

Documenting Activism, Creating Change





# Documenting Activism, Creating Change

Archaeology and the Legacy of  
#MeToo

Edited by  
Hannah Cobb and Kayt Hawkins

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## Author Biographies

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**Petra Aldén Rudd** has a bachelor's degree from Gothenburg University and has worked as a contract archaeologist for the past 30 years, currently at Rio Göteborg. Her fieldwork is mainly focused on Western Sweden, and her area of expertise is the Swedish Iron Age. She is currently the chair of the Swedish Contract Archaeology trade association, SUBO. Petra was one of the informal leaders of the #excavationinprogress movement in Sweden where she carefully administered and protected the collection of testimonies, and took a leading role in disseminating the work through presentations at universities and professional organisations. She was also one of the main organisers of the conference on sexual harassment in archaeology in Sweden after #MeToo in 2020.

**Radmila Balaban** is a PhD candidate at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade where she is also a librarian at the same Department. As a team member, she contributed to improving the *Policy on the Protection against Sexual Harassment and Blackmail* at the same institution. Her research focuses on the methodology of collecting and selecting archaeological information used in creating Big Data. Her academic interests also lie in the social relations and role of material culture in the formation of social structures in the Neolithic period.

**Ingrid Berg** has a PhD in Archaeology from Stockholm University. She is an historian of archaeology, specialising in the history of Swedish fieldwork in the Mediterranean. Her other research interests include contemporary uses of heritage, gender and academia, and interdisciplinary method and theory. She held the position of president of the Swedish Archaeological Society from 2018–2020 (during the #MeToo period), was active in the #excavationinprogress movement in Sweden and was one of the main organisers of the conference on sexual harassment in archaeology in Sweden after #MeToo in 2020. She is currently the Deputy Director of the Centre for Integrated Research on Culture and Society (CIRCUS) at Uppsala University.

**Suzanne Pilaar Birch** is Associate Professor in Anthropology and Geography at the University of Georgia, USA. Her research combines zooarchaeology and stable isotope analysis to investigate changes in diet, mobility, and settlement systems in the period spanning the end of the last ice age to the arrival of farming in the circum-Mediterranean. She is an active advocate of open access publishing and online data and research sharing. She co-founded

TrowelBlazers, which highlights women in the fields of archaeology, paleontology, and geology, and is also an editor-in-chief of the open access journal for Quaternary science, Open Quaternary.

**Jessica Bryan** is a Project Officer for MOLA London, and has worked in developer-led archaeology for nearly 20 years, specialising in field work and excavation. Jessica is also the Chair for the Archaeologist branch of Prospect Union. Her union membership began in her early career and she has been a union rep for over ten years, initially focusing on Health and Safety, and was elected as Branch Chair in 2020. Jessica is also an elected member of the Prospect National Executive Committee. Jessica's union work is guided by her desire to make archaeology a safe, fair and rewarding industry to work in.

**Shantol Campbell** is currently Project Coordinator at Kent and Medway Medical School, supporting the implementation of programmes and conduct of research. Shantol has a background in project management, with years of experience between 2021 and 2023 leading a commercial engagement team within the Museum of London Archaeology Research and Engagement department. Her experiences include designing, developing and coordinating the delivery of meaningful projects for a wide range of diverse communities and audiences. She was lead and founder of Network for Ethnically Diverse staff. Shantol passionately advocates for racial inclusion and dismantling barriers to underserved and underrepresented communities. By exploring themes of intersectionality, racial inequity and nuanced experiences, she aims to build a sense of belonging through creative community and research projects.

**Hannah Cobb** is a Professor of Archaeology and Pedagogy at the University of Manchester and the University's Academic Lead for Academic Development. Hannah is a founder of #everyDIGsexism, was a founding Trustee of the Enabled Archaeology Foundation, and she founded and chaired the CfA Equality and Diversity Group between 2015 and 2022. She also leads on global conversations about teaching and learning in archaeology and heritage. Hannah has published extensively on teaching and learning in archaeology, including in the major publication *Assembling Archaeology: Teaching, Practice and Research* (Oxford University Press, 2020) and the 6th edition of the classic textbook *Archaeology: An Introduction* (with Greene and Moore, Routledge 2024). Through her teaching, research and leadership she passionately advocates for inclusion, equity and diversity in the past, present and future.

**Laura Coltofean** is an archaeologist of Hungarian and Romanian origin, who has lived and worked in multiple European countries. She is the chair of the Education, Training and Professional Development Advisory Committee of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) and a member of the EAA's Appeal and Anti-Harassment Committee. She also chaired the Archaeology and Gender in Europe (AGE) Community of the EAA between 2018 and 2021. Her research interests include safety, well-being and inclusivity in contemporary archaeological practices. Her recent work in this area includes co-authoring the first Europe-wide survey on harassment, assault, bullying and intimidation in archaeology (<https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2023.58> [doi.org]), as well as co-organising the annual workshops and discussion sessions on preventing such behaviors at the Annual Meetings of the EAA. She was a member in the task forces which drafted the EAA 2020 Statement on Archaeology and Gender, the section on Safe Work Environment, Equality and Inclusion in the EAA's Code of Practice (2020–2021), and the Safe Space Policy for the EAA Annual Meeting in Budapest (2021).

**Maria Coto Sarmiento** is a postdoctoral researcher in the Centre for the Evolution of Urban Networks (UrbNet) at Aarhus University (Denmark). She previously worked as a postdoctoral researcher in the Department of Early Prehistory and Quaternary Ecology at the University of Tübingen (Germany). Her research interests include the study of cultural and economic dynamics in the past, including the application of computational methods. Her work is broadly multidisciplinary, combining her current work with the analysis of the role of women in Spanish fieldwork. She also collaborates as an editor and writer, mostly on women in academia, for 'La Paradoja de Jevons' [The Jevons Paradox], a blog published in *El Salto Diario*, about technology and science.

**Alex Fitzpatrick** (FSA Scot) is a zooarchaeologist and interdisciplinary researcher who is particularly interested in making archaeology and the broader heritage sector more inclusive, diverse and anti-oppressive. Her work is particularly focused on embedding anti-racist and anti-ableist practices within the field, based on her own experiences as a disabled Chinese-American migrant in the UK sector. She currently sits on the Enabled Archaeology Foundation committee as their acting Research Officer. Alex is also the creator and host of the ArchaeoAnimals Podcast, which ran for over five years on the Archaeology Podcast Network, and also runs the Animal Archaeology blog. She is currently a Research Associate of the Science Museum and holds a Visiting Research Fellowship at the University of Leeds.

**Pen Foreman** (PCIfA) is a Senior Inclusive Heritage Advisor for Historic England, where they work on sector-wide projects to develop inclusion and access to heritage and archaeology for employees, volunteers, visitors and learners. They were formerly a project manager for national programmes at the British Museum and Head of Community Archaeology for the Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust. Pen is Chair of the Board for the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, having been a member of the EDI SIG since 2016 and then becoming Board EDI Champion and one of the founders of the EDI Standing Committee in 2022. Pen has been a Trade Union activist for over 15 years with NASUWT, UNISON and Prospect, particularly focused on LGBTQ+ rights and disability rights.

**Bisserka Gaydarska** is a Bulgarian-born prehistorian who lives and works in the UK. She is currently a member of the EAA (European Association of Archaeologists) Executive Board and served as a co-chair of the AGE (Archaeology and Gender in Europe) community between 2019 and 2022. Her main research interests are prehistory of Eastern Europe, fragmentation in archaeology, early urbanism and gender in the past and current archaeological practices. With others, she has edited and published research on various aspects of gender (past and present) in archaeology and is a co-organiser of the now annual workshops at the EAA meetings on preventing practices of harassment, assault, bullying and intimidation.

**Alex Grassam** (BA Hons, MSc, MCIfA) worked for around 20 years in the heritage sector, starting out as a field archaeologist before specialising in assessment and post-excavation reporting, before progressing to a heritage consultancy role for a multi-disciplinary engineering consultancy, working on Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects. She was a member of the CIIfA Equality and Diversity Group from 2017 to 2021, and took on the role of Fairness, Inclusion and Respect ambassador. In 2022, Alex took the decision to pursue her career-long interest in engagement and is now a Stakeholder Engagement, Consultation and Communications consultant, specialising in construction. Despite no longer working

professionally in the heritage sector, her passion for the discipline remains; she is the leader of Pontefract Young Archaeologists Club, a role she has held now for 13 years. She is also a founding member of MWAH.

**Brenna Hassett** (FSA) is a Lecturer in Forensic Osteology and Archaeology at the University of Central Lancashire and a Scientific Associate at the Natural History Museum London. She is one quarter of the TrowelBlazers Project ([www.trowelblazers.com](http://www.trowelblazers.com)) which seeks to improve representation of women in the digging sciences by collecting and sharing stories of women's work. Brenna conducts research on child health and evolution as well as the history of women in archaeology and related disciplines, and writes books for popular audiences including the Times UK Top 10 Science Book (2017) *Built on Bones: 15,000 Years of Urban Life and Death* (Bloomsbury, 2017) and her most recent work *Growing Up Human: The Evolution of Childhood* (Bloomsbury, 2022).

**Kayt Hawkins** is a Senior Archaeologist at Archaeology South-East, UCL Institute of Archaeology, having worked in commercial archaeology for over 25 years as a Romano-British ceramics specialist. Alongside her archaeological work, Kayt is committed to improving working conditions for archaeologists and heritage professionals across the UK sector. A co-author of the BAJR RESPECT in Archaeology Guide, Kayt is also a key member of the RESPECT team, working to highlight and tackle harassment and bullying within the profession. Kayt has also previously been active within the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, most recently as a project board member for the 'Qualitative Inequalities Research in the Archaeology Sector' study. In 2023, Kayt secured funding for the printing of an English language version of the Archaeo-Sexism exhibition, and has worked with colleagues in the European Association of Archaeology to help provide training and information on ways to challenging sexism and harassment.

**Yağmur Heffron** is Lecturer in the History of the Ancient Middle East at UCL, a specialist in the archaeology and social history of ritual practices of *karum* period societies of Middle Bronze Age Anatolia, and a field archaeologist working in Türkiye. Her research interests also include the history and historiography of archaeological interpretation, archaeological labour relations, and issues surrounding equity and injustice in archaeological field practice. Since 2022, Yağmur has been Assistant Director of the Uşaklı Höyük Archaeological Project in Yozgat, Türkiye.

**Ruth Humphreys** (BA Hons, MPhil, MCIfA) is a Senior Consultant (Cultural Heritage) within the Specialist Environmental Services team at Arup, and founder member of Mentoring Women in Archaeology and Heritage (MWAH). She has over 15 years experience working as a field archaeologist, ceramicist and heritage consultant in the UK, Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Ruth is a member of the CIfA International Practice Specialist Interest Group committee and advocates for locally led, high quality cultural heritage practice at an international level, as well as supporting efforts to decolonise our practice at home and abroad.

**Tanja Ignjatović** is a psychologist, a PhD in political science and a member of the Autonomous Women's Center (Belgrade, Serbia) since 2001. She is the coordinator of programmes for knowledge development, education, research, analysis of public policies and advocacy. Tanja is the author of accredited training programmes for professionals, with the largest number

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**Nathan Klembara** is a Teaching Assistant Professor Kansas State University. He combines archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic methods to study the entanglement of archaeological knowledge production and queer politics. His current research examines the epistemic status of queer theory in archaeology as it is understood and used (or ignored) by practicing academic archaeologists. In addition, he is interested in applications of queer theory to the Upper Paleolithic in an effort to denaturalize problematic heteronormative assumptions about the past.

**Elif Koparal** is a professor of Archaeology at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Her interest areas are landscape studies, theoretical archaeology and digital archaeology. She is one of the founders of TAG Turkey. She has conducted long term projects in Western Anatolia, and published extensively on Ionian archaeology.

**Rosie Loftus** (BA Hons, ACIfA) is a Commercial Field Archaeologist from West Yorkshire UK. After going on a school trip to the research dig at Wood Hall in East Yorkshire she fell in love with being in the field. She attended Newcastle University and gained a BA in Ancient History and Archaeology in 2010. Rosie gained her first archaeology job in 2015 and started volunteering at her local Young Archaeologist Club. She wrote a short article for CIfA's magazine (*The Archaeologist*) in 2019 on her experience of being a dyslexic archaeologist. Rosie is one of the founding members and admins of MWAH and is passionate about providing a safe space and a voice for those who have traditionally been othered in the heritage industry.

**Laura Mary** is an archaeologist working for the ASBL Recherches et Prospections archéologiques (Belgium). As a project manager, she manages a team responsible for the conservation of archaeological material at the Agence wallonne du Patrimoine's Centre de Conservation et d'Études which was affected by the Belgian floods in July 2021. She is also the founder of the *Paye ta Truelle* collective, which fights for equality and diversity in archaeology. She is one of the three curators of the 'Archéo-Sexisme' exhibition and an active member of the Archéo-Éthique association. Since 2017, she gives courses, lectures and seminars in France and Belgium to raise awareness of the issue of discriminations in French-speaking archaeology. With Isabelle Algrain, she co-authored the first manual on gender archaeology in French, *Introduction à l'archéologie du genre* (Ed. Fedora, 2024).

**Monika Milosavljević** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Archaeology, at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade, as well as the head of the Center for Theoretical Archaeology of the same department. Her research interests delve into theory and methodology within the history and philosophy of science – particularly the philosophy of archaeology, the political usage of archaeology, the history of archaeology, the archaeology of identity and general archaeological theory. In recent years, Monika has focused on medieval mortuary archaeology of the Balkans. As a team member, she contributed to the *Policy on the Protection against Sexual Harassment and Blackmail* at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade as well as one of the initiators of the adaptation of the *Ethical Codex*

of the Department of Archaeology within the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, whose 5th principle promotes safe educational and workplace environments.

**Liv Nilsson Stutz** is a professor of Archaeology at Linnaeus University. Her research focuses on a range of issues pertaining to burial archaeology and the archaeology of death, including archaeoanthropology, ritual practice, body theory, sensory archaeology, ethics, and repatriation. She has also published extensively on interdisciplinarity in archaeology, and its implications on intellectual debate, power, and resources. She was active in the #excavationinprogress movement in Sweden, and one of the main organisers of the conference on archaeology in Sweden after #MeToo in 2020. She also initiated the university wide 'Lucia action' at Linnaeus University in 2023, to raise awareness of issues of gender inequality in Swedish academia and to demand action for change. This work is still ongoing.

**Béline Pasquini** received her PhD from Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. She is a specialist in economic history and archaeology of the Roman world. She also worked extensively on ethics in archaeology. In 2018 she was one of the organisers of the Archéo-Ethique conference in Paris. Béline is now working as a collection registrar in an archaeology museum near Paris.

**Ana Pastor Pérez** is a Sr Project Specialist in Archaeological Collections at the Getty Conservation Institute (Los Angeles, US) and lecturer with experience in critical heritage studies, conservation, and social archaeology. Ana holds a PhD and an MA in Cultural Heritage Management and Museology from the University of Barcelona, a degree in Archaeological Conservation from the ESCRBC of Madrid, and a degree in History from the Autonomous University of Madrid. In 2011, she participated in the ICCROM's course "Reducing Risks to Cultural Heritage," developing a holistic view of research and practice. Her PhD focused on Social Archaeological Conservation integrating ethnographic techniques and sustainable conservation strategies. Prior to the GCI, she worked as postdoctoral researcher at the Norwegian Institute of Cultural Heritage and the Autonomous University of Barcelona, leading different community-based projects. At GCI Ana works with archaeological collections to fill knowledge gaps and highlight the work of conservation from an inclusive and contextualized perspective.

**Rita Pedro** is a commercial archaeologist in East Anglia. Rita studied Archaeology at Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto in Portugal (BA) and Anthropology and Archaeology of America at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (MsC), in Spain. She worked in Portugal and Spain, in both rescue and research archaeology projects, before moving to the UK in 2016. Having always been interested in painting and drawing, in 2021 Rita started to do satirical illustrations about the life and struggles of an archaeologist. In 2022 Rita presented her art at the Symposium on Identity, Archaeology and Semiotics at the Università Ca'Foscari, in Venice, and in 2024 at the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (UCL). The comic-like illustrations aim to spotlight and criticise the often precarious work conditions in archaeology, but also to emphasise the gender-based discrimination that exists in this industry, giving voice to female archaeologists who are still regularly discriminated against today.

**Sara Perry** (PhD, FSA) is Associate Professor in Digital Public Archaeology at UCL and formerly Director of Research and Engagement at Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) (2019–2023).

She is Honorary Professor and, previously, Senior Lecturer in Cultural Heritage Management at the University of York (UK).

**Isobel Phillips** is a Prospect EDI Rep who works extensively with other Prospect Reps to champion and advocate for inclusion and diversity in the archaeological sector. During her time working at Wessex Archaeology she worked on updating policies and guidance to make them more inclusive, promoting menopause awareness and guidance, creating toilets for all genders and greatly improving parental leave pay. Throughout this time Isobel worked on opening and maintaining transparent and honest dialogue with senior management and with staff members to improve equality and inclusion for all. Isobel now works at LUC where she advocates equality and diversity in the workplace.

**Cat Rees** (MCIfA) is a partner at CR Archaeology and is currently undertaking a PhD in partnership between Amgueddfa Cymru and Manchester Metropolitan University. She has worked in commercial archaeology since 2002, and in 2017 co-authored the BAJR Respect in Archaeology Guide. As a member of the RESPECT team, Cat campaigns tirelessly against harassment and bullying across the archaeology and heritage sector, and uses her voice in support for those less well represented in the profession.

**Megan Schlanker** (BA Hons, MSc, PCIfA) is a Graduate Teaching Fellow and PhD Researcher in the School of Humanities and Heritage at the University of Lincoln. While working on this volume, Megan worked as an archaeologist for Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA). In this role, she was a representative for Prospect Union, and a member of the MOLA Equality, Diversity and Inclusion working group. Megan was the Honourary Chairperson of the CIIfA Early Career Special Interest Group committee from 2021 to 2024, and in 2022 was named Highly Commended Early Career Archaeologist at the Archaeological Achievement Awards. Megan's current research focuses on the history of museum education and youth engagement in the heritage sector. She is passionate about diversity, equity and inclusion, and is an advocate for neurodiversity inside and outside of the archaeology and heritage sector.

**Amy Talbot** (BA Hons, MA, ACIfA) worked in commercial archaeology from 2012 to 2020 across a variety of roles from field archaeologist to heritage consultant. Amy is currently working as a consenting manager for Locogen, specialising in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage related constraints. She is a founder member of Seeing Red and MWAH.

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(2021) provide critical insights into structural violence and gender disparities in the field. She also co-edited in 2022 the book *Women of the Past and Present: A Vision from Peruvian Archaeology*.

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# Definitions

Papers in this volume refer to a number of social media. We recognise that these may change or become obsolete over time so we begin with a brief explanation of what these are at the time of writing.

- **Bluesky:** microblogging platform which uses limited characters for mainly text based posts.
- **Discord:** platform for closed online communities to share media and have conversation, including functionality for live calling.
- **Facebook:** a social networking site for sharing content and connecting with individuals and communities. Profiles can be set to public or private. Facebook pages promote individuals, organisations and businesses. Facebook groups enable people to connect around a shared interest and can be publicly accessible or limited to invited people only.
- **Facebook Messenger:** an instant messaging app owned by Facebook.
- **Instagram:** a photo and video sharing platform, where uploaded media can be organised by hashtags and geolocation and set to public or invited viewers.
- **Mastodon:** microblogging platform which uses limited characters for mainly text based posts.
- **Slack:** a team communication platform which enables file sharing, aimed primarily at business users.
- **TikTok:** a platform for short-form video sharing.
- **Tumblr:** a platform for microblogging, image sharing and social networking.
- **WhatsApp:** an encrypted instant messaging app for messaging between individuals and groups.
- **X:** formerly known as Twitter (and mostly referred to as Twitter in this volume). A social networking site for microblogging, sharing news, media and short text (limited to 280 characters) posts.

We acknowledge that there are many other forms of social media, for example SnapChat and WeChat, but they were not discussed in this volume and thus are not defined here.

# Organisations, Groups, Social Media Communities, Hashtags and Abbreviations Mentioned in This Book

(reproduced from Chapter 20, Table 2)

#DiggingWhileDepressed  
#EveryDIGSexism  
#MeTooArchaeology  
#TimesUpArchaeology  
#utgrävningpågår  
91 Stories of Archaeology  
AGE (Archaeology and Gender in Europe community of the European Association of Archaeologists)  
Archaeologists in the Andes  
Archéo-Sexisme  
ArkeoGazte  
Arqueólogas feministas  
Association Archéo-Éthique  
BANEA (British Association of Near Eastern Archaeology)  
BAJR (British Archaeological Jobs and Resources)  
Beyond Notability  
Black Trowel Collective  
BWA (British Women Archaeologists)  
CEPA student union  
Chantier-Éthique  
CIfA (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists)  
CII-IAUB (Equality and Intersectionality Commission of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Barcelona)  
CRAS (Centro Revolucionario de Arqueología Social)  
DAN (Disabled Archaeologists Network)  
Diggers' Forum  
EAA (European Association of Archaeologists)  
EAF (Enabled Archaeology Foundation)  
Early Career Professional  
ESBAA (European Society of Black and Allied Archaeologists)  
Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers

Finding Ceremony  
FLAMA (Collective of Feminist Archaeologists)  
Gender Commission of the Professional College of Archaeologists of Peru  
HABI (Harassment, Assault, Bullying and Intimidation)  
Heritage Group, Archaeology Branch of Prospect Union  
ICAC Equality Committee (Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology)  
IDEAH (Inclusion, Diversity and Equality in Archaeology and Heritage)  
Indigenous Archaeology Collective  
IPHES (Catalan Institute of Human Paleoecology and Social Evolution)  
Museum Detox  
Museum Senses  
MWAH (Mentoring Women in Archaeology and Heritage)  
NEDS (Network for Ethnically Diverse Staff at the Museum of London Archaeology)  
Neurodiversity in Archaeology Network  
Paye ta Truelle collective  
Prospect Union  
Protect  
Queer Archaeology  
Queer Archaeology Interest Group (Society for American Archaeology)  
Raising Horizons  
RED MAP (Network of Women in Peruvian Archaeology)  
REM (Race Equality Matters)  
RESPECT Campaign  
RESPECT LGBT+ in Archaeology and Heritage  
RWAH (Respect Women in Archaeology and Heritage)  
Save Sheffield Archaeology  
Seeing Red Campaign  
SAA (Society of American Archaeologists)  
Society of Black Archaeologists  
The Collective Change  
The Fieldwork Initiative  
TrowelBlazers  
TUC (Trade Union Congress)  
UNISON  
WILLKAS (Peruvian Network of Feminist, Dissident and Decolonial Archaeology)

## Acknowledgements

As we outline in our introduction, the seeds of this book were sown not just in our own online activism, but from witnessing inspirational online activism of others, and between 2018 and 2023 in numerous conference sessions hearing about the need for such activism, and the difference it has made in a variety of ways. We thank contributors and audience members who informed the original conference sessions that this volume arose from, and all the amazing online activists we have encountered over the years. We also thank some key individuals and organisations; we are deeply grateful to Barbara Voss for taking the time to provide such a brilliant and thought provoking commentary for and conclusion to this volume, to UCL for their support to make this volume open access, and to the University of Manchester whose National Teaching Fellowship stipend awarded to Hannah has supported some of the other costs associated with the volume. We also thank our families for their unwavering support. Finally, we thank Mike Schurer and the team at Archaeopress for their assistance in bringing this volume to fruition.

All individual author opinions are their own, and we acknowledge the bravery, resilience and strength of all of the participants for doing the work they do and taking the time to record it in so many creative and thoughtful ways here. Thank you!



# SECTION 1.

## Setting the Scene: Documenting Activism, Creating Change





## Chapter 1.

# Documenting Activism and Creating Change: Why Here? Why Now? Introduction to the Volume

Hannah Cobb and Kayt Hawkins<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction to an Introduction

There has been a tremendous wave of feminist, intersectional, anti-harassment, anti-discrimination activism that has swept archaeology and heritage since at least 2010, and unlike at any other time in archaeology's short history, much of this has taken place online. This has created a space to have open conversations that previously only existed in whisper networks, and this openness has meant that sexism, misogyny and harassment can no longer be ignored or dismissed. This has forced our sector to listen, and organisations have had to confront hard truths and, in some instances, begin to make changes to their practice. As this book shows, the picture is not necessarily global, but none the less the ubiquity of social media has brought activism around gendered inequalities and violence against women and minorities to the fore in archaeological practice around the world.

But, unlike at any other time in archaeology's short history, the activism that has unfolded over the last fifteen years has almost always occurred in temporary, transient spaces. Online meetings, websites, blogs and of course social media platforms do not share the permanence of standard academic publications. They happen in a moment, sometimes a furious raging moment where just 140 characters may burn as brightly as the brightest beacon and provide the fuel for many years of change. But, as social media feeds become full, as domain subscriptions end, as passwords are lost or the ethical foundations of a social media platform change, so as quickly as they ignite, these beacons are extinguished, or lost, or forgotten. Indeed, as we write this in 2024, the increasingly fragmented landscape of social media means that there are fewer eyes on these beacons of activism. Moreover, much of the activism that has happened in these temporary fora has been undertaken by many for free, in their spare time; in a lunch break, on the bus, in the middle of the night whilst feeding a tiny baby. This is the liberating power of social media activism – anyone can do it at any time, and thus women and people facing minoritisation in other ways can raise their voices like no other time in history. But this is also the curse of social media activism; whole swathes of society whose voices have been silenced in the past can be heard, but only in their voluntary, spare time, only in this transitory moment, and only often at the expense of vicious attack (e.g., Perry, Shipley and Osborne 2015).

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There have been some recent powerful publications documenting and challenging cultures of harassment (Voss 2021a, 2021b), and a range of recent surveys evidencing the wide-spread nature of sexual harassment in archaeology have been published (Coltofean-Arizancu *et al.* 2023; Hodgetts *et al.* 2020). But despite these brilliant and important studies, there have been few permanent spaces which have specifically sought to document the incredible (predominantly) online activism of the last decade, and its impacts. This is a dangerous position to be in for several reasons. The fluidity of online and discursive spaces are such that these efforts could be lost; that either corporate organisations claim the narrative of change as their own but distil it to fit their business models, or that changes they made in the face of sustained activism get quietly reversed 'when all the fuss dies down'. Either way, the time, labour (often unpaid and unacknowledged) and care of brave, powerful, committed activists is in danger of being lost. This book aims to challenge this by providing a space to record this work, to amplify activist voices and share the good practice and positive change that their work has engendered, bringing together accounts from leading individuals and organisations. In doing so, it acts to capture a moment in time of powerful change and collective action in archaeology and heritage practice in a way that does not exist elsewhere. It also provides a resource to allow future practitioners to understand the developments that such activism has enabled and to see tangible examples of the kind of good practice that they can also employ to challenge harassment, discrimination, sexism, racism, misogyny, homophobia, transphobia and ableism, and embed principles of equity, diversity and inclusion in their work.

To bring this volume together we have made some important choices. First and foremost, against a backdrop of the current trans-exclusionary rhetoric of the culture wars, we want to begin with a clear statement that papers in this volume take a trans-inclusive stance. When we say women in this volume, that always includes trans women. Moreover, we recognise that gender fluid, gender queer, gender non-conforming and non-binary archaeologists often face even more harassment and discrimination than those who present as women. Therefore, where possible, we and our contributors try to speak in a way that acknowledges this and makes space for a conception of gender that is not reductively binary. Furthermore, we recognise that discrimination is also always intersectional (Crenshaw 1989; Agbe-Davies 2024) and that intersectionality means that people will experience discrimination and harassment differently depending on the intersecting dimensions of their race, gender, age, sexuality and disability. Accordingly, there are no universalising statements here – no contributors assume that harassment and discrimination occur in a singular way.

Another choice we have made in this volume is stylistic. Capturing activist work in the format of a book means asking those people who wrote tweets, or guidance, or who stood up to systemic inequity in their free time, and who continue to do this work for free, to do even more work in that same unpaid, voluntary space. Moreover, we recognise that transforming the momentary dynamism of a post of social media, or the more personal confessional style of a blog or conference paper, into something more traditional can lose the essence, power and impact of that work. As a result, rather than take this dynamic work and try to 'shoehorn' it into formal academic papers here, which involve more free labour in voluntary time, we have encouraged contributors to write in formats that suit them. Consequently, this volume comprises a range of formats of papers, pieces of both short- and long-form traditional academic writing sit next to illustrations, personal blog-style reflections, and a number of conversation pieces. The latter took place online, through video-conferencing platforms,

highlighting in themselves the continuing power of the online space for creating communities for change. It is also of utmost importance to us that this volume is open access. It provides a permanent space, bringing together and documenting the work of the practitioners whose activism is leading to tangible changes in the way that archaeology and heritage address cultures of harassment, bullying and inequality. But so much of the activism it documents was only possible itself because of open, accessible media and we recognise the continued activist potential of this volume lies in its continued accessibility.

The activism that this book captures has not happened in a vacuum, however. It emerges from the dual context of the growing feminist and intersectional discourse of archaeologists since the 1980s, alongside wider social activism beyond our discipline, which so acutely coalesced into a wave of global activism in the #MeToo movement in 2017. In the rest of this introduction, therefore, we set the scene for this volume. We highlight, and pay respect to, work that has gone before us within archaeology and outline how movements outside of archaeology such as #MeToo and other online activism have stimulated a vibrant body of archaeological grassroots activism on equalities issues in a dynamic and impactful way.

### **Contextualising Archaeological Activism**

The archaeological activism we see today has its roots in work that has been taking place (in press at least) for exactly 40 years at the time of writing. Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector's revolutionary paper 'Archaeology and the study of gender' (Conkey and Spector 1984), was the first publication to highlight gendered inequalities in both interpretations of the past and in archaeological practice in the present. Their work was a catalyst for the development of feminist approaches to archaeology and throughout the 1980s and 1990s a sustained critique emerged. This work highlighted that normative modern, western, binary understandings of gender were repeatedly and uncritically applied to interpretations of the past, and at the same time they were constantly reproduced in present day practice, with men dominating public-facing roles and women regularly doing 'the archaeological house-keeping' (Gero 1985). By the 1990s this critique had coalesced around an engendered approach (Claassen 1994; Conkey and Gero 1991 and papers therein; Sørensen 2000; Spector 1993). Engendered archaeologies demonstrated that archaeology needed to do more to challenge gendered inequalities than simply taking an 'add women and stir' approach. Instead, engendered approaches argued that the discipline needed to explicitly recognise, interrogate and theorise the active role that gender played in both past societies and in contemporary archaeological practice.

The legacy of the engendered approach to archaeology has been to stimulate an extensive body of literature that has highlighted the breadth of issues that must be addressed to make the pasts we tell and the presents we live more inclusive. These include intersectional approaches (Franklin 2001, Heath-Stout 2020; Agbe-Davies 2024), Black and anti-racist archaeologies (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Brunache *et al.* 2021; Flewelling *et al.* 2021; Franklin 2001; Franklin *et al.* 2020; Society of Black Archaeologists 2020; Sterling 2015), anti-colonial archaeologies (Atalay 2006; Atalay 2012; Cipolla, Quinn and Levy 2019; Colwell 2016; Watkins 2005), queer archaeologies (Blackmore 2011; Blackmore *et al.* 2016; Dowson 2000; Geller 2017; Voss 2000), and studies of difference (Moore 1993; Moore 1994) and personhood in the past (Fowler 2004; Marshall 2008; Marshall 2012).

Yet, despite this substantial body of academic work, extensive inequalities persist in contemporary practice. In the UK, the archaeological workforce demographics evidenced in the regular *Profiling the Profession* exercise provide an important insight. Although the gender gap has narrowed significantly from around 70% of archaeologists being male in 1997 to almost equal figures in 2020 (Aitchison, German and Rocks-Macqueen 2021), this is not the case for all age brackets. Most archaeologists aged 45 and over are men (Aitchison, German and Rocks-Macqueen 2021, fig. 2.4.2), reflecting that most senior roles are still male dominated. Moreover, *Profiling the Profession* demonstrates that 97% of archaeologists in the UK are white and 89% are not disabled (Aitchison, German and Rocks-Macqueen 2021), whilst studies of diversity in archaeology students suggest significant barriers to progression persist as they show a much greater diversity amongst students than professionals (Cobb 2015). Similar gendered imbalances at senior levels, and a lack of racial diversity and disabled archaeologists are evidenced in other studies of the archaeological workforce in America (Zeder 1997), Canada (Overholtzer and Jalbert 2021), Australia (Ulm *et al.* 2013) and across Europe (Aitchison *et al.* 2014) (for a fuller discussion of these statistics, see Cobb and Croucher 2020, 93–102). Furthermore, workforce statistics are only one part of the picture. Alongside these figures, a series of recent quantitative and qualitative accounts highlight the prevalence of sexual harassment within the entirety of archaeological practice, from the professional settings of developer-led and cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology to academic field schools and research (Colaninno *et al.* 2020; Coltofean-Arizancu *et al.* 2023; Hawkins and Rees 2018, Hawkins and Rees 2020; Hodgetts *et al.* 2020; Voss 2021a, 2021b).

This brief literature review highlights the robust legacies of feminism and intersectional approaches to inequality in archaeology and the many academic publications that have raised and attempted to address the gendered and intersectional inequalities that continue to persist in our subject. This means that, as social media platforms grew from the first decade of the 21st century and opportunities arose for women and minoritised archaeologists to speak out about their experiences of harassment and inequity, there was a strength of academic work that bolstered the growing online critique (Cobb and Crellin 2022). We return to explore this in archaeology shortly, but crucially it is not only the strength of academic voices that emboldened archaeological activists online. Beyond archaeology, a broader global development of social media activism had been on the rise since the mid 2000s, most powerfully exemplified by the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements, and these also played a key role in connecting and galvanising grassroots activism against harassment and discrimination in archaeology.

### **Online Activism and the Emergence of #MeToo and #TimesUp**

As we will discuss shortly, the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements gained global traction in 2017, but to understand their story it is important to recognise that from as early as the first decade of the 21st century there were already a number of powerful national and transnational online activist movements and associated social media hashtags which aimed to highlight issues of harassment and discrimination. #MeToo itself began as a grassroots movement in 2006 in the United States, instigated by survivor and activist Tarana Burke, as a way to empower Black women who had experienced sexual violence, to create support networks and resources and remove feelings of isolation (me too 2022). Also in the US in 2008 the #StopStreetHarassment campaign and hashtag was founded with the aim of documenting

and ending gender-based street harassment, and by the early 2010s this had quickly become a transnational hashtag and movement (Bowles Eagle 2015). Similarly, beginning in the UK but quickly gathering international recognition was the #EverydaySexism project. This was founded by Laura Bates in 2012 to document every day occurrences of sexism and sexual harassment, with the project existing in both a social media account and hashtag and with an accompanying online form for people to record their experiences in order to create a detailed evidence base of such occurrences. Within the first three years of its existence the Everyday Sexism project had collated 100,000 entries in 13 different languages, and this database is now undergoing detailed analysis by researchers at the University of Oxford (Melville, Eccles and Yasseri 2019). In France the #PayeTaShnek movement, founded by Anaïs Bourdet, did a similar piece of work (see Mary *et al.* this volume). Also founded in 2012, and also using social media and an online form to collect testimonies, it culminated in the publication of a volume of selected testimonies edited by Bourdet (Bourdet 2014). Elsewhere localised grassroots social media movements have also had powerful impacts. In India the #BoardtheBus movement was founded in 2014 and encouraged women to reclaim mobility and public spaces (Bowles Eagle 2015). In Argentina the #NiUnaMenos (not one less) movement was founded in 2015 by a collective of artists, journalists and academics as a campaign against femicide and gender-based violence, and with a focus particularly on rights to safe and legal abortions (Diaz 2021). It quickly spread across Latin America and has contributed to the legalisation of abortion in Argentina and movements towards great liberalisation of abortion laws in Mexico and Chile (Diaz 2021). Meanwhile, back in the US, Janet Mock's #GirlsLikeUs and the National Black Justice Coalitions #BlackTransProud have worked to raise awareness about the 'intersection of racial justice and trans equality' (Martin and Valenti 2013).

These social media movements and their accompanying websites and blogs are part of a wider movement of online feminist and intersectional activism that flourished from the 2000s onwards. Their presence, alongside blog sites such as *The Vagenda*, provided a new platform for Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (henceforth EDI) activism, and have been identified by many as a fourth wave of feminist activism (Martin and Velenti 2013). Although there have been mixed discourses about the problems and limitations of the online space for feminist activism (Martin and Velenti 2013; Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2018; Ott 2018), its value for providing a voice for those who might ordinarily be silenced, or have no space to be heard, is undeniable. This is perhaps best exemplified by the explosion of the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements in 2017. By 2017, over a decade of online activism and the effective deployment of other equity related movements such as #EverydaySexism, alongside a more ubiquitous social media culture than ever before, meant that not only were women already primed to use this kind of media to speak out, but that businesses, workplaces, governments and individuals were primed to listen. Thus, when a number of actors began to use the #MeToo hashtag on their social media platforms to highlight the sexual abuse and harassment they had been subjected to by film director Harvey Weinstein and a number of other prominent male figures in the film industry, the world took notice. Very quickly women across the globe took to social media, using the #MeToo hashtag to highlight their own experiences of sexual harassment and abuse in their own lives and workplaces on a scale that had never been seen before. At the same time the Time's Up movement was also launched, which also aimed to use social media platforms and the hashtag #TimesUp to highlight gender based discrimination in the workplace (TIME'SUP 2022). The powerful combination of these two hashtags enabled a global outpouring of the discrimination and harassment many women experienced in workplaces

and throughout their lives. From these broader movements sector specific hashtags emerged, such as #TimesUpAcademia, highlighting the extent and specific nature of harassment and abuse within different workplaces.

The long term implications of these movements are notable in many ways. In the film and theatre industries, for example, cultural changes have taken place with the introduction of intimacy co-ordinators, the removal of known sexual predators from their media platforms, and the high profile imprisonment of the most prolific of such predators, Harvey Weinstein. In the global media (papers in Fileborn and Loney-Howes 2019) and health industries (Choo *et al.* 2019) changes are being noted whilst in the UK, the impacts of the #MeToo movement have been felt even at the heart of government, with the movement leading to the 2018 Women and Equalities Select Committee (WESC) *Sexual Harassment in The Workplace Report* and subsequent 2021 consultation, Dame Laura Cox's (2018) independent review into *The Bullying and Harassment of House of Commons Staff*, Gemma White QC's (2019) *Bullying and Harassment of MPs' Parliamentary Staff* inquiry; and Naomi Ellenbogen QC's (2019) *An Independent Inquiry into Bullying and Harassment in the House of Lords* (Julios 2022). In addition, the UK Parliament's Independent Complaints and Grievance Scheme has been established, and their Helpline contacted by 388 people in 2021/2022 (Julios 2022), whilst 56 MPs are currently facing investigations for sexual misconduct. Of course this doesn't mean change has been ubiquitous (indeed in the case of the UK Parliament Julios (2022) argues that significant changes to the status quo are needed for change to really take place), or that digital feminist activism doesn't have limitations (Mendes 2018; Ott 2018), but none the less social media activism has provided a globally recognised discourse around addressing cultures of harassment in a way that has not been seen before, and in a way that has led to fundamental and tangible change.

### **Impact of #MeToo in Archaeology**

It is no exaggeration to say that, despite the wide body of academic literature in archaeology and heritage that we cite above which has addressed EDI issues in both our contemporary practice and our interpretations of the past, archaeologists have felt increasingly angry that in practice they have seen little in the way of tangible changes to their lived experiences of harassment, discrimination and bullying. As a result, both as part of and stimulated by the social media activism that we review above, this anger has come to the fore over the last decade in the form of a growing movement of grass roots, intersectional activism. This has developed, globally, within the Archaeology and Heritage sector, to play an important role in challenging practices of sexual (and other) harassment, discrimination and bullying in our profession on a scale that has not been seen before. Crucially, rather than occupying traditional academic spaces of discourse, many of these activist movements have been enacted through social and digital media. Sometimes such activism has taken the form of highlighting an immediate moment of harassment and inequality using #MeToo, #TimesUp and #EveryDaySexism and discipline specific hashtags such as #TimesUpArchaeology and #everyDIGsexism in social media such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Sometimes the same media and same hashtags have been powerful tools for the telling of stories of sustained experiences of inequality and harassment experienced over decades. Sometimes the activism we see has taken the form of personal blog posts, dedicated websites or the production of video or digital art – again all shared and reproduced via social media. Sometimes this activism has taken the form of network building through spaces such as Facebook groups, and other social media platforms,

coalescing into the formation of organisations such as Mentoring Womxn in Archaeology and Heritage (hereafter MWAH!), British Women Archaeologists, TrowelBlazers, the RESPECT Campaign (established by one of this volume's editors, Kayt Hawkins), *Paye ta Truelle*, Queer Archaeology, the Enabled Archaeology Foundation, the European Society for Black and Allied Archaeologists, the Society of Black Archaeologists, the Indigenous Archaeology Collective and the Black Trowel Collective (many of these are discussed throughout this volume, and see both front matter and Chapter 20 for full list). All of these forms of activism have enabled immediate, responsive and, crucially, very public ways of highlighting sexual, gendered and intersectional harassment and discrimination, and thus they have been powerful for pushing employers and professional bodies to recognise and act on inequalities in ways that decades of traditional academic discourse have never before been able to. Crucially, though, they have also been important for providing a space for those often rendered voiceless to speak out, and for networks of support and action to emerge.

The development of these movements mirrors the wider global trends in online feminist activism reviewed above. Some, such as TrowelBlazers and the British Women Archaeologists, harnessed the power of blogging and social media networks from very early on, whilst others such as #everyDIGsexism (co-founded in 2015 by one of this volume's editors, Hannah Cobb – and see Cobb this volume) drew on broader trends in hashtag activism to call out sexism. But the real momentum in online activism in our profession followed the explosion of #MeToo from 2017 onwards, as papers in this volume attest. Globally accounts of sexism, sexual harassment and sexual violence in archaeology and heritage were shared using #MeToo and many more were shared in confidence, with a new energy, anger and determination to finally address this issue. In addition to general #MeToo accounts, archaeologists started their own hashtags such as #utgrävningpågår in Sweden (#excavationinprogress, Nilsson-Stutz *et al.* this volume), #PayeTaTruelle in France (Mary *et al.* this volume) and various blogs started to draw together accounts of harassment such as *91 Stories of Archaeology* (Rocks-Macqueen 2018).

Survivor accounts have always been a part of awareness raising, and activism found a renewed strength in sharing these stories. In 2018 at the European Association of Archaeology conference in Spain activists stuck posters around the conference venue with the results of a survey on sexual harassment with space for individuals to add anonymised personal accounts (Coto Sarmiento *et al.* 2018, 2020, 2022, this volume). In 2019, a series of #MeTooInArchaeology conference sessions were organised by The Collective Change, a group of North American archaeologists, during which anonymised accounts of sexual misconduct, harassment and violence, accounts which spanned decades, were read out-loud to the delegates (Collective Change 2019, 12). So powerful was this session at the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) 2019 conference that the room was full and delegates filled the space outside the room in an emotional and resolute show of solidarity. Ironically, at the same meeting the SAA also experienced its own #MeToo moment when an academic, recently banned from his own institution for sexual harassment, was able to register and attend the meeting where his accusers were also present (Flaherty 2019). Women are well practised at implementing, through necessity, buddy-systems and ways of navigating harassers at such events (Voss 2021a, 2021b) however on this occasion, the organisation was called out on social media for failing to act (and eject the alleged harasser) and for gaps in its new anti-harassment policy that allowed such a situation to occur (Flaherty 2019). This has led to direct changes at the SAA and elsewhere, and indeed many organisations have, since 2018, developed policies and

statements relating to sexual harassment, often focusing specifically on their events (though how to protect delegates from harassers in realms outside of the event remains an issue, due largely to a fear of potential legal ramifications). Grass roots activism remains committed to change; further conference sessions followed, within the UK at the Theoretical Archaeology Group conference (2019), at the annual conference of the professional organisation the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (2021), and at the European Association of Archaeology (EAA) in 2021, 2022 and 2023. Many of the papers in this volume began their life as papers delivered, or conversations shared, at these conferences.

### How this Volume is Organised

This brings us neatly to introduce this volume itself. As we note above, many papers arise from the important conference sessions cited here, but it is not a conference proceedings. Indeed, with its mix of conversational pieces, images, blog style reflections and academic style papers, this book may be unlike any archaeological publication that has come before. These different formats reflect a desire to capture activist work, to document it, but also to allow for reflective freedom and, as discussed above, to reduce the burden of voluntary labour on those already engaged in so much of such work via social media and beyond. To enable an ease of referring to different social media platforms without having to constantly define them, the front matter includes a list of social media commonly discussed throughout the volume, and a list of abbreviations, which readers might find helpful.

The volume is structured into five sections. Section one, where you find yourself now, comprises this paper, and one by Alex Fitzpatrick (itself adapted from a combination of blog and conference paper), which set the scene, highlighting the broader debates and context from which papers in the volume arise. This volume also begins each section with an illustration by field archaeologist and artist Rita Pedro, and so the third paper in this introduction is a short piece by Rita providing the background to her illustrations and the issues that they are designed to highlight. Section two brings together accounts of activism which have acted to raise awareness of harassment. In all of these accounts, social media has of course played a part, from acting as a tool to share surveys and toolkits (e.g., Coltofean-Arizancu *et al.*, Balaban *et al.*), to call people out, and to embolden others to speak out about their experiences (e.g., Koparal and Heffron). These papers are also woven into a broader tapestry of activism and awareness raising beyond social media. The third section directly highlights examples of activism, campaigns and resources to address harassment and equity issues which were 'born digital'. Many utilised hashtag activism (e.g., Mary *et al.*; Nilsson Stutz *et al.*), and provide both positive exemplars (e.g., Klembara; Hassett *et al.*), opportunities to form online communities, and online guides to good practice (e.g., Hawkins and Rees; Humphreys *et al.*), all of which have gone on to have significant impacts beyond the online world. The fourth section picks up activism in the workplace, demonstrating how online campaigns have been powerful drivers in stimulating and shaping workplace activism, whether driven by Union engagement (e.g., Watson *et al.*; Schlanker *et al.*), cross-sector initiatives (Coto-Sarmiento *et al.*), or intersectional work place networks (Campbell *et al.*). Finally, the book concludes with a commentary and conclusion paper by Barbara Voss, whose recent papers on harassment (Voss 2021a, 2021b) have shaped and influenced all of the contributors in this volume.

Despite the broad divisions that we have drawn to organise the papers in this volume, there are some notable cross cutting themes which appear throughout. The legality, for example, of holding data about known harassers, of sharing such data, and of naming names in public, is a constant and understandable concern. This concern manifests itself in different ways in different papers. For those who speak for, or represent, broader heritage organisations or universities, speaking out about harassment risks reputational damage and legal charge beyond the individual themselves and may result in them losing their job. On the other hand, for those who may make claims as an individual, there may be no wider legal protection, no workplace safety net, and naming names or speaking out about a known harasser can lead individuals to be both isolated and to have to tread difficult legal paths alone. The flip side of this argument is in the question of anonymity of those undertaking activism or speaking out about harassment. Some papers advocate for such anonymity, recognising how it can be liberating and allow a frank detailing of experiences harassment, whilst others worry that anonymous accounts can undermine the credibility of activism that aims to expose harassment and discrimination.

Many papers in the volume also express the broader tensions of being both activists affiliated with a larger organisations, and activists who are independent of affiliation. The latter means that activists carry heavy burdens of others' trauma and cannot tap into wider support structures to help deal with the personal impact of this. Moreover, independent activists, who are often minoritised already, feel a sense of exhaustion from constantly pushing for change from without, constantly causing trouble, and in turn constantly feeling alienated or isolated because of their stance. In contrast, activists affiliated with organisations feel a suite of other frustrations; the lack of ability to be responsive on social media in the moment because of having to seek organisational permission, the precarity of going against central communication directives, and again the exhausting sense of constantly pushing for change, but this time from within, constantly hitting bureaucratic walls and/or being shut down by hierarchical power structures. For many activists, however they are working, the sense of legacy, of who will take up the baton next, whilst all the while social media fragments, is a pressing concern. Likewise, no matter whether activists are within or independent from larger organisations, the fact that much of the pushing, much of the support for others and the advocacy for change and direct activist actions are in the background, unseen by social media and a wider watching world, is also exhausting.

As Cobb and Crellin have argued (Cobb and Crellin 2022), whatever form it takes, activist work is exhausting, but they point to the affirmative ethics of posthumanist feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti, who argues that 'anger and opposition alone are not enough: they need to be transformed into the power to act so as to become a constitutive force' (Braidotti 2019, 36). And herein lies the final connecting, cross cutting theme of this volume – because each of these papers represents that transformation of anger and opposition into constitutive force. Each of these papers represents amazing and powerful work that is driving change across our sector, and this is our primary aim of the volume; to showcase this incredible activist work in all its forms, so that it will not be lost, forgotten, or consumed by 'ethics-washing' narratives of big business.

### **Who is Missing?**

Undoubtedly there are gaps in this volume, and it is important to hold our hands up and clearly acknowledge these. We are, for instance, painfully aware that the Global South is poorly represented here and for this we are deeply sorry. This is not from a lack of reaching out to colleagues, but represents a range of different trends that have prevented their involvement. In some instances, those we reached out to highlighted that the dangers of activism, and of speaking out about it and publishing on and putting one's name to activism were simply too high. The threats to careers, to lives even, were too huge. In other instances, activists felt they were a single voice in their country and that their activism had not elicited change enough to cover. For others still, the voluntary and unpaid nature of their activist work simply meant that their time and resources were already too stretched to be involved. Indeed, this is just as true of colleagues in the Global North too. Another reason for absences here is because some colleagues we reached out to, again across the world, were in the midst of processing traumatic experiences that had arisen precisely because of their activism, and they simply were unable to contribute because they needed to protect their own wellbeing and mental health. Indeed, the preparation of this volume spanned the global Covid19 pandemic, and for many this meant their time was even further stretched through extraordinary workplace changes and through extraordinary home and care responsibilities, and thus having the voluntary time to do or write about activism, on top of everything else, was impossible.

Another thing we have wrestled with is where we should draw a line within the fuzzy, intersectional boundaries of the work presented here in terms of what is included. In the end we decided to keep the focus of this volume around sexual and gendered harassment, and though we have maintained an intersectional stance, it would be remiss not to highlight that online activism around other areas of discrimination, particularly work to establish race equity, have also been incredibly powerful and deeply inspirational. We acknowledge that the intersections of this work with activism around harassment could have been explored more explicitly, and hope this might provide fertile ground for a future volume.

### **One Last Gap as a Conclusion, and as a Beginning**

We have highlighted the gaps in this volume, but it is perhaps the most telling gap of all that despite all of the brilliant work on gender equity and fighting sexual harassment that is documented here, it remains mainly women and non-binary colleagues that have led the field in this activism. We are sure that many men consider themselves allies, but in the end we need more than this to achieve the equity we seek and to end cultures of gendered violence and sexual harassment that globally continue to pervade archaeology. We need men who are willing also to be activists for this cause, and thus to also carry the burdens of voluntary labour, of hearing and supporting those going through trauma, of pushing workplaces and societies and professional bodies for change. So, we conclude this introduction by appealing particularly to male readers. As Flewellen *et al.* (2021) have called for not just allies but accomplices in striving for race equity, so the same is needed around harassment too. The papers in this volume are sometimes shocking in the harassment and perpetuation of systematic gendered inequity that they highlight, and almost all speak to the need for structural change. If you are reading this volume and, however you identify, you are in a position to help, to push for change, and to raise your voice in support or more, we urge you to do it. Because in the end,

social media activism can only take us so far – real world structural change has to follow, and we urge you to take the papers in this volume as your inspiration and to be active in making such change happen.

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