guy would be over here chipping his tools." As an (*Indigenous identity*) and an Indigenous person this is...disgusting. Even if it was said in 'jest' or to 'humour the white tourists' it was not appropriate and should never be. I guess if Indigenous cultures are just the artifacts you find in the ground, it's hard to imagine one of your students as an Indigenous person - because they don't do the things you've been taught, what you've been shown. My training has shown me that because of perceptions in the classroom, our perception of the work we do is done through a colonial, racist, western lens. (R265 [*Female 19-25*]).

Above all, this demonstrates how the transference of knowledge through a colonial, western lens contributes to continued othering along lines of race/ethnicity and gender from the classroom to field-based contexts; while this reveals how harmful conceptualizations of Indigenous women are disseminated to students, it also shows how they are perpetuated in educating the public.

Susan (46-50) [Public Sector], felt her cultural or ethnic background has had a considerable influence on her career trajectory and described always feeling as though she was a “foreigner”:

I had to deal with a certain level of bigotry that is always there and really hard to always have a smile on my face knowing that the person I'm talking to thinks otherwise of me. It's just so hard... as to my cultural/racial identity, I suspect it has hugely influenced things, but I have no proof of that. Except I have had people say really nasty things to my face because of my background and they are people in my profession in (*province*)...I don't know how much it's influenced it. I would never know. Can't measure that at all because there's always the possibility that I'm imagining it but then again there are those clear memories of having terrible things said to me because of my background.

When understanding *Susan*'s narrative, it is clear she has difficulty with an inability to quantify her observed experiences with discriminatory behaviours and how they could have affected her. Despite having memories of these experiences, she feels as though this could be an imagined rather than a tangible effect.

In some cases, participants tried to avoid situations where they felt they would be discriminated against by describing how they could “fit in” or “pass” in archaeology. This was either done through actively concealing their identity (usually as Indigenous archaeologists) or using the fact that they appeared White to access the privileges that come with whiteness. Invoking Peggy Macintosh (1988), one participant suggested that she herself wears the “white knapsack” that includes all the privileges and tools needed to navigate in a White world. She states: “other than having a slightly odd first name, appearing Caucasian has undoubtedly provided me with plenty of institutionalized (unearned) advantages” (R130 [*Female 26-30*]). By wearing the “white knapsack”, this participant could theoretically avoid some of the experiences already revealed by Indigenous participants, including tokenism in classroom and work contexts, and the closed-spaces that are created through the decentering of Indigenous knowledge.

Interestingly, while some respondents acknowledged the lack of diversity in the discipline, the problems this poses in Canadian archaeology, and how being White has likely advantaged them in their education or career trajectories in archaeology, a more common sentiment existed that being White has caused the exact opposite effect. This included feeling that being White has produced disadvantages in their careers and that there exists an “anti-white” sentiment and “reverse racism” in current archaeological hiring practices. Likewise, some participants thought that equitable hiring is an exaggerated effort rather than a balancing out of the scales. The former was particularly aimed toward women and those of Indigenous descent: however, in some cases, female respondents also expressed either their direct experience with disadvantage based on race and ethnicity or their perceptions of how this could be operating:

R45 [*Female 26-30*] In academia I feel as though there is now some overcompensation for the glass ceiling in the past. That is, departments are now being told that they must hire female applicants over male applicants so that there is an appropriate gender ratio within the department. While I understand this, I feel as though more qualified applicants may be overlooked due to a demand for female applicants (although this may not actually happen it is a possibility). Personally, I feel that professional advancement should be based on experience rather than gender, ethnicity and so forth.

R27 [*Male 46-50*] There is an anti-white bias in completing some work such as Traditional Use studies. Reverse racism is a problem in this type of work.

R 264 [*Male 36-40*] Being a male, or a "white" male, I feel has hindered my progress because there is such a push to get women into the discipline. My career has seen women in charge of the work that I do as well as those working beside me. I have often felt that despite my expertise and experience, sometimes women are chosen to complete special tasks to get them more interested in the discipline. This makes it harder to progress and achieve goals.

R145 [*Male 56-60*] It has been my experience that ethnicity has regularly factored into hiring practices, compensation and academic opportunities. I have regularly seen cases of preference in hiring persons of native descent, hiring unqualified natives when qualified non-natives are available, and paying natives higher wages for identical work as non-natives. This applies to my experience both in the government and the private sector. As an example, last year I was hired as a consultant that required archaeological training and experience. Our crew was obliged to hire native employees regardless of experience (none), and who were guaranteed two hours a day more compensation of hourly wage

than non-natives, despite working the same hours. As an anthropologist I feel that I am expected to be more sympathetic to reverse discrimination, but it is what it is.

R324 [*Female 46-50*]: Several positions for which I am well qualified went to individuals with less appropriate skills because they are First Nations.

What seems central to these comments is the idea that in the role of hiring and seeking to fulfill various positions, employers are not simultaneously seeking the most qualified individual. Rather, the aim toward diversity is considered mutually exclusive from experience; the individuals who are hired to such positions are successful because they are minorities, not because they have the appropriate credentials. These comments demonstrate the interplay between identity politics and institutional oppressions in archaeology but also illustrate how such oppressions spread individually, and systematically influence the way we shape and are shaped by our social realities (Rice et al. 2019:7).

Summary

This chapter further contextualized the results presented in the last chapter through the dissemination of open-ended survey responses and interviewee narratives. A thematic analysis of these data revealed frequent situations where women reported a variety of gender and racial-ethnic discriminatory attitudes and practices. Many of these experiences appeared to affect an individual's 'acceptance' and in turn, their career and/or educational trajectory in the discipline. Interestingly, it was noted that these experiences do not appear to be bounded by age as females in the younger age ranges are reporting similar experiences to their predecessors.

In regard to undergraduate and graduate education, there were a diversity of experiences with training and satisfaction. Through the qualitative responses regarding

how archaeology is taught in the classroom, it is clear that biases emerge both in the content that is taught and how students are treated in terms of mentorship and supervision. These issues do not stand alone and instead appear to be linked with a certain level of conservatism that is intertwined with the history of archaeology on the whole and possibly larger socio-political structures. This produces a level of exclusion and neglect that is most heavily felt by White female and Indigenous female students, particularly toward diverse approaches and other ways of knowing. As a result, the overall messaging participants received were related to a general lack of inclusiveness in the discipline.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

“A dissertation on women in archaeology? That’ll be short.”
-R38, male, 56-60

Introduction

In order to explore the demographic composition of the archaeological workplace in Canada, and to investigate the current working conditions among practitioners, I executed a mixed-methods research design that involved gathering longitudinal data, and administering a survey and interviews. By collecting data from provincial archaeological permitting agencies, Statistics Canada, and SSHRC, I presented a long-term, gendered analysis of education and employment in archaeology. The results revealed that more women are educated within the disciplines that contain archaeology at both the undergraduate and graduate levels; however, despite faculty numbers nearing parity in anthropology, men hold the majority of faculty positions at all levels in archaeology. In CRM, although there is a marked increase in female permit holders since the 1970s, male permit holders still far outweigh those held by their female counterparts on an overall and annual basis.

The quantitative analysis of survey data further contextualized these findings and aimed to facilitate an understanding of the dynamics at play in archaeological education and in the workplace. With consideration to intersectional analyses, I sought to use these data to further develop relational understandings beyond the male/female dichotomy to explore the social composition of archaeology through other identity-based variables and how these effect an individual’s position in the discipline. The qualitative, thematic analysis of the open-ended survey responses and interviews aided this objective; while attention was brought to emergent themes in the datasets, these findings were explored in

a supplementary way through lived experiences. That is to say, the experiences communicated by participants revealed the ways in which difference based on identity acts as a means to perpetuate oppressive behaviors/structures, such as racism, sexism, and/or ageism, and how these are particularly levelled against women and women of colour. This chapter further elucidates the quantitative and qualitative results, how these can be situated within the long-term data trends presented in Chapter 5, and finally how these results can be interpreted within the broader theoretical and historical contexts presented in this thesis.

Archaeological Work and the Intersectional Lens

One of the main objectives of this dissertation was to update and build upon past socio-political research conducted in the discipline and to develop a multifaceted understanding of where, how, and why the demographic composition of archaeological practitioners might (or might not) be changing in the archaeological workplace in Canada. Through this, I intended to examine gendered dynamics, but additionally wanted to expand on past, formative research which focused on binary gender relationships to infer how combinations of other identity-based variables (age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, race, etc.) affect an individual's position and overall trajectory in archaeology. To accomplish this, I relied on the application of feminist approaches, particularly the use of intersectionality, as a theoretical and methodological grounding for the construction of this research and the interpretation of results. The use of intersectionality and a mixed-methods approach worked to promote cognizance toward the overarching structural issues that impinge on the discipline and its practitioners. However, the connections that could

be made between identity-based variables, education, occupation, and organizational structure proved to be disparate.

Given the lack of what was previously known about the archaeological population in Canada, this study needed to rely on the merits of quantitative data collection without foregoing the objectives of feminist research; this included allowing space for individuals to express, in their own words and on their own terms, how they perceived their position in archaeology. As discussed in Chapter 2, the use of quantification has generally been dismissed in some social science fields as unfeasible for intersectional feminist research (Berger and Guidroz 2009:13). But, when combined with qualitative methods, the issues linked with its use, such as translating individual experiences into objective, predefined categories that work to silence a diversity of voices, can be avoided (Jayartne and Stewart 2008:44). The use of these methods under an intersectional framework relies on the understanding that individuals occupy and are influenced by a variety of structural frameworks, as they inhabit many different social positions simultaneously. That is to say, archaeology in itself is constantly impacted in significant ways by ever-present, shifting socio-political climates that contribute to how structures are created, maintained, and/or altered. Despite the difficulty in capturing an individual in all the spaces they might occupy, their identity is nonetheless affected, contributing to their status within the discipline and the ways they are able to respond to the conditions that impact them. As discussed above, the degrees to which and ways individuals are impacted will be contingent on varying, interdependent, and intersecting variables and how they work to create identities that can be marginalized or privileged in society. This juxtaposition is not meant to be an either/or dichotomy, but rather should be conceptualized as a scale

where differing degrees of (dis)advantage are experienced.

As demonstrated in the aggregated longitudinal data presented in Chapter 5, while the UCASS and PSIS were helpful for studying the status of women, only limited additional demographic data (gender, age, and citizenship) is collected (CAUT 2007). While the need to understand gender differences in education and employment were particularly typified in the 1980s and 1990s, it is apparent that continued use of this variable to understand demographics in universities and elsewhere proves problematic; it highlights a failed recognition of gender as a socially constructed category and the overall lack of engagement with feminist theory on a meaningful level (Williams 2012:10). In other words, gender, as a standalone variable is no longer the metric to determine where equality advancement conversations should be occurring.

Therefore, this focus on gender in the governmental data provides three critical conclusions to consider: 1) it shows a general lack of change at the governmental level in terms of data gathering; 2) it accentuates an inherent stagnation in policy initiatives that address identity-based politics beyond gender; and 3) it illustrates exactly how little has changed to explore education and employment-equity issues across other lines of difference in the last 20 years (Douglas 2012:55). It is worth reiterating here that no data gathered at the governmental or university level can be used to highlight how persons of color, Indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities, or sexual minorities fare as either faculty members or students.

Whereas the lack of adequate data on equity-seeking groups has implications for many aspects of Canadian society, when addressed in the context of the university

environment and largely post-secondary education, it is particularly detrimental to advancing discourse regarding diversity in the academy. As universities are very much implicated in contributing to or perpetuating certain conditions, such as social power and privilege, this means little for transformation on an institutional level (Douglas 2012:55). With the absence of statistics at either the national or university levels, addressing these issues through modes that advance meaningful change is difficult and, rather, operates in ways that muffle concerns from marginalized groups.

As such, the manner in which we can view how the archaeological workplace in Canada through an intersectional lens is variable. First, when we consider the collection of baseline demographic data, specifically from Statistics Canada and SSHRC, it is clear that gender remains the most visible and codified variable. While these data provide important long-term trend information, particularly on student enrolment, university faculty, and successful grant awardees, the systematic lack of other identity variables makes it difficult to not place gender at the forefront. Although this data proved invaluable for establishing a level of understanding regarding education and employment in certain areas of archaeology in Canada, it is difficult, if not impossible, to move beyond dichotomous gender relationships when drawing conclusions about long-term changes or trends. Despite this, I believe the mixed-methods approach used in this study, particularly the analysis of qualitative data, revealed areas where added consideration is needed, particularly in reported working conditions in the field, in accessing marginalized voices in the discipline, and what past and current demographics can reveal about archaeological education and employment.

A Shifting Landscape? Education, Practice, and the (Re)Production of Knowledge

To consider the impacts of demographic dynamics in the continued creation and maintenance of the discipline, it is important to draw attention again to the fact that only 10% (N=32/315) of survey respondents identified as a person of colour or those of Indigenous identities. Above all, I believe this reveals an important, and telling, fact regarding representation in archaeology in Canada; it is clear that the low proportion of minority respondents denotes a pervasive issue that is repeatedly captured in surveys like the one presented in this study: equity-seeking groups remain underrepresented in heavily field-based disciplines like archaeology (see Clancy et al. 2014; Everill 2009; Zeder 1997). Along these lines, whereas women are considered an equity-seeking group, and their underrepresentation in various spaces has meaningful impacts for the discipline, this conclusion should be conceptualized beyond this overarching identity since the experiences of all women will not be equal. This is evident in participant interviews and survey comments.

Despite the fact that more data are needed to know the extent to which and ways these produce differing outcomes, it is my assertion that uneven, interwoven experiences in the discipline are created and compounded by identity-based politics through the overall history of archaeology in Canada and that they contribute to the exclusionary ways it is taught and practiced. Since the university is the site where skills to formally enter the field are gained, this provides a platform to examine how the interconnectedness of underrepresentation among students and faculty pervades archaeological employment. While gender remains the main area where conclusions can be drawn, I will also situate the narrative accounts presented in the last chapter, particularly by Indigenous

respondents, in discussions surrounding the effects of their identity and the ways this impacted various archaeological experiences. I will then postulate how these dynamics could be affecting inclusion and the types of knowledge that is produced and disseminated.

Is Archaeology for Me? Representation in the Discipline

The demographic situation in university archaeology programs essentially mirrors what is known nationally about both faculty and students; females represent the majority of students in postsecondary and postgraduate education but are underrepresented in faculty ranks. As discussed in Chapter 5, in archaeology, anthropology, and classical and ancient studies, more females are entering and graduating at every level, however, completion rates in Doctoral degrees are close to equivalent in archaeology. For faculty, a figure closer to parity is reached in anthropology when overall ranks are considered, but females still represent only 36% of full professorships. In archaeology, while females have made significant gains since the 1970s and 1980s, they only comprise 34% of faculty at the associate rank and 14% at the full professor rank. The benefits of these data are that they establish how male/female dynamics in the discipline have changed over time, but information concerning how other, intersecting identities are represented, either as students or as faculty are tenuous. In this way, while the personal narratives presented in the last chapter highlighted a range of concerns regarding representation, in this section I draw specific attention to the experiences of Indigenous female students, particularly in the classroom, and discuss reported issues of mentorship among female students. I believe these data provide a unique opportunity to shed light on the impacts of archaeological

education for these groups and posit how a lack of diversity in universities could be impacting the overall success of underrepresented groups in the discipline in Canada.

The commonalities that existed among Indigenous female respondents in how they viewed the discipline and their place in it included becoming aware of perceived inaccuracies in teachings as they pertained to Indigenous people, the “downplay and often neglectful attitude toward Indigenous women” (R265; pg. 189), and the overall focus on archaeology as ‘hard’ science rather than on the cultural aspects of the discipline. Even though these issues likely manifest for Indigenous students in different ways, these are illustrative of larger problems in the portrayal and dissemination of archaeological knowledge. They also demonstrated the way that these issues compounded feelings of exclusion, particularly in a predominantly homogenous, white discipline.

The origins of archaeology in Canada are based in antiquarian, colonial roots whose primary research objectives were aimed at understanding the origins of Indigenous populations in the colonized Americas. Therefore, the role that archaeology played and continues to play in Canada’s colonial history and how this impacts the way the discipline is conceptualized by descendants is particularly significant to students from these communities; this is especially true when consideration is given to how these early archaeological inquiries influenced the intellectual groundings of much of the discipline. When combined with the historical, often negative and exploitative treatment of Indigenous sites, remains, and knowledge, and how these might be disseminated in the classroom, the effects can be argued to be acutely detrimental to the learning outcomes and security of Indigenous students. These effects would innately be augmented if the

curriculum or coursework perpetuates negative stereotypes or out-dated, uncorrected information.

This appears to be partly the case when the qualitative data are considered. Indigenous participants communicated that the way Indigenous cultures were discussed archaeologically seemed to reveal a depth of ignorance or racism in the interactions Indigenous students had with their professors and other, non-indigenous or racialized students. While I believe this is closely tied to the ways archaeology is taught, the root causes of this could be interrelated to the general attitudes toward indigenous peoples in Canadian society and also to the lack of Indigenous people within the academy overall (Jacob 2012:246). For Indigenous students, these observations and their overall experiences in the classroom produced a juxtaposition of educational challenges where on the one hand, students were told they had skewed perspectives of their own cultures as descendants in the classroom but, on the other, were expected to have an all-encompassing knowledge of every Indigenous group. In these instances, it is important to highlight that for Indigenous female students, how this produced marginalization was grounded both in their gender and their racial-ethnic identities.

This situation for descendants-as-students lead participants to view their treatment as tokenistic and a contributing factor to why some students and professionals reported the need to conceal their identity in archaeology. Not only does this allow participants to access all the privileges and tools needed to move through a white world, it also helps them navigate an education system and a discipline that does not appear to be aimed toward inclusiveness. Although it has been documented that Indigenous peoples working

in academia will try to maintain their Indigenous traditions as a coping mechanism, it has also been reported to lead to increased hostilities and burnout (Jacob 2012:243).

Therefore, it is possible that Indigenous students suppress their identity in order to “fit in” or “pass” as a way to protect themselves from the overt aggressions that highlight the struggles they might face based on their marginalization but also to shield themselves from the burden of needing to continually afford a culturally sensitive perspective.

Under the purview of this study, the lack of gender and racial-ethnic diversity within faculty ranks, particularly at the Full professorship level, can be illustrative of additional barriers to both faculty and students, since females comprised 51% (n=66) of doctoral graduates between 1992-2012. While this could relate to a lack of interest in pursuing an academic career or delayed retirements by men who currently hold these positions, it could also relate to factors that include the anticipated demands of an academic position and issues of work/life balance. It is well-documented that the majority of service work within universities falls disproportionately to women, particularly among women of color, rather than to their male counterparts (e.g., Guarino and Borden 2017; Medicine 2001; Misra et al. 2011). It has also been suggested that women are more responsible for providing mentorship to their students, and in turn, investing the emotional labour inherent in this role (e.g., Caplan 1993; El-Alayli et al. 2018). Though mentorship is an important strategy to help combat feelings of isolation among female students and to provide a support network for other underrepresented student groups across multiple disciplines (e.g., Gasser and Shaffer 2014; Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012; Lober Newsome 2008), this should not minimize the fact that this role unduly falls to

women and women of colour. Yet, this appears to produce a paradoxical situation whereby mentorship (and service roles) represent a significant, gendered division of labour that affects the productivity of female faculty but appears necessary for female students to navigate academic institutions.

Since some female graduate students felt that they were unsupported or unprepared for the realities of the job market in archaeology, this raises questions regarding the role of mentorship in the university, whose responsibility it is, and the ways this should be occurring. This point is further complicated if students feel that there is no one who can adequately provide them with this needed support. In either case, faculty demographics, representation, and levels of support in the discipline likely have significant influences on the rate of success among Indigenous female students and white female students, though to differing degrees. Considering what is known about the low representation of Indigenous or racialized faculty in Canada (see CAUT 2007, 2010; Douglas 2012), a visible lack of diversity among those who teach archaeology can promote the discipline as a closed space. Therefore, this combination of factors likely does not demonstrate a way forward for students from historically underrepresented groups as it is difficult to imagine success in a discipline where they do not see themselves reflected (Henry et al. 2017).

Taken together, the absence of diversity and the conditions this creates for Indigenous students, including the experiences of tokenism, issues with archaeological curricula, and ‘white-passing’, demonstrate some of the barriers that exist and play a role in preventing Indigenous students from successfully pursuing a career in archaeology. It

also exhibits a unique relationship between gender and racial-ethnic identities that elucidate the ways Indigenous female experiences differ from those of white females in universities, and specifically within archaeological education. This demonstrates that despite white females also reporting issues with gender-based discrimination in the content taught and issues of mentorship in their graduate degree programs that they linked to job market security, these impacts should not be considered parallel.

Fieldwork Experiences and Workplace Outcomes

The lack of diversity in the discipline at the university level is intrinsically translated to the composition of archaeology practitioners in the workplace. As might be expected, and what can be gleaned from the results of the self-completion survey presented in Chapter 6, the majority of professional archaeologists across various employment spheres are white. And, based on the longitudinal data gathered from permitting agencies, men comprise the majority of principal investigators/permit holders in CRM. While the number of female principal investigators has increased overall, the permits held by males notably outweighed these (from 2000-2014 male P.I's held 15,190 permits as compared to 6,136 held by female P.I's). That is to say, while more women appear to be entering the field, this does not seem to be similarly translated to higher-level positions in this, or other, employment sectors.

The potential barriers that might affect females on the job market and may provide a partial explanation for this result included gender and racial-ethnic based discrimination. As highlighted in the survey and interview data, this included gendered divisions of labour and sexual harassment, particularly in fieldwork contexts, and what

appears to be the unviability of CRM as a career; a factor that would have immense impact on recent graduates as this sector appears to employ the highest number of archaeologists in Canada today (Williamson 2018). While the data does not allow for a fuller discussion about the experiences of persons of color, including Indigenous persons, sexual minorities or persons with disabilities in fieldwork contexts, it can be argued that their absence in the discipline may be indicative of how these practices adversely affect these communities in particular and contribute to their exclusion (also see Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2015). Therefore, this section focuses mainly on the experiences of women in commercial fieldwork contexts and the reported obstacles that could be preventing longevity in the archaeological workplace and in turn, advancement.

While the survey garnered a majority response from females (N=191/315, 61%), it was illuminating that the highest proportion of these respondents were situated in the youngest age ranges, with the largest percentage of male respondents situated in the eldest age ranges. Though this situation could signal shifting dynamics in the discipline, as has been suggested by Zorzin (2010b) and Moser (2007), it might also be indicative of how conditions in the workplace continually favour the male experience in CRM. In data from the 2008 population of Québécois archaeologists, Zorzin (2010b:132) reported a similar result where women dominate the profession between the ages 20-34, their workforce radically diminishing after 35, and the largest percentage of active male archaeologists occurring between the ages 45-60. Since the data presented in this dissertation was the result of participation throughout Canada, it appears that this pattern, a noticeable gender imbalance in archaeologists over age 40, is not unique to the data provided by Zorzin (2010b) but rather represents an endemic situation in the rest of the field in Canada.

Interestingly, this phenomenon has been equally documented in other contexts (see Aitchinson and Rocks-Macqueen 2013; Ulm et al. 2013; Zeder 1997).

Aside from the explanation that this gender imbalance is largely attributed to the entry of men into the archaeological marketplace in the early 1970s, through interview data Zorzin (2010b: 134) explains this absence of women after age 35 through two main causes: 1) childbearing, and 2) sexist/rough work environments, especially in commercial archaeology. While I do not agree or give equal weight to the explanation that generational disparities in hiring during the education/CRM boom fully rationalizes the current disproportionate demographics in the private sector, I do agree that the decline in women after age 35 is potentially more strongly linked to negative working conditions and the persistent idea that productivity in archaeological fieldwork equates to speed and strength. Concerning childbearing, although more men than women responded in the affirmative to having children, it is difficult to determine if this is due to a majority of younger women responding to the survey, personal decisions to not have children, the result of an incompatibility between childbearing and fieldwork environments, issues related to maternity leave and related benefits, or a combination of these factors.

As discussed by Clancy et al. (2014:7), how the experiences of harassment and assault impact an individual both professionally and personally cannot be understated. Overall, the harmful effects of a hostile work environment, particularly in the field, can have significant influences on career trajectory and job satisfaction. This is true both for the person that has direct experience with these effects but also for bystanders. Though the impacts on victims should be clear, observing these behaviours has the potential to influence witnesses in distressing ways, causing trepidation toward their futures in

archaeology, and for fear of how they might also be treated in similar contexts (Clancy et al. 2014). Additionally, these situations can act as signals to trainees and colleagues of what does and does not constitute appropriate behaviours, even if they are just observed and not experienced. It was illuminating that respondents did not believe the chilly climate was not warming “as the old guys leave” (R42; pg. 210). Conceptualizing this example beyond men, it suggests that by having the examples set before them, a cyclical effect is produced whereby individuals perpetuate the behaviours of their mentors or supervisors.

Data from the survey and interviews revealed that women were more likely to experience sexist attitudes and behaviours in both office environments and in the field, with a higher percentage of women respondents experiencing these behaviours in fieldwork contexts rather than outside of them. It is important to note here that despite the fact that some of these behaviours were attributed to local populations at fieldwork sites, it was a compelling result that respondents were just as likely to report these behaviours from their colleagues. Respondents recounted a range of behaviours from sexual harassment to alienation based on gendered divisions of labour, the focus on male versus female physicality, and a lack of consideration toward female specific needs in the field (i.e., proper restroom facilities). While these experiences and how they manifested to respondents varied, it was clear that sexist attitudes, behaviours, and workplace harassment do not seem to be generationally based; these behaviours were similarly experienced by older generations as they were by early career women.

This deserves further attention when we consider that, when reported, only 33% of individuals felt that their cases of sexual harassment or inappropriate behaviours were

correctly handled. Respondents felt it was better to not report these offences since there was: 1) either no clear avenue for recourse because the complaint was against a supervisor, or 2) they did not believe action was worth pursuing. As can be gleaned from this and has been identified in other studies, it appears, that on some level, archaeology (and largely, anthropology) as a discipline is failing to engage with the discussion surrounding harassment/inappropriate field behaviours and to provide safe field conditions that include clearly established codes of conduct (see Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2015; Nelson et al. 2017). Although these issues of sexual harassment and inappropriate behaviours were experienced in both commercial and academic contexts, it does not negate the fact that there were more instances of these behaviours reported in commercial archaeology rather than outside of it.

The potential for these situations to arise combined with other reported issues that related to low wage, the assumed unethical nature of CRM work, unstable working conditions, and a suggested unavailability of full-time positions at the upper-levels, revealed the myriad of reasons why respondents believed CRM did not present itself as a realistic career option. This is particularly problematic since data gathered from permitting agencies showed that the rate of CRM work has increased substantially from the 1970s to the present day, with the majority of permits issued for development-based investigations. Therefore, it is likely that the majority of archaeologists today will find themselves employed, at one time or another, in this sector irrespective of whether they choose to pursue postgraduate studies. When this understanding is combined with the knowledge that a greater number of women are entering the field, these situations might

explain, in part, what appears to be a higher attrition rate for women as compared to men in early career stages.

What (and Who) is Archaeology Good for?

Since gendered dynamics in archaeology are historically not well understood in a Canadian context, the above discussion regarding the factors that could be influencing rates of success in archaeological education and employment trajectories among females and Indigenous females provides a vital platform to more deeply interrogate what changes have occurred and if they have any effect on inclusion in disciplinary structure. Considering that archaeology in Canada seems to provide another example of how diverse groups are underrepresented in field-based sciences, I argue that the longitudinal data presented in this dissertation demonstrates that change is slow to occur. While I believe this is strongly tied to the socio-political climates in which archaeology is situated, I also argue that awareness to these issues and the prevalent, associated theoretical shifts in the discipline have not permeated practice to the extent to which it would be reflected in the demographic composition of its practitioners. This realization begs questions regarding what, if anything has actually changed, and whether or not knowledge production and dissemination have been impacted in meaningful ways when the individuals who comprise the majority of the discipline have not. Although the lack of diversity in archaeology should be conceptualized as a structural problem at the macro-level, these issues are clearly reflected and distilled in how and who teaches archaeology, in the theoretical groundings of the discipline and in the production of knowledge, and in archaeological practices that traditionally have been conceptualized as male-dominated spaces.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the emergence of socio-political research in the field investigated and highlighted the ways the discipline is affected by external influences and how archaeology is not an objective exercise. Through this lens, influential works considering the ethnocentric, androcentric, and colonial nature of the discipline and critiqued how these conditions impinge upon archaeological interpretation, practice, and knowledge production. The emergence of much of this literature was developed during key internal and external shifts to the practice of archaeology in North America, both with the rise of CRM during the 1970s and the adoption of feminist and gender inspired research during the 1980s when employment equity movements were at their height. The developments of these theoretical traditions were aimed at both the archaeological record but also as a way to investigate interactions between practitioners in the present day. As a result, these works identified a range of issues that included but are not limited to the role of gender in publishing, gendered divisions of labour in fieldwork and lab-based processes, and inequities in funding patterns. Within Canada, this research was less prevalent; however, scholars identified similar trends in witnessed gender imbalances in fieldwork, training and placement in graduate programs, and publishing inequities in the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*.

Based on the longitudinal data provided in this dissertation, it is clear that since attention to these issues was brought to the fore, women have made gains as students, in the professoriate, and within the private sector. In fact, an analysis of departmental webpages for current faculty at three archaeology departments¹⁸ revealed that this upward

¹⁸ Department webpages were accessed on 31 Jan 2019 and included Memorial University (<https://www.mun.ca/archaeology/people/index.php>), Simon Fraser University (<http://www.sfu.ca/archaeology/faculty.html>), and the University of Calgary (<https://antharky.ucalgary.ca/contact-us>).

trend continues with female faculty comprising 38% of overall faculty (Figure 8.1); data from the last year that the UCASS was conducted (2010-2011) revealed that women only comprised 28% of overall faculty (Figure 5.9, pg. 126). Notwithstanding these advancements, men continue to occupy the majority of senior positions in all spaces, and, as was described above, data collected through the survey revealed a discipline that remains predominantly white. This conclusion is not unique to the archaeological workplace in Canada. In fact, these statistics coincide with what is known about archaeology demographics in other contexts; the discipline remains disproportionately white and male. As Cobb and Croucher (2016:952) have identified, this appears to be a ubiquitous trend, archaeology as a profession in European and North American countries is white, non-disabled, and heavily weighted toward male archaeologists after ages 30-40.

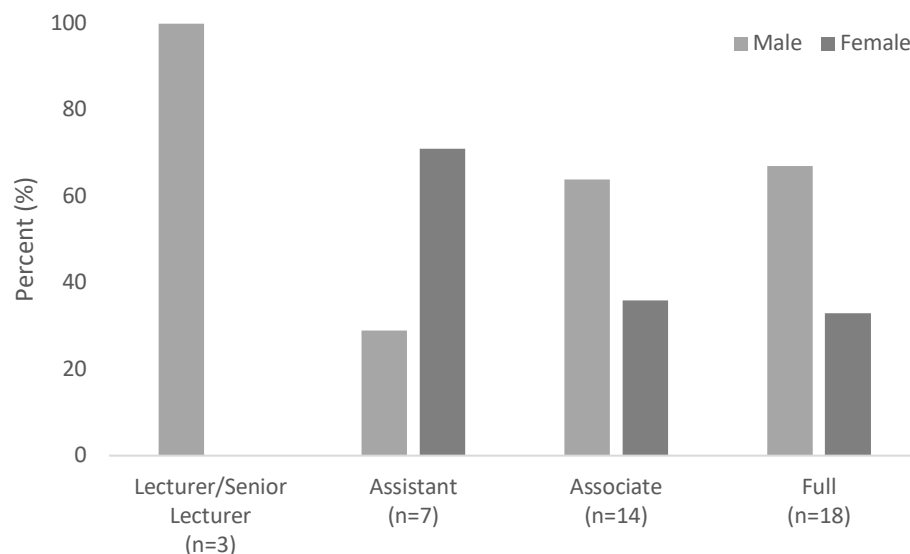


Figure 8.1 Distribution of archaeology faculty by rank and gender from department webpages for Memorial University, Simon Fraser University, and the University of Calgary (Accessed 31 Jan 2019). (*note: SFU was the only department to list lecturers).

With the presentation of the quantitative and qualitative data in mind, despite more women entering the field overall, the problems identified by archaeologists during the surge of socio-political research have not been alleviated. In fact, it is troubling to note similarities between issues reported in the literature in the 1980s, like gendered divisions of labour, and the focus on male versus female physicality in fieldwork, to the issues that were reported by respondents in this study, thirty years later. In this vein, perhaps one of the most revealing results in the data regarding gender-based discriminations was that archaeological fieldwork persists as one of the most visible sites where normative gender roles in the discipline are both established and reinforced (Moser 2007).

Equally, university education seems to produce its own unique challenges for how underrepresented groups view the discipline and their place within it. This is an important factor especially when we consider this space as one of the most significant levels that diversity can be enacted. With the understanding that universities, and largely the academy, are firmly entrenched and affected by overarching socio-political structures, students reported feeling that their professors acted as if they were protected by the structural inequalities that are at play in society. This attitude will not only inform how archaeological knowledge is disseminated in the classroom, but I argue that the perceived remoteness from societal issues that students observed impact how accessible archaeology is to certain communities, ultimately affecting who becomes a practitioner.

While academia will not be the final goal for all those that enrol in archaeology programs, this situation still impacts how students perceive authority and, in turn, who is and is not permitted to contribute to knowledge production in the discipline. In this way,

the lack of diversity that starts within universities has significant impacts to whose knowledge is reproduced and perpetuated. Moreover, in a discipline that is highly homogenous in terms of racial-ethnic composition and that is still dominated by men at the faculty level is suggested to produce spaces that appear to restrict the introduction of other ways of knowing and the opportunity to work with scholarship produced by women or persons of color. By focusing on and repeating the ‘fundamental’ methods and theories that highlight the achievements of men in the discipline, as was the experience of some respondents, without drawing attention to the contributions of marginalized members of the discipline or the development of alternative theories, indicates how these larger issues of systematic exclusion at the university level (and above) filter down to the disciplinary level. For archaeology, the persistent, traditional forms of knowledge production and dissemination only work to further colonize these intellectual spaces rather than foster a climate that demonstrates the ways the creation and communication of academic knowledge can change.

I believe this resistance toward change and inclusivity was most apparent in how Indigenous students communicated their disappointments with archaeology in the classroom and in the comments and negative attitudes that dealt with fair hiring practices presented in Chapter 7. It is distressing that although some respondents acknowledged the problems a lack of diversity poses for Canadian archaeology, the more common sentiment existed: white practitioners are disadvantaged when efforts are made to support diversity and inclusion. What seemed central to these narratives was the claim that an aim toward diversity did not also equal seeking the most qualified candidate. Instead, this was

described as causing the opposite effect whereby diversity worked in ways that displace experience and therefore displaced more qualified applicants. Although these complaints were aimed at both women and those of Indigenous descent, it is vital to recognize that white women also expressed either their direct experiences with disadvantage or how hiring practices that sought a more equitable workplace could be operating to cause disadvantage toward them.

To this end, a question looms large here: since they were first realized, to what extent has attention toward these issues or consideration toward more diverse theoretical traditions benefitted archaeology and those that practice it? Meskell (2002:280) argues that the appearance of alternative archaeologies in the past 20 years, “have revitalized the field, made it socially relevant and cross-disciplinary, and given some much-needed heart and soul to an archaeology mired in systems, process, and disembodied external constraints.” While I agree with these sentiments, I would argue that continued evaluation regarding how feminist, indigenous, and queer archaeologies have influenced the discipline and the way these and other frameworks can further benefit the practice of archaeology are needed. This is to say that reflection is necessary in interdisciplinary exchange in order to grow to meet the needs of archaeological study and understand how shifting structures and socio-political interests impinge on and influence who is able to access various education and employment fields.

Yet, working toward this goal might highlight a larger problem: how do scholars merge their own education and world-views with emerging theoretical approaches? If the landscape of this discipline is, in fact, changing, are there mechanisms that can help scholars engage with that change? If archaeologists are unable to move away from the

identity-based inequities that still exist within our own history, how do we effectively describe ‘the past’ without reflecting our own modern ontology? I believe that what can be described as inertia to shifting conversations in the present invariably affects archaeology’s interpretations of the past and the discipline’s ability to react to the needs of a more diverse workforce. Therefore, we should not labour under the pretence that the emergence of any sort of theoretical tradition in archaeology has “fixed” all its problems. Instead, we should keep conceptualizing the meanings that are produced in archaeological research as a reflection of relations of people in the past but arguably, more closely tied to relations constructed within the present. In this way, while white female archaeologists have made gains in the discipline, care and consideration is needed to not assume the role of “gatekeeper” in the continued move toward equity advancement in the discipline. Above all, as practitioners interact with one another in the archaeological workplace, the realization should exist that individuals with diverse sets of identity-based variables and abilities will experience the discipline in radically different ways. This continued understanding and attention toward the variety of barriers that present themselves for individuals will hopefully result in positive action that leads toward a more inclusive discipline rather than continued marginalization.

Future Directions and Recommendations

In order to sustain a conversation regarding these issues, it is vital to continue to document the demographics of archaeologists in Canada and the problems that confront them in both education and practice. By decentering the focus on normative gender assignments, and through an ongoing accounting of other sets of identity-based variables,

a fuller, intersectional conversation can occur regarding how identity influences archaeology and promotes the discipline as an (in)accessible space.

As a way forward, I suggest that future studies which address demographics in archaeology endeavor to use language in the research design and implementation which resists reinforcing the binary of male/female and focuses on gendered identities. Additionally, so-called ‘non-traditional’ sources of digital media (i.e., blogs, social media, podcasts, etc.) are extremely relevant to the issues discussed herein and could be relied on to enhance how this topic is understood. In this dissertation, these shortcomings are apparent and can be improved upon in future models. Moreover, data not collected in this study that would expand on these conversations could include documenting the experiences of first-generation students, an understanding of socio-economic backgrounds, salary, sexual orientation (see Claassen 2000), and the ranges of (dis)ability that might be present in the community (see Aitchinson et al. 2014; Cobb 2015). A more thorough understanding of these dynamics is sorely needed in the context of Canadian archaeology.

Regarding the higher attrition rates for women, and likely for racial-ethnic minorities in the discipline, questions that more effectively interrogate the causes for this would be beneficial for continued study of the demographic composition of archaeologists in all employment spheres. Additionally, increased study in this area would aid in understanding if women of color experience similar effects in archaeology as they do in other science fields; in all, they experience a higher rate of isolation and stigma based on their racial-ethnic identity and gender as opposed to white women and minority males (Alper 1993; Bowen 2012). This is especially important when consideration is

given to the issues reported by Indigenous female students; additional data would help increase attention to the causes for these experiences in the discipline. While this study aimed to document the working conditions among all archaeologists and to reveal gendered issues, to achieve these goals, it might be prudent to target underrepresented groups with more individualized surveys or data collection methods that address issues specific to those communities.

As the Canadian Archaeological Association acts as the primary, national organization for professionals, avocationalists, and students, I believe it would be especially powerful if this organization played a key role in tracking and further developing data regarding the composition of archaeologists in Canada. Since no demographic data is currently collected by this organization, I recommend that the CAA endeavour to begin to gather data on their members, by membership type, that includes, at least, gender, race, ethnicity, and age. Furthermore, since some provinces, such as British Columbia, Ontario, and New Brunswick, have associations for professional archaeologists separate from the CAA, it would also be highly beneficial for these organizations to begin collecting such data on their members, particularly considering that the majority of their members are situated within the consulting or CRM community. Since respondents identified issues with low-wages, particularly in CRM, I would also advise that these professional organizations, perhaps in conjunction with the CAA, gather salary data on their members. This data can be used to better understand what wages are like in Canadian archaeology, whether wage gaps exist, and prompt recommendations on the best ways to address these. I would also recommend that the CAA play a more active role in the professional development of archaeology students. This might include student-

focused networking events at the annual conference and/or varied learning opportunities/workshops that could concentrate on topics such as heritage legislation, preparing for a job in CRM, conference presenting or public speaking, and grant writing.

The data presented in this dissertation also support recent, and broader literature that demonstrates that workplace harassment in field-based sciences, like archaeology, is still prevalent (see Clancy et al. 2014; Meyers et al. 2015, 2018; Nelson et al. 2017). As outlined by Clancy et al. (2014:8) despite the fact that many workplaces have zero-tolerance policies, “these are rarely attached to reporting and enforcement mechanisms that create safe spaces for victims, particularly as the onus is on the target of abuse to prove that the behaviour is unwelcome and affects work”. Since the respondents in this study both discussed not reporting their experiences with harassment because they did not know what avenues were available to them and because they did not want to “cause trouble” demonstrates that improvements to policy development and guidelines are needed to support codes of conduct and reporting in the archaeological workplace (for examples see Archaeological Institute of America 2019; Southeastern Archaeological Conference 2018; The Register of Professional Archaeologists 2019). Within CRM firms and academia, this could take the form of more visible, apparent rules for appropriate workplace behaviour and clearly communicating to employees where they are able to access resources to report instances of harassment or assault. Also, as argued by Clancy et al. (2014:8), it is imperative that supervisors and principal investigators take responsibility for workplace culture and aim to foster environments that allow staff to work in safe spaces.

Finally, it is clear from some participant responses, particularly by those situated

in underrepresented groups either finishing graduate studies or early career archaeologists, that they desire mentorship. As a first step, I recommend that the CAA should consider conducting a survey specifically among graduate students to better understand how issues in postgraduate education might be affecting their success in the field. However, I also recommend the CAA consider working with their provincial partners and universities to develop an inclusive, mentorship network that aims to support diversity in archaeology. Ideally, this would require participation by members who are interested in becoming mentors and mentees. A mentorship network could address some of the issues identified through the narrative accounts such as academic success, preparing for the job market, promoting networking, and providing support with negotiating other workplace issues. Such networks have already been initiated in organizations such as the Southeastern Archaeological Conference (Southeastern Archaeological Mentoring Network (SAMN) <https://www.southeasternarchaeology.org/about/mentoring-network/>) and the Society for Historical Archaeology (<https://sha.org/blog/2015/08/mentoring/>). This network could also facilitate communication between faculty members, across university departments, and potentially into other archaeological organizations to foster resource exchange that promotes diversity in teaching materials and syllabi.

I do recognize that a continued effort to document the demographic composition of archaeologists in Canada, particularly by the CAA, would result in a sustained cost to the organization and would need to be considered within overall budgetary constraints. However, I believe that, with help through resources and support, though not necessarily monetarily, by other, small regional, provincial, and even national organizations, the

benefits will far outweigh the associated costs in the long-term.

Conclusions

The results presented in this dissertation represent an important step in continuing to understand the archaeological workplace in Canada and in drawing needed attention to the barriers that might be preventing inclusion in the discipline. While this study was unique in the Canadian context as it aimed to establish long-term data trends in archaeological education and practice, it also worked to enhance our understanding of these data and highlight current workplace issues through the application of a mixed-methods approach that surveyed and interviewed current practitioners. Since additional questions could be asked that more deeply interrogated the social composition of archaeologists in Canada, multivocal spaces were created to reveal other or lesser-understood spaces in which they occupy, particularly within the realm of CRM and among graduate students. Although this does not address gaps in the long-term data gathered, it does provide a mechanism to discuss how various individuals are represented in present-day archaeological practice from a more intersectional perspective.

What remains clear is that the need exists to further understand why some individuals are successful in archaeology education/work and others are not. When considering the individuals who responded to the survey portion of this study, women comprised the majority of respondents. Although this is not unusual for a survey of this kind (see Clancy et al. 2014; Wasson et al. 2008), it is important to remember that the conclusions do not solely lie in the fact that more female versus male respondents were collected. Rather, this reveals the issues with using one demographic trait as a catchall to describe the experiences of all who might occupy a specific group in the discipline. This

is particularly true when we consider the small number of Indigenous female participants who responded to this study and how their experiences differed from that of white female students. Therefore, I believe that continued efforts to examine the archaeological workplace in Canada through a mixed-methods approach as was applied in this study could prove fruitful. By approaching the question of demographic compositions and working conditions in the discipline through a feminist, intersectional lens this framework can work to further analyze the distinct experiences of individuals and avoid the associated problems with being subsumed by groups that have higher rates of representation.

Overall, these data are consistent with broader literature that was concentrated on the archaeological population in other contexts. Examining the demographics of the discipline in Canada revealed that while women are entering the field at increased rates, they are not retained in upper level positions and have not made the gains that might be expected. Similarly, it is clear that despite the adoption of theoretical frameworks that were aimed toward examining the socio-political underpinnings of the discipline and shedding light on how they affect practitioners and the research process, archaeology remains relatively homogenous. As a consequence, there exist key similarities between the dynamics present within students and university faculty and how this composition is reflected in the archaeological workplace. Although the baseline data has undoubtedly impacted the overall effectiveness of an intersectional analysis of the archaeological workplace, I believe it not only revealed why effective, long-term data collection is needed to understand changes in the discipline, it also laid bare the presence of systematic exclusionary behaviours that require further attention and documentation. This includes

understanding and examining how linkages between structural inequalities are reflected in universities and among those who practice archaeology, but also requires drawing special attention to the issues that are habitually tied to the history of archaeology, its present representations, and past social memory. While this can benefit wider conversations regarding demographics in the discipline of archaeology on the whole, in the long term it can prove immeasurable for effecting past interpretations and the ways in which future knowledge is produced and by whom. Through more dynamic and sustained analyses that draw awareness toward these issues and critically evaluate the implications of theory and method in the diverse spaces in which archaeology is practiced, the discipline can work towards a broader mission of equity advancement that aims to promote and maintain diversity among practitioners.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ONLINE SURVEY WITH INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent

Researcher: Catherine L. Jalbert, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's, NL A1C 2J9, (Ph:1-709-765-3155 / email: catherine.jalbert@mun.ca)

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled "Archaeology in Canada: Surveying the Discipline".

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study at any time. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, Catherine Jalbert, if you have any questions about the study or for more information not included here before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Project Description: As part of my Doctoral program, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Oscar Moro Abadía in the Department of Archaeology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The purpose of this research is to gather quantitative and qualitative data regarding the experiences of archaeologists (graduate students, academic and professional) working in Canada in order to gain a better understanding of the conditions of work for male and female practitioners in the discipline. In particular, my research interests will focus on whether gender roles, and in turn, equity issues exist for women in contemporary archaeological practice, aiming to highlight what they are, where they are most prevalent, and how and why they might arise. This research will be conducted from January 2014-September 2014 and the survey will be open from April 2014-June 2014. The key methods to be used for this study are survey and interviews.

The role of the participant: Participation in this research is purely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to fill out one (1) survey about your training, employment and overall career as an archaeologist in Canada. This survey will also ask you basic demographic questions and should take 30-45 minutes to complete, depending on how much information you choose to provide.

Benefits: While you will not experience any direct benefits from participation, information collected in this study may benefit others in the future by helping to reveal how changes in archaeological research and practice have impacted the archaeological community and affected conditions of work for women and men. This will generate a deeper understanding of how gender roles are enacted in the discipline of archaeology and whether equity issues still endure for women in this community.

Risks: There are no known or foreseeable risks associated with this study.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: All of your responses to this survey will remain anonymous and cannot be linked to you in any way. No identifying information about you will be collected at any point during the study, unless you choose to provide your email address so that the researcher may contact you regarding an interview. Your survey will be identified only with a random pseudonym in the data, analysis, and any publication to protect your confidentiality. Once you submit the completed survey, there will be no way to withdraw your responses from the study because the survey contains no identifying information.

(Continued on next page)

Informed Consent (Con't)

The on-line survey company, Survey Monkey, hosting this survey is located in the United States and as such is subject to U.S. laws. The US Patriot Act allows authorities access to the records of Internet service providers. Therefore, anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. If you choose to participate in this survey, you understand that your responses to the survey questions will be stored and may be accessed in the USA. The security and privacy policy for the web survey company can be found at the following link: (e.g.

http://www.SurveyMonkey.com/monkey_privacy.aspx).

Storage of Data: Until it is downloaded from SurveyMonkey for analysis, all data is stored in a password protected electronic format. Once the survey has concluded the downloaded data will be kept in digital format and saved in a password protected folder on my computer to which only I have access. A backup copy of the data will be stored on an external hard drive which is password protected. Data collected from this project will be kept for a minimum of five years, as per Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research.

Further Information: If you have any questions regarding the survey or this research project in general, please contact the principal investigator, Catherine Jalbert, at 1-709-765-3155 or via email at catherine.jalbert@mun.ca or her supervisor Dr. Oscar Moro Abadia, at (1-709-864-3439) or via email at omoro@mun.ca.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: By clicking the "agree" button on this form:

- You have read the information about the research.
- You have been able to ask questions about this study.
- You are satisfied with the answers to all your questions.
- You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing.
- You understand that you are free to withdraw from the study, up to the point that you submit the completed survey, without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future. You understand that once you submit the completed survey, there will be no way to withdraw your responses from the study because the survey contains no identifying information.
- You understand that any data collected from you up to the point of your withdrawal will be retained by the researcher for use in the research study.

If you proceed to the survey, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researcher from their professional responsibilities.

I have read what this study is about and understood the risks and benefits. I have had adequate

time to think about this and had the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered.

If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please decline participation by clicking on the “disagree” button and you will be exited from the survey.

Please print a copy of this Informed Consent Form for your records.

* 1. PARTICIPANT'S STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT:

- ☐ AGREE: I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation at any time.
- ☐ DISAGREE: I do not agree to participate in this research project.

Demographic and Family Information

2. What is your sex?

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Other (please specify)

3. What is your age?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> 19-25 | <input type="radio"/> 41-45 | <input type="radio"/> 61-64 |
| <input type="radio"/> 26-30 | <input type="radio"/> 46-50 | <input type="radio"/> 65+ |
| <input type="radio"/> 31-35 | <input type="radio"/> 51-55 | |
| <input type="radio"/> 36-40 | <input type="radio"/> 56-60 | |

4. What is your place of birth?

5. In which Province or Territory do you currently reside?

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> BC | <input type="radio"/> QC | <input type="radio"/> YT |
| <input type="radio"/> AB | <input type="radio"/> NB | <input type="radio"/> NWT |
| <input type="radio"/> SK | <input type="radio"/> NS | <input type="radio"/> NU |
| <input type="radio"/> MB | <input type="radio"/> PEI | |
| <input type="radio"/> ON | <input type="radio"/> NL | |

6. How would you describe your family status?

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Married/Domestic Partnership
- ☐ Divorced/Widowed

7. If you are married or in a domestic partnership, is your partner also pursuing a career in archaeology?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

8. If yes, are they employed at the same institution or organization as you?

☐ Yes

☐ No

9. Do you have children?

☐ Yes

☐ No

10. If yes, what is the age of each child?

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

11. Are you the primary caregiver for your child/children?

☐ Yes

☐ No

12. Are you the primary caregiver for another family member (i.e., parents, siblings, etc.)?

☐ Yes

☐ No

13. What is your race/ethnicity?

☐ Black

☐ Métis

☐ Hispanic

☐ Inuit

☐ Asian

☐ White

☐ First Nations

☐ Two or more races

☐ Other (please specify)

Career Pathways

14. How would you describe your current status in archaeology? (Check all that apply)

☐ Professional Archaeologist

☐ Student

☐ Amateur/Avocational

Other (please specify)

15. What year did you earn your B.A./B.S. and from which institution?

Year of Degree:

Institution:

16. Do you feel that you had one or more positive role models (i.e., mentors) while completing your B.A./B.S.?

☐ Yes

☐ No

17. If yes, was the role model(s) the same gender as you?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Both Male and Female

Comments:

18. If you did not start your graduate studies immediately after obtaining your B.A., please indicate how long the interruption between degrees was and indicate a reason for the interruption.

Length of interruption:

Reason:

19. What year did you earn your M.A./M.S and from which institution?

Year:

Institution:

20. Was your M.A./M.S a field-based thesis, a non-field based thesis (i.e., collections based) or a combination of both?

- ☐ Field-based thesis
- ☐ Non-field based thesis
- ☐ Both

21. Do you feel that you had one or more role models (i.e., mentors) while completing your M.A./M.S.?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

22. If yes, was the role model(s) the same gender as you?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Both Male and Female

Comments:

23. If you did not start your PhD immediately after obtaining your M.A./M.S. please indicate how long the interruption was between degrees and a reason for the interruption.

Length of interruption:

Reason:

24. What year did you earn your PhD and from which institution?

Year:

Institution:

25. Was your PhD field-based, non-field based (i.e., collections based) or a combination of both?

- ☐ Field-based
- ☐ Non-field based
- ☐ Both

26. Do you feel that you had one or more positive role models (i.e., mentors) while completing your PhD?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

27. If yes, was the role model(s) the same gender as you?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Both Male and Female

Comments:

Career Pathways (Con't)

28. Have you been able to successfully secure a Postdoctoral Fellowship?

☐ Yes

☐ No

29. If yes, how many Postdoctoral Fellowships have you successfully secured?

30. Please list the area of research, the name of the fellowship, amount and duration of each.

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Area of Research: | |
| Fellowship Name: | |
| Amount: | |
| Duration: | |
| | |
| Area of Research: | |
| Fellowship Name: | |
| Amount: | |
| Duration: | |
| | |
| Area of Research: | |
| Fellowship Name: | |
| Amount: | |
| Duration: | |
| | |
| Area of Research: | |
| Fellowship Name: | |
| Amount: | |
| Duration: | |
| | |
| Area of Research: | |
| Fellowship Name: | |
| Amount: | |
| Duration: | |
| | |

Career Pathways (Con't)

31. Please indicate your work settings for the past five years. (check all the apply)

| | 2013 | 2012 | 2011 | 2010 | 2009 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Private Foundation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Private Consulting Firm | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Independent Consultant/Contractor | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Museum – Federal/Provincial/Local | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Museum – Private | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Federal Agency | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Provincial Agency | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| University Based CRM | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| University (Undergraduate Only) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| University (Including Graduate) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Retired | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Other (please specify)

32. Please indicate what your general responsibilities have been for the past 5 years. (Check all that apply)

| | 2013 | 2012 | 2011 | 2010 | 2009 |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Administration | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Archival/Library/Museum Research | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Collections Documentation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Collections Management | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Contract Oversight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Course Work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Exhibition | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Field Work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Laboratory Work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Public Education/Interpretation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Teaching | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Writing Proposals | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Writing Reports/Publications | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Other (please specify)

33. What is your current position in archaeology (i.e., Professor, Curator, Consultant)?

34. How many years have you been in this position?

35. What is your current title (i.e., Asst. Prof., Lab Tech., Crew Chief)?

36. How many years have you held this title?

37. How would you characterize your level of satisfaction with your current position? (Please check one)

☐ Highly Satisfied

☐ Satisfied

☐ Marginally Satisfied

☐ Unsatisfied

Additional Comments:

38. How satisfied are you that your undergraduate training adequately prepared you for your present position in archaeology? (Please check one, if applicable)

☐ Highly Satisfied

☐ Satisfied

☐ Marginally Satisfied

☐ Unsatisfied

Additional Comments:

39. How satisfied are you that your graduate training adequately prepared you for your present position in archaeology? (Please check one, if applicable.)

☐ Highly Satisfied

☐ Satisfied

☐ Marginally Satisfied

☐ Unsatisfied

Additional Comments:

40. If you are currently teaching, how satisfied are you that your graduate training adequately prepared you for that task?

☐ Highly Satisfied

☐ Satisfied

☐ Marginally Satisfied

☐ Unsatisfied

Additional Comments:

Career Pathways (Con't)

41. Did your undergraduate degree require participation in a field school?

☐ Yes

☐ No

42. Did any of your degree programs provide courses on Cultural Resource Management (CRM)?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, please indicate which degree(s) and institution(s):

43. Would you say that your present position is consistent with ideal career path?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If no, what was your ideal career path? Please explain.

44. If you are currently working in a non-academic position, what was your reason for choosing this career path? Please choose all that apply.

- ☐ Unable to relocate
- ☐ Better opportunities for research
- ☐ Disliked teaching
- ☐ No academic positions available
- ☐ Family obligations
- ☐ Better salary and/or benefits
- ☐ Financial
- ☐ Dislike of academic environment
- ☐ Tired of school
- ☐ Unsuccessful in job search (i.e., not selected for positions applied for)
- ☐ None of these apply. Consulting/CRM was my chosen career path.

Other (please specify)

45. What is your current gross income from all archaeology related sources? (to the nearest \$10,000)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> \$0-10 | <input type="radio"/> \$40-50 | <input type="radio"/> \$80-90 |
| <input type="radio"/> \$10-20 | <input type="radio"/> \$50-60 | <input type="radio"/> \$90-100 |
| <input type="radio"/> \$20-30 | <input type="radio"/> \$60-70 | <input type="radio"/> \$100+ |
| <input type="radio"/> \$30-40 | <input type="radio"/> \$70-80 | |

46. Does your income meet your basic financial needs?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

47. How many years have you been earning income in archaeology?

48. Are you self-employed as an archaeologist?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

49. What was your first professional position in archaeology?

50. What year did you obtain this position?

51. What was your yearly salary in that position (to the nearest \$10,000)?

52. If employed by a university, what is your position?

☐ Non-tenure track

☐ Tenure track

☐ Tenured

☐ Other

If other (please specify):

53. How many Postdoctoral Fellowships did you complete before obtaining this appointment?

54. Please indicate the type of department you are employed in, if you are an employee.

☐ Archaeology

☐ Anthropology

☐ Sociology/Anthropology

☐ Other

If other (please specify):

55. Please indicate the type of department you are enrolled in, if you are a student.

☐ Archaeology

☐ Anthropology

☐ Sociology/Anthropology

☐ Other

If other (please specify):

56. Please provide any additional thoughts/comments regarding your personal experiences and the questions asked in the above section.

Funding History

57. How many funding sources have you applied to and successfully secured funding from over the last 5 years for archaeological work that is not contract or preservation related? (To the nearest \$1,000)

Number

Cumulative Funding

58. How many funding sources have you applied to and successfully secured funding from over the last 5 years for contract or preservation related work? (To the nearest \$1,000)

Number

Cumulative Funding

59. Do you believe that your area of research has ever prevented you from successfully securing funding?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, what is your area of research?

60. Do you believe that your gender has ever hindered your ability to successfully secure funding?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Additional Comments:

61. Do you believe that your gender has provided you with an advantage to successfully secure funding?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Additional Comments:

62. What kinds of funding opportunities are available to you from your provincial government or home institution?

☐ Funding for Fieldwork

☐ Funding for Laboratory/Archival Work

☐ Funding for Conferences

Other Funding (please specify)

Workplace and Family Issues

For this section, choose an answer and write a response in the space provided (optional).

63. Do you believe you have ever been asked to perform tasks or responsibilities that are not part of your job description based on your gender (i.e., gender stereotyping)?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

64. Have you ever experienced sexual harassment or other unwanted behaviours in the workplace?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, please describe:

65. If yes to the above question, do you feel that your place of employment appropriately handled/handles cases of sexual harassment or unwanted behaviours?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

Workplace and Family Issues (Con't)

66. Do you feel that your gender has prevented you from advancing through the professional ranks (i.e., the glass ceiling)?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

67. Do you feel that your race or ethnicity has prevented you from advancing through the professional ranks?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

68. Do you feel that your sexual orientation has prevented you from advancing through the professional ranks?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

69. Do you feel that your gender has provided you with an advantage in career advancement?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

70. Do you feel that your race or ethnicity has provided you with an advantage in career advancement?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

Workplace and Family Issues (Con't)

71. Have you been subject to sexist attitudes and practices that have resulted in your social or professional exclusion in the workplace?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

72. Have you been subject to sexist attitudes and practices that have resulted in your social or professional exclusion in the field?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

73. Have you ever experienced a "chilly climate" in the workplace?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

Workplace and Family Issues (Con't)

74. Do you feel that your research or scholarship has ever been ignored or trivialized due to your gender?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

75. Do you feel that your research or scholarship has ever been ignored or trivialized due to your race or ethnicity?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

76. Do you feel that your research or scholarship has ever been ignored or trivialized due to your sexual orientation?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

77. Do you feel that your research or scholarship has ever been ignored or trivialized due to the type of research you conduct?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, what is the area of study that you feel is ignored or trivialized?

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the respondent to provide a detailed answer to the question about the area of study that is ignored or trivialized.

Workplace and Family Issues (Con't)

78. Do you feel that you have a supportive network in the workplace?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

79. If yes to the above question, is this network primarily composed of people who are the same gender as you?

☐ Yes

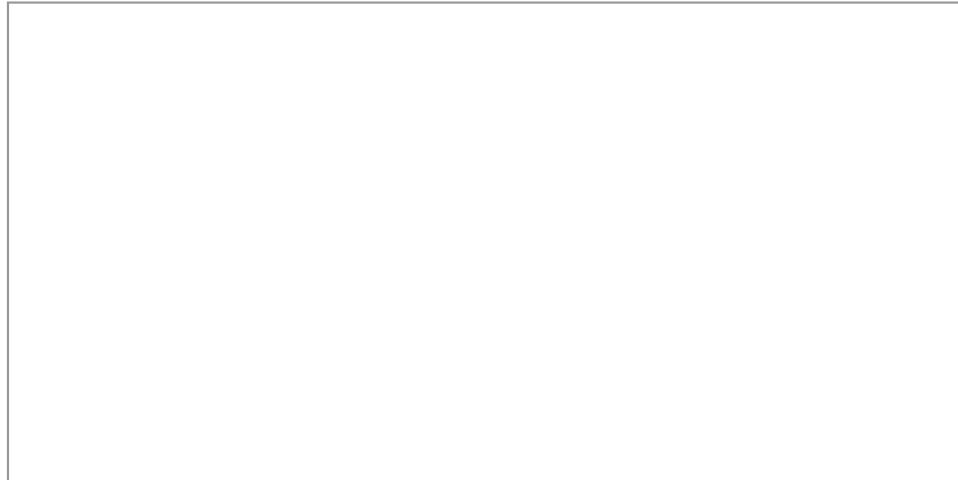
☐ No

80. Do you feel that your colleagues look down on you or feel that you are uncommitted to your work when faced with family obligations?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

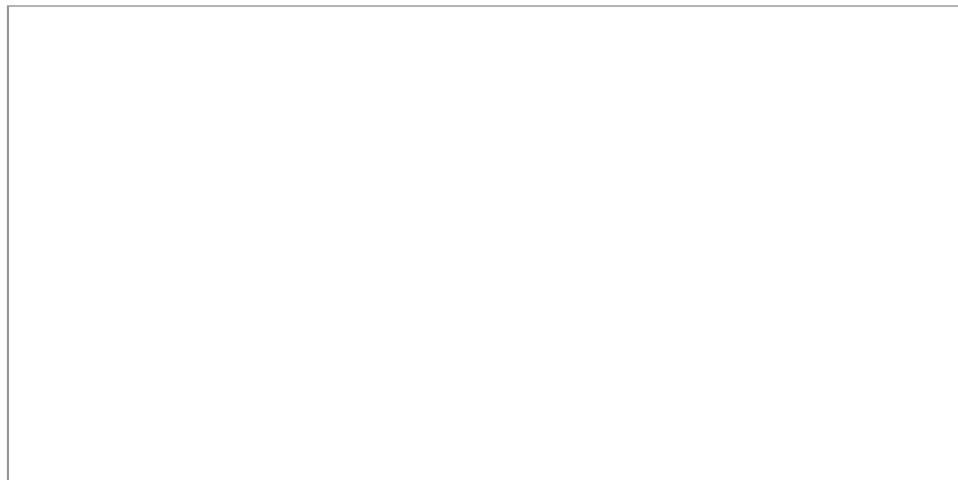


81. If you answered yes to being the primary caregiver in Section A, do you feel that this role impedes your ability to regularly attend conferences and meetings?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:



82. Do you find it difficult to manage your responsibilities as the primary caregiver with your work obligations?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:

83. Does your employer sponsor programs that are designed to help employees achieve a balance between work and family?

☐ Yes

☐ No

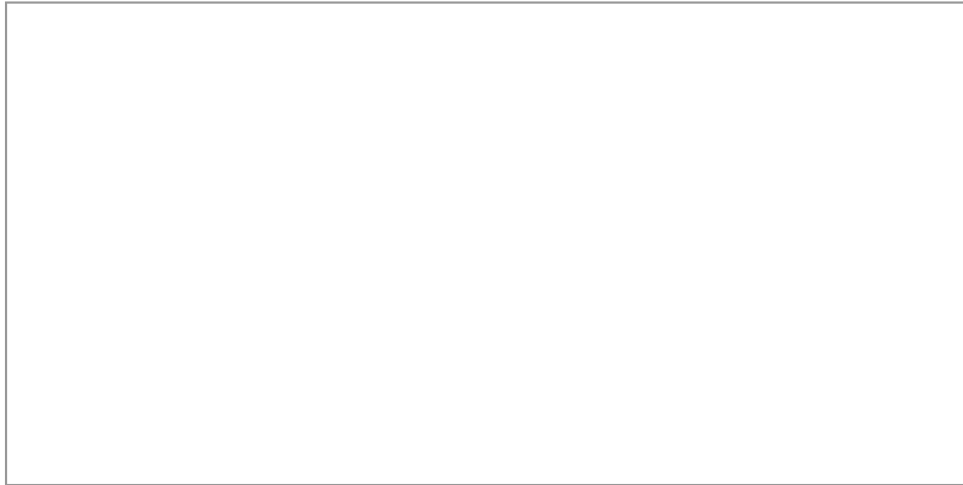
Comments:

84. Do you believe your employer can offer other programs and initiatives to help employees achieve a better balance between work and family? If so, what types?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Comments:



General Comments, Reflections, and Observations

85. Please provide any additional general comments, thoughts or reflections on the above survey.

86. OPTIONAL: Would you like to participate in an interview regarding the topics presented in this survey?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, please provide your email address so the researcher may contact you:

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT



Department of Archaeology
St. John's, NL, Canada A1C 5S7
Tel: 709 864 8869 Fax: 709 864 2374
www.mun.ca/archaeology

Information Sheet/Informed Consent Form for Research Participants

Project Title: *Archaeology in Canada: Surveying the Discipline*

Researcher: Catherine L. Jalbert, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Archaeology,
Memorial University, St. John's, NL A1C 2J9, (Ph: 1-832-375-9552 /
email: catherine.jalbert@mun.ca)

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled "*Archaeology in Canada: Surveying the Discipline*".

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study at any time. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, Catherine Jalbert, if you have any questions about the study or for more information not included here before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Project Description: As part of my Doctoral program, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Lisa Rankin and Dr. Meghan Burchell in the Department of Archaeology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The purpose of this research is to gather quantitative and qualitative data regarding the experiences of archaeologists (graduate students, academic and professional) working in Canada in order to gain a better understanding of the conditions of work for male and female practitioners in the discipline. In particular, my research interests will focus on whether gender roles, and in turn, equity issues exist for women in contemporary archaeological practice, aiming to highlight what they are, where they are most prevalent, and how and why they might arise. This research will be conducted from January 2014-November 2015 with the survey component open from January 2014-June 2014 and the interview component conducted from April/May 2015-November 2015.

The role of the participant: Participation in this research is *purely voluntary*. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to take part in one (1) interview about your training, employment

and overall career as an archaeologist in Canada. This interview will be semi-structured and take approximately 15-30 minutes in length and will be conducted in person, on the phone or over Skype. The information provided by the participants will be audio recorded and may be used in my doctoral dissertation, presented at conferences and in future publications (e.g., journal articles, book chapters, and books). After your interview, and before the data are included in the final report, you will be able to review the transcript of your interview, and to add, change, or delete information from the transcripts as you see fit. Participants have the **right to withdraw** from the research at any point up to publication. Upon withdrawing from the research all information provided by the participant will be destroyed. Please check the applicable boxes concerning the information provided:

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| I DO NOT WANT to be identified in the research | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I CHOOSE the following pseudonym: _____ | |
| I WANT to be identified in the research | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I AGREE to the use of direct quotes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I DO NOT AGREE to the use of direct quotes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I AGREE to the audio recording of my interview | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I DO NOT AGREE to the audio recording of my interview | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I WANT a written transcript of my interview | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I DO NOT WANT a written transcript of my interview | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Benefits: While you will not experience any direct benefits from participation, information collected in this study may benefit others in the future by helping to reveal how changes in archaeological research and practice have impacted the archaeological community and affected conditions of work for women and men. This will generate a deeper understanding of how gender roles are enacted in the archaeological discipline and whether equity issues still endure for women in this community.

Risks: There are no known or foreseeable risks associated with this study.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: The audio recordings of the interviews will be stored in a password-protected file on my computer and a backup external hard drive that only I have access to. Completed interview audio and/or video recordings and other research notes will be coded, with names and contact details kept separately in a locked filing cabinet in my home office that only I have the key to. While traveling, research material will be stored in either hotel safes, if available, or in a locked suitcase to which only I have access. The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although I will report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and all identifying information (i.e., name of the institution, the participant's position, etc.) will be removed. I intend to keep this information indefinitely, unless a participant requests that it be destroyed after the minimum five (5) year period following the completion of the project, which is scheduled for September 2015 (as in accordance with Memorial University's policy

concerning the retention of research data). I do not intend to use a research assistant for this project or deposit interview material in any archive or collection. For research data retained beyond the minimum five (5) year period, security and access will be maintained as outlined.

I CONSENT to the researcher keeping the information I provide indefinitely ☐

I WANT the information I provide destroyed five years after the completion of the project in November 2015 (as in accordance with Memorial University's policy concerning the retention of research data). ☐

Further Information: If you have any questions regarding the survey or this research project in general, please contact the principal investigator, Catherine Jalbert, at 1-832-375-9552 or via email at catherine.jalbert@mun.ca or her supervisors Dr. Lisa Rankin or Dr. Meghan Burchell by phone (Dr. Burchell: 1-709-864-8865/ Dr. Rankin: 1-709-864-8192) or via email at lrarkin@mun.ca or mburchell@mun.ca.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

CONSENT:

By obtaining consent from you:

- You understand the information about the research.
- You have been able to ask questions about this study.
- You are satisfied with the answers to all your questions.
- You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing.
- You understand that you are free to withdraw from the study up to the time of publication, without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.
- You understand that upon withdrawal from the project that all information provided by the participant will be destroyed.

If you proceed with the interview, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researcher from their professional responsibilities.

Research Participant's Signature:

I have read and understood the description provided and have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project, understanding that I may withdraw my consent at any time. A copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

I AGREE to participate in this interview ☐

I DO NOT AGREE to participate in this interview

☐

Signature of Participant

Date

Researcher's Signature:

I have explained this study to the participant to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

Signature of Researcher

Date/Time

Participant's Name

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW RECRUITMENT MATERIALS:
WEBSITE ADVERT AND POSTER



**PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR A
STUDY OF WOMEN ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN CANADA**

DID YOU KNOW:

In Norway between 2012-2014, 75% of leadership positions in private sector archaeology were held by men? (Lazar et al. 2014)

In the USA, although women are being increasingly equally represented in academia, they are more likely to hold non-tenure track positions? (Zeder 1994)

*******WHAT'S THE SITUATION IN CANADA?*******

I am looking for volunteers to take part in a study of women archaeologists working in Canada. Your participation would involve 1 interview session about ~15 minutes long.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study, please contact:

Catherine Jalbert, PhD Candidate
Department of Archaeology
832-375-9552 or
Email: catherine.jalbert@mun.ca

The academic supervisors for this project are Dr. Lisa Rankin and Dr. Meghan Burchell of Archaeology, Memorial University. They can be reached at lrarkin@mun.ca or mburchell@mun.ca or by telephone (Dr. Burchell: 1-709-864-8865/ Dr. Rankin: 1-709-864-8192).

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (Such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca , or by telephone at 1-709-864-2861.



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