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DIVERSITY, IDENTITY, AND OPPRESSION

IN THE PRODUCTION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

by

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"Maybe you just haven't met the right man yet."
-field school classmate

"Why don't you take me home in your suitcase so I can fuck you?"
-co-worker on a field project, in the presence of his five-year-old daughter

"I don't do gender archaeology. I do archaeology based on <u>evidence</u>."
-senior male archaeologist

"Simply put, I wrote this book because I could not go any longer without writing it."
-Margaret Price (2011:24)

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates diversity in archaeology using quantitative and qualitative methods drawn from sociology and building on previous studies of gender equity issues in the discipline. I address two major research questions: (1) Who (with regard to race, gender, and sexual orientation) produces archaeological knowledge? (2) How do the identities and experiences of archaeologists affect the knowledge they produce?

I addressed the first through a quantitative study of journal authorship patterns, expanding a long tradition of feminist publication equity studies. My study is the first to look intersectionally at the demographics of publication. I surveyed 5645 scholars who had published in major archaeology journals over a ten-year period. Results show that although archaeology is approaching gender parity, the field remains overwhelmingly white and straight. Straight white male domination is pervasive in almost all subfields and methods, despite the common perception that some subfields are feminine.

The second part of the study was qualitative and based on in-depth interviews with a diverse sample of 72 archaeologists. My interviews showed that the primary

methods of recruitment of archaeologists are directed at (or most accessible to) people with race and class privilege. Archaeologists from marginalized groups face pervasive oppression, ranging from microaggressions to abuse from mentors and colleagues. These hurdles lead some to abandon archaeology, while others must face setbacks to find safety. The knowledge archaeologists create is shaped by their personal interests and political commitments; their experiences and standpoint in society; and the ways their mentors, funding agencies, and the job market encourage or discourage particular paths. All of these forces are, in turn, structured by interlocking social systems of gender, race, and sexuality.

The two studies work together to elucidate the race, gender, and sexuality problems in archaeology. The quantitative study provides a broad overview of the demographics of the discipline, contextualizing the more specific interview study. The interviews provide detail concerning the trends shown in the journal study. By understanding the demographics of archaeology and how they affect knowledge production, we can diversify our discipline and build a more complete and nuanced understanding of the human past.

Preface: The Standpoint of the Author

As a feminist archaeologist, I believe that it is important to make my own identities, experiences, and biases explicit, so that the reader can understand how my standpoint shapes the knowledge I share here. To that end, I provide this brief autobiographical account.

I am a queer white[1] cisgender woman and was born into an upper-middle-class, highly educated family in suburban New Jersey, as a settler on the land of the Lenni Lenape people. I grew up in the town of Ho-Ho-Kus, which has a Lenape name and sports teams called the "Indians" with a racist logo, but no Lenape residents, to my knowledge. I am the only child of a geography professor and a children's librarian, and my childhood was full of books, museum visits, and educational travel experiences. I was named after Laura Ingalls Wilder, author of the *Little House* series of memoirs of life for settler colonists on the western frontier of the United States in the late nineteenth century, which my mother read to me. These sparked an interest in history, especially everyday life, women's experiences, and material culture. I declared that I wanted to be a historian at the age of five; as a middle school student, a family trip to Mesa Verde and an ancient history course helped me discover archaeology.

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[1] In this dissertation, when describing people's racial identities, I capitalize *Black*, *Latino/a/x*, and *Asian*, but keep *white* lowercase. This usage follows that of many Black writers and others writing about racism in the United States, and is based on the idea that Black people in the United States constitute an ethnic group, while most white people may identify with a more specific ethnic identity (Kapitan 2016). I use *Latinx* as a gender-neutral alternative to *Latino* when discussing groups of people or speaking generally, but use *Latino* or *Latina* when discussing specific individuals, depending on their gender identities.

I attended well-funded, predominantly-white public schools from kindergarten through tenth grade and a private college-preparatory day school for the last two years of high school. Beginning in high school, I attended archaeological field schools during the summers: my parents funded my participation in Crow Canyon Archaeological Center's High School Field School program in Colorado and the ArchaeoSpain Pol-Léntia high school program in Spain. I then attended Wesleyan University, a small, progressive, private liberal arts college in Middletown, Connecticut, which has an interdisciplinary archaeology program. I majored in archaeology, spending summers conducting fieldwork in Ecuador, Colorado, and Belize, and a semester abroad in Yucatán, Mexico, all of which was financially supported by my parents. I received extensive support and mentorship from the faculty of the small archaeology program, especially Douglas Charles (who studies Hopewell culture, the ethics of bioarchaeology, and the colonial history of archaeology) and Sarah Croucher (who studied feminist archaeology, colonialism, and the African diaspora in historical archaeology). I wrote a senior honors thesis on Maya obsidian from the site of Ka'Kabish in Belize, where I had conducted fieldwork the previous summer. I also co-founded Students for Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Compliance, which collaborated with the Wesleyan anthropology and archaeology faculty to successfully pressure the university administration to hire a repatriation coordinator to repatriate human remains and grave goods to Native American nations.

Immediately after graduating from Wesleyan, I entered the Ph.D. program in Archaeology at Boston University, for which I am completing this dissertation. I entered

the program with interests in Mesoamerican archaeology, historical archaeology, and the archaeology of identities. I planned to study Postclassic and Colonial Mexico under the supervision of David Carballo and Mary Beaudry, and completed a Master's thesis on a contact-period ceramic assemblage from the site of La Laguna, Tlaxcala, Mexico, which had been excavated by David Carballo. I spent three summers working with the Proyecto Arqueológico Tepeticpac, directed by Aurelio López Corral and Ramón Santacruz Cano of the Tlaxcala office of the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH). I intended to complete a doctoral dissertation at the site, studying early colonial religious and household practices, and successfully defended a dissertation proposal on this topic. However, I was denied a permit to excavate the early Colonial chapel at Tepeticpac, was unable to locate an early Colonial household context to excavate, and became frustrated with the project. I began to believe that I should pursue a career in teaching rather than research, feeling that my research work was neither of high quality nor useful for creating a more just world.

Before abandoning archaeology, however, I thought long and hard about what I had loved about the discipline. I thought through the papers and projects I had found most fascinating, and found the through line: investigating injustice within archaeology and perpetrated by archaeologists against marginalized communities, and finding ways to use archaeology to support struggles for justice. I thought of the times that I and my friends had been sexually harassed, belittled for being women or queer or people of color, and decided to change my dissertation topic. The result is this project.

This dissertation is an intersectional feminist project, with the explicit goal of understanding injustice in my profession in order to build a diverse, inclusive, and justice-seeking archaeology. This project was made possible by the racial and class privilege that helped me enter the discipline of archaeology and access many educational opportunities. It is also informed by the sexism and heterosexism I have experienced from colleagues, and my anger about these injustices. My particular standpoint as a white settler, a queer cisgender woman, a highly-educated middle-class American, and an intersectional feminist deeply shape this project.

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List of Abbreviations

AA   *American Anthropologist*

AAA   American Anthropological Association

AAP   *Advances in Archaeological Practice*

AAQ   *American Antiquity*

AIA   Archaeological Institute of America

AIA-SCS   joint annual meeting of the AIA and the SCS

AJA   the *American Journal of Archaeology*

AM   *Ancient Mesoamerica*

AP3A   the *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*

ARA   the *Annual Review of Anthropology*

CA   *Current Anthropology*

Cambridge   the *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*

COSWA   Committee on the Status of Women in Archaeology (a committee of the SAA)

CRM   Cultural Resource Management

GMAC   Gender and Minority Affairs Committee (a committee of the SHA)

HA   *Historical Archaeology*

HBCU   Historically Black College/University

HSI   Hispanic-Serving Institution

HUGS   Historically Underrepresented Groups Scholarship (offered by the SAA)

IJHA   the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*

INAH	the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Mexican federal government agency overseeing and conducting archaeological research)
JAA	the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*
JAMT	the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*
JAnR	the *Journal of Anthropological Research*
JArR	the *Journal of Archaeological Research*
JFA	the *Journal of Field Archaeology*
JSA	the *Journal of Social Archaeology*
LAQ	*Latin American Antiquity*
MENA	Middle Eastern and/or North African
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
NSF	National Science Foundation
QAIG	Queer Archaeology Interest Group (part of the SAA)
SAA	Society for American Archaeology
SAFE	Survey of Academic Field Experiences (conducted by Clancy and colleagues (2014))
SBA	Society of Black Archaeologists
SCS	Society for Classical Studies
SEAC	Southeastern Archaeology Conference
SHA	Society for Historical Archaeology
SJR	SCImago Journal Rank
WA	*World Archaeology*

WAIG   Women in Archaeology Interest Group (both the SAA and the AIA have

WAIGs)

<u>Part 1: Oppression, Intersectionality, and Archaeological Knowledge</u>

Chapter 1: Introduction

"How can you be an archaeologist when the Smithsonian paid people to cut off Native heads on the battlefield and send them back to Washington to prove white people are smarter? How can you be part of that?"

I was a sophomore in a Native American Studies class, where I was the only archaeologist. It was my favorite class, a small seminar, all women, where we sat around a big table drinking tea and talking about fascinating topics. That day, when we read our professor's research on the history of the Smithsonian and its skull collections (Clouse 2009), the conversation got heated. One of the Black women in my class confronted me with the racism in which my discipline was rooted, and I did not have a good answer for her.

After class, I called my mother in tears, and said I had to quit archaeology. I had to do something good for the world, maybe be a public school teacher. My mom pointed out that if I thought public schools were free of racism, I had not been paying attention to her work stories for all these years. She said that what the world needs is people who love what they do and try to do it ways that make the world better, and reminded me that I had loved archaeology for years. She told me that if all of the archaeologists who are appalled by racism quit, archaeology would continue to be used to support white supremacy, colonialism, and genocide. I went to my professor's office hours, and she told me about

her work in the Smithsonian's repatriation office, returning those human remains to their descendants. I wrote a term paper about indigenous and collaborative archaeologies. I took a class in feminist archaeology. I learned that I was not alone in struggling with the racist, colonialist, sexist, and otherwise oppressive history of my field, and there were many archaeologists working for justice. I continued to pursue a career in archaeology, helped along by my race and class privilege. Ten years later, I am still wrestling with my classmate's question, and I am sure that I will be for as long as I work in archaeology. I am grateful to her for asking it. This dissertation is part of my answer.

Research Questions, Design, and Argument

In this dissertation, I investigate two interrelated research questions. First, who produces archaeological knowledge? Second, how do identities and experiences of gender, race, and sexual orientation shape the knowledge that archaeologists produce? In this section, I will explain what I mean by each of these questions.

When asking "who" creates knowledge in archaeology, I focus on gender, race, and sexual orientation. Although archaeologists hold many identities beyond these three, all of which intersect with each other, I have chosen these as my foci. Gender was a natural choice because it has been the subject of literature on equity issues in archaeology since the 1980s (see Chapter 3). Almost all of the literature on the demographic composition of archaeology focuses exclusively on gender, using a binary system and overlooking the ways that sexism interacts with other types of oppression such as racism, heterosexism, classism, and ableism. I chose to include gender alongside two other types

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of identity, building on and expanding this literature to create an intersectional feminist (see Chapter 2) study.

When considering which other types of identity and oppression to center, I took several factors into account. One was how much scholarly literature already exists about each in archaeology, and whether there are engaged communities of marginalized archaeologists organizing to resist oppression around each axis. As I will explore in Chapter 3, there is limited quantitative literature on the racial and sexual orientation demographics of archaeology, but there are publications on how racism and heterosexism shape archaeological knowledge production, giving me a foundation to build on. Furthermore, there are organized initiatives and communities working to resist heterosexism and racism in the discipline. For example, the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) offers Native American Scholarships and Historically Underrepresented Groups Scholarships (HUGS), as well as the Queer Archaeology Interest Group (QAIG). In the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), all of these efforts fall under the umbrella of the Gender and Minority Affairs Committee (GMAC). There is also the independent Society of Black Archaeologists (SBA) working to challenge racism in the discipline and support Black archaeologists. These research and advocacy efforts gave me foundations on which to build my own study, and communities with whom to collaborate and to whom to be accountable.

I also considered my own positionality when choosing issues of focus. I did not want to study only oppressions that target me, nor only axes of identity along which I hold a position of privilege. As a white queer cisgender woman, I hold racial and

cisgender privilege, but am marginalized by sexism and heterosexism. This mixture of privilege and oppression meant that I am both working within my own communities (women, queer people) and using my social power to stand in solidarity with marginalized people whose identities I do not share (people of color, transgender people).

Of course, there are many other types of diversity and oppression at work in archaeology, including class, disability, nationality, age, and size. In order to keep my project manageable, I had to choose among these many important issues. As I will discuss in the conclusion (Chapter 11), I plan to expand this work to more effectively address class and disability issues, but for the purposes of this dissertation, I primarily focus on gender, sexuality, and race when discussing who produces archaeological knowledge. I briefly address other types of identity and discrimination when relevant and as they naturally arose in my interviews.

This dissertation is not focused only on the demographics of archaeologists or the ways that sexism, racism, and heterosexism negatively impact marginalized people pursuing archaeological careers. Although I do believe that the profession of archaeology should be welcoming and respectful to anyone with an interest in the past, in this dissertation, I am interested in the implications of diversity issues for the work we do. The purpose of archaeology is to learn about the human past, to produce knowledge. I seek to understand the relationships between our demographics and that understanding of the past. Therefore, in investigating who participates in archaeology, I am most interested in who has the opportunity to interpret the past and disseminate that understanding to other archaeologists and to broader publics.

Since the earliest feminist critiques of archaeology, feminist scholars have connected the gender balance (or imbalance) of the discipline to the ways we understand (or fail to understand) gender relations in past societies (see Chapter 3). This logic is based in feminist standpoint theory, which argues that all knowledge is shaped by the standpoint (or identity, experiences, and social position) of the knower, and that women and other marginalized people have an advantage in understanding oppressive systems because of our experiences of oppression (see Chapter 2). Feminist archaeologists and others whose theory could be characterized as "postprocessual" have long argued that archaeologists are not objective, and that our standpoints shape our research questions and interpretations. In this dissertation, I uncover the mechanisms by which the standpoints of individual archaeologists shape their career trajectories and interests, and therefore the knowledge they produce.

I address these questions using two studies: a quantitative journal authorship study (Part 2) and a qualitative in-depth interview study (Part 3). In the quantitative study, I surveyed authors who had published in any of twenty-one major peer-reviewed journals over a ten-year period, asking them for their self-identifications in terms of race, gender, sexual orientation, and nationality. This allowed me to show the dominance of straight cisgender white people, especially men, in the production of archaeological knowledge. I was also able to show that while some subfields, methods, and regions of the world are more diverse than others, nearly all have more men than women, and much higher numbers of white people and straight people than people of color and queer people.

For the qualitative study, I conducted in-depth interviews with a diverse sample of 72 archaeologists, asking them about their career paths, their specializations, and their experiences and perceptions of racism, sexism, and heterosexism in archaeology. These colleagues gave generously of their time and their stories, allowing me to show how the mechanisms of recruitment of new archaeologists and the career paths of professionals are shaped by discrimination and privilege. Through their descriptions of how they developed projects and their research trajectories, I was able to see how the identities and experiences of archaeology scholars shape the knowledge they produce.

By using mixed methods, I was able to gain a more complete and nuanced picture of oppression and archaeology than I could have with either of the studies alone. The quantitative study provides a broad but shallow summary of the demographic composition of the discipline. The interviews were with a much smaller sample of people, and thus the qualitative study is narrower, but it permitted me to develop a deeper understanding of how and why racism, sexism, and heterosexism affect archaeological research, explaining the trends identified by the quantitative study.

Based on the results of these two studies, I argue that the discipline of archaeology remains dominated by straight people, white people, and cisgender men across almost all subfields and methods, but especially in prestigious positions, publications, and subfields. This situation persists because our main methods of recruiting new generations of archaeologists are particularly accessible and appealing to young people with privilege. Once people enter a career in archaeology, there are a variety of ways that marginalized people are made unwelcome, ranging from

microaggressions to harassment and assault, causing setbacks and leading some marginalized people to leave the discipline prematurely. This set of circumstances causes archaeologists, especially those in positions of power, to remain predominantly straight white cisgender men. The questions each scholar asks of the archaeological record are shaped by their particular identities and experiences, and their opportunities to pursue those research questions, in part because of differential access to the good mentorship and professional networks that furnish these opportunities. Our limited diversity leads us to overlook many fruitful avenues of research, and limits our understandings of systems of oppression and marginalized communities in the past.

Structure of the Dissertation

I present my work in four parts, each building on the previous sections. Part 1 presents the foundations of this research. Following this introduction, Part 1 includes two chapters that provide the academic context for this dissertation. Chapter 2 explores intersectional feminist theory and feminist standpoint theory, both of which borrow from interdisciplinary gender studies scholarship and inform the logic of this project. Then, in the third chapter, I provide an overview of anti-oppression work in archaeology, including feminist, anti-racist, and queer theory and practice in the field, and advocacy efforts within the discipline. In doing this work, I stand on the shoulders of generations of feminist scholars and activist archaeologists who came before me, and throughout Part 1, I explain this legacy and how my project builds upon it.

After this foundation is laid, the next two parts present the two major studies that make up the project. Part 2 focuses on the quantitative journal authorship study, which was designed to address the questions of who conducts archaeological research and whether there are correlations between a scholar's identity and their subfields, methods, regions, and topics of study. I begin this section with a chapter explaining the rationale and methods of the study (Chapter 4). Next, I present the results and interpretations in two chapters. Chapter 5 focuses on the demographics of archaeology as a discipline, while Chapter 6 explores the correlations between identity and topic of study. Finally, in Chapter 7, as I transition to the qualitative realm, I interpret the ways that archaeologists resisted my survey and the questions on it, using the lenses of recent feminist and critical race theories.

In Part 3 I present my qualitative interview study. Again, I begin with a chapter explaining my rationale and methods (Chapter 8), followed by two chapters of results and interpretation. In Chapter 9, I follow the trajectory of an archaeologist's career, showing how differential recruitment, obstacles along the way, and premature endings to careers are caused by racism, sexism, and heterosexism in the discipline. Finally, in Chapter 10, I use feminist standpoint theory and my interviewees' stories to explore the ways archaeologists form scholarly interests and then seek opportunities to pursue those interests, with the help of mentors and professional networks. These interests, opportunities, and access to mentors and networks are all shaped by race, gender, and sexual orientation.

Finally, Part 4 consists of a single concluding chapter, in which I sum up my arguments and draw connections between the quantitative and qualitative studies. Then, I lay out my plans for future research building on this dissertation. I close by suggesting concrete steps for individual archaeologists, field projects, academic departments, and professional organizations to take in order to contribute to a more diverse and inclusive archaeology.

Chapter 2: Intersectional Feminism and Ways of Knowing

Two bodies of feminist theory have informed my research design and interpretation: intersectional feminism and theories of identity and knowledge. Intersectional feminism is the idea that all of the forms of oppression in our society (e.g., sexism, racism, heterosexism) are interrelated, and cannot be fully understood in isolation from one another. As Audre Lorde (1984:138) noted, "There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives." If we study gender equity issues in isolation from other types of social difference, as feminist archaeologists have long done, we will not fully understand gender issues, because in each archaeologist's life, her experience of sexism is inflected by her experience of racism or racial privilege. Thus, a commitment to intersectional feminism shapes how I ask my first research question: "who produces archaeological knowledge?" I expand on single-issue gender equity studies to provide an intersectional view. The first half of this chapter is a brief introduction to intersectional feminist theory, including its history, the ways it is used today in gender studies research, and the ways it has been taken up in archaeology. I also situate this dissertation among the various threads of intersectional feminism.

My second question, "how do identities and experiences of gender, race, and sexual orientation shape the knowledge that archaeologists produce?" requires an understanding of how these interlocking systems affect knowledge. In order to effectively address this question, I use a combination of several feminist theories of epistemology, including Nancy Hartsock and others' work on feminist standpoint theory, Miranda

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Fricker's theory of epistemic injustice, and work by feminist archaeologists such as Alison Wylie and Joan Gero on feminist knowledge production in the discipline. In the second half of this chapter, I will introduce these interrelated bodies of work. I use these theories as a foundation for my argument that the identities of individual archaeologists shape the kinds of knowledge they produce, and that the demographic imbalances of the field therefore are not only inherently unjust, but also negatively affect our understanding of the human past.

Intersectional Feminism

The concept of intersectionality

It currently seems like the word *intersectionality* is everywhere. Following the inauguration of President Donald Trump in 2017, there have been a series of large-scale protests—the Women's March, the March for Science, the People's Climate March—that have been surrounded by loud public discussions of intersectionality. The Women's March was criticized for its masses of white women in pink "pussy" hats, few of whom had been to protests with Black Lives Matter and other progressive anti-oppression movements before they felt personally affected by Trump's misogyny. The March for Science organizers fought with each other about whether to be "political" by standing up for scientists who are women, non-white, queer, and/or disabled. Discourses about intersectionality are everywhere in relationship to these struggles.

The term is not new, however (Crenshaw 1989). In a recent podcast interview, Black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (who coined the term) told a story that

perfectly explains the concept of intersectionality (Nigatu and Clayton 2017). In the
1980s, before authoring the article introducing the term, Crenshaw was working with
Black women who were trying to find employment with American car companies. These
companies hired Black men to do the heaviest manual labor, white women to do
secretarial work in offices, and white men to do lighter manual labor and managerial
work. Black women wanted access to steady unionized jobs, but were never hired, so
they sued the car companies for discriminatory hiring practices. Judges in these cases,
however, ruled against the Black women. They could not prove that there was gender
discrimination, since there were plenty of (white) women working in the offices of the
companies. There was also no proof of racial discrimination: the factories hired Black
(male) people. The Black women were left with no recourse. The law could not see their
particular experience of racial and gender discrimination because it insisted on seeing
race and gender as separate categories.

Frustrated and inspired by these cases, Crenshaw set out to explore the other ways
that Black women were left out of programs and laws that should be protecting them. In a
set of two articles, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex" (1989) and
"Mapping the Margins" (1991), she argued that, by ignoring the particular ways that
racism and sexism intersect, legal systems rendered the experiences of Black women
invisible.

> The problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference, as
> some critics charge, but rather the opposite—that it frequently conflates or ignores
> intragroup differences. In the context of violence against women, this elision of
> difference in identity politics is problematic, fundamentally because the violence

that many women experience is often shaped by other dimensions of their identities, such as race and class (Crenshaw 1991:1242).

Crenshaw advocated for an intersectional view, which would "account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw 1991:1245).

In their recent book *Intersectionality*, Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge (2016) acknowledge the diverse ways activists and scholars use the term, and provide a consensus definition. I provide their full definition here for the sake of clarity.

> Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves (Collins and Bilge 2016:2).

Women of color feminism and the genealogy of the idea of intersectionality

Although Crenshaw was the first to use the word *intersectionality*, she was not the first to think or write about the intersections of race and gender. Her work draws on and fits into a much longer tradition of women of color feminism, and specifically Black feminism. The tradition of Black women exploring the ways that racism and sexism are mutually reinforcing arguably stretches all the way back to Sojourner Truth. Her "Ar'n't I a Woman?" speech at the Ohio Woman's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851,

has lived on in feminist mythology. It was immortalized in suffragist Frances Dana

Gage's account in the *New York Independent*, which quoted Truth as saying,

> Dat man over dar say dat woman needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have de best place eberywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or ober mud-puddles, or gives me any best place, and ar'n't I a woman? Look at me. Look at my arm. I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns, and ar'n't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man (when I could get it) and bear de lash as well—and ar'n't' I a woman? I have borne thirteen chillen, and seen 'em mos' all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard—an ar'n't I a woman? (Truth qtd. in Gage qtd. in Painter 1996:167)

As Truth's biographer, Nell Irvin Painter, pointed out, this account was certainly

embellished (Painter 1996:164–178). It was published a full twelve years after the

original speech, and differed from abolitionist Marius Robinson's more sober account,

which was published immediately after the event. Sojourner Truth had five children, not

thirteen. Furthermore, Gage puts Truth's words into a stereotypical Southern dialect that

(besides being internally inconsistent) is not how she spoke, since Truth grew up in New

York state and lived in the North for most of her life. Regardless of these

embellishments, however, it is clear that Truth saw the ways that gender and race worked

together to shape her life and experiences of oppression. In fact, after the Civil War,

when the abolition and women's suffrage movements were splitting into factions—with

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony arguing for white women's voting rights

to come first and other activists prioritizing Black men's suffrage—Truth refused to pick

a side, declaring that "If colored men get their rights, and not colored women theirs, you

see the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was

before" (qtd. in Painter 1996:220). Sojourner Truth is one of the first Black feminist

thinkers whose words we have recorded (although always mediated by literate colleagues), and she refused to treat race and gender as separate categories.

In her chapter on intersectionality in the recent *Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, Brittney Cooper (2016) does not trace the genealogy of the idea quite so far back in time. She does quote turn-of-the-20th-century Black women activists Anna Julia Cooper and Mary Church Terrell in their articulations of the differences between white women's and Black women's experiences of the "woman question." Cooper then points out the thread of intersectionality in Civil Rights activist Pauli Murray's formulation of "Jane Crow" to describe the ways that segregation laws differentially affected women. Next came the Combahee River Collective of the 1970s, whose members asserted that "the major systems of oppression are interlocking… the synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives" (qtd. in Cooper 2016:388). Crenshaw's term draws on this long history of theorizing by Black women.

Crenshaw drew more directly on the work of women of color feminists in the 1980s. At the beginning of the decade, the anthology *This Bridge Called My Back* was published (Moraga and Anzaldúa 2015 [1981]). This book included writing and visual art by a diverse group of radical women of color, many of whom reflected on experiences of racism within feminist movements and sexism within antiracist movements. Anzaldúa's masterpiece, *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987), drew on her experience as a Chicana queer woman growing up in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands of southern Texas in order to explore and resist boundaries, borders, and binaries. Sexuality, language, ethnicity, gender, and nationality are all woven together in *Borderlands/La Frontera*: although it

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was published two years before Crenshaw's "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex," the book is all about intersectionality.

The 1980s also saw a flourishing of specifically Black feminist intersectional theorizing. bell hooks' (1984) *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* laid out her theory of a "white supremacist capitalist heteropatriarchy." She critiqued second-wave feminism for its focus on the patriarchy alone, without an analysis of how patriarchy is interrelated with white supremacy, capitalism, and heteronormativity. In the essays collected in *Sister Outsider* (1984), Audre Lorde articulated the ways mainstream feminist movements ignored the particular concerns of Black women. For example, in "Age, Race, Class and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," she wrote that, "Some problems we share as women, some we do not. You fear your children will grow up to join the patriarchy and testify against you, we fear our children will be dragged from a car and shot down in the street, and you will turn your backs upon the reasons they are dying" (Lorde 1984:119).

When Crenshaw coined the term "intersectionality," she was not making up a new idea. She was applying the ideas of Truth, Cooper, Terrell, Murray, Moraga, Anzaldúa, hooks, Lorde, and many other women of color to the particular legal situations she studied. She introduced *intersectionality* as a shorthand for the approach she used, built on the foundations of these earlier theorists. The term and the approach have been picked up and used by a wide variety of feminist theorists and activists in the decades since Crenshaw's foundational works were published.

Intersectional feminist theory today

What are feminist theorists doing with the idea of intersectionality today? There have been several important pieces of scholarship summarizing the state of intersectional feminist theory and research in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. These reviews have shown the diversity of ways intersectionality has been applied, tensions among different uses of the idea, and the continuing fruitfulness of intersectional research.

Leslie McCall (2005) summarized literature on intersectional feminism and found three major strands—anti-categorical, intracategorical, and intercategorical—which fall along a spectrum. Anti-categorical researchers seek to deconstruct the categories of identity, including gender, race, and sexuality, which they see as inherently oppressive. Intracategorical intersectional scholarship focuses on the differences within a particular category, for example, differences between Black, white, and Latina women. Finally, McCall advocated for the intercategorical approach, in which critical realists can focus on the categories of identity themselves and the ways that they produce inequalities. McCall's own intercategorical research employs positivist, quantitative methods, using large-scale data sets to show inequities across a variety of different forms of oppression.

Like McCall, sociologists Hae Yeon Choo and Myra Max Ferree (2010) surveyed intersectional feminist work and identified three different threads. They find that scholars have used intersectionality in the following ways: by centering the identities of multiply-marginalized groups, by investigating how the processes of oppression interact with each other in specific contexts, and by examining how oppressive systems are always

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interacting in all contexts. These three categories do not map onto McCall's strands because they are delineated not by their approach to identity categories but by the scale on which they examine intersections, ranging from within one person's life to particular social contexts to seeing them as present throughout social systems.

Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall's "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies" (2013) was a third explication of intersectionality studies and its various threads, in the form of an introduction to a special issue of the journal *Signs*. Cho and colleagues also identified three strands: research into the dynamics of intersections between identities, discourse about the meaning of intersectionality, and intersectional political activist work. This third tripartite taxonomy of intersectionality studies is based on the purpose of the work rather than on its approach to categorization or its scale of inquiry. The authors advocated for bringing the strands of research, theorizing, and activism together, fusing theory and its applications. Collins and Bilge (2016) highlight a similar tension in intersectional feminism, between inquiry and praxis. Like Cho and colleagues, Collins and Bilge see activists and researchers using the concept of intersectionality in overlapping and contradictory ways, and argue that this tense relationship between theory and praxis is a creative space for the future of intersectional feminism.

From these recent reviews, we can see that intersectional theories from Crenshaw and her Black feminist predecessors have been taken up by researchers and activists working in a variety of arenas. Although there are different approaches to intersectional

inquiry, these tensions are fruitful in producing activism and knowledge that deepens our understanding of multiple forms of oppression and their interactions.

Intersectionality in archaeology

Although studies of equity issues within the discipline of archaeology have generally not been intersectional, some archaeologists have used intersectionality theory when examining identity and oppression in the human past. This kind of work often falls under the umbrellas of "social archaeology" (e.g., Meskell and Preucel 2004) or "the archaeology of identity" (e.g., Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005; Insoll 2007). Feminist and gender archaeology have been under development since the 1980s, with archaeologists trying to define and understand gender in the archaeological record (e.g., Conkey and Spector 1984; Wylie 1991; Conkey and Gero 1997; Gilchrist 1999; Sørenson 2000; Nelson 2004, 2015; Whitehouse 2007). There is also a strong body of literature on race (e.g., Agbe-Davies 1998, 2003; Orser 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007; Gosden 2006; Mullins 2008), especially in historical archaeology. Some of the relevant literature talks about multiple axes of oppression together, especially books focused on showing the lives of marginalized people in the past (e.g., Scott 1994; Delle et al. 2000).

One of the first explicitly intersectional archaeology books was Eleanor Casella and Chris Fowler's (2005) edited volume, *The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities: Beyond Identification*. As Casella and Fowler discuss in their introduction, people have a variety of identities that intersect. Archaeologists do often focus on one type of identity or axis of oppression at a time, as in the books where each axis has its

own separate chapter (e.g., Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005; Insoll 2007). In editing this volume, Casella and Fowler highlighted archaeological research that used an intersectional lens.

Black women archaeologists, few as they are, have long been inspired by political commitments to antiracism and feminism (Franklin 1997; Agbe-Davies 1998; Franklin and McKee 2004). Archaeologists who study Black women but are not Black women themselves have also drawn on these theories (Wilkie 2003; Galle and Young 2004). Fifteen years ago, Maria Franklin (2001) called for an explicitly Black feminist archaeology, and this call was answered by one of her mentees a decade later (Battle-Baptiste 2011). In *Black Feminist Archaeology*, Whitney Battle-Baptiste lays an even broader groundwork for Black feminist archaeology, drawing heavily on the work of Patricia Hill Collins, the Combahee River Collective, Alice Walker, and other Black women thinkers. Woven into her critical analyses of three historical sites formed by African American communities, Battle-Baptiste tells the story of her own development as an archaeologist and Black feminist thinker. This monograph has become an essential text in the field.

Intersectional theory has also been commonly used in the archaeology of colonialism. For example, Kathleen Deagan (1973, 1985, 1990, 1992, 1998) first proposed the "St. Augustine Model" over 45 years ago. In Spanish colonial settings like St. Augustine, Florida, Spanish men often married or cohabitated with indigenous women. Deagan argued that these households would present themselves to the public as Spanish, with European material culture in the more public spaces, but private spaces would be dominated by indigenous women and their traditions. This model has been

criticized and re-theorized, especially by Barbara Voss (2008a), who argues that the model is based on a series of binaries—man/woman, public/private, and colonial/indigenous—that should not be carelessly applied to past societies. The categories of colonial and indigenous, as well as African, are internally heterogeneous, and mestizaje created people who fell between the categories. Despite these problems with her original model, Deagan's theory laid the groundwork in the archaeology of colonialism for sustained discussion of gender, race, and their intersections.

Since Deagan, intersectionality has been taken up by archaeologists studying European colonialism around the world. Voss (2008b) applied an intersectional framework (as well as elements of queer theory) to her study of colonial San Francisco. She also co-edited with Eleanor Casella a volume called *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects* (2012), which included chapters examining the diverse sexualities of colonizers and colonized people of various cultures, races, and genders. Sarah Croucher's (2011, 2012, 2015) work on a nineteenth-century Omani clove plantation in Zanzibar is another excellent example. Croucher examines the lives and experiences of the various members of the Omani family that owned the Mgoli Plantation, and the sub-Saharan Africans they enslaved. She shows the ways that Omani women, enslaved fieldworker women, and one person Croucher identifies as a concubine experienced gender and sexuality differently.

Currently, intersectional theory seems to be having something of a heyday in archaeology. In 2017, both the SHA and the SAA annual meetings featured symposia on intersectional archaeology. The SHA symposium, "Intersectionality as Emancipatory

Archaeology," featured 16 papers about diverse archaeological contexts. Symposium participants applied intersectionality theory to educating Washington, D.C., youth about archaeology (Jones 2017), the Pauli Murray Project (Betti and Agbe-Davies 2017), analysis of white women planters' roles at Montpelier (Reeves 2017), and Black women's consumption patterns at a postbellum farm in Texas (Lee 2017), among many other subjects. Three months later, the SAA symposium, "Gender, Race, and Other Consequential Categories: Experiments in Intersectional Archaeology," featured another diverse range of presentations. These ranged from analyses of the white masculinities of antebellum college students (Hodge 2017; Schwartz 2017) to critical views of nineteenth-century Irish and Jewish urban experiences (Linn 2017; Spencer-Wood 2017) to an exploration of the lives of a racially diverse community of military laundresses in Texas (Eichner 2017). Some of these papers effectively centered multiply-marginalized people, drawing on Crenshaw's tradition of making women of color and others oppressed in multiple ways "visible."

The SAA symposium included three papers that were not focused on historical archaeology: Alison Damick's (2017) paleoethnobotantical study of Bronze Age Lebanon, Lewis Borck and Leslie Aragon's (2017) anarcha-feminist re-examination of vulva-shaped Hohokam ball courts, and my own preliminary data on publication trends in SAA-published journals (Heath-Stout 2017a). It is no coincidence, however, that both symposia were dominated by historical archaeologists, even at the more prehistory-centered SAA conference. The archaeology of identities has generally been centered in historical archaeology, since it is easier to recognize past identities when using both

textual and material records. Looking at the intersection of multiple identities or axes of oppression makes the task that much more complicated, especially for prehistoric archaeologists. Thus far, few prehistorians have taken up the challenge. In historical archaeology, however, intersectional theory is enjoying a period of popularity, and I hope that its use will continue to expand.

An intersectional feminist study of knowledge production in archaeology

This dissertation is grounded in the tradition of intersectional feminism. Rather than continuing to study gender equity in the discipline without reference to other types of identity and oppression (see Chapter 3), I consider the intersections of gender, race, and sexual orientation. It is not enough to calculate what percentage of articles are by people of which gender, and what percentage are by people of which race. I must combine the two variables to see how many are by white men, how many are by men of color, how many are by white women, how many are by women of color, how many are by non-binary people of each race. This approach provides a fuller picture of the diversity (or lack thereof) in archaeology today.

My work draws on several of the diverse intersectional feminist thinkers described above, but the two main pieces of this dissertation fit into the syntheses of intersectionality theory in particular ways. First, the quantitative journal authorship study is inspired by McCall's (2005) intercategorical approach, which she argues has been less commonly applied than the other two, but can be extremely fruitful. This approach provisionally accepts racial, gender, and other identity categories in order to strategically

understand the differences in experience among people at a wide variety of different intersectional points. This outlook lends itself well to larger-scale, quantitative studies. For example, the American Association of University Women publishes reports on the gender and race pay gaps in the United States (Hill et al. 2017). They show not only the differences between the average woman's salary and the average man's salary (the oft-quoted 80 cents on the dollar), but also the disparities among different intersectional race and gender groups. For example, Asian women make more than 80 cents on white men's dollar, while Black women make far less. White women, in fact, make more than Black men do, on average. This type of intercategorical, quantitative, intersectional research complicates simple statistics about men and women. My journal authorship study will take this approach, both updating and complicating the gender equity publications of the 1990s.

The other piece of my dissertation is the qualitative interview study. This study is inspired, in part, by the work of Cho and colleagues (2013). As discussed above, Cho and colleagues also divide intersectional feminism into three strands and call for a fusion of these: for research that fuels activism and activism based in research, and all the while for thoughtfulness about theory and method. Although my dissertation most easily falls into their first approach (research into the dynamics of intersections between identities), I hope that it will have applications for advocacy work within the discipline, whether my own or of others. As I learn about, participate in, and interview members of groups like the SBA, the SAA's QAIG, and the SHA's GMAC, I am building relationships of accountability. I am now a member of the SAA's Task Force on Sexual and Anti-

Harassment Policies and Procedures. I hope that my research will prove useful to these organizations, and I plan to continue to prioritize the utility of the work for political action.

One of the paradoxes of intersectional research is that the more intersecting axes one includes in one's study, the more complex the study becomes and the more difficult it becomes to say anything meaningful. I could keep adding axes of oppression to this dissertation project; socioeconomic class and disability are left out, not to mention religion, nationality, age, and language. If I did that, however, it would become increasingly difficult to say anything about race, gender, and sexual orientation, and so I have had to pick and choose, which feels contradictory to my commitment to intersectional feminism. I have made a compromise, therefore, in which I focus on these three particular axes, and discuss others as they arose in interviews. I begin with gender, which has been most studied; race, which we must study as a discipline mired in colonialism and living in the age of Trump; and sexuality, about which conversations in the discipline are just beginning. They exist together in what bell hooks called the capitalist white supremacist heteropatriarchy, and so I will examine them as axes that are always intersecting.

Identity and Knowledge

I argue in this dissertation that the knowledge archaeologists create is terribly limited by the lack of racial, gender, and sexual diversity among archaeological researchers. In order to make this argument, I draw on feminist standpoint theory,

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theories of epistemic justice, and feminist archaeological theory about ambiguity and multivocality, each of which I describe in the following sections.

Feminist standpoint theory

Feminist standpoint theory concerns itself with elucidating how women (and other marginalized people) understand patriarchy (and other forms of oppression) because of their particular standpoint within that system. Nancy Hartsock (1983), one of the first proponents of this theory, sought to apply Marxism to the study of gender, arguing that this feminist historical materialism might simultaneously help feminist scholars understand the workings of patriarchy and help Marxist scholars understand the workings of classism without an androcentric bias. Marx had argued that in a capitalist society, there are two major class positions or standpoints—the working class and the owning class—and that only members of the working class could have a "correct vision of class society" (Hartsock 1983:158). Hartsock (1983:159) argues that, analogously, "women's lives make available a particular and privileged vantage point on male supremacy," that women, due to the nature of their work as food providers and mothers, have a clearer view of patriarchy than men can. Her work was unfortunately gender-essentialist, especially the equation of womanhood with biological motherhood (which excludes girls and young women, childless women, adoptive mothers, and transgender women). Yet the idea of a woman's standpoint as an epistemological strength has formed the basis for the development of feminist standpoint theory, also known as standpoint feminism, within the philosophy of science (e.g., Code 1991; Collins 1991a, 1991b, 1996; Hartman and

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Messer-Davidow 1991; Harding 1991, 1993, 1996a, 2006, 2015; Kenney and Kinsella 1997; Crasnow 2009; Intemann 2010; Wylie 2011a, 2012; Mukherjee 2017; Whitson 2017).

> Feminist standpoint theory is based on three main claims, according to Bowell:
>
> (1) Knowledge is socially situated. (2) Marginalized groups are socially situated in ways that make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than it is for the non-marginalized. (3) Research, particularly that focused on power relations, should begin with the lives of the marginalized. (Bowell n.d.)

In a different formulation, by Intemann (2010:783), Bowell's second and third claims are reworked into the thesis that "Some standpoints, specifically the standpoints of marginalized or oppressed groups, are epistemically advantaged (at least in some contexts)." She also clarifies that the idea of a "women's standpoint" does not elide differences among women or preclude intersectional analysis: indeed, Black feminism has often been conceptualized within the framework of standpoint theory (e.g., Collins 1991a, 1991b, 1996), since it takes the experiences and knowledges of Black women as a starting point for inquiry and activism. As Patricia Hill Collins (1996:222) puts it, "Like other subordinate groups, African American women not only have developed distinctive interpretations of Black women's oppression but have done so by using alternative ways of producing and validating knowledge itself." Intemann thus rewords the idea that "knowledge is socially situated" to say that,

> knowledge is achieved by epistemic communities whose members share a normative commitment to the aims of inquiry and develop a critical consciousness of how their individual experiences, in virtue of their social positions, bear on the formulation of research questions, the selection of methodologies, as well as the

evaluation of hypotheses, background assumptions, and interpretations of data. (Intemann 2010:786–787)

This idea that specialized knowledge is not innately possessed by marginalized people, but must be achieved through conversation and work in an epistemic community also addresses the problems in standpoint theory of disagreements among members of a community and of the ways that marginalized people can work to uphold oppressive systems. In this formulation, marginalized people have an epistemic advantage over their privileged counterparts in that their situated knowledge may be developed to be stronger and clearer. One way that this knowledge is built is explained by feminist affect theorist Sara Ahmed (2012, 2017), whose interviews with higher education diversity workers showed how they learned through the experience of advocating for change and then seeing where in the "institutional plumbing" of the university their ideas got "stuck" and created a "blockage." Thus, diversity workers have access to knowledge of the forces preventing diversification of the institution that they form through the practice of their work, in an epistemic community of fellow diversity advocates (see Chapter 7 for further discussion of Ahmed's work).

All of these theorists together show that all knowledge is specific to the social locations of its holders and creators, and that marginalized people have an epistemic advantage over those who do not experience marginalization. What does this mean for the practices of research? Sandra Harding (e.g., 1986, 1991, 1993, 1996b, 2006, 2015) elaborated the idea of "strong objectivity," another central piece of standpoint feminism, arguing that,

the methods, assumptions, and results of research in 'good science,' not just in 'bad science' have in themselves sometimes advanced sexist and androcentric projects. Conventional standards for objectivity, rationality, and good method appear to be incompetent to detect these sexist and androcentric values and interests. (Harding 2006:80)

This incompetence is based in the repudiation of anything considered feminine or primitive (i.e., non-white) in constructing this standardized standpoint from which scientists view the world. Only politically engaged science has been able to effectively identify and correct for these biases, according to Harding (2006:81). Therefore, politically-engaged research, rather than being less objective and more biased than mainstream science, is in fact more strongly objective because it faces its biases head-on and incorporates knowledges from multiple standpoints. Strong objectivity, like more conventional ideas of objectivity, emphasizes scrutinizing claims and how they fit the data they seek to use, and listening closely to the comments of critics in order to make a rigorous argument (Harding 2015).

In summary, feminist standpoint theory teaches that knowledge is created through the particular experiences of its creators, and thus the knowledge of people with different identities and social positions will be different. Furthermore, marginalized people have an epistemic advantage: their knowledge of systems of oppression is often clearer than that of the people those systems privilege. By incorporating and listening to the voices and knowledges of marginalized people, communities and academic disciplines can gain a more rigorous understanding of social systems. Because the purpose of archaeology is to understand past social systems, it follows that the discipline should aim for diversity and

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that archaeologists should listen closely to colleagues who have been targeted by racism, sexism, heterosexism, and/or other systems of oppression.

Epistemic (in)justice

Marginalized people are not always listened to or believed, however. Philosopher Miranda Fricker's (2007) work on epistemic injustice explores the ways that people can be oppressed in the realm of knowledge. Fricker argues that one of the essential elements of humanity is being a "knower," and that wronging a person in their position as a knower is therefore a grievous harm. She outlines two types of epistemic injustice: testimonial and hermeneutical injustice. As she defines them in her introduction,

> Testimonial injustice occurs when prejudice causes a hearer to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker's word; hermeneutical injustice occurs at a prior stage, when a gap in collective interpretive resources put someone at an unfair disadvantage when it goes to making sense of their social experiences. An example of the first might be that the police do not believe you because you are black; an example of the second might be that you suffer sexual harassment in a culture that still lacks that critical concept. (Fricker 2007:1)

Both of these types of epistemic injustice are endemic in archaeology, as I will discuss in much greater depth in Part 3.

Harding (2006) has explored the ways that hermeneutical injustices can be perpetrated when the unconscious biases of privileged sciences structure the knowledge that is produced and the ways it is disseminated. She argues that modern sciences and social sciences are shaped by a shared, Western "political unconscious" that "recruit[s] scientists and the general public into advancing local and global inequalities—of class as well as of gender, race and ethnicity, and other kinds—even as they profess to provide

only culturally neutral facts through objective methods" (Harding 2006:4). Focusing on racism, Harding shows how the conceptualization of racialized "natural" types of people was a central project of the genesis of Western science. Even if scientists are not intending to do harm to marginalized communities, or are unaware of their biases, the projects that find funding are often then misused to harm those communities, as in the eugenics movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the environmental racism that has shaped extraction of natural resources from and dumping of toxic waste into communities of color.

Biased political unconscious is almost inevitable in a structurally racist, sexist, and otherwise oppressive society, according to Harding (2006). Scientists are part of that society, and the same people marginalized within society are also kept out of the sciences or face hostility within the sciences. Here, feminist philosopher Lorraine Code (1991) concurs, arguing that androcentric epistemologies have been essential in shaping biology and the social sciences, making it impossible for those disciplines (as conventionally practiced) to understand women's experiences. Yet it is also possible for social justice movements to "generate alternative science projects" (Harding 2006:18) that seek to remedy the problems of oppression and create justice.

In this dissertation, especially in Part 3, I use these ideas about epistemic injustice to describe the harms that archaeology's androcentrism, systemic racism, and heteronormativity commit both against marginalized archaeologists and against marginalized communities more broadly in cases of hermeneutical injustice. Our use of material culture rather than documentary evidence alone (given that literacy has

historically been a privilege few people could access) positions us uniquely to address

hermeneutical injustice. By examining the experiences of past marginalized people, we

can create the "interpretive resources" (Fricker 2007) that would allow modern

communities to make sense of their oppression. Yet our methods and practices are

steeped in the same systems that create that oppression, and our limited standpoints make

it difficult for us to reach that potential.

Objectivity, multivocality, ambiguity, and feminism in archaeology

One of the central questions of this dissertation is: how do the intersecting

identities of archaeologists shape the knowledge they produce? In fact, whether and how

the information an archaeologist gathers is shaped by the identity of the archaeologist has

been a matter of fiery debate over the past several decades of archaeological theorizing.

Beginning in the early 1960s, Lewis Binford and other "processual" or "New

Archaeologists" pushed the discipline to move beyond describing chronologies and

culture histories in order to understand how cultural processes occur. The New

Archaeology prized testing hypotheses in order to arrive at an objective understanding of

the past: "The rigorous application of a positivist approach was seen as eliminating

subjective elements and establishing a basis for the objective, scientific interpretation of

archaeological data" (Trigger 2006:400).

Beginning in the 1980s, a new "postprocessual" archaeology has taken an

opposing approach, with Ian Hodder and other postprocessualists arguing that

"archaeological knowledge of the past is based on meaning given to the archaeological

record within current cultural paradigms" (Hodder 1985:12). This rejection of the objectivity of the individual archaeologist has been central to feminist knowledge production in archaeology from its genesis, with Conkey and Spector's (1984) foundational essay presenting the argument that Paleolithic archaeologists were projecting their own white, middle-class, 1950s, heterosexual, American ideas about gender onto the distant past, thus naturalizing a specific and particularly oppressive set of gender roles. Explicit exploration of the author's experiences and biases has been and continues to be especially popular in feminist archaeology texts (e.g., Spector 1993; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Gero 2015; Nelson 2015), inspiring the autobiographical preface of this dissertation.

More recently, many archaeologists have come to espouse what Hegmon (2003) dubbed "processual-plus" archaeology. In Hegmon's description, processual-plus archaeology is pluralistic, drawing from many different theoretical strands, including postprocessualism. Yet it retains processualism's emphasis on how major cultural processes unfolded in human history on an archaeological time-scale. The reflexivity that postprocessualists espoused has been particularly influential, even for those who have not taken up postprocessualism's other tenets. Hegmon observed that, at the time of her writing in the early 2000s, "recent work from across the theoretical gamut" (2003:218) included critical examination of the authors' biases. Processual-plus archaeologists tend not to discard the idea of objectivity entirely, as the most radical postprocessualists do, but rather espouse an idea similar to Harding's strong objectivity (described above). In

this formulation, acknowledging and confronting our individual and collective biases helps us create a more accurate picture of our subject of study.

Feminist archaeologist and philosopher of science Alison Wylie (e.g., 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 2000, 2002, 2006a, 2007, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Wylie and Nelson 2009) has played an important role in developing the idea of strong objectivity both within philosophy of science and with specific reference to archaeology. She argues that although feminism is sometimes viewed as "corrosive[ly] relativist" in the sciences, feminist scholars' commitment to making political change in the world in fact requires that we create accurate interpretations: "the goal of understanding and changing conditions of life that disadvantage women requires as much empirical accuracy and explanatory precision as scientific inquiry can afford" (Wylie and Nelson 2009:3). This search for knowledge that can help change the world leads to new approaches from standpoints that are not usually privileged by the academy. Wylie contends that these approaches, born from the knowledges and experiences of marginalized people, have the power to transform not only theories about oppression itself, but also larger paradigms; she uses the transformation of evolutionary science by "woman the gatherer" critiques as an example (Wylie 2012). Wylie also draws explicit connections between standpoint feminism and the necessity of fostering diversity of perspectives in the sciences, showing that although scientists have often prized unity and stood together to resist pseudoscience and anti-science discourses, disagreements and dissent are in fact necessary for the creation of empirical science (Wylie 1992a, 2000, 2006b).

In part due to Wylie's influence on feminist theorizing in archaeology, feminist archaeologists have long made claims to strong objectivity, beginning with Conkey and Spector's (1984) indictment of androcentric archaeology as biased. Paradoxically, one of the ways this has manifested is as a commitment to acknowledging ambiguities in the archaeological record. Joan Gero (2007, 2015) in particular has insisted that archaeologists face the fragmentary and difficult nature of our evidence and the biases we as researchers bring to that evidence, rather than "insistently and silently dismiss[ing] the high degree of uncertainty that surrounds every phase and feature of archaeological research" (Gero 2015:12). Honoring ambiguity and including multiple possible interpretations (often coming from different standpoints) have become key features of feminist practice in archaeology (Spector 1993; Wylie 1997, 2007; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Gero 2015).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided introductions to two bodies of feminist theory that are foundational to this project: intersectionality and feminist epistemology (with a focus on standpoint feminism and theories of epistemic injustice). In each section, I have also summarized the ways that each theory has shaped feminist archaeology. In the next chapter, I focus specifically on archaeology and the conversations about diversity, equity, and inclusion issues that are occurring in the discipline, in the forms of both empirical research and advocacy efforts within professional organizations.

Chapter 3: Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Archaeology

Conversations about diversity, equity, and inclusion are ongoing in the discipline of archaeology. In this chapter, I review the existing literature on these issues, with a focus on discussions of systemic oppression among contemporary archaeologists. Wylie (1997) characterized feminist criticism of academic disciplines as falling into two categories: content critiques and equity critiques. Content critiques within archaeology draw attention either to the erasure of women or to sexist interpretations of women's roles in understandings of the past, and seek to rectify these misunderstandings. Equity critiques, on the other hand, expose the ways that sexism structures archaeology as a discipline existing in the present. In this dissertation, I explore how our inequities in the present affect the content we create, bridging Wylie's categories. I begin this chapter with brief overviews of a variety of content critiques, which seek to transform the ways that archaeologists understand past societies. More than two decades after Wylie's categorization, a full review of anti-oppressive content critiques of archaeology would be beyond the scope of a single dissertation chapter. Therefore, I focus the rest of this literature review on equity critiques of archaeology, whether they come from explicitly feminist scholars or from anti-racist or other anti-oppressive writers. These commentaries are made with the goal of transforming the discipline of archaeology. Finally, I explore the practices of activist archaeologie, which use archaeology to transform present society. I end with a summary of the key strands of anti-oppressive praxis in archaeology.

Transforming Archaeological Views of Past Societies

In this section, I briefly present a variety of anti-oppression critiques of the ways that archaeologists have traditionally approached our subject matter. Beginning with feminist critiques of androcentrism, which were first published in the 1980s, I explore the ways in which feminist, queer, and anti-racist archaeologists have identified and addressed bias in portrayals of past peoples. I next briefly introduce content critiques related to other types of identity, including disability, class, and age.

Feminist and queer content critiques

In one of the first edited volumes of feminist archaeology, Wylie (1991) laid out the typical progression of feminist discourse when it enters a new social science discipline. In the first wave, analogous to the women's suffrage movement of the 19th and early 20th centuries, feminists begin to critique the androcentrism of their discipline. Next, mirroring the Women's Liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s, they begin to focus on women in their research, remediating the previous focus on men by, in Wylie's words, "adding women and stirring." Gilchrist (1991) referred to this strand of what she called "women's archaeology" as "historical revision." Finally, drawing on Third Wave and intersectional feminist theories, the feminist scholars seek to gain an integrated understanding of sex/gender systems and how they intersect with other forms of inequality, such as race or socioeconomic class. In 1991, just after the dawn of feminist critique in archaeology, Wylie predicted that this work would follow a similar trajectory,

and she has been proved correct. Here I describe the development of feminist and queer archaeologies using her three-wave framework.

THE FIRST WAVE: CRITIQUING ANDROCENTRISM

Feminist archaeology was born with Conkey and Spector's critique of androcentrism and gender inequality in archaeological interpretation. They argued that archaeology "has been neither objective nor inclusive on the subject of gender" (Conkey and Spector 1984:1), and that archaeologists studying hunter-gatherer societies projected a particular vision of gender roles (derived from normative white, middle-class, American families in the 1950s) onto the ancient past. Scholars assumed that men did the important work of hunting and lithic tool production, and that women's work was the equivalent of modern housework—cooking, plant gathering, cleaning, and childcare— and therefore less important. This gender mythology about ancient societies empowered modern conservatives in arguing that gender roles are primordial, natural, and static and imposing sexist norms on modern women. Modern patriarchy, in turn, encouraged archaeologists to project these norms onto the past, in a vicious cycle of cultural production. Archaeologists must combat this androcentrism, argued Conkey and Spector, in order both to resist patriarchy and to create a more empirical view of the human past, calling on the idea of strong objectivity (see Chapter 2). More recently, Conkey has shared that this work was inspired by conversations with scholars in other subdisciplines of anthropology and by the feminist movement that was growing in biological and sociocultural anthropology in the 1970s and 1980s, but which had not yet entered

archaeology (Morgan 2013). Through their foundational critiques of androcentrism and patriarchy, Conkey and Spector began the feminist movement in archaeology. This effort quickly moved into the second wave predicted by Wylie (1991), with a focus on remediating androcentrism by focusing on women.

THE SECOND WAVE: FINDING WOMEN

Once androcentrism had been identified in archaeology, the next step was what Wylie (1991) called the "remedial" work of finding women in the past. This was difficult: as Wylie pointed out, fields that deal with living people have women in front of them, their existence refuting androcentrism, while archaeologists must work with fragmented and enigmatic data. Yet, she insisted, there were women in the past, and if we are able to use archaeological data to explore economies, politics, and religions, we should also be able to use it to see gender. Beginning in the early 1990s, feminist archaeologists found a variety of ways to see women in the past, from use of space (e.g., Conkey 1991; Hastorf 1991) to women's economic production (e.g., Brumfiel 1987, 1991, 2006; Gero 1991; Spector 1993) and food production (e.g., Claassen 1991) to artistic depictions of women (e.g., Pollock 1991) to female skeletal materials (e.g., Molleson 2007) and gendered items of adornment (e.g., Joyce 2000). Conferences, edited volumes, and special issues of journals sprang up throughout the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s to gather these inquiries (Gero and Conkey 1991; Walde and Willows 1991; Claassen 1994; Nelson 2004, 2007; Hamilton et al. 2007). Although historical archaeology has been the site of much of this work, given that documentary

evidence facilitates gendered interpretations of material culture (Wilkie and Hayes 2006), archaeologists have "found" women in archaeological data from around the world and throughout human history.

Almost twenty years after her foundational article with Spector (Conkey and Spector 1984), Conkey (2003) reflected on the effects that this work had had on the discipline of archaeology, writing that "Feminist approaches have raised questions about our very central operating concepts—technology, inequality, household, hunting, and even gender—which we have previously held as somewhat essentialized or normativized phenomena" (Conkey 2003:872–873). Feminist archaeology had also encouraged the development of household archaeology, and this new focus on the micro-scale contributed to multiscalar analyses. Asking whether and how feminism had changed archaeology, Conkey celebrated the movement's victories: a growing body of published work, inclusion in introductory archaeology curricula and textbooks, and employment for feminist scholars. Yet she also enumerated the ways that feminists remained marginalized within the discipline: few male archaeologists engaged in feminist work (see part 2 for current statistics about this question) and many mainstream archaeologists more or less ignored the movement. Furthermore, Conkey criticized much of the gender research being published as remedial and undertheorized, an argument echoed by Engelstad (2007). Conkey also advocated increased engagement with intersectionality theory and sexuality, anticipating the third wave.

The third wave of feminist archaeology mirrors the third wave of the broader feminist movement: the critiques of queer women and women of color drew the movement toward a focus on the intersections of patriarchy with other systems of oppression. As discussed in Chapter 2, archaeologists have taken up intersectionality theory in recent years, building Black Feminist (Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011) and other intersectional frameworks for interpreting the identities and experiences of past peoples (e.g., Galle and Young 2004).

Queer archaeologies have also had an important role in this third wave of feminist archaeology. Following the publication of several founding texts that used queer theory in their interpretations of the past (Dowson 2000; Schmidt and Voss 2000; Voss 2000, 2008a, 2008b), QAIG was founded within the SAA in 2014, in order to support both queer-identified archaeologists and research integrating queer theory (Rutecki and Blackmore 2016). Queer archaeology advocates for archaeologists to carefully avoid projection of modern normative ideas about gender and sexuality, leaving space for alternative explanations (Aimers and Rutecki 2016). Yet, just as queer theory moves beyond the study of sexuality to examine and resist normativities in general, queer archaeology need not focus on non-heterosexual practices and people: the intersectional and anti-normative approach is what makes queer archaeology queer (Blackmore 2011).

Anti-racist and anti-colonial critiques

The discipline of archaeology has also been criticized for its racial politics. Archaeologists have often misunderstood the experiences and cultures of colonized, enslaved, and otherwise marginalized peoples, leading to interpretations of their histories that prop up colonial and racist projects. As discussed above, Black feminist archaeologists have advocated for the application of intersectional feminist theories to archaeological interpretation in order to humanize the subjects of research (Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011). Similarly, Orser (1998, 2001, 2004, 2007) has complicated the ways that historical archaeologists theorize race in a series of books, arguing for a more nuanced and theoretically specific framing of how racialization is socially constructed. More globally, Liebmann, Rizvi, and their collaborators (2008) apply postcolonial critiques developed in other disciplines to archaeological practice around the world, in an attempt to "deconstruct the power formations that cause large-scale political and economic disparities with human populations today" (Rizvi 2008a:197). These scholars, like the feminist archaeologists discussed above, seek to create understandings of the past that honor the humanity of past peoples and create useful knowledge for building more just societies in the present and future.

Other content critiques

Spurred by calls to intersectionality, archaeologists have also identified biases around types of identity beyond gender, sexuality, and race. We have begun interrogating and rethinking how we interpret various marginalized people and communities in the

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past, including children (e.g., Baxter 2005, 2019; De Lucia 2010), disabled people (e.g., Cross 2007; Hubert 2010; Southwell-Wright 2013), and poor or working-class people (referred to as "commoners" in some cultural contexts) (e.g., Cook 1989; McGuire 1992, 2008; Joyce et al. 2001; Lohse and Valdez 2004; Lucero 2010; Brumfiel 2011). Taken together, these bodies of scholarship show that identities and oppressions were complex, multifaceted, and intersectional in various historical contexts. All these topics require care if we are to fully respect our subjects and avoid reproducing oppressive narratives in our work.

Transforming the Discipline of Archaeology

Archaeologists with a commitment to resisting structural oppressions have also turned our eyes to our own discipline, exploring how sexism, racism, and other systems of inequality shape who participates in archaeology. In Wylie's (1997) framework, these are called "equity critiques."

Feminist equity critiques

QUANTITATIVE GENDER EQUITY STUDIES

The year after Conkey and Spector's (1984) foundational feminist content critique, Joan Gero's (1985) published "Socio-Politics and the Woman-At-Home Ideology." Like Conkey and Spector, Gero exposed male domination, but instead of critiquing views of the past, she built an equity critique of gender imbalance in the authorship, of journal articles, dissertations, and successful grant proposals. She showed

that not only did more men than women complete dissertations, receive grants, and publish articles in archaeology, but that there was a gendered division of labor. A majority of men wrote their articles, dissertations, or grant proposals about field work like survey or excavation, while women's work was more likely to take place in a lab, with a focus on artifact analysis methods. Gero argued that lab work is the "housework" of archaeology, and that women were relegated to the less prestigious work of cleaning and organizing instead of excavating, which was perceived as both more active and more important. In Chapter 6, I will evaluate the ways in which this gendered division persists, more than three decades after Gero's article.

Following Gero's work, a variety of feminist archaeologists studied gender equity issues in the field during the 1990s. One precious resource showing the state of the field in the mid-1990s is Zeder's (1997) *The American Archaeologist: A Profile*, in which she presents and analyzes the results of the 1994 SAA Census, a survey circulated to SAA members that asked a variety of questions about the respondents' identities and career trajectories. In her introduction, Zeder is optimistic about the "significant strides toward gender equity" in the discipline (Zeder 1997:2), with 39.7% of respondents being women (Zeder 1997:9). Furthermore, there was a highly statistically significant difference in gender demographics between students and professionals, with 51% of students but only 36% of professionals being women, leading Zeder to paint a bright picture of gender parity in the near future (Zeder 1997:9). The book provides a treasure trove of other data about men's and women's careers in archaeology in the mid-1990s.

Many feminist authors followed Gero (1985) in using journal publications as a proxy for professional success, and chose particular journals and periods to examine how many women and men published. For example, Beaudry and White (1994) explored how many women authors had published in *Historical Archaeology* from the founding of the journal in 1967 through 1990, and concluded that the subdiscipline of historical archaeology was male-dominated, but less so than other subfields. Several of the journals examined in these studies are also considered in this dissertation: I present findings from earlier studies alongside my own in Chapter 5.

Not only do gender equity studies show that women publish fewer articles than men do, they have also shown that women's work is under-cited. Beaudry and White (1994) showed that, in *Historical Archaeology*, not only were men more often cited than women were, but also that women authors cited more sources per article than men did, suggesting that women felt that they needed to prove their scholarly knowledge through longer bibliographies. Later, Hutson (2002), one of the only men to write about these issues, demonstrated that women authors cite women's work more than men do. These numbers were somewhat variable by subfield: as examples, women were even less cited in Southeastern U.S. archaeology than in other regions, and were more frequently cited in bioarchaeology and feminist archaeology articles. Furthermore, citations of women's work constituted a smaller percentage of all citations than women's work constituted of all articles. In other words, we might expect that men's work and women's work would be cited equally often, but since women publish less, they are cited less often: this is not the case, and women's work is not proportionally cited.

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The wave of gender equity studies also extended to examining the gender balance of grant recipients. John Yellen (1991) of the National Science Foundation (NSF) provided data on the NSF's record of funding men's and women's archaeology research in Fiscal Year 1989, when, among senior scholars, only 26% of the proposals came from women, and the women had a lower success rate (21%) than men (27%) (TABLE 1). These numbers may sound dismal, but they show a marked increase in proposals from women over the course of the 1980s. In the program for dissertation writers, however, more women than men (54%) applied for grants, and women had a higher success rate (42%) than men (32%) (TABLE 2). Yellen also noted that male reviewers were significantly harsher in their assessments of women's proposals than in reviews of men's work, while female reviewers did not show this bias (Yellen 1991:Table 10). Despite this inequity, Yellen expressed hope for the future, noting that at the dissertation grant level, gender parity had been achieved (Yellen 1991:210).

Table 1: NSF data: Senior Grants, reproduced from Yellen (1991: Table 1)

		FY 78–81	**FY 89**
Proposal Distribution:			
	Female:	15%	26%
	Male:	85%	74%
Success rate:			
	Female:	21%	21%
	Male:	37%	27%
Females:			
	Success rate, field proposals:	15%	19%
	Success rate, non-field proposals:	28%	23%
Males:			
	Success rate, field proposals:	35%	27%
	Success rate, non-field proposals:	39%	26%

Table 2: NSF Data: Dissertation Grants, reproduced from Yellen (1991: Table 2)

		FY 78–81	FY 89
Proposals:			
	Female:	45%	54%
	Male:	55%	46%
Success Rate:			
	Female:	44%	42%
	Male:	47%	32%

One strength of Yellen's work on granting practices is that, as Program Director for archaeology at the NSF, he has access to internal information about applicants, reviewers, and acceptance rates. Many authorship and citation studies focus on published articles rather than submitted manuscripts, since the study authors do not have access to records of rejected manuscripts. By examining acceptance rates and the process of review, granting agency and journal staff members can shed light on how the trends in published articles and awarded grants come to exist. Do gender imbalances begin with who submits a proposal or manuscript? Or are they caused by inequities in the process of review? Updating Yellen's work, Goldstein and colleagues (2018), working under the auspices of the SAA's Committee on the Status of Women in Archaeology (COSWA), showed that in recent years, women applicants for senior NSF archaeology grants have had higher success rates than men, but have submitted fewer proposals and requested less money, leading to smaller amounts of funding being awarded to women.

Former *American Antiquity* editor Alison Rautman (2012) is one of the few archaeological journal editors who have published this type of internal information and self-study. Assigning genders based on first names, Rautman shows that men submit more manuscripts than women, and therefore have more published articles, but

acceptance rates are similar regardless of the gender(s) of the author(s) (TABLE 3).

Rautman also notes that more men than women serve as peer reviewers, with 485 of the

763 reviewers (64%) having masculine first names; she explains that the limiting factor

for finding reviewers is often the availability of their email addresses. More men than

women hold university professorships (which often come with easily findable websites

with contact information), making it easier for Rautman and other editors to invite them

to review manuscripts. This study is very useful for exploring the forces that shape

discrepancies in journal authorship between men and women, although few journals have

published this sort of information. Following Rautman, *Journal of Field Archaeology*

editor Christina Luke and I are currently conducting a study of our journal's reviewer

trends and submission and acceptance rates by gender, to be published as a forthcoming

editorial.

In the past five years, several scholars have conducted journal authorship studies

that provide both updated statistics and a critical view of how the prestige of a journal

may correlate with the gender imbalances of its authorship. Bardolph (2014) showed that,

for the period of 1990–2013, across five major journals and five smaller, regionally-

focused journals, male authors were much more common than female authors. She had

hypothesized that the national journals would publish less work by women than the

regional journals, but her analysis showed that none of the ten journals achieved gender

parity and that the national publications were not significantly worse than the regional

publications in the realm of gender inequity.

Table 3: American Antiquity manuscripts submitted between April 2009 and April 2010, reproduced from Rautman (2012: Table 1), with "acceptance rate" column calculated and added

Gender of Authors, in order listed	Submitted	Accepted	Rejected	Acceptance Rate
Solo-male	48	26	22	54%
Solo-female	19	10	9	53%
Male-female co-authors	2	0	2	0%
Female-male co-authors	6	3	3	50%
Male-male co-authors	15	8	7	53%
Female-female coauthors	1	0	1	0%
MMF group co-authors	1	1	0	100%
MFF group co-authors	1	1	0	100%
MFM group co-authors	1	0	1	0%
MMM group co-authors	3	2	1	67%
FMF group co-authors	2	1	1	50%
MM? (not uniquely gendered name)	1	1	0	100%
Male-led group >3	3	2	1	67%
Female-led group >3	3	2	1	67%
SUM	106	57	49	54%

Bardolph and VanDerwarker (2016) followed this up with a study of Southeastern U.S. archaeology specifically, showing that conference proceedings, regional journals, state journals, and edited volumes remained male-dominated during their study period of 2000–2013. They also surveyed Southeastern Archaeology Conference (SEAC) members about their careers, work environments, and writing and publication practices. This study showed that "Despite growing numbers of women presenting southeastern archaeological research at SEAC meetings (although far fewer women are organizing symposia and serving as discussants than men), women publish in the society journal at significantly lower rates than they present at the meetings" (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016:188). The authors attribute this discrepancy to employment patterns, because academia, the

sector that most encourages peer-reviewed publication, remains male-dominated. Women also submitted fewer manuscripts than men did, contributing to the differences in publication rates. Edited volumes were more gender-balanced than the journals, perhaps because book editors often proactively invite contributions rather than waiting for submissions, but book chapters often considered less prestigious than journal articles in higher education settings.

Tushingham and colleagues (2017) pursued the question of prestige and gender parity further by focusing on a different single region of North America (the archaeology of California and the Great Basin) and exploring differences between regional peer-reviewed journals and regional non-refereed conference proceedings. Here they found notable differences: women were much more represented in the non-refereed publication, the Society for California Archaeology's *Proceedings*, while the peer-reviewed *California Archaeology* and *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* were male-dominated. Tushingham and her colleagues named this phenomenon the "peer review gap," and noted that since academic positions require peer-reviewed publications, this trend means that it is more difficult for women to find and keep professorships. In Cultural Resource Management (CRM) and government positions, however, a publication in the *Proceedings* might not be less valued than a peer reviewed journal article. This analysis shows a division of labor between scholarly production and the CRM that comprises most archaeological work. Like Gero's (1985) lab-field division, the peer review gap shows that men dominate some prestigious and competitive subfields of the discipline, while women do important but often undervalued research.

Bardolph (2018) followed up on her earlier work and Tushingham's by exploring membership in regional professional organizations, presentation at conferences, and publication in regional peer-reviewed journals. She summarizes her findings: "Overall, women in California archaeology, along with Southeastern archaeology and the North American archaeology community at large, are publishing at rates significantly lower than those of their male colleagues, despite fairly equitable representation in professional organizations and participation at meetings" (Bardolph 2018:161). Furthermore, archaeologists employed in academia published much more than their colleagues in the public or private sector did.

Another recent quantitative dataset for gender representation in archaeology comes from the SAA's 2015 Needs Assessment Survey. The 2556 respondents, all of whom were SAA members, included 1279 men (50.5%), 1214 women (47.9%), and 40 people who checked "other" or did not answer (1.6%) (Association Research, Inc. 2016:chap. "About You" p. 2). Furthermore, when the ages of respondents are collated with gender, we can see that there is a generational shift at play: 67.7% of respondents under the age of 35 are women, while 72.2% of respondents over the age of 65 are men (Association Research, Inc. 2016:chap. "About You" p. 5). These are some of the most equitable gender statistics I have found: the membership of the SAA has nearly reached gender parity and seems likely to reach parity very soon and have a female majority soon after that.

These studies, taken together, make clear that archaeological publications are inequitable when it comes to gender. Despite increasing numbers of women engaged in

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the field of archaeology, women publish less often than men do, and their work is cited less often. Women are more represented in the less-prestigious, unrefereed publications like conference proceedings and edited volumes, while refereed journals remain male-dominated. Labor in archaeology is thus divided into more prestigious work done by men and the housework that is important but undervalued and is conducted by women.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN ARCHAEOLOGY

The #MeToo movement that has started conversations about sexual harassment and violence in American society has not spared archaeology. In December 2017, anthropologist and academic career coach Karen Kelsky created an online survey about sexual harassment in the academy (Kelsky 2017). Archaeologist and blogger Doug Rocks-Macqueen (2018) combed through 2438 responses to Kelsky's survey, finding and collecting 91 stories of sexual harassment in the discipline, which present a bleak view of women's safety. #MeToo and sexual violence have also been the subjects of recent sessions at the SAA, SHA, and American Anthropological Association (AAA) annual meetings. These semi-formal discussions of the issue make it clear that sexual violence is pervasive in the discipline. Furthermore, the presence of a known sexual predator, David Yesner, at the 2019 SAA Annual Meeting led to outrage among many archaeologists about the ways harassers are able to continue their careers (Balter 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2019e; Flaherty 2019; Grens 2019; Rivera 2019a, 2019b; Wade 2019).

Kathryn Clancy and colleagues' Survey of Academic Field Experiences (SAFE) study and follow-up studies provide evidence for extensive sexual harassment in field

sciences, with relevant applications for archaeologists (Clancy 2013; Clancy et al. 2014, 2017; Nelson et al. 2017). In the SAFE study, 71% of women respondents had experienced harassment and 26% had experienced assault. Eighty-four percent of the instances of harassment and 86% of the instances of assault of women were directed at students or trainees (Clancy et al. 2014:table 2). Although the respondents came from 32 different field science disciplines, and only 23.9% of respondents were archaeologists (Clancy et al. 2014:4), this study nonetheless shows the pervasiveness of sexual harassment and assault in disciplinary culture.

Anti-racist and anti-colonial equity critiques

Native Americans and other indigenous people have long criticized and protested the way that archaeologists excavated, studied, and stored their ancestors' remains and cultural objects without permission. In settler colonialist nations like the United States, Canada, and Australia, archaeology has often engaged in problematic identity politics and has been used to prop up racist systems and settlers' claims to land (Little and Zimmerman 2010). McNiven and Russell (2005:2) argue that the discipline has a colonial culture:

> The discipline of "prehistoric" archaeology, as practiced upon Indigenous cultures, is founded upon and underwritten by a series of deep-seated colonialist and negative representational tropes of Indigenous peoples developed as part of European philosophies of imperialism over the last 2,500 years.

They characterize this colonial dynamic in Australian archaeology as being created through two interrelated processes. Aboriginal people became disassociated from their

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past and their ancestors' material culture, while indigenous accomplishments were attributed to other "lost" cultures in the name of white land claims. Then, that past was appropriated by settler archaeologists who claimed authoritative knowledge through archaeological methods. Although McNiven and Russell focus on Australia, these processes of disassociation and appropriation have also played out in other settler colonialist nations: Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2010:3) describes how "archaeology in the Southwest has been used to help construct a national heritage so that when Americans think of parks like Mesa Verde and Casa Grande, no matter what our ethnicity or creed, we think of them, in some measure, as *our* places, embodying *our* past" (emphasis original). Yet, he notes, modern American Indians are often absent from narratives about the precolumbian Southwest. The past has been disassociated from Native peoples and appropriated by the United States.

McNiven and Russell's analysis echoes the thoughts of indigenous thinkers and activists who have long protested the colonialism of archaeologists. As Standing Rock Sioux writer Vine Deloria, Jr. (1969:81), put it,

> Behind each successful man stands a woman and behind each policy and program with which Indians are plagued, if traced completely back to its origin, stands the anthropologist. The fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are objects for observation, people are then considered objects for experimentation, for manipulation, and for eventual extinction. The anthropologist thus furnishes the justification for treating Indian people like so many chessmen available for anyone to play with.

Deloria criticized both how anthropologists misunderstand indigenous people in their scholarship and how that scholarship is then used to justify government programs that further disenfranchise and undermine Native communities. Native Americans, in

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Deloria's analysis, are interpreted by appropriative anthropologists who then hold the positions of experts who can make policy, while the Native American people themselves are objectified.

Deloria's and other Native activists' advocacy led to the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 (Thomas 2001). This act drew archaeologists' attention to our discipline's complicity and participation in racism and colonialism, and ultimately catalyzed deep changes in archaeological practices, a "dramatic shift in the recognition of Native Americans as equal partners in the management of archaeological resources" (Wilcox 2010:182). The law requires that organizations receiving federal funding and holding archaeological collections publish inventories of Native American human remains, grave goods, and ritual objects. These are sent to Native nations with whom the remains and artifacts may be affiliated, and these nations can request repatriation. NAGPRA also requires archaeologists to consult with descendant nations and gain permission before excavating Native remains (National Park Service).

NAGPRA's requirement that archaeologists consult with the descendants of the people they study began the work of addressing archaeology's colonial relationship with indigenous communities, but tensions have remained. McNiven and Russell (2005:2) argue that "friction continues because most archaeologists have little historical understanding of the pedigree and pervasiveness of the underlying colonial tropes of Indigenous archaeology as practiced in settler colonies." Yet, Native protest and the processes of NAGPRA compliance have fostered the growth of collaborative

relationships between Native American nations and archaeological projects, and of indigenous-led archaeologies (Smith and Wobst 2005; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Silliman 2008). Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008) characterize such projects as falling along a "collaborative continuum," ranging from projects that make their results and interpretations available to indigenous communities to thoroughly collaborative projects where descendants are involved in all stages of planning, research, interpretation, and dissemination.

The principles of collaborative archaeology that were developed in Native American communities have expanded to many other cultural contexts. Atalay (2012), herself Anishinaabe, applies community-based participatory research to descendant communities in both the U.S. and the Near East. She lays out the principles of such research: "Being committed to the *ideology* of producing knowledge in partnership is the first principle of practice. The second is acknowledging that community knowledge and involvement has value and contributes to scientific understanding" (Atalay 2012:129, emphasis original). These principles have been applied to archaeology conducted around the world, from Latin America (e.g., Heckenberger 2008) to Australia (e.g., Jackson and Smith 2005; May et al. 2005; Million 2005; Nicholas 2005). They have also been applied to non-Native marginalized communities in the United States, such as African Americans (e.g., Mathis and Weik 2005; Cuddy and Leone 2008). These projects are informed by various combinations of postprocessual theories of knowledge creation, feminist and/or Marxist agendas that question objectivity and value multivocality, and activist politics

that are often driven by colonized and marginalized descendant communities (Silliman and Ferguson 2010:56–60).

Other equity critiques

Most equity critiques have focused on gender and race, but there are also emerging critiques of heterosexism, classism, and ableism in the field. The SAA's QAIG has organized a variety of forums about queer archaeologists' experiences in the field at annual meetings (see below for more information about QAIG). Shott (2006) reflects on his own experiences as a working-class archaeologist and criticizes the way classism and income inequality limit some students' archaeological careers. Archaeologists are also just beginning to talk about ableism in the discipline (Cross 2007), sometimes in informal venues, such as conference papers (Sneed 2018) and zines (Walley). A 2019 SAA symposium on "Health, Wellness, and Ability in Archaeology" contained several papers on ableism among archaeologists, including my own (Heath-Stout 2019), and will be published as a special themed issue of the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* in late 2019 or early 2020. I hope that this discourse develops in the coming years.

Diversifying the history of archaeology

Feminist archaeologists' critiques of sexism in late 20th century archaeology and searches for women in the archaeological record were accompanied by feminist projects to rewrite the history of the discipline itself. Several of the edited volumes about feminist

archaeology include chapters focused on the biographies of women archaeologists of previous generations (du Cros and Smith 1993; Claassen 1994; Hamilton et al. 2007). The flourishing literature on the herstory of the discipline primarily uncovered and celebrated the careers of women involved in the archaeology of North America (e.g., Babcock and Parezo 1988; Mason 1992; Mathien 1992; Parezo 1993; Bender 1994; Levine 1994; Preucel and Chesson 1994; Sullivan 1994; White et al. 1994; Wurtzburg 1994; White et al. 1999; Browman 2013) and Europe (e.g., Bolger 1994; Diaz-Andreu and Stig Sørenson 1998; Gill 2002, 2007; Elster 2007; Kaiser 2015). Other publications have focused on Mesoamerican (e.g., Joyce 1994; Solomon 2002), Middle Eastern (e.g., Callander and Smith 2007), or Australian (e.g., du Cros 1993) archaeology, or have taken a global view (e.g., Gacs et al. 1988; Irwin-Williams 1990; Cohen and Joukowsky 2004). All of these many scholarly projects, when taken together, show that there have always been white women involved in archaeological research, throughout the history of the discipline. Many of these women did important and paradigmatic work. Yet almost all of them were vastly outnumbered by men in their subfields, and their careers were often shaped by marriage and parenthood in ways that their male contemporaries' trajectories were not. We can now see that women have always maneuvered through patriarchal systems in order to contribute to the discipline, and their examples can provide inspiration to new generations of women archaeologists.

Most of the women discussed in these publications were white, and there has not been a corresponding expansive literature on the history of archaeologists of color. One exception is Colwell-Chanthaphonh's (2009) biography of Arthur C. Parker, a Seneca

archaeologist and sociocultural anthropologist who was the first president of the SAA (and the only Native American president of the organization until Joe Watkins took office in April 2019). Colwell-Chanthaphonh's book presents Parker's life history in order to both honor his legacy and explore the development of the complex relationships between Native American politics and archaeology today.

In general, however, scholars discuss race in the history of archaeology not by researching early archaeologists of color but rather by examining the ways that white archaeologists shaped and were shaped by the racial discourses of their days. For example, Challis' (2013) book on Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie explores how these famous British archaeologists engaged in eugenics discourses. Patterson's (1995) social history of U.S. archaeology places intellectual history against the backdrop of broader U.S. history, including colonialism, racism against various groups, and the development of capitalism. Other major histories of the discipline (e.g., Willey and Sabloff 1993; Trigger 2006) also discuss ways that archaeologists have been complicit in racism, land theft, and genocide.

Sometimes the history of the discipline is told by the archaeologists who make that history themselves and then choose to tell and reflect on their own stories. Feminist archaeology's focus on reflexivity and attempts to diversify the history of archaeology have led some feminist archaeologists to tell their own stories in publications. For example, Whitney Battle-Baptiste's (2011) *Black Feminist Archaeology* begins with her story of coming to study W.E.B. DuBois's homesite and apply Black Feminist theory. Sarah Milledge Nelson's (2015) *Shamans, Queens, and Figurines* reflects on the history

of both feminist archaeology and the author's career, interspersing reprinted essays previously published in a variety of venues with autobiographical reflections. Joan Gero's (2015) *Yutopian* combines a report on her archaeological research in Argentina with narrative sections, feminist theorizing about collaboration and ambiguity, and reflections on her own experiences. In *Field Seasons*, Anna Marie Prentiss (2012) mixes memoir with career advice. All of these books provide important records of the history of feminist archaeology, writing women and feminist work into the recent history of the discipline. Although all four of these books are inspired by the feminist movement within archaeology that began developing in the 1980s, there are also earlier memoirs and autobiographies by women anthropologists that can provide a window into different periods of disciplinary history (e.g., Morris 1931, 1934; Underhill 2014).

Professional organizations addressing equity issues

Some of the work to critique equity issues in and transform the discipline have taken place not in scholarly publications, but in professional organizations. In the SAA, there are a variety of committees and groups supporting diversity and equity in the discipline. The SAA's COSWA has long monitored gender equity issues and advocated for women (Wright 2002; Baxter et al. 2008; Rizvi 2008b; Tomášková 2008). The Women in Archaeology Interest Group (WAIG) and QAIG support not only conference sessions but also mentorship, networking, and social events at annual meetings. The newly formed SAA Task Force on Sexual and Anti-Harassment Policies and Procedures is working to make SAA conferences and other events safer for women and other targets

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of sexual harassment and bullying. The SAA also addresses racial inequities through scholarships for Native Americans (Society for American Archaeology) and members of other racial minorities (Society for American Archaeology) pursuing degrees in archaeology.

The SAA also has policies in place to address issues of oppression in the field, especially around gender issues. In 2016, the SAA added a ninth principle to its ethics statement, "Safe Educational and Workplace Environments," despite some resistance from people who wanted the organization to "stick to archaeology" (Smith 2016) . The principle reads:

> Archaeologists in all work, educational, and other professional settings, including fieldwork and conferences, are responsible for training the next generation of archaeologists. Part of these responsibilities involves fostering a supportive and safe environment for students and trainees. This includes knowing the laws and policies of their home nation and institutional workplace that pertain to harassment and assault based upon sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability, national origin, religion, or marital status. SAA members will abide by these laws and ensure that the work and educational settings in which they have responsible roles as supervisors are conducted so as to avoid violations of these laws and act to maintain safe and respectful work and learning environments (Society for American Archaeology).

These efforts continue: the 2019 Annual Meeting preliminary program contained a new policy about sexual violence occurring at the conference, although as mentioned above, the meeting nonetheless became the scene of a sexual harassment scandal.

Although it is a much smaller organization than the SAA, the SHA also is the site of a variety of equity initiatives, under the umbrella of the GMAC (Heath-Stout 2017b; Society for Historical Archaeology). These include mentorship programs, awards for

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diverse field schools, scholarships for minority students, and anti-racism trainings each year at the annual meeting.

Beyond the more mainstream organizations, Black archaeologists have their own organization, the SBA, founded in 2011 by Ayana Omilade Flewellen and Justin Dunnavant with a mission to "promote academic excellence and social responsibility by creating a space for Black archaeologists and other scholars who support SBA's goals and activities" (Society of Black Archaeologists). The SBA sponsors conference sessions at the SHA annual meetings, houses an oral history project with interviews of Black archaeologists, and facilitates networking and mutual support for Black archaeologists.

All of these committees and organizations are taking the equity critiques that expose sexism, heterosexism, racism, and other oppressions in archaeology, and are working to rectify these problems. Although this work takes the form of service rather than research, and is thus undervalued by university structures, it is nonetheless essential to understanding and addressing systemic oppression in the discipline.

Transforming Society Using Archaeology: Archaeology as Activism

Recent decades have seen expanding conversations of how archaeology can be used to improve the world and society (McGuire 2008; Little and Zimmerman 2010; Stottman 2010a; Nevell and Redhead 2015; Moshenska 2017; Jameson and Susteata 2018; Walley). Often, public and activist archaeologies grow out of content critiques of the ways that archaeology has been complicit in oppression, just as collaborative and indigenous archaeologies were catalyzed by indigenous activism and the passage of

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NAGPRA. These critiques help archaeologists discover the power of archaeological practice to affect broad social systems for good or for ill (McGuire 2008:chap. 1; Little and Zimmerman 2010).

Activist archaeologists criticize archaeology's history of complicity, but also often express hope for a future in which archaeology is used for liberation. As Little (2002:16) puts it, "The study of archaeology has the potential to teach about the contingency of all human endeavor. As we expand our view of the past to include the struggles, successes, and failures of all peoples from all times and situations, our wisdom—and compassion—ought also to expand." Hamilakis (2007) similarly urges fellow archaeologists to take up that inherent potential and political nature of our work and talk about politics explicitly rather than hiding behind the less radical language of ethics.

These hopes for a more radically political archaeology are based in the ways archaeology can truly participate in liberation movements. Archaeologists can contribute diachronic perspectives on the problems that face human society today, from climate change (e.g., Costanza et al. 2012; Integrated History and Future of People on Earth) to the Palestinian/Israeli land struggle (e.g., Scham and Yahya 2003; Bohannon 2008). Sometimes, archaeological methods also shed new light on much more recent events, as in Rathje's (1992) "garbology" studies of modern waste, Dawdy's (2006) work in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, and De León's (2015) Undocumented Migration Project, as well as many other examples of archaeology of the contemporary world.

Activist archaeologies move beyond content and equity critiques that seek to transform the discipline, and use archaeology in order to attempt to change society at large (McGuire 2008:3). Marxist archaeologist Randall McGuire (1992, 2008) advocates for archaeologists to see our work as political action with the intention of building "a more humane world in which there is less alienation and more emancipation" (2008:4). As a Marxist, he focuses his work on resisting capitalism and classism, but acknowledges the interrelations of various systems of oppression and the ways that feminist, queer, anti-racist, and Marxist theories can work together (McGuire 2008:chap. introduction). His archaeological work on the Colorado Coalfield War of the early 20th century provides an example of the praxis McGuire advocates: by collaborating with and serving working-class communities (including descendants and unionized laborers), his work "join[s] with them in the battle against fast capitalism's erosion of organized labor. We are building an archaeology of the American working class that speaks to a working-class audience about working-class history and experience" (McGuire 2008:190). This is a change from archaeology's usual middle-class loyalties, and provides opportunities to build relationships in working-class communities and share archaeological understandings of the past with organizations fighting for justice today.

As in the cases of indigenous and collaborative archaeologies, activist archaeology projects often focus not only on the ways that the knowledge they produce about the past can serve communities, but on the processes of knowledge production themselves and the relationships of solidarity that can be built through these practices

(Stottman 2010b). Although activist archaeology is built on the foundations of public archaeology,

> being an activist archaeologist is about more than just interacting with the public or partnering with a community in which we work. It is about understanding a community and integrating its needs and wants into our work and using the process of archaeology and the knowledge it produces to help satisfy community needs. I want to emphasize that archaeology can be used as an agent for change to benefit society directly (Stottman 2010b:8).

For example, Jeppson's (2010) analysis of archaeological outreach practices fuels a call for archaeologists to prioritize ways we can contribute to and intervene in public school curricula, rather than seeing outreach as secondary to research. Christensen's (2010) study of the homesite of a nineteenth-century suffragist, Matilda Joslyn Gage, exemplifies this activist archaeology praxis: Christensen provides modern feminist activists with an understanding of our forebears' strategies that can inform our own and is able to intervene in anti-choice narratives that use Gage and other historical feminist figures to justify anti-feminist initiatives in the twenty-first century. These activist approaches to archaeology have taken the critiques of archaeological research as complicit in various oppressive systems and formulated active responses, where archaeological knowledge production practices intentionally undermine these systems.

Conclusion: Key Strands of Anti-Oppressive Practice in Archaeology

All of these critiques, many of which have been inspired by feminist, queer, anti-racist, and anti-colonial activism, have created new forms of archaeological praxis intended to transform both the discipline and society more broadly by rejecting

objectivity; acknowledging ambiguity; treating colleagues with respect; and prizing

multivocality, collaboration, and engagement with publics and stakeholders. These

practices reject processual archaeology's claims of objectivity, arguing that archaeology

is always political and that practitioners should therefore develop programs that are

politicized in ways that are good for the world and especially for marginalized

communities. Anti-oppression praxis in archaeology openly acknowledges the

ambiguities of the archaeological record (Gero 2007, 2015). Having relinquished the

scholar's claim to sole authority over the interpretation of the past, anti-oppressive

archaeologists prize multivocality (Joyce and Tringham 2007), often engaging in public

archaeology and collaboration with descendants, local communities, and marginalized

people. These ideas were aptly visualized in Kelsey Davis's "What we lose to the sieve of

'hard science'" (FIGURE 1). The artist shows an archaeological screen with a mound of

back dirt beneath it. Caught in the screen to be included in analysis are "'Truth,'"

"colonial" "white" "male" "heteropatriarchy," "bias," and the "1%." Falling through the

screen to be ignored are "justice," "genders," "resiliance" (sic), "truths," "resistance,"

"collaboration," "opression" (sic), "indigenous knowledge," "accountability,"

"queerness," "struggle," "trauma," and the "99%."
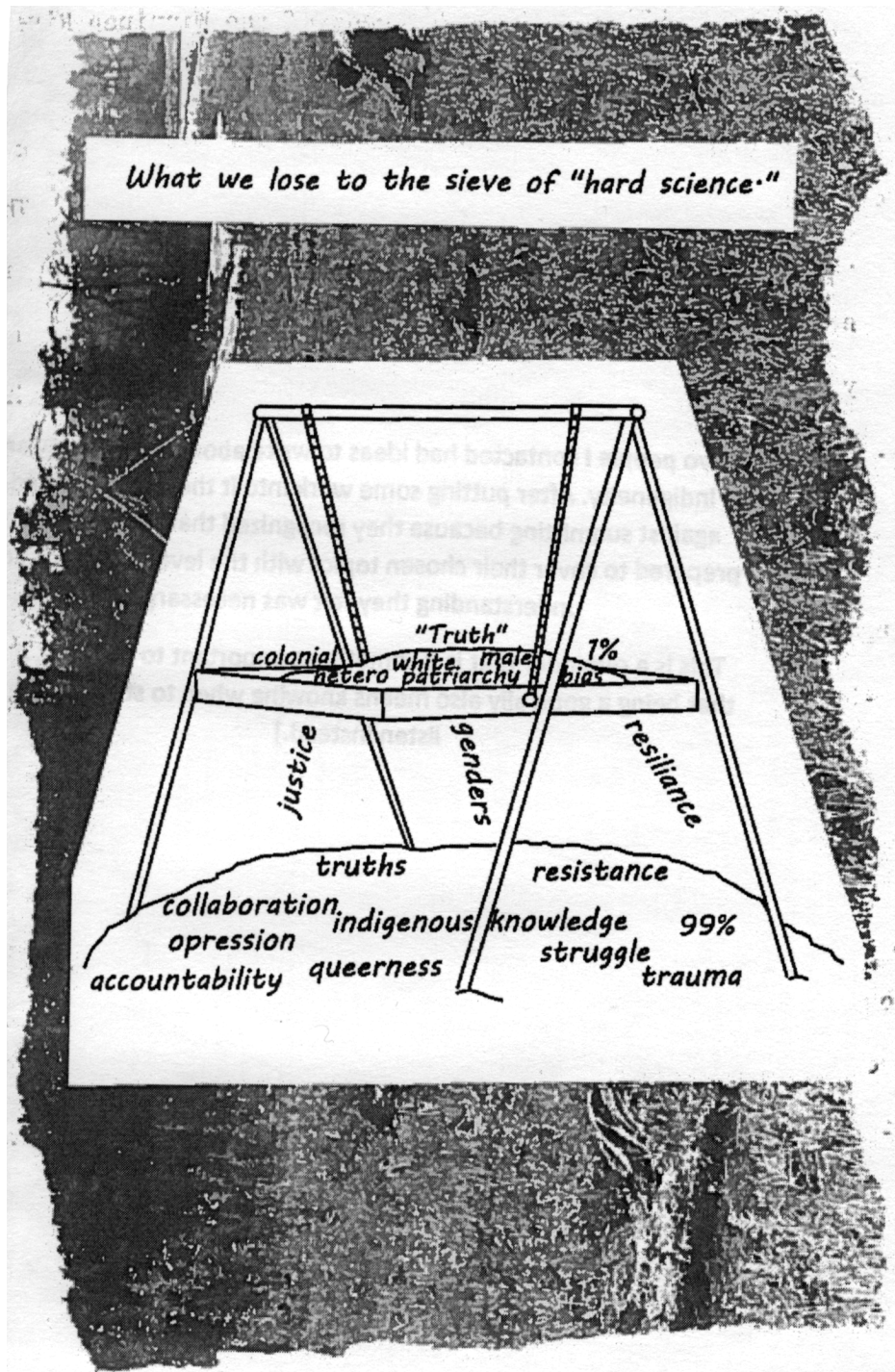
Figure 1: "What we lose to the sieve of 'hard science'" by Kelsey Davis, reproduced from the zine *InDIGnant* (Walley: 20).

Part 2: The Demographics of American Archaeology

Chapter 4: The Authorship Study: Introduction and Methods

In this section of my dissertation, comprising four chapters, I will address two major research questions. First, who publishes archaeological research? I focus on the demographics of academic archaeology, specifically of the people who are creating new archaeological knowledge through analysis and publication in peer reviewed journals. Second, who produces what kinds of archaeological knowledge? I explore correlations between archaeologists' identities and the research they conduct in terms of geographical focus, methods, and topics. I begin, in this chapter, with an explanation of my data collection methods. In the next two chapters, 5 and 6, I use my data to address these two research questions, respectively. Finally, in Chapter 7, I explore resistance I encountered when sending out my survey, and what it means about the state of sexism, racism, and heterosexism in the discipline.

As discussed in Chapter 3, there is a strong body of literature on the gendered composition of the discipline of archaeology. This work shows us that our discipline is male-dominated, especially in positions of power, and that despite variations between subfields and between journals, the problem is endemic. This literature has been essential for understanding the ways privilege and oppression work in archaeology, yet also has two major limitations. First, studies of equity in archaeology publications and grants focus only on gender, with no reference to other forms of identity and inequality, such as

race, sexuality, nationality, (dis)ability, age, or socioeconomic status. By lumping all archaeologists into the categories of "men" and "women," the scholars conducting these analyses overlook the diversity within these categories. Furthermore, we have almost no data on types of diversity beyond gender. This seems to be because it is possible to guess gender based on first names in a way that is impossible with the other axes of oppression, for which one has to ask to find out.

Guessing genders based on first names is a problem in itself. Many names are androgynous or uncommon in English. Many people have gender identities that do not "match" their names or do not fit neatly into binary gender categories. While this method does give a general sense of the gender imbalance in archaeology, it excludes people with uncommon, androgynous, or non-English names as well as trans and non-binary people.

I addressed these two problems by using a survey, which asked authors to provide their self-identifications along four axes. Although this method has drawbacks—not everyone answers the survey and there may be response bias—it allows me to investigate forms of diversity beyond gender, to include people whose names do not clearly indicate their genders, and to see the intersections between multiple types of identity.

Scope, Recruitment Strategy, and Survey

Scope of the sample

I sent my survey to all authors who had published in any of twenty-one journals over a ten-year period. The journals included were: *Advances in Archaeological Practice* (AAP), *American Anthropologist* (AA), *American Antiquity* (AAQ), the *American*

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Journal of Archaeology (AJA), *Ancient Mesoamerica* (AM.), the *Annual Review of Anthropology* (ARA), *Antiquity*, *Archaeologies*, the *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* (AP3A), *Current Anthropology* (CA), the *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* (Cambridge), *Historical Archaeology* (HA), the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (IJHA), the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* (JAA), the *Journal of Anthropological Research* (JAnR), the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* (JAMT), the *Journal of Archaeological Research* (JArR), the *Journal of Field Archaeology* (JFA), the *Journal of Social Archaeology* (JSA), *Latin American Antiquity* (LAQ), and *World Archaeology* (WA). These were selected because they are widely read by archaeologists in the United States and because they cover a wide swath of world archaeology and a variety of subfields. The IJHA, *Historical Archaeology, Ancient Mesoamerica, Latin American Antiquity*, and the AJA were especially important for providing coverage of the three subfields discussed in my qualitative interview study: Historical Archaeology of the Americas, Latin American Archaeology, and Mediterranean Archaeology. For the four-field anthropology journals (*American Anthropologist*, the *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *Current Anthropology*, and the *Journal of Anthropological Research*), only archaeology-focused articles were included in the study. The time period under consideration was 2007–2016, because that was the ten-year period just before I started sending out the surveys in early 2017.

Recruitment

For each journal, I created a spreadsheet of the basic citation information for each article (journal, volume, issue, first page number, author names, author rank), noting author email addresses when they were listed. I then checked the list of authors in the journal against the list of authors already surveyed (after surveying authors from the first journal), and marked any that remained to be surveyed. For those, I searched for email addresses for all authors whose email addresses were not published in the journal. I did this by Google searching for their names, along with the word "archaeology" with more common names (or "arqueología" with common Spanish names). I noted email addresses when I could find them (often on departmental websites, personal websites, or Academia.edu pages), and the urls of Academia.edu pages when no email address was present. Authors whose contact information I could not find were marked as "could not find" (as were those for whom I got automatic replies that the email addresses listed did not exist). Authors whose obituaries appeared in the search results, who had automatic response emails saying they had passed away, or whose articles included a note about their deaths were listed as "deceased."

Once these addresses were compiled, I sent a survey recruitment letter to the email addresses or used the Academia.edu direct message function to send to people who had pages there with no email address listed. The recruitment letter said:

Hello,

I am writing to you because you have published at least one article in [name of journal]. I am a Ph.D. candidate at Boston University in the Archaeology Department. I am conducting dissertation research on how archaeologists choose

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what to research, and how these choices may be shaped by their experiences of race, gender, and sexuality. In order to complete this study, I need your help. Please consider spending 2 minutes to fill out this short survey [hyperlink]. Your responses will be kept private and data will only be presented in aggregate, without reference to any particular individuals.

If you need to contact me, I can be reached at lheath@bu.edu. If you have any concerns, you may contact my adviser, David Carballo, at carballo@bu.edu or the Boston University Institutional Review Board at (617) 358-6115.

Thank you for your support in my research.

Sincerely,
Laura Heath-Stout

The survey

The hyperlink in the recruitment message led to a Google Form with this survey:

Name: _____

Gender (check all that apply):
__ Gender nonconforming, genderfluid, and/or genderqueer
__ Woman
__ Transgender and/or Two-Spirit
__ Man
__ Agender
__ Other: _____

Race/Ethnicity (check all that apply):
__ Biracial and/or Multiracial
__ Native Hawaiian and/or Pacific Islander
__ Middle Eastern and/or North African
__ American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native
__ Hispanic and/or Latinx
__ Asian
__ Black, African American, and/or Afro-Latinx
__ White and/or Caucasian
__ Other: _____

Sexual Orientation self-identification (check all that apply):
__ Queer

    __ Bisexual and/or pansexual
    __ Gay, lesbian, and/or homosexual
    __ Straight and/or heterosexual
    __ Other: _____

    Nationality: _____

When surveying authors of the two journals that publish Spanish-language articles, *Ancient Mesoamerica* and *Latin American Antiquity*, I included Spanish translations of all questions and answers.

Although it is unusual to ask for names on surveys of this nature, I chose to do so. By asking for names, I made it possible to connect particular survey responses with individual authors and their work. This allowed me to weight authorship data by numbers of publications, associate authors with multiple journals without sending them multiple surveys, and look at which authors wrote about which topics.

The gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation questions all contained a list of randomly-ordered checkboxes, with the option to check all that apply and/or "other," which had a write-in option. This is because many of these identities are not mutually exclusive: for example, a person may be a transgender man, may be a biracial person of white and African American heritage, or may identify as both queer and a more specific identity such as gay or bisexual. By providing the option to write in, I allowed respondents who did not identify with the options presented to answer nevertheless.

The gender question was written to be inclusive of a variety of gender identities. The two most common answers, "man" and "woman," were provided: when respondents checked one of these and no other options, they were interpreted to be cisgender (i.e.,

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having been assigned their gender at birth on the basis of their genitalia and continuing to identify with that gender). Although I considered including "cisgender" as an option, I chose not to because many cisgender people do not know the meaning of the word, and the question would thus measure vocabulary more effectively than identity. I lumped together transgender and Two-Spirit, and combined genderqueer, genderfluid, and gender nonconforming (three words often used by people who do not identify with either binary gender). I also included "agender," a word used by people who do not identify with any gender, or identify as not having a gender at all.

The race/ethnicity question was loosely based on that of the U.S. Census. One major difference was that I combined two U.S. Census questions: the "race" question, and the "ethnicity" question, which asks whether the respondent is or is not Hispanic or Latino. Because my "check all that apply" approach allowed people to check both Hispanic/Latinx and another category, it was not necessary to keep these separate. I titled the question "Race/Ethnicity" because I was combining these two census questions: some respondents protested that there are many ethnic identities that are not included in the question, and that the question title is therefore misleading. I agree that this is a shortcoming of the survey, although I did not come to this understanding until after it had been sent to many respondents, and I chose not to change the survey during distribution. There are also several other small differences from the U.S. Census options. Instead of "Latino," I used the gender-neutral "Latinx." I added "First Nations" to the American Indian/Alaskan Native option in order to include indigenous Canadians and added Afro-Latinx to the Black category to be more inclusive. I also added a category for Middle

Eastern and/or North African (MENA): MENA people are categorized as white by the U.S. Census but are nonetheless targeted by systemic racism in the United States so I chose to collect data about MENA-identified archaeologists.

For the sexual orientation question, I listed several of the most common identities, grouping gay with lesbian and bisexual with pansexual. I also gave the option of "queer," a word that can be an umbrella term for a wide variety of sexual minorities, a political orientation against social normativities, or an individual self-identification, depending on the context.

The nationality question was left for write-in answers, allowing people to self-identify or list multiple nations. Their answers were then standardized (e.g., listing "U.S.," "US," "U.S.A.," "USA," "United States," "United States of America," "America," "American," etc. as "United States of America"; "France," "French," and "Français" as "France").

Special cases of data collection

I also collected information from obituaries when I encountered them on departmental websites, in archaeology journals or newsletters, or in local newspapers when searching for contact information. Gender and nationality were the easiest data to collect, as most obituaries explicitly mentioned nationality and used gendered pronouns. Archaeologists were assumed to be white unless obituaries said otherwise, and almost all obituaries included photographs in which the deceased appeared to be white. One deceased author was Japanese and I thus categorized his race as Asian, and another was

from Latin America, so he was listed as Latinx. Finally, I listed deceased authors whose obituaries mentioned opposite-sex spouses as straight, and did not note any sexual orientation data for those whose obituaries did not mention marital status or said that they were unmarried. Of course, reading an obituary is not the same as asking someone about their identities. Some of these archaeologists may have been queer or transgender and closeted, or have had a more complex racial identity but passed as white. Some even may have been openly queer while married to someone of the opposite binary gender: many bisexual, pansexual, and queer-identified people marry spouses of the opposite sex. Yet these problems also rear their heads in the survey study. A closeted queer person or white-passing person of color or mixed-race person might well check the "straight" or "white" box. I thus decided that including this relatively small amount of somewhat questionable data was worthwhile.

Nine of the 72 archaeologists that I interviewed for my qualitative study did not fill out my survey, despite having articles in the sample. I decided to include them in the journal study, since they had given me their answers to all five survey questions in the course of the interviews. I added this information in the database alongside data collected from surveys and obituaries.

The sample and response rate

There were 7005 authors whose work was published in at least one of the 21 journals during the period of 2007–2016. Of these, 1300 could not be found and 60 were found to be deceased: 5645 were sent the survey. Of these 5645, 1377 responded, a

response rate of 24.39%. Of the 1377 respondents, 52 declined to write their name (often writing "anonymous" or similar responses in the required "name" box on the form): these respondents can be included in the statistics about the population of respondents, but since they are anonymous, their answers cannot be used to look at correlations between identity and topic or in journal-by-journal analyses.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described my data collection strategy for the journal authorship study, including recruitment, the design of the survey itself, unusual cases of data collection, and the response rate. In the next two chapters, I will discuss methods of analysis and present my results, in order to address my two research questions for this study: who conducts and publishes archaeological research (Chapter 5), and how research topics and methods may be correlated with the identities of authors (Chapter 6).

Chapter 5: Who Writes about Archaeology?

In this chapter, I use my journal authorship study to address my first major research question: who produces archaeological knowledge? Because academic archaeology knowledge is often circulated in the form of journal articles, and since peer-reviewed publications are a metric used for hiring and promotion in academia, I use articles as the basis for my study. In this chapter, I begin by presenting the basic results of the survey (the demographics of the respondents) showing that archaeology remains straight, white, and male-dominated. Straight white cisgender women comprise 1/3 of the respondents: notably less than the straight white cisgender men (45%), but still a high number compared to groups of non-straight, non-cisgender, and/or non-white people. Next, because there has been such a strong literature on gender in journal authorship patterns, I focus on gender and set my results, calculated journal by journal, alongside the results of other studies. I show that, since the birth of feminist critique in archaeology, the discipline seems to have moved toward gender parity; that there is a strong correlation between a journal's prestige and the gender imbalance of its authorship; and that my results have not been so shaped by response bias as to paint a radically different picture than previous gender equity studies. Finally, I present my data journal by journal, incorporating gender, race, and sexual orientation and showing that almost all journals are dominated by straight white cisgender men and that the percentage of authors who fit this description is positively correlated with the prestige of the journal.

Results: Who Produces Archaeological Knowledge?

Here, I present the results of each of my survey questions one by one, and then intersectionally.

The gender of respondents

Of the 1377 respondents, 786 (57.1%) were men, 585 (42.5%) were women, and 16 (1.1%) checked at least one box other than "man" or "woman" (TABLE 4). Because it was possible to select multiple boxes, these numbers total 1387, which is greater than the number of respondents (1377). Here is a summary of those who checked multiple boxes and/or checked the "other" box:

- Five respondents checked "woman" and "gender non-conforming, genderfluid, and/or genderqueer"

- Two respondents checked "man" and "other"

    o One wrote in "mostly."

    o The other wrote in "Actually we all exist somewhere on the gradient from woman to man"

- Two respondents checked "man" and "gender non-conforming, genderfluid, and/or genderqueer"

- One respondent checked "woman" and "transgender and/or two-spirit"

- One respondent checked "other" and wrote in "Sex: male; gender: feminine: sexual orientation: bisexual"

These figures show that authorship in archaeological journals remains male-dominated, despite the large numbers of women in undergraduate and graduate-level archaeology programs. Archaeologists are also overwhelmingly cisgender, with only 1.1% of respondents checking "gender nonconforming, genderfluid, and/or genderqueer," "transgender and/or two-spirit," and/or "other" and none checking "agender." See below for further discussion of how these figures break down by journal and how they compare to previously published studies on gender equity in archaeology journals.

Table 4: The Gender of Respondents

Gender	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents
Gender nonconforming, genderfluid, and/or genderqueer	11	0.8%
Woman	585	42.5%
Transgender and/or Two-Spirit	2	0.1%
Man	786	57.1%
Agender	0	0.0%
Other	3	0.2%

The race and ethnicity of respondents

Of the 1377 respondents, 1201 (87.2%) were white: a very large majority (TABLE 5). The largest minority group was Hispanic and/or Latinx, with 90 respondents (6.5%): this is not surprising given that both *Latin American Antiquity* and *Ancient Mesoamerica* were included in the sample. These journals focus on Latin American archaeology and publish Spanish-language articles. Below, I will show that the vast majority of Hispanic and/or Latinx authors were indeed publishing in these two journals. Six and a half percent is quite a small proportion, however, since the U.S. Census bureau estimates that in 2017, 18.1% of the U.S. population was Hispanic and/or Latinx (U.S. Census Bureau 2017).

The inclusion of many articles by authors from Latin America means that U.S.

Latinx/Hispanic people are severely underrepresented. This racial diversity does not

extend through the whole discipline. Each other race/ethnicity box was checked by fewer

than 3% of respondents.

There were also a variety of write-in answers, which I present here in alphabetical

order:

- "African"
- "Americano"
- "Americano-Mexicano"
- "Argentina"
- "Argentina…we do not use the concept of race"
- "Australian"
- "CYMRO"
- "Do not identify with a race/ethnicity"
- "Eurodescendant"
- "European"
- "European/English"
- "Francophone"
- "German"
- "Human"
- "I don't know where to classify myself - White? Hispanic?"
- "In Portugal I am white, here I am Hispanic"
- "International"
- "Italian-American (which I know is white)"
- "Irish-Canadian"
- "Irish/Scots"
- "Jewish" (2)
- "Latinoamericano"
- "ME PARECE ABSURDO HABLAR DE RAZA" (capital letters original)
- "Mediterranean" (3)
- "My DNA indicates that I am Indo-European-Middle Eastern"
- "Pakeha (New Zealander of European descent)"
- "People from Western Europe do normally not identify themselves as of a specific ethnic group, but if Scandinavian background then I suppose I am white…"

- "Race/ethnicity os [sic] an old fashioned concept that still seems to operate in the United States"
- "Russian Jewish"
- "South Asian"
- "This is not a valid classificatory category in Argentina"
- "White?"
- "White but with hispanic heritage but not phenotypically hispanic"
- "You may not realize that 'Caucasian' is a racist term. 'White' is inappropriate. Euroamerican is best."

These answers are certainly revealing about how archaeologists think about race:

I will discuss them in more detail in Chapter 7.

Table 5: The Race/Ethnicity of Respondents

Race/Ethnicity	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents
Biracial and/or Multiracial	40	2.9%
Native Hawaiian and/or Pacific Islander	2	0.1%
Middle Eastern and/or North African	25	1.8%
American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native	10	0.7%
Hispanic and/or Latinx	90	6.5%
Asian	28	2.0%
Black, African American, and/or Afro-Latinx	14	1.0%
White and/or Caucasian	1201	87.2%

The sexual orientation of respondents

A large majority of respondents (1285, 93.3%) were straight, while 38 (2.8%) were bisexual and/or pansexual; 36 (2.6%) were gay, lesbian, and/or homosexual; 18 (1.3%) were queer; and 9 (0.7%) checked the "other" box (TABLE 6). The U.S. Census does not ask about sexual orientation, so there is no authoritative data about what percentage of the U.S. population is straight. Gallup reported that 95.5% of U.S. adults identified as straight and 4.5% identified as "lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender" in 2017, the highest numbers that they had found, with a continuing upward trend (Newport

2018). If this number is correct, then non-straight people may be overrepresented among

archaeologists, as compared to the U.S. population at large, although of course many of

the authors in archaeology journals are not Americans.

Write-in answers were:

- "but with no prejudice against any others" (this respondent also checked "straight")
- "I don't want to answer this"
- "I feel very uncomfortable with these gender, etnicity [sic] and sexyal [sic] orientation boxes! None of them matches anything related to my identity. I do not live in the country, where I was born, I formerly lived as bisexual, but is now married to a man, who formerly lived as gay, and I believe that identity is a highly fluid matter, but I will end up in your analysis as a proof that only white heterosexuals publish in [journal]"
- "Mostly" (this respondent also checked "straight")
- "No comment" (2)
- "None"
- "Prefer not to say"
- "The categories listed rely on culturally specific 20th c western notions of sexual orientation and of identification - I choose not to go so far as to identity myself according to any single one of my hobbies!"

As with the race/ethnicity write-in answers, these are revealing and will be

discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 6: The Sexual Orientation of Respondents

Sexual Orientation	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents
Queer	18	1.3%
Bisexual and/or pansexual	38	2.8%
Gay, lesbian, and/or homosexual	36	2.6%
Straight and/or heterosexual	1285	93.3%
Other	9	0.7%

The nationality of respondents

The majority of respondents (750, 54.5%) were from the United States; the next most common nationalities were British (152, 11%) and Canadian (96, 7.0%), with all other nations falling below 5% of respondents (TABLE 7, FIGURE 2). This was predictable given that the journals are all published in the U.K. or U.S., and are in English (with the exceptions of *Ancient Mesoamerica* and *Latin American Antiquity*, which publish some Spanish-language articles). Given the global subject matter of many of the journals, however, it is notable that 61.5% of authors are North American and 30.6% are European. In chapter 7, I will further explore the nationalities of authors writing for various journals and about various parts of the world.

Many respondents wrote more than one nationality, or explained that they had migrated from one country to another during their lives: these respondents were listed as being from all nations mentioned in their responses. It is also worth bearing in mind that authors affiliated with universities in the U.S., U.K., and Canada were likely to have easily-located contact information, while those from other countries might not be easily findable through Google search by a speaker of English and Spanish. Thus, there may be sample bias at play.

Table 7: The Nationality of Respondents

Region Nationality	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents
Africa	8	*0.6%*
Ethiopia	1	0.1%
Nigeria	1	0.1%
South Africa	6	0.4%
Central and South Asia	9	*0.7%*
Armenia	1	0.1%
Azerbaijan	1	0.1%
India	6	0.4%
Russia	1	0.1%
East and Southeast Asia	8	*0.6%*
Japan	4	0.3%
Philippines	1	0.1%
South Korea	1	0.1%
Taiwan	2	0.1%
Europe	422	*30.6%*
Albania	1	0.1%
Austria	2	0.1%
Belgium	9	0.7%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	0.1%
Bulgaria	1	0.1%
Catalonia	4	0.3%
Croatia	2	0.1%
Czech Republic	2	0.1%
Denmark	8	0.6%
Finland	12	0.9%
France	30	2.2%
Germany	33	2.4%
Greece	16	1.2%
Hungary	3	0.2%
Iceland	3	0.2%
Ireland	14	1.0%
Italy	26	1.9%
Latvia	1	0.1%
Netherlands	16	1.2%
Norway	5	0.4%
Poland	7	0.5%
Portugal	7	0.5%

Romania	6	0.4%
Serbia	6	0.4%
Slovakia	1	0.1%
Spain	38	2.8%
Sweden	14	1.0%
Switzerland	1	0.1%
Ukraine	1	0.1%
United Kingdom	152	11%
Mesoamerica, Central America, and the Caribbean	*23*	*1.7%*
Guatemala	2	0.1%
Mexico	21	1.5%
Middle East	*30*	*2.2%*
Iran	4	0.3%
Israel	17	1.2%
Jordan	2	0.1%
Lebanon	1	0.1%
Syria	1	0.1%
Turkey	5	0.4%
North America	*847*	*61.5%*
Canada	96	7.0%
Navajo	1	0.1%
United States	750	54.5%
Oceania and the Pacific	*56*	*4.1%*
Australia	45	3.3%
New Zealand	10	0.7%
Vanuatu	1	
South America	*67*	*4.9%*
Argentina	27	2.0%
Bolivia	2	0.1%
Brazil	9	0.7%
Chile	11	0.8%
Colombia	5	0.4%
Peru	10	0.7%
Uruguay	1	0.1%

Regions Used for Author Nationality Analysis
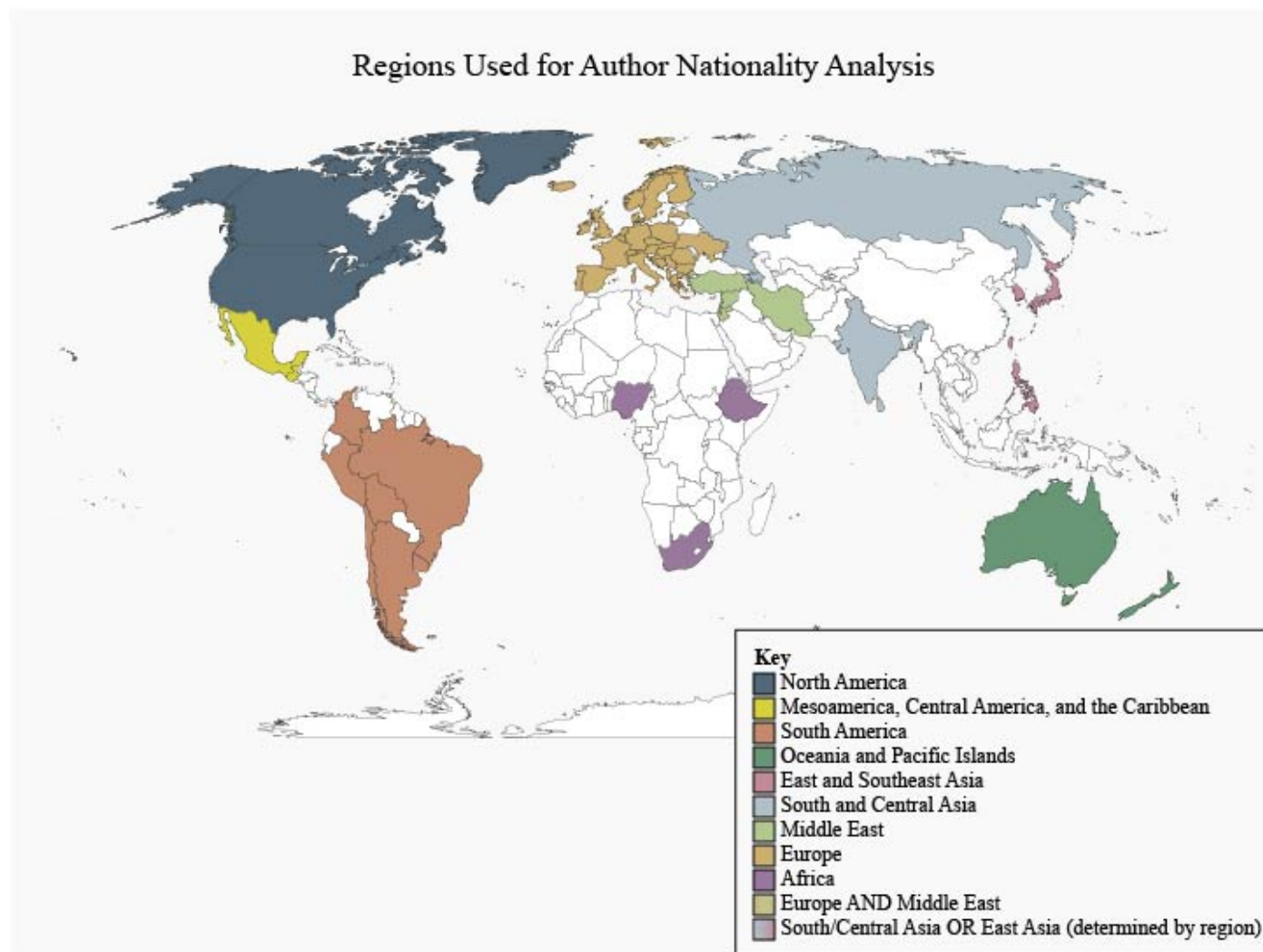
Figure 2: Map of Author Nationalities

Intersecting identities of respondents

In order to examine the data intersectionally, I needed to simplify, to avoid analyzing so many specific identities with only one or two respondents that the data would be difficult to interpret. To this end, I created the following categories. I began with a "Simplified Gender" category. People who checked "man" but no other boxes were labeled "cisgender man" and people who checked "woman" but no other boxes were labeled "cisgender woman." I had not included "cisgender" as a box on the survey, and assume that anyone who did not indicate otherwise was cisgender (see chapter 4 for further discussion). Next, I combined many of the people who checked either the "transgender and/or two-spirit" box or the "gender non-conforming, genderfluid, and/or genderqueer" box into shared categories. This was because so few people checked these boxes, and I wanted to protect their privacy. People who checked both a binary gender ("man" or "woman") and either or both of these two boxes were labeled "Trans/gender nonconforming man" or "Trans/gender nonconforming woman." People who checked one or both of these boxes but neither "man" nor "woman" were labeled "non-binary." People who checked the "Other" box (usually writing in an answer as well) were left labeled "other." Next, I created a "Simplified Sexual Orientation" category. People who checked multiple boxes were listed as "Multiple Boxes Checked"; respondents who checked one box were labeled with that label. Finally, for the "Simplified Race/Ethnicity" category, I combined everyone who had checked "biracial and/or multiracial" with everyone who had checked multiple race boxes under the label "biracial

and/or multiracial and/or multiple races." People who checked only one box were labeled with that label.

The results are presented in Table 8. Forty-five percent of respondents are straight white cisgender men, and 33% are straight white cisgender women: a total of 78% straight white cisgender people. All other identity categories were substantially smaller, with less than 4% of the sample each. Straight multiracial cisgender men and straight Hispanic/Latinx cisgender men each consisted of 3% of the sample: notably, people in these two categories have straight and male privilege supporting them, although they may be targeted by systemic racism. Straight multiracial cisgender women and bisexual/pansexual cisgender women each consisted of 2% of the sample. All other categories consisted of 1% or less of the respondents, with 17 or fewer out of 1325 total respondents

Table 8: Intersecting Identities of Respondents

Simplified Gender	Simplified Sexual Orientation	Simplified Race/Ethnicity	Number	%
Cisgender man	Straight	White and/or Caucasian	596	45%
Cisgender woman	Straight	White and/or Caucasian	436	33%
Cisgender man	Straight	Biracial, multiracial, and/or multiple races	43	3%
Cisgender man	Straight	Hispanic and/or Latinx	40	3%
Cisgender woman	Straight	Biracial, multiracial, and/or multiple races	27	2%
Cisgender woman	Bisexual/pansexual	White and/or Caucasian	20	2%
Cisgender man	Gay/lesbian	White and/or Caucasian	17	1%
Cisgender woman	Straight	Hispanic and/or Latinx	17	1%
Cisgender man	Straight	Middle Eastern and/or North African	14	1%
Cisgender man	Straight	Asian	11	<1%
Cisgender man	Straight	Other	11	<1%
Cisgender woman	Gay/lesbian	White and/or Caucasian	10	<1%
Cisgender man	Straight	Black/African American/Afro-Latinx	9	<1%
Cisgender woman	Straight	Asian	9	<1%
Cisgender woman	Straight	Other	9	<1%
Cisgender woman	Queer	White and/or Caucasian	8	<1%
Cisgender woman	Straight	Middle Eastern and/or North African	5	<1%
Cisgender man	Bisexual/pansexual	White and/or Caucasian	4	<1%
Cisgender woman	Other	White and/or Caucasian	4	<1%
Cisgender woman	Gay/lesbian	Hispanic and/or Latinx	3	<1%
Cisgender woman	Multiple Boxes Checked	White and/or Caucasian	3	<1%
Trans/Gender non-conforming woman	Gay/lesbian	White and/or Caucasian	3	<1%
Cisgender man	Multiple	White and/or Caucasian	2	<1%
Cisgender man	Other	White and/or Caucasian	2	<1%
Cisgender woman	Bisexual/pansexual	Biracial, multiracial, and/or multiple races	2	<1%
Cisgender woman	Straight	Black/African American/Afro-Latinx	2	<1%
Non-binary	Bisexual/pansexual	White and/or Caucasian	2	<1%

Trans/Gender non-conforming man	Straight	White and/or Caucasian	2	<1%
Cisgender man	Queer	Hispanic and/or Latinx	1	<1%
Cisgender man	Queer	White and/or Caucasian	1	<1%
Cisgender man	Straight	American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native	1	<1%
Cisgender woman	Gay/lesbian	American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native	1	<1%
Cisgender woman	Multiple Boxes Checked	biracial and/or multiracial and/or multiple races	1	<1%
Cisgender woman	Queer	biracial and/or multiracial and/or multiple races	1	<1%
Cisgender woman	Straight	American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native	1	<1%
Non-binary	Gay/lesbian	White and/or Caucasian	1	<1%
Trans/Gender non-conforming woman	Bisexual/pansexual	Biracial, multiracial and/or multiple races	1	<1%
Trans/Gender non-conforming woman	Bisexual/pansexual	White and/or Caucasian	1	<1%
Trans/Gender non-conforming woman	Queer	White and/or Caucasian	1	<1%
Other	Multiple Boxes Checked	Other	1	<1%
Other	Multiple Boxes Checked	White and/or Caucasian	1	<1%
Other	Bisexual/pansexual	Other	1	<1%
TOTAL			**1325**	**100%**

Results: Gender Equity in Archaeological Publications

As previously discussed, there is a long history of studies of gender trends in publications, beginning with Gero's (1985) article inaugurating feminist archaeology. In this section, I will present the results of the gender question from my survey calculated journal by journal, in conversation with these previous studies. This allows me to show change over time; since some of the previous studies reach as far back as 1967 and mine concludes in 2016, these numbers provide partial coverage of a fifty-year period. By placing my own work side by side with previous studies, I am also able to show that although my survey-based methods differ from the first-name-based gender assignments of previous work, leading to smaller sample sizes, my results are not so deeply affected by response bias as to be unusable.

Journal by journal results

As shown in Table 9, the journals varied by how many people of different genders published in them. In this table, I display "instances of publication" by people of each gender: this means that an author with multiple articles in the same journal would be counted multiple times, and that an article with multiple responding authors is counted once for each. I also count each article once for each checked gender box by each respondent: thus, an article by a transgender man would be counted as an instance of publication by a man AND as an instance of publication by a transgender person. Only one journal in the study had more instances of publication by women than by men: *Archaeologies*. In all other journals, the majority of instances were by men, although the

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American Journal of Archaeology, *Historical Archaeology*, the *Journal of Archaeological Research*, and *Latin American Archaeology* approached gender parity, with fewer than 60% by men. *American Antiquity*, the *Annual Review of Anthropology*, and *Current Anthropology* had the most egregiously imbalanced numbers, with more than 70% of instances of publication being by men. All journals had extremely low numbers of trans and genderqueer/genderfluid/gender non-conforming authors. *Historical Archaeology* led with 5 instances (3%) of publication by gender non-conforming authors. Ten of the 21 journals had not a single instance of publication by an author in one of these groups.

Gender and prestige

In order to understand the relationship between gender imbalance of authorship and the prestige of a journal, I analyzed the correlation between percentage of instances of authorship that were by men and several measures of journal prestige: h-index, impact factor, and SCImago Journal Rank (SJR) (TABLE 10). These three figures for each journal were acquired from the SJR website (https://www.scimagojr.com/index.php). *Advances in Archaeological Practice* and the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* are not included in the SCImago database and are thus excluded from this analysis.

Table 9: Gender Statistics by Journal

Journal	Men		Women		Trans		Genderqueer		Other		Total
AAP	62	69%	28	31%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	90
AA	20	63%	11	34%	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%	32
AAQ	205	73%	74	26%	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	281
AJA	73	58%	53	42%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	126
AM	81	65%	43	35%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	124
ARA	11	79%	3	21%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	14
Antiquity	255	67%	120	32%	0	0%	3	1%	2	1%	380
Archaeologies	30	34%	55	63%	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%	87
AP3A	37	60%	25	40%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	62
Cambridge	62	62%	36	36%	0	0%	2	2%	0	0%	100
CA	59	71%	23	28%	0	0%	1	1%	0	0%	83
HA	85	49%	82	47%	0	0%	5	3%	1	1%	173
IJHA	84	61%	50	36%	0	0%	3	2%	0	0%	137
JAA	149	67%	71	32%	2	1%	2	1%	0	0%	224
JAnR	24	63%	14	37%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	38
JAMT	75	65%	41	35%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	116
JArR	20	53%	18	47%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	38
JFA	119	61%	73	38%	0	0%	2	1%	0	0%	194
JSA	50	60%	31	37%	0	0%	3	4%	0	0%	84
LAQ	105	55%	87	45%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	192
WA	108	64%	60	36%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	168

Table 10: Journals Included and Measures of their Influence

Journal	h-index	2017 Impact Factor	SJR
AAP			
AA	72	1.68	0.962
AAQ	63	1.68	1.185
AJA	23	0.72	0.614
AM	33	0.76	0.568
ARA	103	3.31	2.055
Antiquity	62	1.32	1.151
Archaeologies	15	0.52	0.174
AP3A	25	0.72	0.507
Cambridge	39	1.4	0.933
CA	90	2.55	1.534
HA	19	0.29	0.551
IJHA			
JAA	55	1.68	1.665
JAnR	31	0.58	0.389
JAMT	43	2	1.861
JArR	45	5.35	2.543
JFA	22	1.19	0.775
JSA	27	2.17	0.815
LAQ	32	0.92	0.58
WA	55	1.9	1.257

H-INDEX

The h-index of a journal is the highest possible value of *h*, for which *h* articles have been published and cited at least *h* times in other peer-reviewed articles during the period of study. The h-indices reported in SJR and used in this study are based on the period from 1999 to 2017. This number thus represents a sense of how many influential and often-cited articles have been published in that journal over the past twenty years.

When I graphed male authorship against h-index (FIGURE 3), most journals fell in a cluster, with 50–70% of instances being by men, and h-indexes between 20 and 60. The outliers are notable, however: *Annual Review of Anthropology, Current Anthropology, American Antiquity, American Anthropologist,* and *Antiquity* have the five highest h-indexes and are all more than 60% male, with ARA, CA, and AAQ being the most male journals with over 70% of authors being men. *Archaeologies*, the lowest-ranked journal, is also the only majority-female journal, and *Historical Archaeology* is the second-lowest-ranked and had approximate gender parity. There is a strong positive correlation between gender imbalance and h-index ($R^2 = 0.553, p = 0.00026$): regression analysis shows that approximately 55% of the variation in journal h-index can be explained by degree of gender imbalance in favor of male authors.
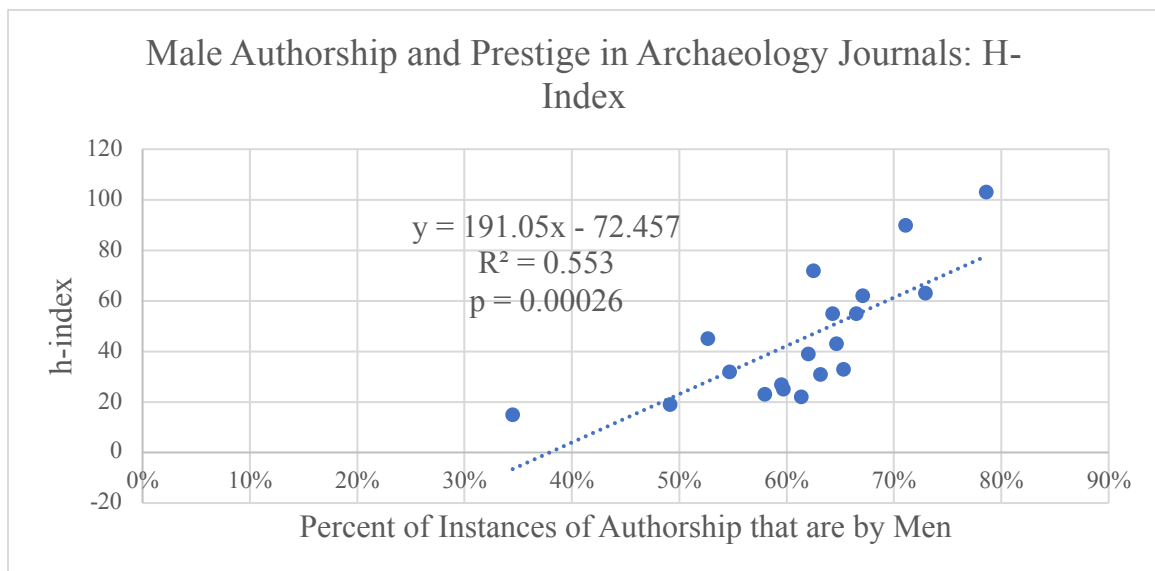
Figure 3: Male Authorship and Prestige in Archaeology Journals: H-Index
This chart excludes AAP and IJHA, neither of which is in the SCImago database.

The impact factor of a journal is the average number of citations (in other peer reviewed publications) per article published over the previous two years. This number thus fluctuates each year, and provides a snapshot of the prestige of a journal in a particular short period. Since my sample was articles from 2007–2016, I used the 2016 impact factors, representing citations of articles published in 2015 and 2016. There was one notable outlier in this analysis: the *Journal of Archaeological Research* had an impact factor of 4.000 but only 53% of its instances of authorship were by men. When this outlier was removed, however, there was a strong correlation between male authorship and impact factor among the other journals ($R^2 = 0.5005$, $p = 0.001$, FIGURE 4).
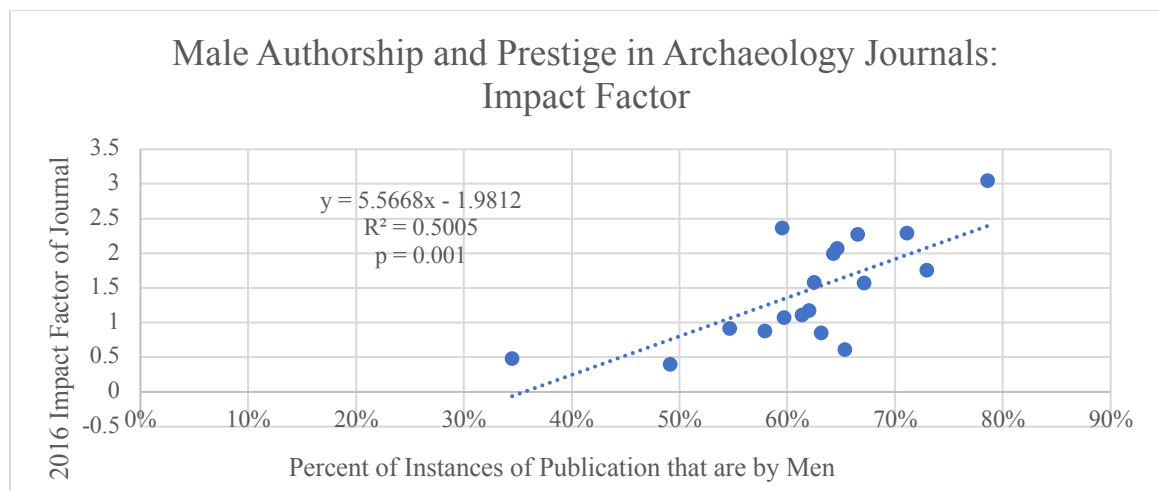
Figure 4: Male Authorship and Prestige in Archaeology Journals: Impact Factor
This chart excludes one outlier: JArR (53% men, Impact Factor = 4.000), as well as AAP and IJHA, neither of which is in the Scimago database.

The SJR takes into account not only how many times articles have been cited, but in which journals they have been cited (Guerrero-Bote and Moya-Anegón 2012). A more prestigious citing journal adds to the prestige of the cited journal, and a citation in a thematically-related journal is weighted more heavily than a citation in a less-related journal. The SJR metric is also designed to control for the size of journals, since some journals publish many more articles than others. Like Impact Factor, a journal's SJR provides a snapshot of a short period of time, and changes each year; I therefore chose to use the 2016 SJRs to measure the prestige of journals at the end of my study period. Similar to h-index and Impact Factor, SJR showed a strong correlation with the percentage of instances of publication that were by men ($R^2 = 0.5311$, $p = 0.0005$, FIGURE 5).
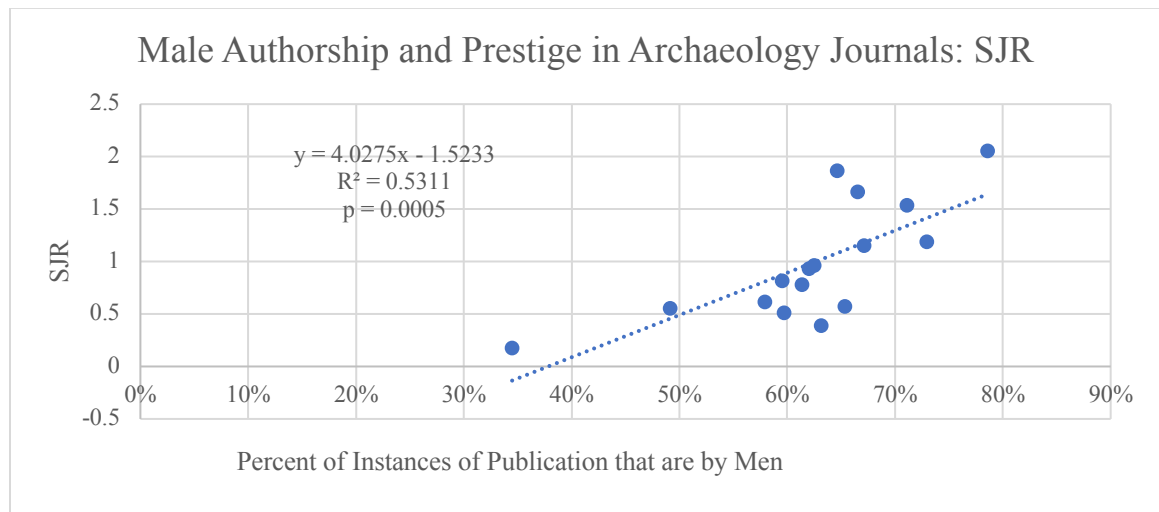
Figure 5: Male Authorship and Prestige in Archaeology Journals: SJR
This chart excludes one outlier: the *Journal of Archaeological Research* (53% men, SJR = 2.543), as well as *Advances in Archaeological Practice* and the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, neither of which is in the Scimago database.

All three metrics for journal prestige correlated strongly with the gender imbalance of journals, with statistically significant p values, and R^2 values indicating that 50–55% of variation in prestige between journals can be accounted for by gender composition of authorship. There are several possible explanations for these correlations. Perhaps the broader and more prestigious journals are more sexist and cissexist than the more subfield-specific publication outlets, and have differing acceptance rates for men and women (see Heath-Stout and Luke forthcoming for information about acceptance rates by gender of author in the *Journal of Field Archaeology*). It is more likely that women and non-cisgender people submit fewer manuscripts to the more prestigious journals. This was the case for at least one journal: as discussed in Chapter 3, Alison Rautman (2012), editor of *American Antiquity* from 2009 until 2012, showed that between April 2009 and April 2010, men submitted more manuscripts than women did, and thus had more publications, with similar acceptance rates regardless of the inferred genders of the authors and reviewers. In their study of California archaeology publications, Tushingham and colleagues (2017) showed that there was a "peer review gap," in which women were much more robustly represented in the non-peer-reviewed *Proceedings* of the Society for California Archaeology than in the peer reviewed journals *Journal of California Anthropology/Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* (its name changed partway through the study period) and *California Archaeology*. This finding supports the interpretation that men are overrepresented in more prestigious venues due to higher submission rates rather than higher acceptance rates.

It is also important to note that all three prestige metrics use citations as a measure of importance in the field. Yet how many citations an article has received is not necessarily a measure of how many people are reading it or of its importance. As both Beaudry and White (1994) and Hutson (2002) have proved, women are under-cited in archaeological literature given their rates of publication. A journal that publishes more articles by men might be cited more often *because* its articles are by men, thus inflating its h-index, Impact Factor, and SJR. Perhaps there is a vicious circle at play here: more men than women submit to a prestigious journal, so more men than women are published, so the journal is cited more, so the journal is perceived as more prestigious and raises its metrics, so more men than women submit to it. Thus, it may be that the correlations between prestige and the gender of authors reflect sexist citation practices more than sexist publication practices: either way, they demonstrate that archaeology has a problem with systemic sexism.

The *Journal of Archaeological Research* was an outlier in the analyses of Impact Factor and SJR: it had an Impact Factor of 4.000 and an SJR of 2.543, while only 53% of its instances of publication were by men. How does such a prestigious journal maintain gender parity? Co-editor Gary Feinman noted that *JArR* solicits most of its articles rather than waiting for authors to submit something, and

> We do make a concerted effort to solicit both male and female authors, who are doing research that fits our mission. By asking scholars, a good number whom are early-to-mid career to prepare papers on topics relevant to the journal's mission, we may be giving these scholars the impetus, confidence, assurances that they need to submit manuscripts.

He also explained that most articles are not rejected outright, but receive clear revision instructions and reminders to resubmit, leading to a high publication rate (Gary Feinman, personal communication, December 16, 2018). These practices likely contribute to the *JArR*'s gender parity.

Results compared to previous studies

Several of the journals included in my study have also been discussed in previous literature on gender equity in archaeology: *American Antiquity*, *Ancient Mesoamerica, Historical Archaeology,* the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory,* the *Journal of Archaeological Research,* the *Journal of Field Archaeology,* and *Latin American Antiquity*. In this section, I place my own results alongside those from previously published studies. My results show a more optimistic picture than previous studies in terms of gender balance: this may reflect improvement over time, response bias, or a combination of the two. These data are a bit difficult to compare because the methods of the studies differed. As discussed above, I surveyed authors to ask about their genders: thus, my numbers only include the approximately 1 in 4 authors who responded to the survey. Previously published studies generally rely on guessing gender by first name, allowing for the inclusion of more articles but potentially including mistaken identities, as acknowledged by some recent authors (Rautman 2012; Bardolph 2014). Most of these studies count only first authors; I have, therefore, calculated the instances of first authorship by women and men in order to compare our data (TABLE 11). They also cover different numbers of years: I have thus included year data in the tables, and percentages.

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Please see the original sources for more detail on the methods of each study (Gero 1985; Victor and Beaudry 1992; Beaudry and White 1994; Hutson 2002; Rautman 2012; Bardolph 2014).

In general, my results show greater numbers of women publishing in these journals than previous studies do. There are two possible explanations. First, my study covered a later period than most, and so it is likely that archaeology is improving in gender equity. The steady improvement in *American Antiquity*'s gender numbers over time supports this interpretation. On the other hand, perhaps my results show response bias, in which women are more likely to answer a survey about demographics than men are, whether because they have a vested interest in feminist work in the discipline or because they have been socialized to help others whenever possible. This may certainly be at play; however, for most journals, my results for the percentage of male first authors vs. female first authors are not so radically different from those reported previously that the change cannot be explained by change over time.

Table 11: My Study Compared to Previous Gender Equity Studies: Instances of First-Author Publication by Men and Women in Various Journals

Journal	Study by	Years	Articles Included	Men as First Author		Women as First Author	
AAQ	Gero (1985)*	1967–1968	38	34	89%	4	11%
	Beaudry et al. (1992, 1994)	1967–1991	974	789	81%	156	16%
	Gero (1985)*	1979–1980	148	109	74%	39	26%
	Hutson (2002)*	1977–2000	193	162	84%	31	16%
	Bardolph (2014)	1990–2013	815	619	76%	196	24%
	Heath-Stout	2007–2016	143	97	68%	46	32%
AM	Hutson (2002)	1990–1998	166	117	70%	49	30%
	Heath-Stout	2007–2016	77	48	62%	29	38%
HA	Beaudry et al. (1992, 1994)	1967–1991	307	219	71%	88	29%
	Heath-Stout	2007–2016	104	48	46%	56	54%
JAMT	Bardolph (2014)	1990–2013	296	183	62%	113	38%
	Heath-Stout	2007–2016	65	38	58%	27	42%
JArR	Bardolph (2014)	1990–2013	176	133	76%	43	24%
	Heath-Stout	2007–2016	28	14	50%	14	50%
JFA	Hutson (2002)*	1989–1998	96	75	78%	21	22%
	Bardolph (2014)	1990–2013	475	337	71%	138	29%
	Heath-Stout	2007–2016	85	54	64%	31	36%
LAQ	Bardolph (2014)	1990–2013	481	329	68%	152	32%
	Heath-Stout	2007–2016	98	52	53%	46	47%

.

*Gero's study only included single-gender articles for *AAQ*, eliminating multi-authored articles where the authors included both men and women. Hutson's study did the same for *AAQ* and *JFA*, but for *Ancient Meso.*, he also provided numbers for multi-gendered articles with male or female first authors

Results: Who Publishes in Which Journals?

Most journal authorship studies either focus on one particular journal (e.g., Rautman 2012) or break down their statistics journal by journal (e.g., Bardolph 2014). This provides accountability for the editors, staff, and boards of the journals, and allows us to see differences between journals with different foci or different levels of prestige (e.g., Tushingham et al. 2017). In Chapter 6, I explore demographic differences between subfields in greater depth, but here I present my results journal by journal.

Methodological notes

In this section, I count instances of publication, not articles per se. This means that the numbers may count one article multiple times, if multiple authors of that article responded to the survey. I also present the data with an even more simplified framework of identities than I did earlier in this chapter, in order to make the results readable:

- People who checked "man" or "woman" but no other boxes were labeled "cisgender," and anyone who checked at least one box other than "man" or "woman" were labeled "non-cisgender."

- People who checked "man" were labeled "man," people who checked "woman" were labeled "woman," and people who checked the "Other" box (usually writing in an answer as well) were left labeled "other." People who clicked "Transgender and/or Two Spirit" and/or "Gender non-confirming, Genderfluid, and/or Genderqueer" but neither "man" nor "woman" were labeled as "non-binary."

- For sexual orientation, respondents who checked only the "straight" box were labeled "straight," and anyone who checked at least one box other than "straight" was labeled "non-straight."

- For race/ethnicity, respondents who checked only the "white" box were labeled "white," and anyone who checked at least one box other than "white" were labeled "non-white."

Results

The results of this analysis are presented in Table 12. In almost all journals, the majority or plurality of instances of publication are by straight white cisgender men. The exceptions are *Archaeologies* and HA, in which the plurality of instances are by straight white cisgender women. In all journals, straight white cisgender people vastly outnumber all others. In almost all journals, straight non-white cisgender men outnumber straight non-white cisgender women, the exception again being *Archaeologies*, where women in general outnumber men and where women of color publish more than men of color— although with such a small sample (7 straight nonwhite cisgender men and 9 straight non-white cisgender women), it is difficult to draw conclusions. In many journals, there are more non-straight white cisgender women than non-straight white cisgender men, with the exceptions of the AJA (not surprising, as many interviewees told me that Classics and Classical archaeology have long been a haven for gay men) and the JSA.

Table 12: Instances of Publication by People with Various Intersecting Identities, by Journal

Sexual Orientation	Race	Gender	Gender	Total Respondents	Total Instances	AAP	AA	AAQ	AJA	AM	ARA
straight	white	cisgender	man	596 (45%)	1360 (51%)	52 (58%)	17 (55%)	171 (63%)	59 (47%)	58 (49%)	11 (79%)
straight	white	cisgender	woman	436 (33%)	747 (28%)	20 (22%)	10 (32%)	62 (23%)	50 (40%)	33 (28%)	2 (14%)
straight	non-white	cisgender	man	129 (10%)	254 (10%)	8 (9%)	1 (3%)	22 (8%)	9 (7%)	15 (13%)	0 (0%)
straight	non-white	cisgender	woman	70 (5%)	120 (5%)	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	2 (<1%)	2 (2%)	6 (5%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	cisgender	woman	45 (3%)	88 (3%)	5 (6%)	1 (3%)	7 (3%)	1 (<1%)	2 (2%)	1 (7%)
non-straight	white	cisgender	man	26 (2%)	44 (2%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	4 (1%)	5 (45)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	woman	3 (<1%)	14 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	cisgender	woman	8 (<1%)	13 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	cisgender	man	1 (<1%)	5 (<1%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)
straight	white	non-cisgender	man	2 (<1%)	5 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	nonbinary	3 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	non-cisgender	other gender	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	non-cisgender	woman	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	other gender	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
			TOTAL	**1325**	**2660**	**90**	**31**	**270**	**126**	**118**	**14**

Sexual Orientation	Race	Gender	Gender	Antiquity	Archaeologies	AP3A	Cambridge	CA	HA	IJHA
straight	white	cisgender	man	196 (54%)	22 (27%)	28 (49%)	51 (52%)	43 (53%)	63 (39%)	76 (57%)
straight	white	cisgender	woman	90 (25%)	36 (43%)	17 (30%)	27 (27%)	17 (21%)	66 (40%)	36 (27%)
straight	non-white	cisgender	man	43 (12%)	7 (8%)	5 (9%)	9 (9%)	13 (16%)	15 (9%)	8 (6%)
straight	non-white	cisgender	woman	16 (4%)	9 (11%)	4 (7%)	4 (4%)	4 (5%)	6 (4%)	5 (4%)
non-straight	white	cisgender	woman	10 (3%)	6 (7%)	1 (2%)	4 (4%)	2 (2%)	5 (3%)	6 (4%)
non-straight	white	cisgender	man	5 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	2 (2%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	woman	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (2%)	3 (2%)
non-straight	non-white	cisgender	woman	1 (<1%)	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	cisgender	man	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)
straight	white	non-cisgender	man	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	nonbinary	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	non-cisgender	other gender	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	non-cisgender	woman	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	other gender	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
			TOTAL	366	83	57	99	81	163	134

Sexual Orientation	Race	Gender	Gender	JAA	JAnR	JAMT	JArR	JFA	JSA	LAQ	WA
straight	white	cisgender	man	118 (54%)	17 (46%)	57 (50%)	17 (45%)	100 (53%)	38 (48%)	73 (39%)	93 (56%)
straight	white	cisgender	woman	51 (24%)	12 (32%)	27 (24%)	15 (39%)	56 (29%)	22 (28%)	56 (30%)	42 (25%)
straight	non-white	cisgender	man	25 (12%)	6 (16%)	11 (10%)	2 (5%)	13 (7%)	6 (8%)	27 (15%)	9 (5%)
straight	non-white	cisgender	woman	13 (6%)	2 (5%)	7 (6%)	1 (3%)	6 (3%)	4 (5%)	18 (10%)	8 (5%)
non-straight	white	cisgender	woman	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	5 (4%)	2 (5%)	8 (4%)	2 (3%)	9 (5%)	9 (5%)
non-straight	white	cisgender	man	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	5 (4%)	1 (3%)	4 (2%)	4 (5%)	0 (0%)	5 (3%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	woman	2 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	cisgender	woman	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	1 (<1%)
non-straight	non-white	cisgender	man	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
straight	white	non-cisgender	man	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	nonbinary	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	non-cisgender	other gender	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	non-white	non-cisgender	woman	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
non-straight	white	non-cisgender	other gender	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
			TOTAL	217	37	113	8	190	80	186	167

Privilege and prestige

Because my graph of gender balances and prestige measures of journals was so illuminating, I conducted a similar analysis with the intersectional identities. Here, I graphed the percentage of instances of authorship that were by straight white cisgender men against the h-index (FIGURE 6), 2016 Impact Factor (FIGURE 7), and 2016 SJR (FIGURE 8) of the journals (these metrics are listed in TABLE 10). These graphs are very similar to the gender-only versions: they show that the journals with the highest prestige metrics are also the most dominated by straight white cisgender men, and that those with the lowest prestige are the least dominated by extremely privileged people. The correlations are similarly strong. The graphs also have some of the same problems regarding the calculation of prestige as the gender-only version (see above).
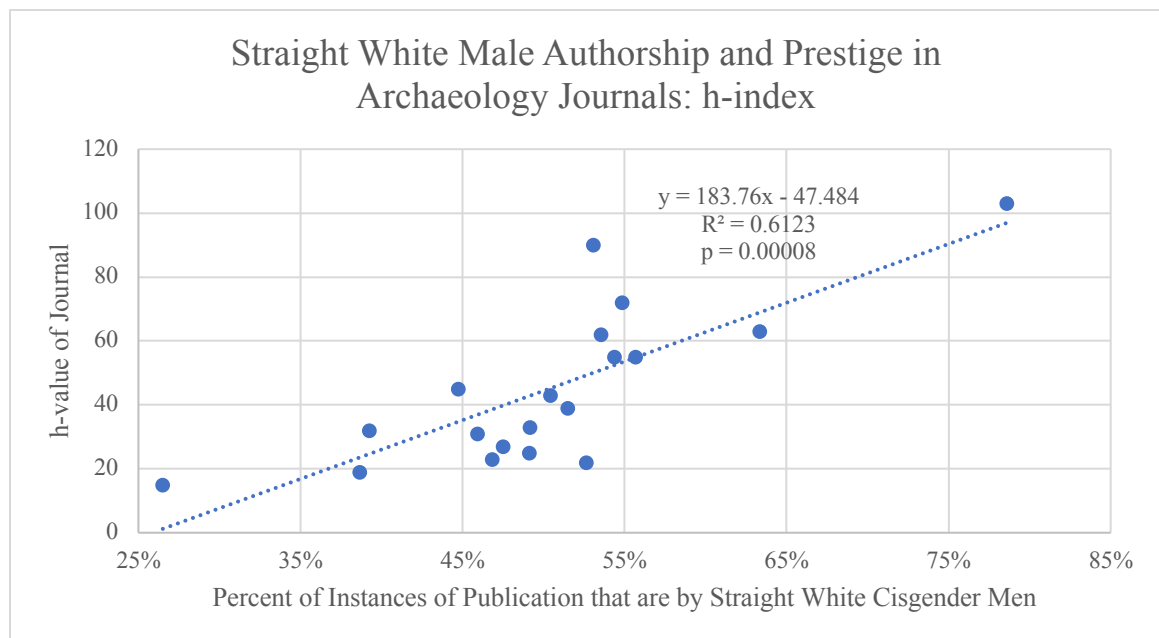
Figure 6: Straight White Male Authorship and Prestige in Archaeology Journals: h-index
This chart excludes AAP and IJHA, neither of which is in the Scimago database.
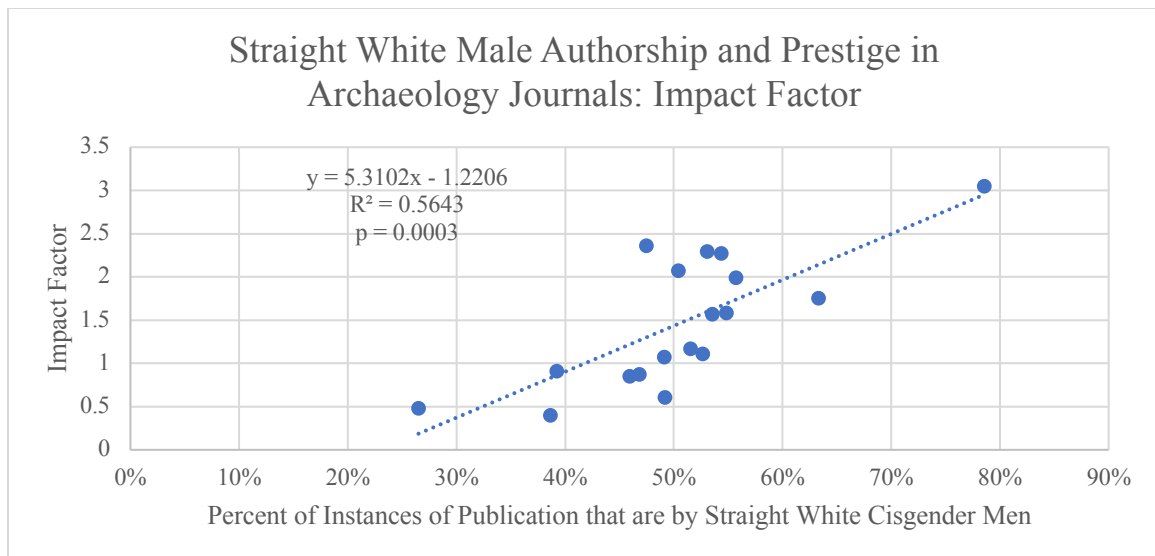
Figure 7: Straight White Male Authorship and Prestige in Archaeology Journals: Impact Factor

This chart excludes one outlier: JArR (45% straight white men, Impact Factor = 4.000), as well as AAP and IJHA, neither of which is in the SCImago database.
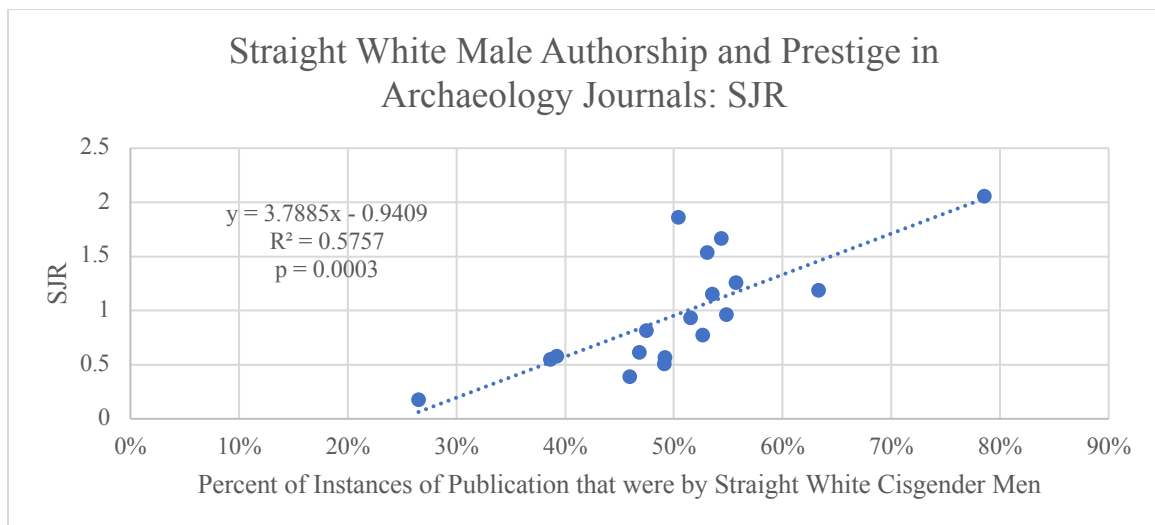
Figure 8: Straight White Male Authorship and Prestige in Archaeology Journals: SJR

This chart excludes one outlier: the *Journal of Archaeological Research* (45% straight white cisgender men, SJR = 2.543), as well as *Advances in Archaeological Practice* and the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, neither of which is in the SCImago database.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have presented the basic results of the survey study of journal authorship patterns. This study differs from previous gender equity studies in the use of a survey rather than assigning binary genders based on first names. This method has the benefits of allowing for an intersectional analysis and including trans people, people with gender-neutral or unique first names, and people with non-English first names. The downsides are a smaller sample size, since the study only includes articles by authors who respond to the survey, and possible response bias. Yet the gender results of the survey are not so different from previous gender studies of the same journals, indicating that the sample is not unduly biased.

The results show, unsurprisingly, that journal authorship in archaeology is dominated by straight white cisgender men. In the sample as a whole, 45% of respondents (a plurality) were cisgender straight white men, and this demographic authored 51% of the instances of publication. Straight white cisgender women trail their male counterparts with 33% of respondents and 28% of instances of publication. Straight white cisgender men thus published more articles (in these journals) per person (2.28) than the average for the full sample (2.01), and straight white cisgender women published fewer (1.71). People of color and queer people comprise much smaller fractions of both respondents and instances of publication, and the percentage of authors comprised of each group is similar to the percentage of publications attributed to each.

Another important finding is that, while very privileged people (i.e., straight white cisgender men) were the plurality of respondents and wrote the majority of instances of

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publication, there are notable differences in representation among different marginalized groups. Specifically, some singly-marginalized demographics are much more represented in the sample than their multiply-marginalized peers. Straight white cisgender women, who are targeted by patriarchy but supported by white, straight, and cisgender privilege, are second only to their male counterparts. Straight cisgender men of color, marginalized by racism but benefiting from straight male cisgender privilege, come in third, representing twice as many respondents and publications as their female counterparts, who are targeted by both racism and patriarchy. In these cases, singly-marginalized people may use the privileges they hold to mitigate the negative effects of marginalization along other axes.

On the other hand, among queer white cisgender people, there are almost twice as many women than men, accounting for twice as many instances of publication. This dovetails with my experiences looking for queer interviewees: I found many women and one non-binary person to interview, but had trouble finding queer men to interview until I made an announcement at an SAA QAIG meeting specifically recruiting queer men (see Part 3 for the interview study methods and results). It is unclear why this trend exists, although the Gallup results from 2017 also show more non-straight-identified people among women (5.1%) than among men (3.9%) in the general population (Newport 2018).

It is also important to note that, with the previously-discussed exception of the *Journal of Archaeological Research*, the more prestigious journals are more male-, straight-, and white-dominated than the less prestigious journals. Perhaps this is the result of unfair policies by editorial staff, or harsher peer reviews for manuscripts by

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marginalized people, but is more likely to reflect fewer submissions by marginalized

people due to their lower numbers in the discipline, imposter syndrome, life

circumstances that slow publication, or other factors (see Heath-Stout and Luke

forthcoming for information about gendered acceptance rates and peer review dynamics

in the *Journal of Field Archaeology*). The trend that Tushingham and colleagues (2017)

identified in California archaeology, in which women were more represented in the less

prestigious, non-refereed publications than in peer-reviewed journals, may also apply to

subfields other than California archaeology and types of inequality other than sexism.

It is clear from these results that straight white cisgender men dominate

knowledge production in the discipline of archaeology. In the following chapter, I will

continue to explore these dynamics by uncovering correlations between authors'

identities and the topics, regions, and methods that they write about, clarifying our

understanding of how this demographic imbalance shapes the knowledge we create.

Chapter 6: Divisions of Labor in Archaeology

In this chapter, I examine correlations between the identities of archaeologists and the research they pursue. I investigate whether the genders, races, and sexual orientations of scholars correlate in statistically significant ways with their regional foci, methods used, and themes or topics of the articles they published. Author data were acquired from the survey described in chapters 4 and 5, and data about geography, methods, and topics were gathered from the abstracts of the articles. I present my methods of tagging articles and then the statistical methods I employed with support from the Masters of Science in Statistical Practice Consulting Program at Boston University. I then present results and explore what they mean for the identity-based divisions of labor in the discipline of archaeology. I demonstrate that gender and sexuality remain significant predictors of archaeologists' methods, topics, and subfields, while race/ethnicity and nationality are predictors of regional focus.

Methods

Tagging article topics

The first gender equity article in archaeology, Gero's (1985) "Socio-Politics and the Woman-at-Home Ideology," showed not only that men received more grants, completed more dissertations, and published more articles than women did, but also that different types of archaeological work were gendered. Men were more likely to conduct field research and women were more likely to conduct laboratory-based work, which

Gero argued was the "housework" of archaeology. As discussed above, Gero and other scholars of gender issues in archaeology used first names to determine the gender of authors. Gero also accessed articles, grant proposals, and dissertation abstracts, however, so she tagged each with either "field" or "non-field" and was thus able to explore gendered division of labor.

Although Gero was followed by many other feminist scholars examining publication and grant statistics, none picked up on this aspect of her work. The gender equity literature shifted very quickly into simply looking at who published in a particular journal or received a certain type of grant. This was useful for looking at how subfields are gendered: for example, Beaudry and colleagues (Victor and Beaudry 1992; Beaudry and White 1994) showed that historical archaeology in the 1990s was somewhat less chilly for women than other subfields, by looking at subfield-specific journals. Yet, to my knowledge, no scholar has followed Gero's method of tagging articles with their attributes in order to track how methods, theories, regional foci, and topical foci are gendered within archaeology. Since I seek to understand not only who conducts archaeological research, but how identities and demographics affect the knowledge we produce, I follow Gero in tagging journal articles with various attributes and examining correlations between author identity and the topics and methods of articles.

Once survey results were collected, I identified the articles for which I had author responses and tagged them with a variety of attributes: subfield, geographical focus, methods, and topical/theoretical focus. These tags were determined using the titles and abstracts of the articles in the name of efficiency: since an abstract should summarize the

article accurately, this method allows me to capture the broad foci, themes, and methods of an article without having to read thousands of articles in full. In the following sections, I will define these attributes and list the tags that fall under each one, with the number of occurrences of each tag. An occurrence is an article by a survey respondent: thus, a multi-authored article with two authors who responded to the survey would count as 2 occurrences.

First, I tagged all articles that fit into one of the three subfields of focus for my qualitative interview study. By tagging these subfields, I made it possible to contextualize my qualitative interview data with quantitative data about the demographic composition of the subfields. Since I only interviewed 72 archaeologists, the quantitative data gives a sense of how the members of this sample fit into the demographics of their subfields.

- *Mesoamerican Archaeology*: these articles focus on the archaeology of Mesoamerica, a region defined by Paul Kirchhoff (1981 [1943]), which includes central, southern, and eastern Mexico; Guatemala; Belize; western Honduras; and western El Salvador. Articles focusing on all time periods were included in this tag. (500 occurrences)
- *Historical Archaeology of the Americas*: these articles are geographically focused in the Americas, in periods when both texts and archaeology are available, i.e., beginning in 1492. This includes articles focused on Euro-Americans, indigenous

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peoples, enslaved Africans, other immigrants to the Americas, and interactions among these groups. Although the Maya also wrote texts, and some have argued that Maya archaeology is therefore "historical archaeology"(Ball and Taschek 2018), these two subfields have historically been very distinctive, and I thus only include Maya-focused articles about periods after 1492. There are therefore some articles that carry both this tag and the *Mesoamerican Archaeology* tag. (288 occurrences)

- *Circum-Mediterranean Archaeology:* These articles focused on the archaeology of modern nations surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, whether in Europe, the Middle East, or Africa (Countries: Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Egypt, France, Greece, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Spain, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey). Articles from all time periods are included, although many of them would fall under the umbrella of "Classical Archaeology." (455 occurrences)

- *Other*: Articles that were tagged as none of the three subfields listed above were tagged as "other" in order to facilitate statistical comparisons. (1551 occurrences)

GEOGRAPHIC TAGS

The second set of tags is for geographical focus. I listed the modern country or countries of focus for the article, and then the world region(s). These regions do not strictly adhere to continents: Mesoamerica, Central America, and the Caribbean are separated from the rest of North America, and Asia is divided into East/Southeast,

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South/Central, and the Middle East. Articles were tagged with multiple regions when warranted: these either compared regions with each other or examined human interactions across the boundaries of these regions. The list of regions used, with the countries included in each (FIGURE 9), is as follows:

- *North America*: Canada, Greenland, United States (except Hawaii and territories in the Pacific and Caribbean) (678 occurrences)

- *Mesoamerica, Central America, and the Caribbean*: Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Montserrat, Panama, Puerto Rico, Saba, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, U.S. Virgin Islands (543 occurrences)

- *South America*: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, French Guiana, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela (268 occurrences)

- *Oceania and Pacific Islands*: American Samoa, Australia, French Polynesia, Marianas, Marquesas, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Rapa Nui, Solomon Islands, Tonga, United States (Hawaii), Vanuatu (96 occurrences)

- *East and Southeast Asia:* Cambodia, China, East Timor, Indonesia, Japan, Mongolia, Myanmar, Philippines, Russia (eastern), South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand (96 occurrences)

- *South and Central Asia:* Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, India, Kazakhstan, Nepal, Pakistan, Russia (western/central), Sri Lanka, Uzbekistan (50 occurrences)

- *Middle East*: Iran, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Oman, Syria, Turkey (all Turkish articles tagged as both Middle East and Europe), Yemen (221 occurrences)

- *Africa*: Burkina Faso, Chad, Darfur, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Zimbabwe (118 occurrences)

- *Europe*: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey (all Turkish articles tagged as both Middle East and Europe), United Kingdom (567 occurrences)

The articles in my sample did not evenly cover the archaeology of the whole world. The United States is the most represented nation and the United Kingdom is also fairly highly represented, which is not surprising given that many of the journals are published in the U.S. or the U.K., and the vast majority are published in English. Other highly represented countries include Mexico, Peru, Greece, Turkey, and Canada. These countries have a few things in common: they are the home countries of many academic archaeologists, and/or they are home to ancient civilizations with impressive and large monuments, with long traditions of archaeological inquiry. On the other hand, many countries are completely absent from the sample, notably including large swaths of

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Africa, as well as parts of Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the northern coast of South America. Some of these may be places archaeologists from the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. find themselves less predisposed to travel to for field work, or they may be places lacking in large monumental architecture that has historically drawn archaeological interest.
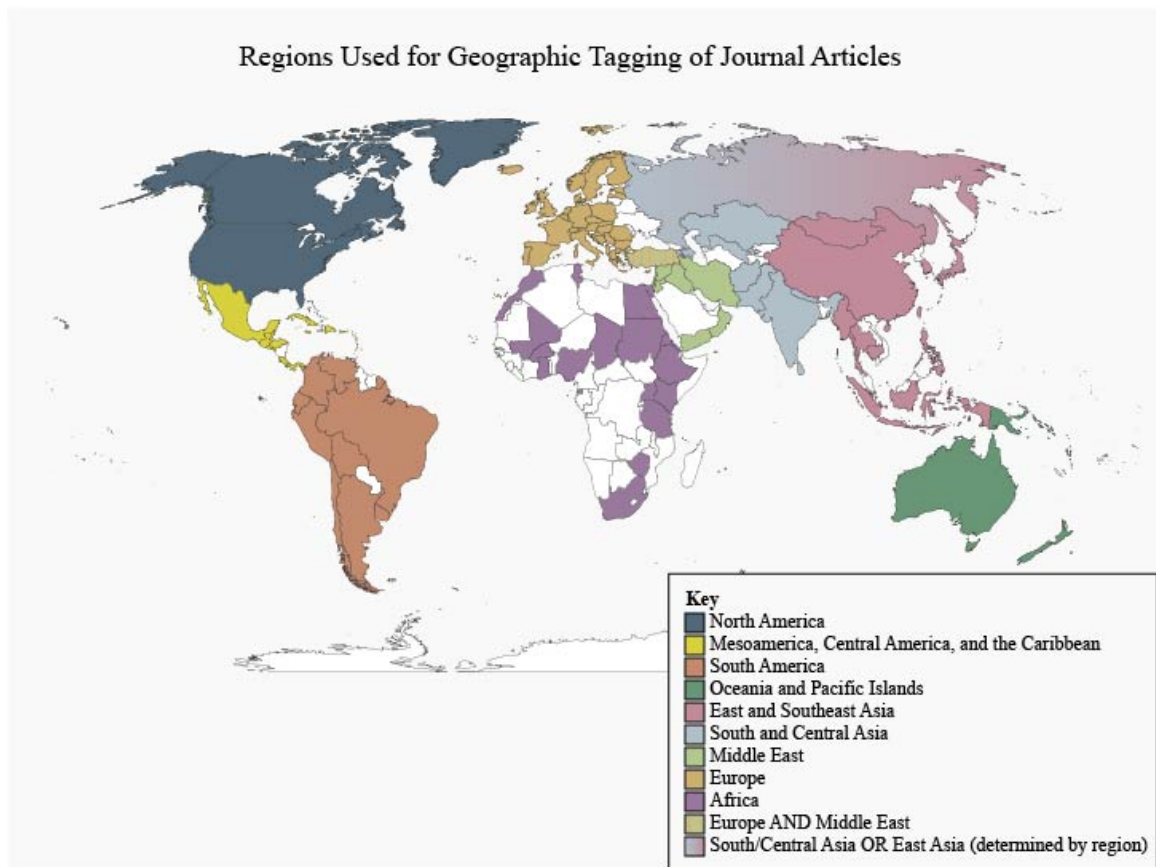
Figure 9: Regions Used for Geographic Tagging of Journal Articles

I next identified the method(s) used, and these tags were difficult to define. I wanted to lump enough to have reasonable sample sizes of each while splitting enough to see differentiation. I also wanted to understand whether and how the gendered trends that Gero identified have persisted, which is part of why I tagged articles for methods. Nevertheless, my tagging is more specific than Gero's lab/field dichotomy. Anecdotally, it appears to me that ceramicists tend to be women and lithicists tend to be men, while paleoethnobotanists tend to be women and geoarchaeologists tend to be men: is this true? By lumping all lab methods together, it becomes impossible to see these distinctions. Furthermore, archaeological methods have changed since Gero's article was published more than 30 years ago. I added tags for "archaeological science" and "archaeological chemistry" to see if the more scientific methods are more male-dominated than other lab methods. Does the use of expensive instrumentation borrowed from the natural sciences appeal to men in a way that counting and drawing sherds does not? Finally, how are these methods and forms of expertise racialized? Are queer people clustered in any particular one of these?

Here is the list of method tags, separated into categories and given explanatory notes as necessary:

Field Methods:

- *Geophysical Survey*: methods that allow archaeologists to see what is below the ground from the surface, including ground-penetrating radar, electrical resistivity,

magnetometry; not to be confused with the *aerial remote sensing* tag (see below) (29 occurrences)

- *Aerial Remote Sensing:* methods that allow archaeologists to see sites or landscapes from above, usually from an airplane or satellite, including satellite imagery, LiDAR; not to be confused with *geophysical survey* tag (see above) (35 occurrences)

- *Pedestrian Survey and Surface Collecting* (170 occurrences)

- *Excavation:* articles that focused on excavation results were tagged as "excavation" articles, while articles that analyzed excavated materials but did not report on the excavations themselves were not (247 occurrences)

- *Rock Art and Graffiti* (54 occurrences)

- *Underwater Archaeology* (24 occurrences)

Material Analyses and Lab Work:

- *Ceramic analysis*: includes all analyses of ceramics, whether visual, microscopic, or chemical (291 occurrences)

- *Lithic analysis*: includes all analyses of stone tools, whether chipped- or groundstone, whether visual, microscopic, or chemical (230 occurrences)

- *Paleoethnobotany*: includes all analyses of plant remains, including but not limited to macrobotanical analysis, charcoal analysis, pollen analysis, phytolith analysis, and dendrochronology (142 occurrences)

- *Zooarchaeology*: includes all analyses of non-hominin bones (239 occurrences)

- *Textiles and Basketry* (32 occurrences)

- *Geoarchaeology:* includes all analyses of soil and sediment, including sediment chemistry and petrography (54 occurrences)

- *Bioarchaeology:* includes all analyses of hominin and human bones, whether visual, microscopic, or chemical (278 occurrences)

- *Metals analysis*: includes all analyses of metals, whether visual, microscopic, or chemical (73 occurrences)

- *Dating*: all articles that mentioned any form of dating in the abstract were included here; most common was radiocarbon dating (179 occurrences)

- *Archaeological chemistry*: includes all chemical analyses of archaeological materials, most commonly for the purposes of dating, sourcing, or understanding residues; a subset of the *archaeological science* tag (see below) (364 occurrences)

- *Archaeological science*: includes all microscopic or chemical analyses of archaeological materials, usually using methods borrowed from natural sciences (especially biology, chemistry, geology) (423 occurrences)

Digital Methods:

- *GIS:* although many projects use GIS to store data, this tag only includes articles whose titles or abstracts mention GIS or GIS-based analyses (97 occurrences)

- *Statistical Modeling:* articles that relied heavily on statistical models, ranging from Bayesian models for understanding radiocarbon dates to models of settlement dynamics to models of how obsidian should be traded in various types of economic system (43 occurrences)

- *Recording, Illustration, and 3D modeling*: articles that focused on ways to record, illustrate, or 3D model artifacts, sites, or landscapes (40 occurrences)

- *Digital Archaeology*: includes all articles that rely heavily on digital methods of collecting, storing, and analyzing data (172 occurrences)

Historical and Art-Historical Methods:

- *Iconographic analysis:* includes all articles that relied heavily on iconographic analysis of any type of artifact or structure (127 occurrences)

- *Epigraphy* (57 occurrences)

- *Museum collections- or legacy data-based research* (97 occurrences)

- *Documentary research* (92 occurrences)

- *Sculpture analysis:* analysis of sculpture, architectural sculpture, figurines (44 occurrences)

- *Architecture analysis:* analysis of architecture, whether or not it has been recently excavated (221 occurrences)

- *History of Archaeology* (69 occurrences)

- *Contemporary and Historical Archaeology* (454 occurrences)

Other Anthropological Methods:

- *Ethnoarchaeology, Ethnography, and Oral History*: articles that relied heavily on ethnographic analogy, or on ethnoarchaeology (ethnography conducted by archaeologists for the purposes of understanding ancient societies or material culture), or on oral history (104 occurrences)

- *Experimental archaeology*: recreation of ancient artifacts, technologies, or processes by archaeologists in order to understand them (30 occurrences)

TOPICAL AND THEORETICAL TAGS

Finally, I tagged articles according to the topics, themes, and theories they focused on. My original plan was to tag topics and theories separately, but I found that few articles cited their theoretical outlook specifically in their abstracts, and that the theories that were most popularly mentioned in abstracts were closely aligned with particular topics (e.g., feminist theory and gender). As I tagged articles, the separation between the topics and the theories began to break down, and I decided to consider these one type of tag, with some individual tags leaning more toward the topical and others more toward the theoretical. Obviously, many articles were tagged with multiple topical/theoretical tags.

The tags are as follows, with explanatory notes as necessary and numbers of occurrences.

- *Evolution and Early Hominins*: included all articles about pre-Anatomically Modern Human species (71 occurrences)

- *Neo-Evolutionary Archaeology*: articles whose abstracts aligned them with neo-evolutionary theory (21 occurrences)

- *Peopling of the Americas and the Pacific:* articles about how and when people arrived in the Pacific Islands and the Americas (44 occurrences)

- *Environment and Landscape* (412 occurrences)

- *Diet and Foodways* (373 occurrences)

- *Technology*: articles that sought to understand how a particular ancient technology worked or changed over time (291 occurrences)

- *Political Organization* (340 occurrences)

- *Collective Action, Heterarchy* (20 occurrences)

- *Societal Collapse* (51 occurrences)

- *Religion and Ritual* (330 occurrences)

- *Mortuary Practices* (177 occurrences)

- *Calendrics and Astronomy* (17 occurrences)

- *Phenomenology, Archaeology of the Senses* (25 occurrences)

- *Economy*: articles on production and exchange of goods (401)

- *Interregional Interaction and Mobility*: included a wide variety of articles on ways that people moved across landscapes or interacted with each other across regions (442 occurrences)

- *World-Systems and Globalization* (8 occurrences)

- *Social Network Analysis* (38 occurrences)

- *Class and Social Stratification* (250 occurrences)

- *Warfare and Violence* (86 occurrences)

- *Race and Ethnicity* (106 occurrences)

- *Colonialism and Postcolonial Archaeology* (239 occurrences)

- *Slavery* (30 occurrences)

- *Health and Disability* (73 occurrences)

- *Urbanism* (74 occurrences)

- *Household Archaeology* (158 occurrences)

- *Kinship, Families, and Children* (67 occurrences)

- *Feminist and Gender Archaeology:* included both articles whose abstracts signaled an alignment with feminist theory and those that addressed questions of gender in the past (86 occurrences)

- *Practice Theory* (11 occurrences)

- *Agency and Personhood Theory* (13 occurrences)

- *Clothing and Adornment* (26 occurrences)

- *Materiality, Entanglement, Object Agency, and Object Biography*: articles that used a variety of theoretical schools, all of which focus on how people and material culture interact (36 occurrences)

- *Taphonomy and Site Formation* (19 occurrences)

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- *Introducing or Testing Methods:* these articles focused on either explaining or testing a particular archaeological method, often more than on the particular case in which the method is being applied (202 occurrences)

- *Collaborative and Public Archaeology*: articles whose abstracts highlighted collaboration with local or descendant communities, pedagogy, or interaction with the public (131 occurrences)

- *Review Articles*: articles that present a review of recent research on a particular topic, using a particular method, or applying a particular theory: these include *Annual Review* articles, introductions to special issues, and other review articles (165 occurrences)

- *State of the Discipline*: articles that examine demographics of archaeologists or critique current practices in archaeology (40 occurrences)

- *Law, Policy, and Threats to Heritage:* articles that focus on legal and/or heritage management issues (108 occurrences)

Intra-reviewer reliability of tagging process

Because I did all of the tagging myself over the course of several months, it was important to assess whether I was tagging articles consistently. I conducted an intra-reviewer reliability test at the suggestion of the Boston University Master's of Science in Statistical Practice (MSSP) consultants, Xinyi Wang, Angela Zhai, Meghamala Pandit, and Elizabeth Upton. I re-tagged a random sample of fifty articles, and these tags were compared to those I had originally applied to those articles. Unfortunately, many of the

articles had mismatches in the topics section, perhaps because my list of topical tags was so long and many of these topics are overlapping. Only 7 out of 50 articles (14%) had perfect matches between the original tags and the re-tagging, suggesting a high degree of inconsistency. For future studies, I plan to create a more rigorous methodology to standardize tagging. This would likely include fewer tags, and a rubric of clear definitions of each tag. The MSSP consultants also suggested considering using computerized text analysis, which might lose some of the nuance a human reader would see in an abstract, but would be more internally consistent.

Simplifying author identities

Because survey respondents were able to check multiple boxes and/or write in an answer for each question, my data were unwieldy. In order to make the data more manageable, I used simplified versions of authors' identities when examining correlations with article foci:

- For gender, respondents who checked only "man" or only "woman" were labeled "cisgender man" or "cisgender woman." Respondents who checked both "man" or "woman" and either "transgender and/or Two-Spirit" or "genderqueer, genderfluid, and/or gender nonconforming" were labeled "non-cisgender man" or "non-cisgender woman." People who checked neither "man" nor "woman" were labeled "non-binary," and those who checked "other" were labeled "other," regardless of whether or what they wrote in.

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- For race/ethnicity, all respondents who checked "biracial and/or multiracial" and/or checked multiple boxes was listed as "multiracial." All respondents who checked only one box were labeled with that identity.

- For sexual orientation, respondents who checked multiple boxes were listed as "multiple sexualities" and respondents who checked only one box were labeled with that identity.

These methods create categories that are mutually exclusive, such that each respondent fits within only one gender, one race/ethnicity, and one sexual orientation.

In some cases, I used the even more pared-down simplification described in Chapter 5 (see "Methodological Notes" section), which combines all respondents who checked any box other than "white" into "non-white" and all who checked a box other than "straight" into "non-straight." Thus, all non-straight women of color were grouped together, regardless of their particular racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities.

Analyses

In the sections that follow, I present the results of a variety of correlation analyses. I investigated whether the distribution of author identities across each set of tags (subfields, geographic foci, methods, and topics/theories) was shaped by author identities (gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and a simplified intersectional identity). For each combination, I present a table and stacked bar chart, and provide a brief written description of the results below in the text.

I also conducted chi-squared tests for each of these correlations. However, because the groups of non-cisgender people, non-straight people, and non-white people were so small, I needed to combine multiple categories in order to make the sample large enough for this test. Thus, for each gender test, I compared the distribution of cisgender men with the distribution of everyone else (combining cisgender women with all non-cisgender people). For race, I compared the distribution of white people with the distribution of non-white people (combining all other races). For sexual orientation, I compared the distribution of straight people with that of non-straight people. Finally, for the intersectional tests, I compared straight white cisgender men, straight white cisgender women (the largest minority in the sample), and "everyone else" (a combination of all respondents who were non-straight, non-white, and/or non-cisgender). By combining these minority categories, I lost some of the granularity of the data but made statistical testing possible.

Results

Identities and subfields

First, I looked at the demographics of each of my three subfields of focus for the qualitative interview study: Mesoamerican archaeology, historical archaeology of the Americas, and Mediterranean archaeology (TABLES 13–16, FIGURES 10–13). With regard to gender, all three subfields were less cisgender-male-dominated than the full sample (63%) (TABLE 13, FIGURE 10). Historical archaeology had the lowest proportion of cisgender men at 53%. There were no non-cisgender Mesoamericanists in the sample,

although the other two subfields included a handful of non-cisgender scholars. A chi-squared test showed significant differences among the subfields (p = 0.0009).

White and non-white people were fairly evenly distributed among the subfields (TABLE 14, FIGURE 11), with 83% of Mesoamericanists, 88% of historical archaeologists, 86% of Mediterraneanists, and 85% of the full sample being white. A chi-squared test showed that the variation between the subfields was not statistically significant (p = 0.416). There were not enough people of color in the sample to examine the distributions of each race/ethnicity statistically using a chi-squared test, but it is clear that the particular demographics of the people of color in each subfield do vary dramatically, with Hispanic/Latinx people concentrated in Mesoamerican archaeology and Middle Eastern/North African people concentrated in the Mediterranean.

Although all subfields had large straight majorities, historical and Mesoamerican archaeology were least straight-dominated, with 89% and 90% of research conducted by straight people in each, respectively, while Mediterranean archaeology was 94% straight (p = 0.003) (TABLE 15, FIGURE 12).

Table 16 and Figure 13 show the numbers of people in a variety of simplified (see above) intersectional categories: all three subfields have straight white cisgender male pluralities of 44% or more, showing somewhat less straight white cisgender male domination than the full sample (51%). Historical and Mediterranean archaeology have more straight white cisgender women than average (34% and 33%, respectively, compared to 28% of the Mesoamerican instances of publication and 28% of the full sample). In all subfields, the next most populous category is straight non-white cisgender

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men, with 8–11% of the instances of publication, followed by all the smaller categories. The differences are small but statistically significant ($p = 0.003$).
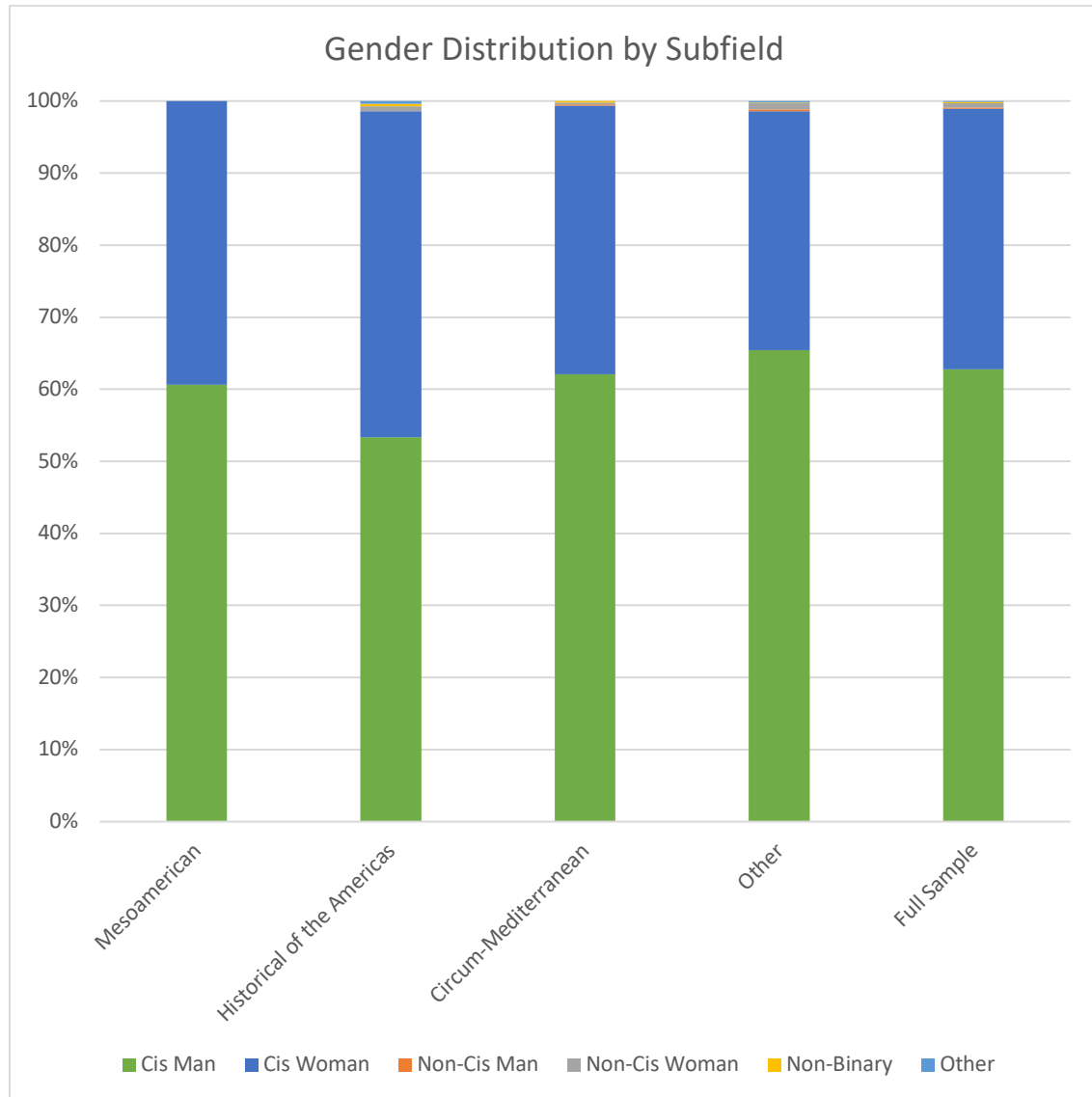
Figure 10: Gender Distribution by Subfield

Table 13: Gender Distribution by Subfield

	Mesoamerican	Historical of the Americas	Circum-Mediterranean	Other	Full Sample
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*188 (39%)*	*132 (47%)*	*170 (38%)*	*536 (35%)*	*1011 (37%)*
Cis Woman	188 (39%)	128 (45%)	167 (37%)	514 (33%)	982 (36%)
Non-Cis Man	0	0	1 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	5 (<1%)
Non-Cis Woman	0	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	13 (<1%)	16 (<1%)
Non-Binary	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	4 (<1%)
Other	0	1 (<1%)	0	3 (<1%)	4 (<1%)
Cisgender Man	*289 (61%)*	*151 (53%)*	*278 (62%)*	*1015 (65%)*	*1707 (63%)*
Full Sample	**477**	**283**	**448**	**1551**	**2718**

Table 14: Race/Ethnicity Distribution by Subfield

	Mesoamerican	Historical of the Americas	Circum-Mediterranean	Other	Full Sample
Non-white	*79 (17%)*	*35 (12%)*	*62 (14%)*	*231 (15%)*	*403 (15%)*
Asian	1 (<1%)	0	2 (<1%)	23 (1%)	26 (1%)
Black/African American	0	3 (1%)	0	17 (1%)	20 (<1%)
Hispanic/Latinx	45 (9%)	8 (3%)	6 (1%)	72 (5%)	129 (5%)
Middle Eastern/North African	0	3 (1%)	21 (5%)	11 (<1%)	35 (1%)
Multiracial	20 (4%)	19 (7%)	25 (6%)	75 (5%)	138 (5%)
Native American/First Nation	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	4 (<1%)	8 (<1%)
Other Race	10 (2%)	1 (<1%)	8 (2%)	29 (2%)	47 (2%)
white	*398 (83%)*	*248 (88%)*	*386 (86%)*	*1320 (85%)*	*2315 (85%)*
Full Sample	**477**	**283**	**448**	**1551**	**2718**
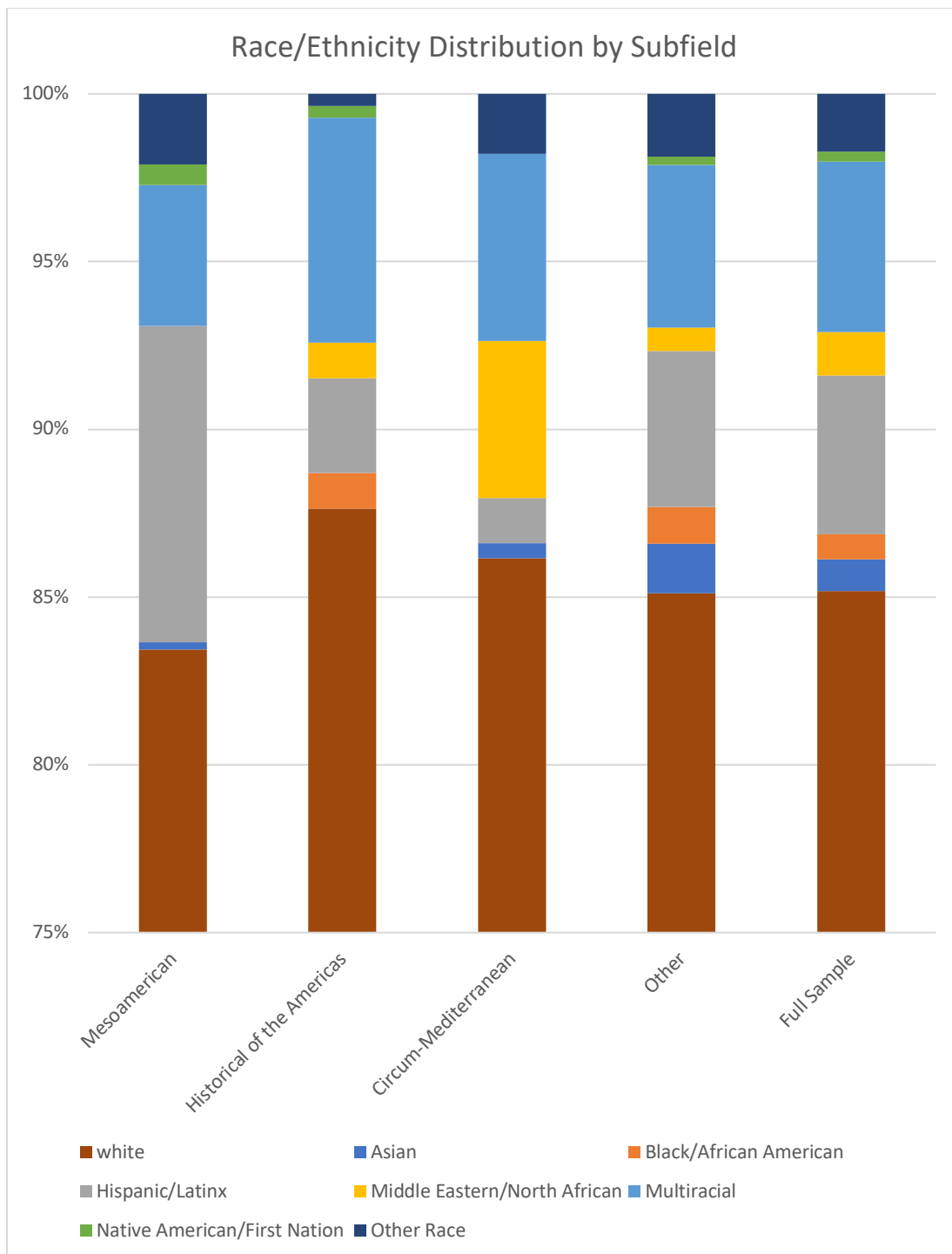
Figure 11: Race/Ethnicity Distribution by Subfield

Table 15: Sexual Orientation Distribution by Subfield

	Mesoamerican	Historical of the Americas	Circum-Mediterranean	Other	Full Sample
Non-straight	*46 (10%)*	*31 (11%)*	*26 (6%)*	*96 (6%)*	*96 (6%)*
Bisexual/ Pansexual	10 (2%)	8 (3%)	11 (2%)	31 (2%)	59 (2%)
Gay/Lesbian	18 (4%)	12 (4%)	9 (2%)	33 (2%)	67 (2%)
Multiple Sexualities	3 (<1%)	3 (1%)	1 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	9 (<1%)
Other Sexuality	0	4 (1%)	2 (<1%)	10 (<1%)	16 (<1%)
Queer	10 (2%)	3 (1%)	0	10 (<1%)	23 (<1%)
Unknown Sexuality	5 (1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	8 (<1%)	17 (<1%)
Straight	*431 (90%)*	*252 (89%)*	*422 (94%)*	*1455 (94%)*	*2527 (93%)*
Full Sample	**477**	**283**	**448**	**1551**	**2718**
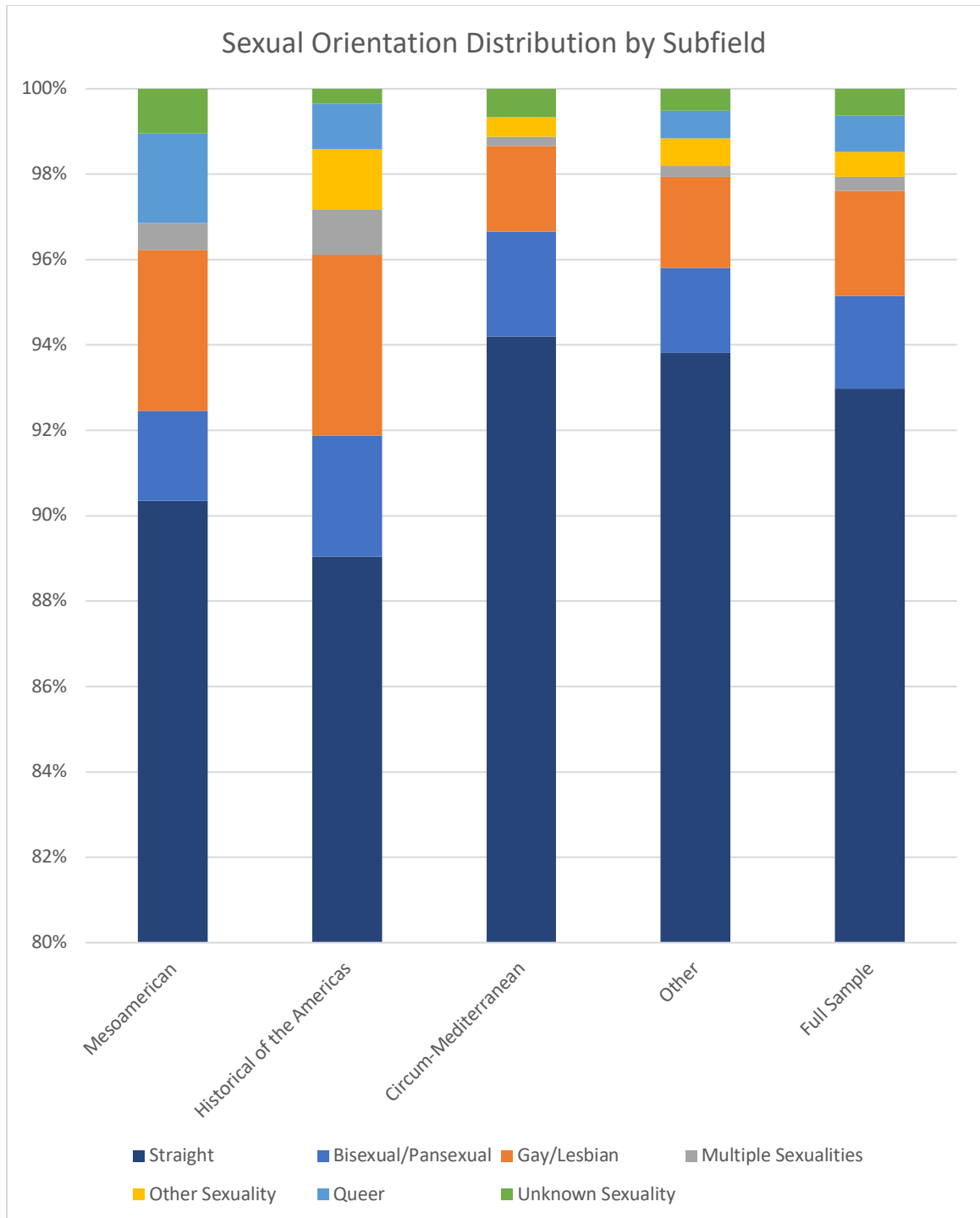
Figure 12: Sexual Orientation Distribution by Subfield

Table 16: Simplified Intersecting Identity Distribution by Subfield

	Mesoamerican	Historical of the Americas	Circum-Mediterranean	Other	Full Sample
Straight white cis man	*235 (49%)*	*124 (44%)*	*213 (48%)*	*835 (54%)*	*1386 (51%)*
Straight white cis woman	*133 (28%)*	*96 (34%)*	*147 (33%)*	*393 (25%)*	*756 (28%)*
Everyone else	*109 (23%)*	*63 (22%)*	*88 (20%)*	*323 (21%)*	*572 (21%)*
Straight non-white cis man	37 (8%)	22 (8%)	50 (11%)	150 (10%)	256 (9%)
Straight non-white cis woman	26 (5%)	10 (4%)	11 (2%)	73 (5%)	120 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	21 (4%)	21 (7%)	8 (2%)	45 (3%)	91 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis man	9 (2%)	4 (1%)	15 (3%)	29 (2%)	53 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	0	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	11 (<1%)	14 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	8 (2%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	13 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	8 (2%)	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	9 (<1%)
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	1 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	5 (<1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	4 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white other	0	1 (<1%)	0	2 (<1%)	3 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Full Sample	**477**	**283**	**448**	**1551**	**2718**
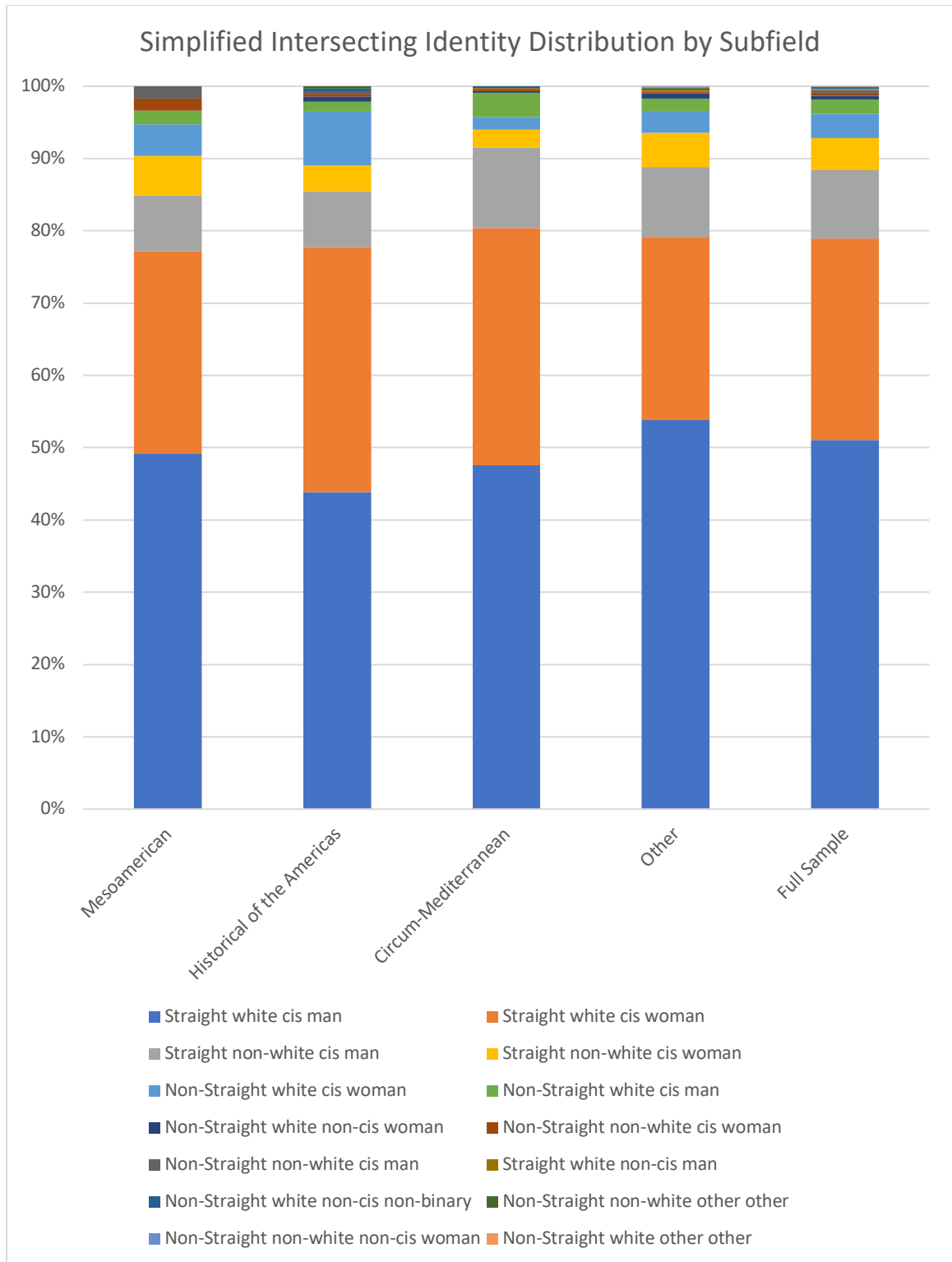
Figure 13: Simplified Intersecting Identity Distribution by Subfield

Identities and geographic foci

The results of my examination of the relationships between regional focus and author identity are shown in Tables 17–20 and Figures 14–17. There was some variation among regions in terms of gender parity, although it was not statistically significant (p = 0.214). Oceania and the Pacific came closest to gender parity (52% cisgender men, 48% cisgender women), followed by South America (58% cisgender men, 41% cisgender women, <1% non-cisgender women); Africa (60% cisgender men, 40% cisgender women, <1% non-cisgender women); and Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean (61% cisgender men, 39% cisgender women) (TABLE 17, FIGURE 14). The most dismal numbers were in East and Southeast Asia, with more than twice as many cisgender men (67%) as cisgender women (33%). Although North American and European archaeology approximated the full sample in terms of proportions of cisgender men and women (approximately 65%/35%), they were also home to the most research by non-cisgender people.

The different distributions of white and non-white people across regions were extremely statistically significant (p = 9.69×10^{35}), although white people were the majority in all regions (TABLE 18, FIGURE 15). This strong relationship can likely be explained by archaeologists from developing countries (who are mostly non-white) working primarily in their home nations, since the majority of non-white people working in the Middle East were Middle Eastern/North African, and the majorities of non-white archaeologists working in both regions of Latin America were Hispanic/Latinx. Asian archaeologists held pluralities of people of color working in both East and Southeast Asia

and South and Central Asia, and half of the non-white people working in Africa were Black (see below for analysis of the relationship between nationality and geographic focus). The archaeologies of North America and Europe were especially white-dominated (91% and 93%, respectively).

Although all regions were more than 85% straight, non-straight people were not evenly distributed among the regions (TABLE 19, FIGURE 16): a chi-squared test (in which South and Central Asia was lumped in with East and Southeast Asia in order to have sufficient sample size) showed a p-value of 3.23×10^{-8}. Surprisingly, research by non-straight archaeologists was most prevalent in Africa (12% of instances of research), followed by Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean (10%) and Oceania and the Pacific (8%). Both North American archaeology and the full sample were 93% straight, despite the common belief among archaeologists from the U.S. and Canada that it is safer for queer archaeologists to go to the field close to home (see Part 3).

In all regions, a plurality of more than 40% of the research was conducted by straight white cisgender men, although there were statistically significant differences among regions ($p = 5.04 \times 10^{-22}$). In North America; Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean; and Europe, straight white cisgender men accounted for a majority of research instances (TABLE 20, FIGURE 17). In most regions, the second most populous group was straight white cisgender women, although straight non-white cisgender men outnumbered them in South America, and there were equal numbers of these two groups in East and Southeast Asia.

Table 17: Gender Distribution by Regional Focus

	North America	Mexico, Central America, & Caribbean	South America	Oceania & Pacific	East & Southeast Asia	South & Central Asia	Middle East	Africa	Europe	Full Sample
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	235 (35%)	201 (39%)	108 (41%)	46 (48%)	30 (33%)	19 (38%)	81 (37%)	46 (40%)	198 (36%)	1011 (37%)
Cis Woman	225 (34%)	201 (39%)	107 (41%)	46 (48%)	30 (33%)	19 (38%)	81 (37%)	45 (39%)	191 (34%)	982 (36%)
Non-Cis Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4 (<1%)	5 (<1%)
Non-Cis Woman	6 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	16 (<1%)
Non-Binary	2 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (<1%)	4 (<1%)
Other	2 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4 (<1%)
Cisgender Man	435 (65%)	319 (61%)	152 (58%)	49 (52%)	62 (67%)	31 (62%)	137 (63%)	69 (60%)	359 (64%)	1707 (65%)
Full Sample	**670**	**520**	**261**	**95**	**92**	**50**	**218**	**115**	**557**	**2718**
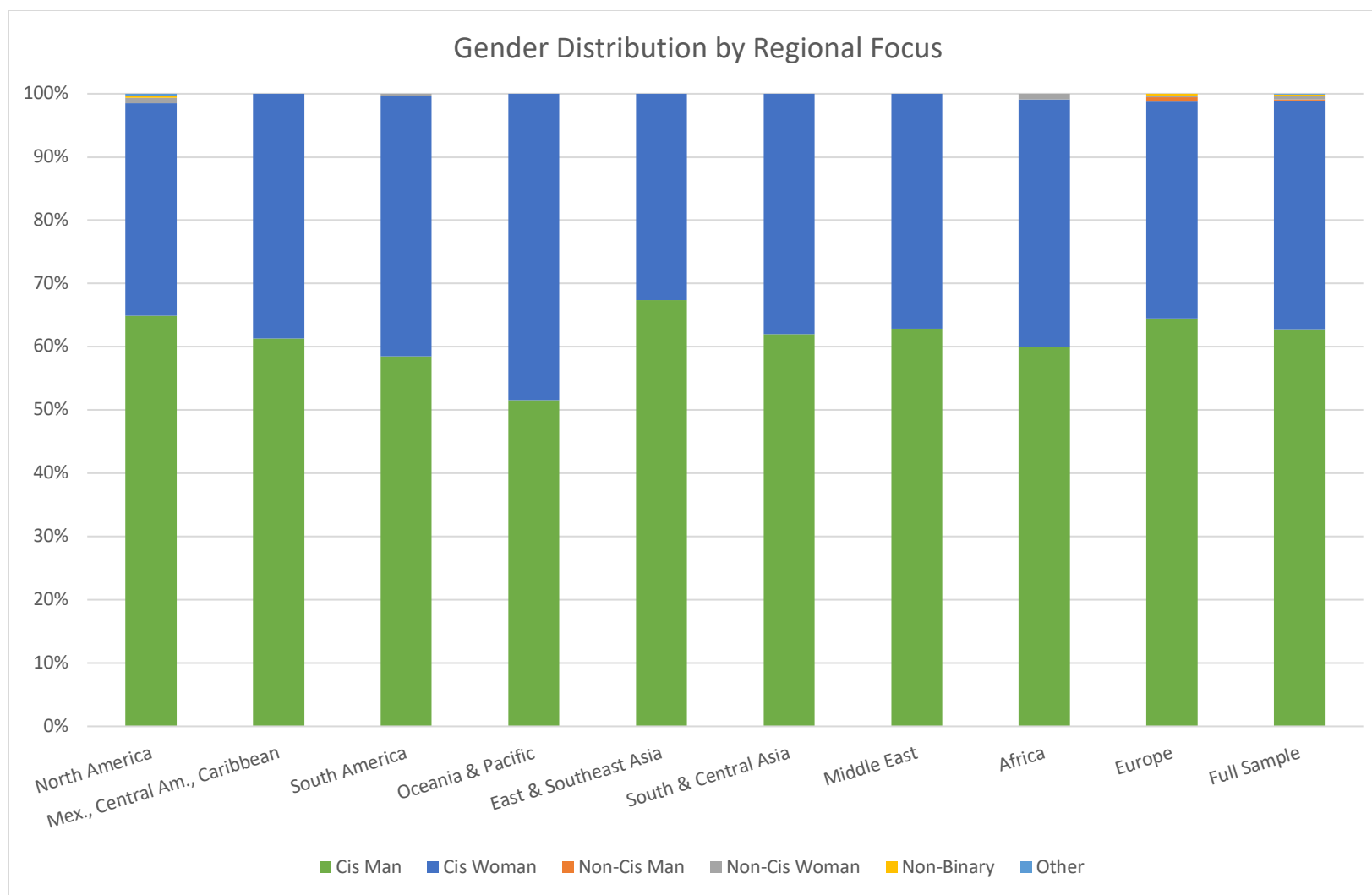
Figure 14: Gender Distribution by Regional Focus

Table 18: Race/Ethnicity Distribution by Regional Focus

	North America	Mexico, Central America, & Caribbean	South America	Oceania & Pacific	East & Southeast Asia	South & Central Asia	Middle East	Africa	Europe	Full Sample
Non-white	60 (9%)	83 (16%)	101 (39%)	13 (14%)	26 (28%)	12 (24%)	38 (17%)	12 (10%)	41 (7%)	403 (15%)
Asian	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (1%)	2 (2%)	10 (11%)	5 (10%)	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	26 (<1%)
Black/ African American	7 (1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	6 (5%)	6 (5%)	20 (<1%)
Hispanic/ Latinx	9 (1%)	47 (9%)	57 (22%)	0	7 (8%)	2 (4%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	129 (5%)
Middle Eastern/ North African	3 (<1%)	0	0	0	4 (4%)	2 (4%)	22 (10%)	0	0	35 (1%)
Multiracial	31 (5%)	21 (4%)	29 (11%)	7 (7%)	3 (3%)	3 (6%)	13 (6%)	3 (3%)	3 (<1%)	138 (5%)
Native American/First Nation	4 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8 (<1%)
Other Race	3 (<1%)	10 (2%)	11 (4%)	4 (4%)	2 (2%)	0	2 (1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	47 (2%)
white	610 (91%)	437 (84%)	159 (61%)	82 (86%)	66 (72%)	38 (76%)	180 (83%)	103 (90%)	516 (93%)	2315 (85%)
Full Sample	**670**	**520**	**261**	**95**	**92**	**50**	**218**	**115**	**557**	**2718**
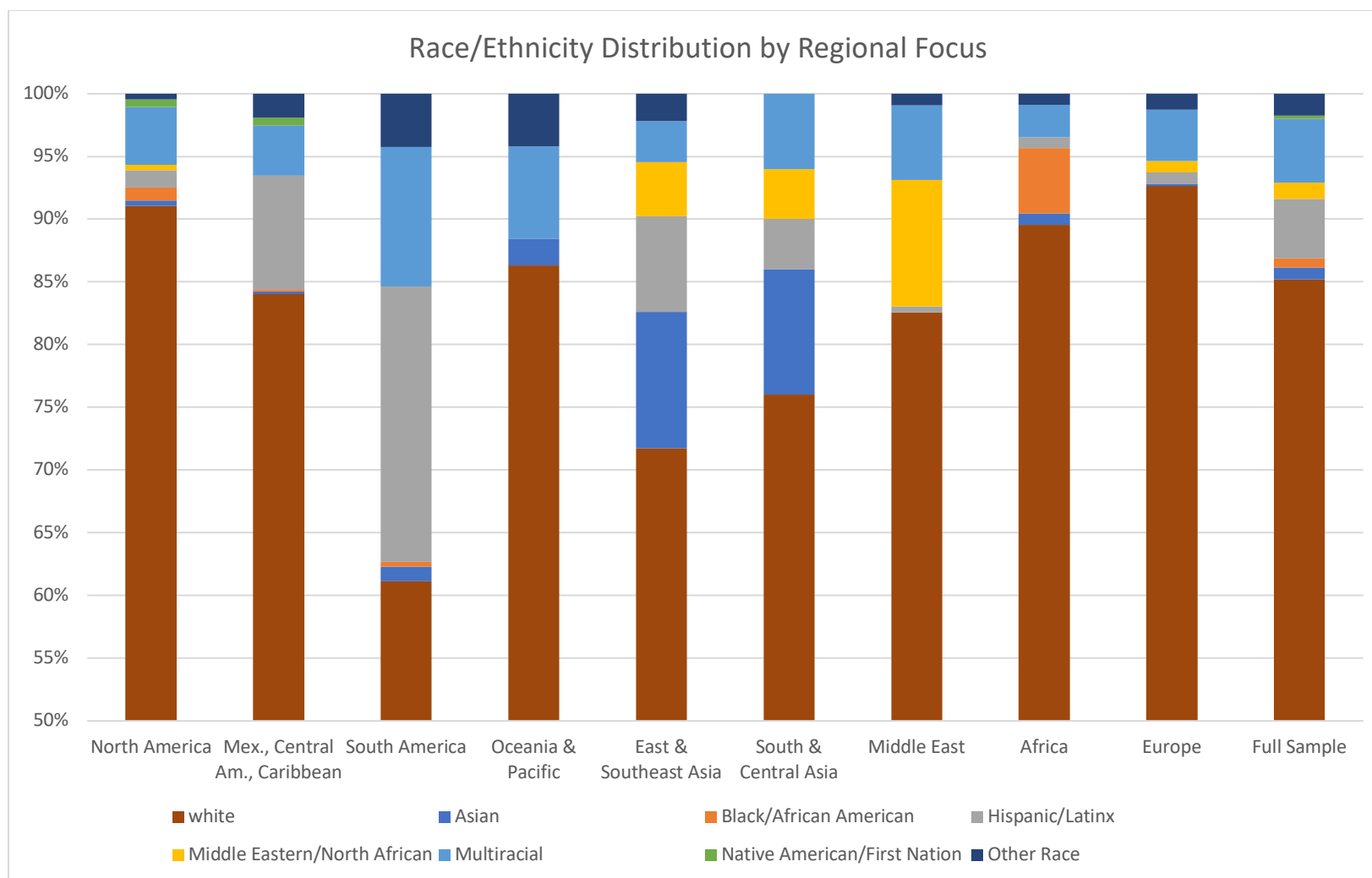
Figure 15: Race/Ethnicity Distribution by Regional Focus

Table 19: Sexual Orientation Distribution by Regional Focus

	North America	Mexico, Central America, & Caribbean	South America	Oceania & Pacific	East & Southeast Asia	South & Central Asia	Middle East	Africa	Europe	Full Sample
Non-straight	*46 (7%)*	*54 (10%)*	*12 (5%)*	*8 (8%)*	*7 (8%)*	*2 (4%)*	*11 (5%)*	*14 (12%)*	*28 (5%)*	*151 (6%)*
Bisexual/ Pansexual	14 (2%)	10 (2%)	7 (3%)	4 (4%)	3 (3%)	0	5 (2%)	3 (3%)	10 (2%)	59 (2%)
Gay/Lesbian	18 (3%)	23 (4%)	2 (<1%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	2 (4%)	2 (<1%)	3 (3%)	9 (2%)	67 (2%)
Multiple Sexualities	4 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	9 (<1%)
Other Sexuality	2 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	0	2 (2%)	4 (<1%)	16 (<1%)
Queer	6 (<1%)	10 (2%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	3 (3%)	1 (<1%)	23 (<1%)
Unknown Sexuality	2 (<1%)	5 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	0	2 (<1%)	2 (2%)	1 (<1%)	17 (<1%)
Straight	*624 (93%)*	*466 (10%)*	*248 (95%)*	*87 (92%)*	*85 (92%)*	*48 (96%)*	*207 (95%)*	*101 (88%)*	*529 (95%)*	*2527 (93%)*
Full Sample	**670**	**520**	**261**	**95**	**92**	**50**	**218**	**115**	**557**	**2718**
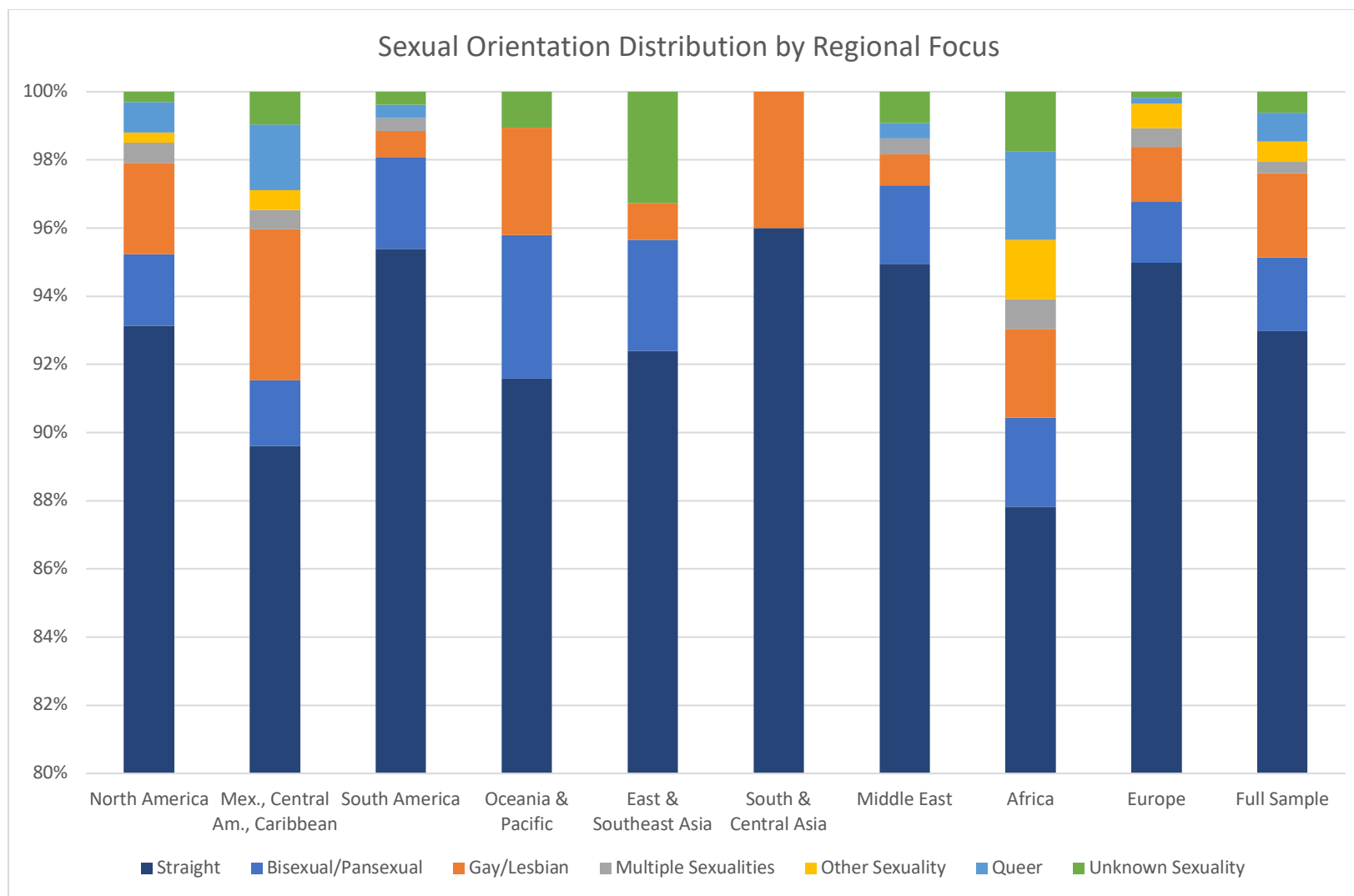
Figure 16: Sexual Orientation Distribution by Regional Focus

Table 20: Simplified Intersecting Identity Distribution by Regional Focus

	North America	Mexico, Central America, & Caribbean	South America	Oceania & Pacific	East & Southeast Asia
Straight white cis man	*382 (57%)*	*261 (50%)*	*83 (32%)*	*39 (41%)*	*41 (45%)*
Straight white cis woman	*185 (28%)*	*138 (27%)*	*65 (25%)*	*35 (37%)*	*19 (21%)*
Everyone else	*103 (15%)*	*121 (23%)*	*112 (43%)*	*21 (22%)*	*32 (35%)*
Straight non-white cis man	43 (6%)	40 (8%)	67 (26%)	6 (6%)	19 (21%)
Straight non-white cis woman	14 (2%)	27 (5%)	33 (13%)	7 (7%)	6 (7%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	24 (4%)	28 (5%)	8 (3%)	4 (4%)	5 (5%)
Non-Straight white cis man	10 (1%)	10 (2%)	2 (<1%)	4 (4%)	1 (1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	6 (1%)	0	1 (<1%)	0	0
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	2 (<1%)	8 (2%)	1 (<1%)	0	0
Non-Straight non-white cis man	0	8 (2%)	0	0	1 (1%)
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	2 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight non-white other	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white other	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Full Sample	**670**	**520**	**261**	**95**	**92**

	South & Central Asia	Middle East	Africa	Europe	Full Sample
Straight white cis man	*25 (50%)*	*100 (46%)*	*52 (45%)*	*319 (57%)*	*1386 (51%)*
Straight white cis woman	*11 (22%)*	*69 (32%)*	*38 (33%)*	*168 (30%)*	*756 (28%)*
Everyone else	*14 (28%)*	*49 (22%)*	*25 (22%)*	*70 (13%)*	*571 (21%)*
Straight non-white cis man	5 (10%)	31 (14%)	11 (10%)	24 (4%)	256 (9%)
Straight non-white cis woman	7 (14%)	7 (3%)	0	14 (3%)	120 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	1 (2%)	5 (2%)	6 (5%)	7 (1%)	91 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis man	1 (2%)	6 (3%)	6 (5%)	16 (3%)	53 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	0	0	1 (<1%)	0	14 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	0	0	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	13 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	0	0	0	0	9 (<1%)
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	0	4 (<1%)	5 (<1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	0	0	0	2 (<1%)	4 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white other	0	0	0	0	3 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Full Sample	**50**	**218**	**115**	**557**	**2718**
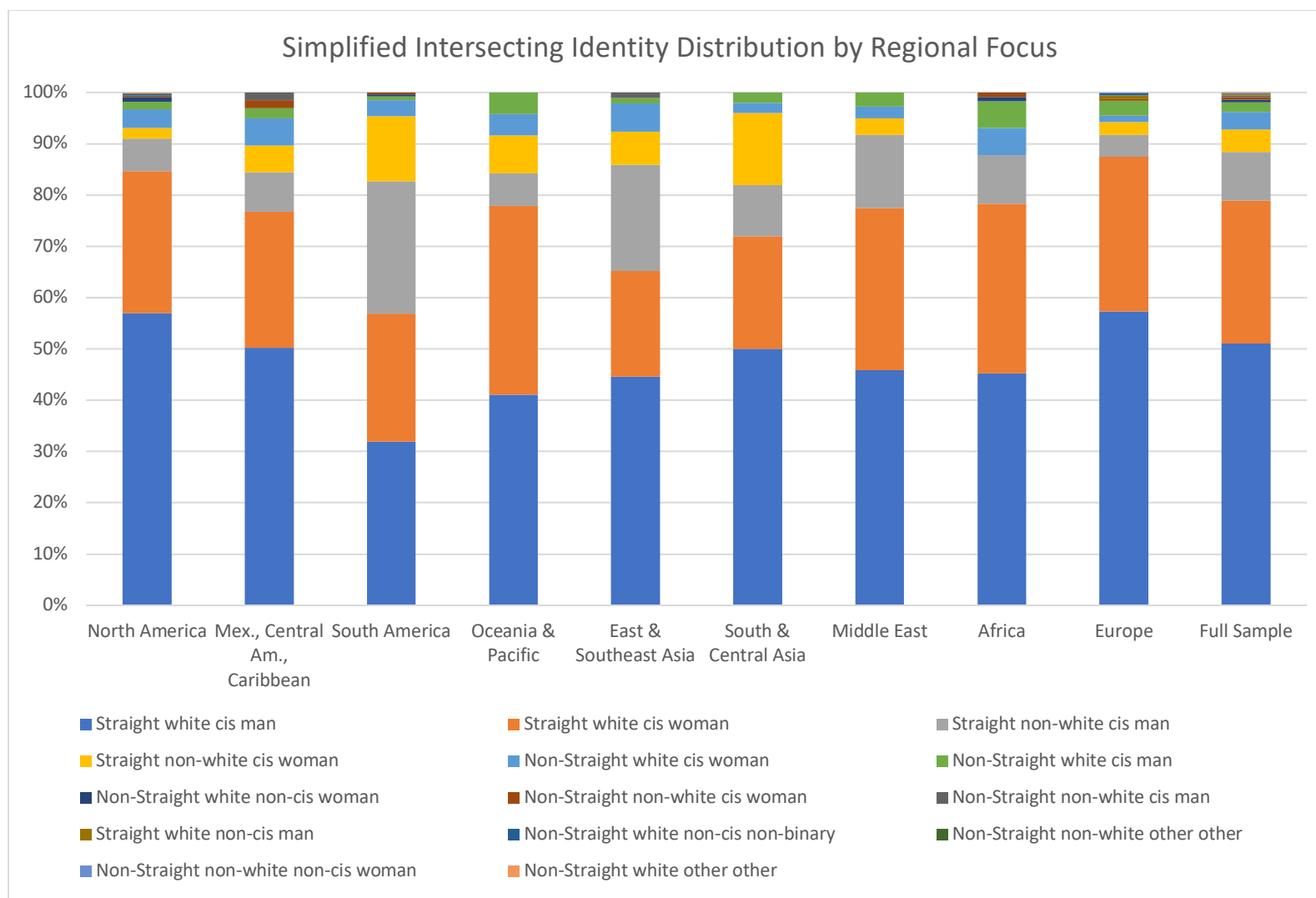
Figure 17: Simplified Intersecting Identity Distribution by Regional Focus

As stated above, non-white archaeologists were more common outside of North America and Europe than in these white-majority regions, and most commonly worked in regions associated with their racial identities. This led me to explore the relationship between the nationality of an archaeologist and their research location. Table 21 and Figure 18 show these relationships. U.S. scholars conducted more than half of the research in my sample in several regions: Mesoamerica, Central America and the Caribbean; the Middle East; South and Central Asia; and the U.S. itself. In Europe, South America, North America (outside the U.S., i.e., Canada and Greenland), and Oceania and the Pacific, local researchers conducted a plurality of the research in my sample. In Africa and East and Southeast Asia, a majority of the research was conducted by foreigners from countries other than the United States. These differences were statistically significant (p = 1.08×10^{-79}). Most archaeology published in these major English-language journals is conducted by people from developed countries of Europe, North America, and Australia, while archaeologists from developing countries are minorities and tend to conduct research in their home nations.

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Table 21: Research by Locals and Foreigners in Each Country and Region

Region Nationality	Instances of Research by Locals	Instances of Research by People from the U.S.	Instances of Research by non-U.S. Foreigners	Total Instances of Research
United States	560 (93%)		40 (7%)	600
North America (other than U.S.)	31 (58%)	20 (38%)	2 (4%)	53
Canada	31 (63%)	17 (35%)	1 (2%)	49
Greenland	0	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4
Mesoamerica, Central America, and the Caribbean	34 (8%)	349 (80%)	54 (12%)	653
Barbados	0	3 (100%)	0	3
Belize	0	45 (78%)	13 (22%)	58
Bermuda	0	3 (100%)	0	3
Costa Rica	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Cuba	0	0	3 (100%)	3
Dominica	0	3 (100%)	0	3
Dominican Republic	0	0	2 (100%)	2
El Salvador	0	9 (100%)	0	9
Grenada	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
Guatemala	4 (6%)	48 (74%)	13 (20%)	65
Honduras	0	23 (92%)	2 (8%)	25
Jamaica	0	2 (100%)	0	2
Mexico	30 (12%)	198 (81%)	17 (7%	215
Montserrat	0	3 (100%)	0	3
Panama	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Saba	0	0	1 (100%)	1
St. Eustatius	0	1 (100%)	0	1
St. Kitts and Nevis	0	2 (100%)	0	2
St. Lucia	0	0	2 (100%)	2
U.S. Virgin Islands	0	6 (100%)	0	6
South America	83 (35%)	101 (43%)	50 (21%)	234
Argentina	36 (78%)	6 (13%)	4 (9%)	46
Bolivia	4 (31%)	9 (69%)	0	13
Brazil	11 (52%)	2 (10%)	8 (38%)	21
Chile	17 (50%)	4 (12%)	13 (38%)	34
Colombia	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	0	4
Ecuador	0	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	7

French Guiana	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Peru	11 (10%)	75 (71%)	19 (18%)	105
Uruguay	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	2
Venezuela	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Europe	*222 (47%)*	*143 (30%)*	*105 (22%)*	*470*
Albania	0	3 (100%)	0	3
Austria	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Belgium	1 (100%)	0	0	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0	0	2 (100%)	2
Bulgaria	2 (100%)	0	0	2
Croatia	2 (50%)	0	2 (50%)	4
Cyprus	0	7 (54%)	6 (46%)	13
Czech Republic	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	2
Denmark	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	3
Estonia	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Finland	22 (85%)	0	4 (15%)	26
France	7 (47%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)	15
Germany	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	15
Greece	12 (14%)	58 (70%)	13 (16%)	83
Hungary	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	5
Iceland	3 (27%)	5 (45%)	3 (27%)	11
Ireland	7 (41%)	5 (29%)	5 (29%)	17
Italy	7 (18%)	20 (51%)	12 (31%)	39
Latvia	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Netherlands	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Norway	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	2
Poland	5 (56%)	1 (11%)	3 (33%)	9
Portugal	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	0	10
Romania	4 (80%)	0	1 (20%)	5
Serbia	9 (82%)	0	2 (18%)	11
Slovakia	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Spain	24 (59%)	8 (20%)	9 (22%)	41
Sweden	4 (36%)	1 (9%)	6 (55%)	11
Switzerland	0	0	3 (100%)	3
United Kingdom	101 (77%)	14 (11%)	17 (13%)	132
Middle East	*24 (17%)*	*79 (55%)*	*40 (28%)*	*143*
Iran	2 (29%)	2 (29%)	3 (43%)	7
Iraq	0	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	11
Israel/Palestine	16 (57%)	12 (43%)	0	28
Jordan	3 (4%)	15 (71%)	3 (14%)	21
Lebanon	0	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3

Oman	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
Syria	0	4 (29%)	10 (71%)	14
Turkey	3 (5%)	35 (63%)	18 (32%)	56
Yemen	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Central and South Asia	*4 (9%)*	*21 (49%)*	*18 (42%)*	*43*
Afghanistan	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Armenia	1 (14%)	4 (57%)	2 (29%)	7
Azerbaijan	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	0	3
India	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	0	7
Kazakhstan	0	2 (100%)	0	2
Nepal	0	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	3
Pakistan	0	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
Russia	0	3 (33%)	6 (67%)	9
Sri Lanka	0	0	4 (100%)	4
Uzbekistan	0	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3
East and Southeast Asia	*7 (9%)*	*30 (39%)*	*39 (51%)*	*76*
Cambodia	0	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	12
China	0	11 (58%)	8 (42%)	19
East Timor	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
Indonesia	0	2 (22%)	7 (78%)	9
Japan	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	5
Mongolia	0	4 (100%)	0	4
Myanmar	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Philippines	0	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5
South Korea	3 (43%)	2 (29%)	2 (29%)	7
Taiwan	2 (100%)	0	0	2
Africa	*8 (8%)*	*40 (42%)*	*48 (50%)*	*96*
Burkina Faso	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Chad	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Darfur	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Egypt	0	8 (33%)	16 (67%)	24
Equatorial Guinea	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Eritrea	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Ethiopia	1 (13%)	0	7 (88%)	8
Ghana	0	6 (100%)	0	6
Kenya	0	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	8
Mauritius	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Morocco	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Nigeria	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	2
South Africa	6 (46%)	6 (46%)	1 (8%)	13
Sudan	0	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3

Tanzania	0	7 (39%)	11 (61%)	18
Tunisia	0	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5
Uganda	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Zimbabwe	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Oceania and the Pacific	*36 (44%)*	*22 (27%)*	*24 (29%)*	*82*
American Samoa	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
Australia	29 (74%)	4 (10%)	6 (15%)	39
French Polynesia	0	1 (100%)	0	1
Marianas	0	0	3 (100%)	3
Marquesas	0	1 (100%)	0	1
New Zealand	4 (33%)	8 (67%)	0	12
Papua New Guinea	0	2 (17%)	10 (83%)	12
Rapa Nui	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Solomon Islands	0	0	1 (100%)	1
Tonga	0	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3
Vanuatu	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	0	7

Percent of Research Conducted by Local Scholars,
By Region
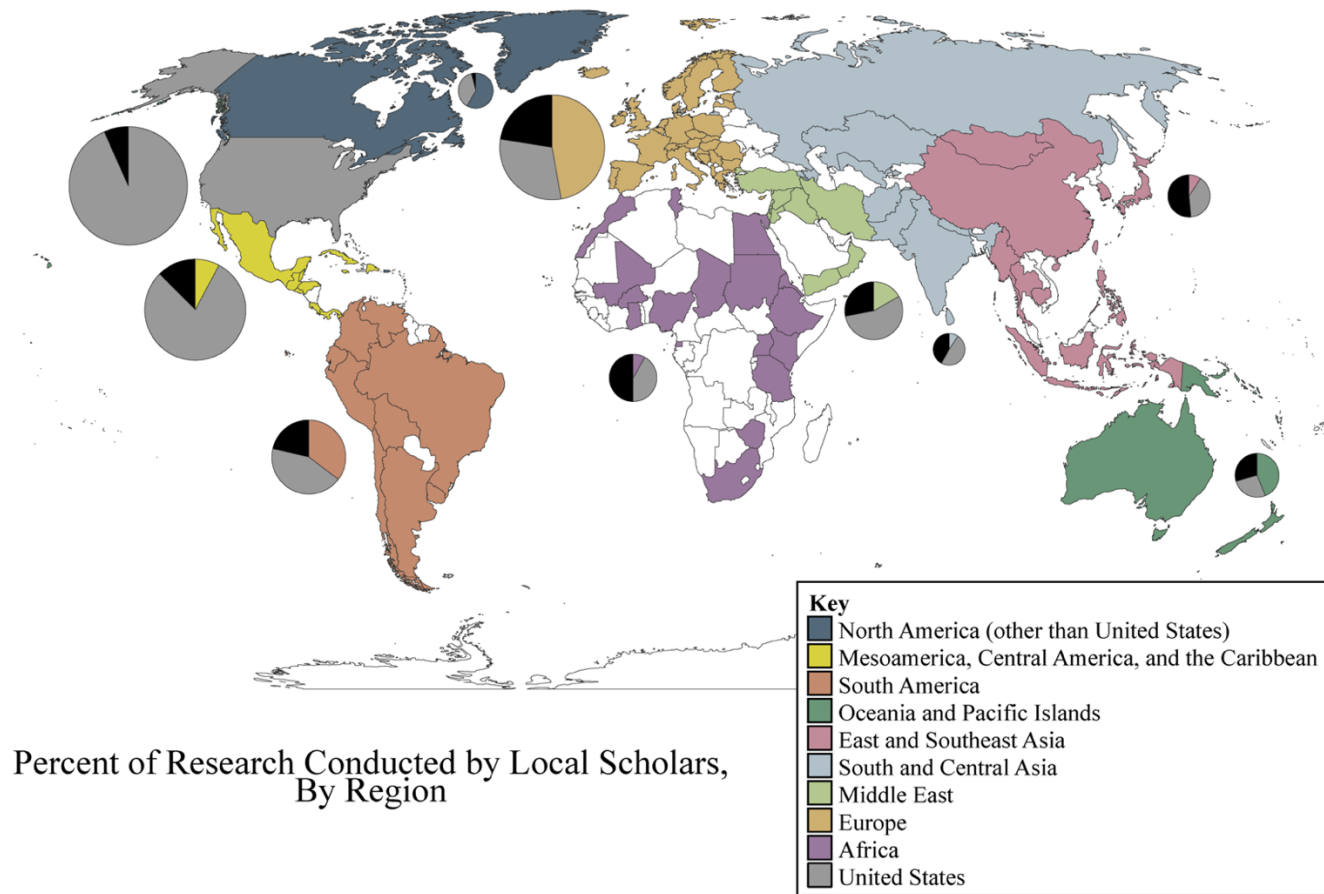
Figure 18: Percent of Research Conducted by Local (color), U.S. (gray), and other Foreign Scholars (black), by region

Identities and Methods

Since archaeology is so methodologically diverse, I grouped methods into the

categories of field, lab, digital, historical and art historical, and anthropological. Here, I

discuss the distributions of authors with different identities across these categories of

methods, and then across the most common specific methods.

I hypothesized that Gero's (1985) finding that fieldwork was more male-

dominated than non-field research would still be true, although perhaps to a lesser extent

given the influx of women into archaeology over the past several decades. Part of Gero's

argument is about prestige: fieldwork was both more prestigious and more male-

dominated than non-field research. The prestige of a method draws men to it and leads to

the exclusion of women, and then the male domination of a method makes it appear more

prestigious, in a vicious cycle. Therefore, I hypothesized that digital archaeologies, which

did not yet exist to be included in Gero's analysis, would also be male-dominated. More

humanistic methods like the historical/art historical types, however, were hypothesized to

include more women and other marginalized people.

IDENTITIES AND CATEGORIES OF METHODS

People of different genders were not evenly distributed across the categories of

method (p = 0.00578, TABLE 22, FIGURE 19). Field, digital, and anthropological methods

were most male-dominated, while lab and (art) historical methods were closer to parity.

The distributions of white people and people of color, however, were not so uneven as to

be statistically significant (p = 0.459, TABLE 23, FIGURE 20), nor were the distributions of

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straight and queer people (p = 0.114, TABLE 24, FIGURE 21). Despite this lack of statistical

significance, it is interesting to note that digital methods were the only category in which

less than 90% of work was done by straight people, despite being one of the most male-

dominated categories. In the simplified intersectional analysis (p = 0.0119, TABLE 25,

FIGURE 22), we can see that digital methods had a smaller percentage of straight white

cisgender women than other categories of methods, but fairly large percentages of

straight non-white cis men and non-straight white cis women.
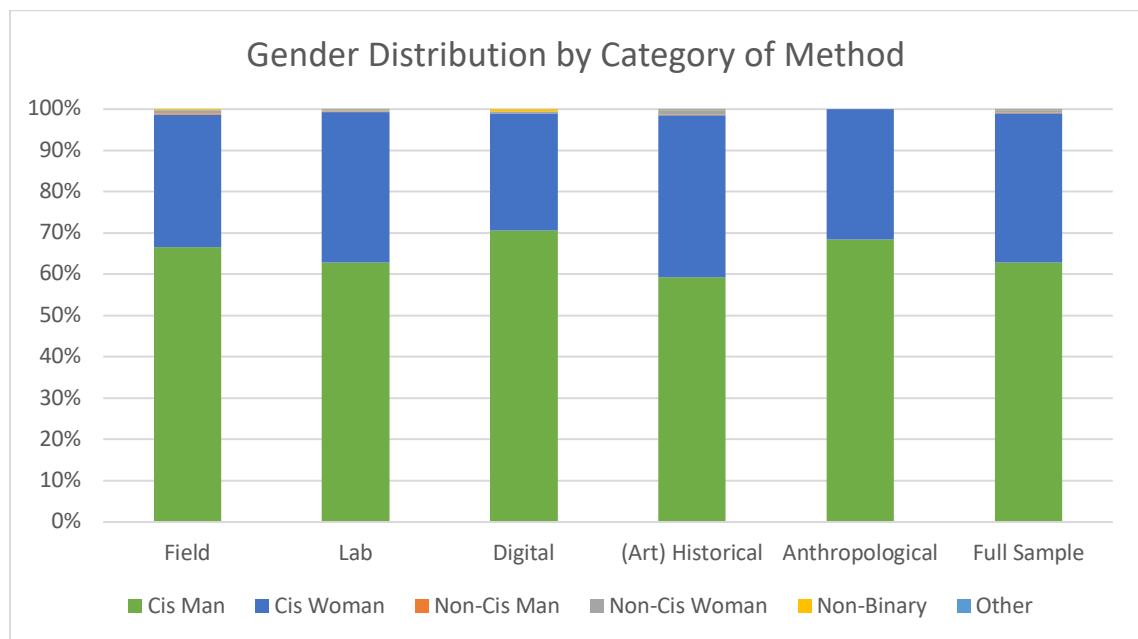
Figure 19: Gender Distribution by Category of Method

Table 22: Gender Distribution by Category of Method

	Field	Lab	Digital	(Art) Historical	Anthropological	Full Sample
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*157 (33%)*	*453 (37%)*	*57 (29%)*	*381 (41%)*	*41 (32%)*	*1011 (37%)*
Cis Woman	151 (32%)	444 (36%)	55 (28%)	367 (39%)	41 (32%)	982 (36%)
Non-Cis Man	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	0	5 (<1%)
Non-Cis Woman	4 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	10 (1%)	0	16 (<1%)
Non-Binary	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0	4 (<1%)
Other	0	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	0	4 (<1%)
Cisgender Man	*312 (67%)*	*765 (63%)*	*137 (71%)*	*555 (59%)*	*89 (68%)*	*1707 (63%)*
Full Sample	**469**	**1218**	**194**	**936**	**130**	**2718**

Table 23: Race/Ethnicity Distribution by Category of Method

	Field	Lab	Digital	(Art) Historical	Anthropological	Full Sample
Non-white	*63 (13%)*	*178 (15%)*	*29 (15%)*	*114 (12%)*	*21 (16%)*	*403 (15%)*
Asian	5 (1%)	11 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	26 (<1%)
Black/African American	4 (<1%)	11 (<1%)	3 (2%)	8 (<1%)	3 (2%)	20 (<1%)
Hispanic/Latinx	24 (5%)	73 (6%)	8 (4%)	31 (3%)	8 (6%)	129 (5%)
Middle Eastern/North African	8 (2%)	17 (1%)	2 (1%)	7 (<1%)	2 (2%)	35 (1%)
Multiracial	16 (3%)	47 (4%)	12 (6%)	48 (5%)	7 (5%)	138 (5%)
Native American/First Nation	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	0	8 (<1%)
Other Race	6 (1%)	18 (1%)	2 (1%)	13 (1%)	0	47 (2%)
White	*406 (87%)*	*1040 (85%)*	*165 (85%)*	*822 (88%)*	*109 (84%)*	*2315 (85%)*
Full Sample	**469**	**1218**	**194**	**936**	**130**	**2718**

Race/Ethnicity Distribution by Category of Method
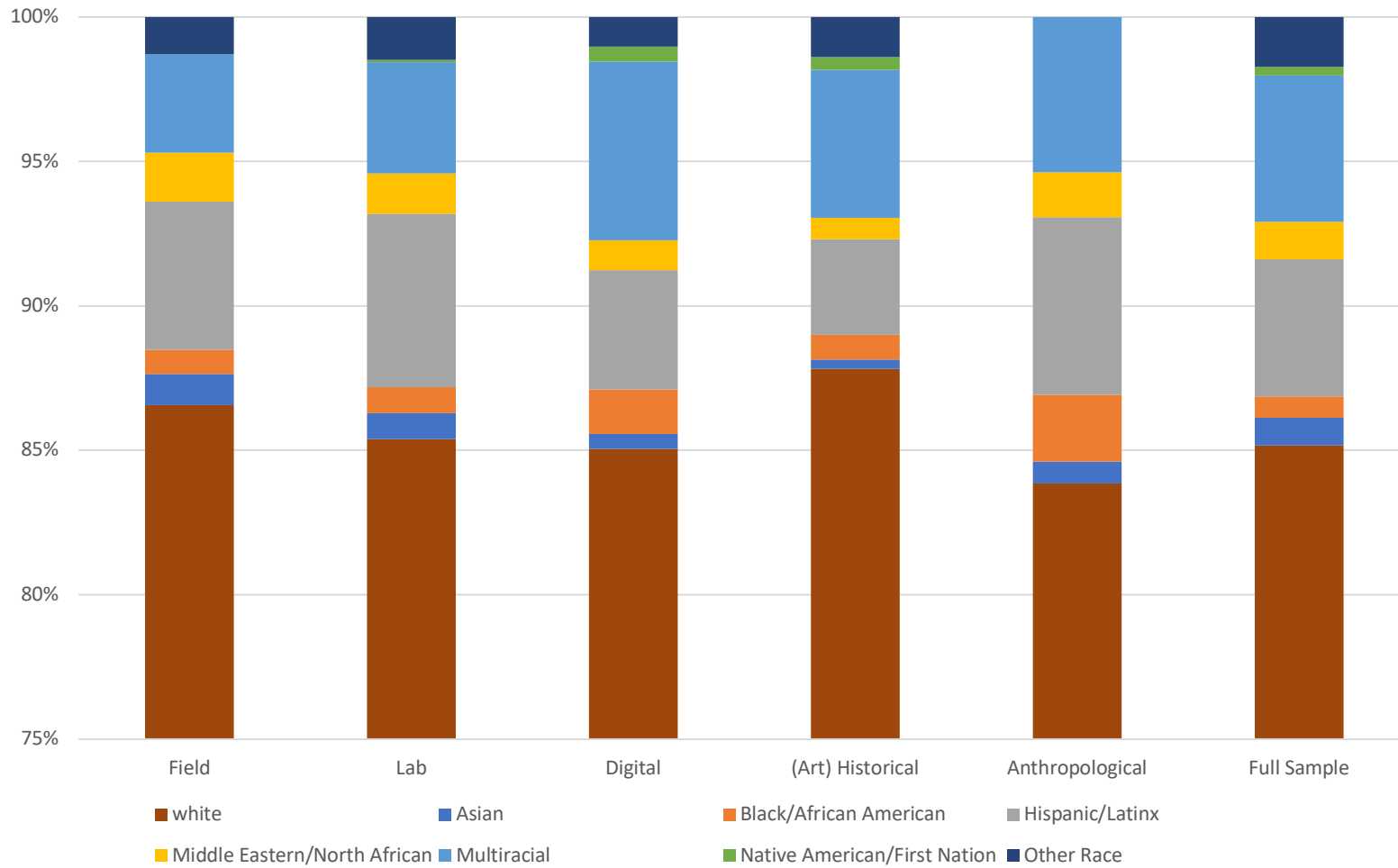
Figure 20: Race/Ethnicity Distribution by Category of Method
Table 24: Sexual Orientation Distribution by Category of Method

	Field	Lab	Digital	(Art) Historical	Anthropological	Full Sample
Non-straight	*29 (6%)*	*76 (6%)*	*21 (11%)*	*76 (8%)*	*10 (8%)*	*151 (6%)*
Bisexual/Pansexual	7 (1%)	23 (2%)	9 (5%)	25 (3%)	2 (2%)	59 (2%)
Gay/Lesbian	12 (3%)	22 (2%)	9 (5%)	29 (3%)	4 (3%)	67 (2%)
Multiple Sexualities	1 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	0	5 (<1%)	0	9 (<1%)
Other Sexuality	3 (<1%)	5 (<1%)	2 (1%)	6 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	16 (<1%)
Queer	3 (<1%)	16 (1%)	1 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	3 (2%)	23 (<1%)
Unknown Sexuality	3 (<1%)	6 (<1%)	0	7 (<1%)	0	17 (<1%)
Straight	*440 (94%)*	*1142 (94%)*	*173 (89%)*	*860 (92%)*	*120 (92%)*	*2527 (93%)*
Full Sample	**469**	**1218**	**194**	**936**	**130**	**2718**

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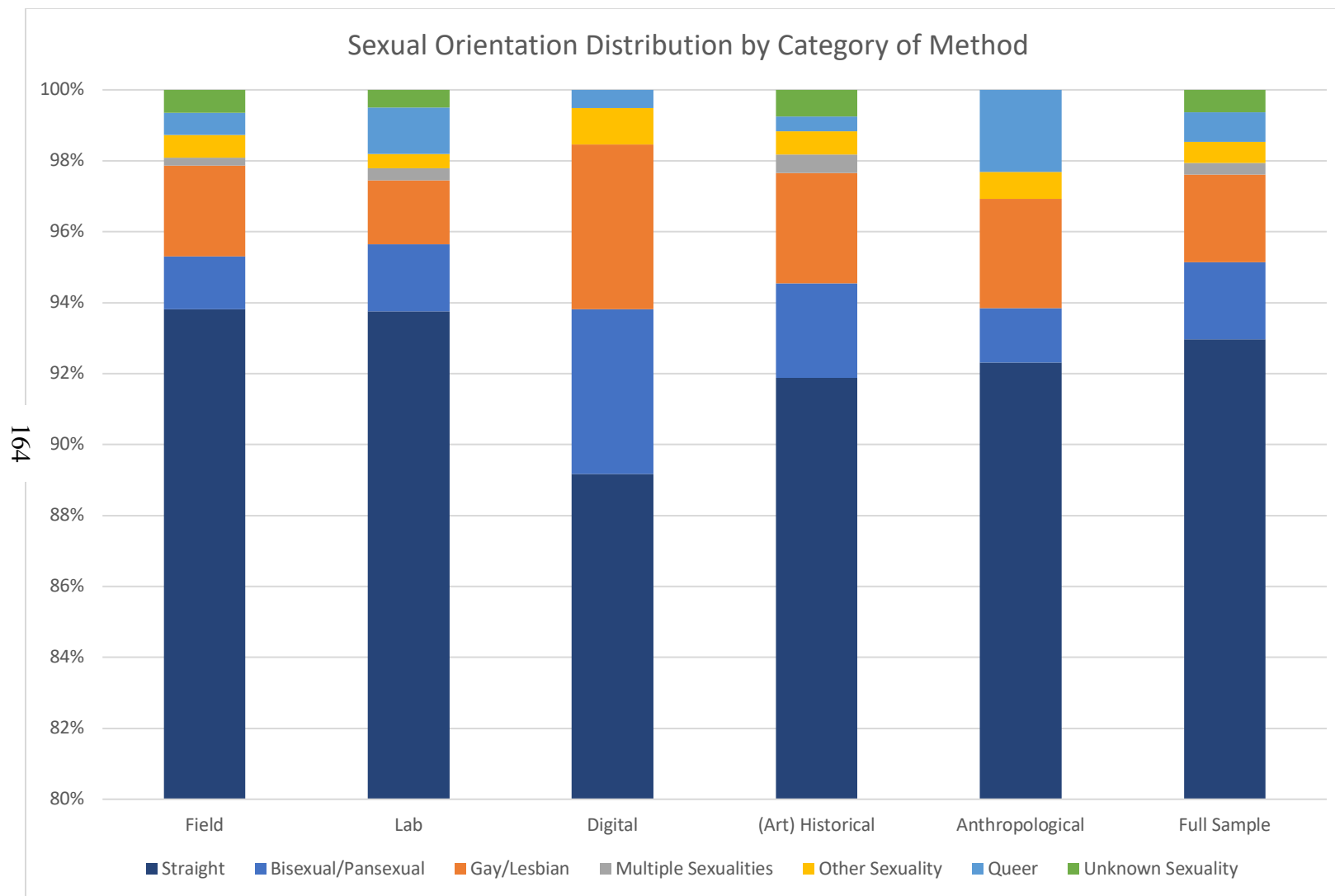
Figure 21: Sexual Orientation Distribution by Category of Method

Table 25: Simplified Intersecting Identity Distribution by Category of Method

	Field	Lab	Digital	(Art) Historical	Anthropological	Full Sample
Straight white cis man	*256 (55%)*	*631 (52%)*	*111 (57%)*	*459 (49%)*	*72 (55%)*	*1386 (51%)*
Straight white cis woman	*124 (26%)*	*342 (28%)*	*35 (18%)*	*296 (32%)*	*29 (22%)*	*756 (28%)*
Everyone else	*89 (19%)*	*245 (20%)*	*48 (25%)*	*181 (19%)*	*29 (22%)*	*571 (21%)*
Straight non-white cis man	49 (10%)	107 (9%)	21 (11%)	71 (8%)	15 (12%)	256 (9%)
Straight non-white cis woman	10 (2%)	59 (5%)	6 (3%)	33 (4%)	4 (3%)	120 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	14 (3%)	39 (3%)	13 (7%)	31 (3%)	7 (5%)	91 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis man	7 (1%)	20 (2%)	5 (3%)	24 (3%)	1 (<1%)	53 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0	9 (<1%)	0	14 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	3 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	7 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	13 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	0	7 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	9 (<1%)
Straight white non-cis man	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	0	5 (<1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary person	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0	4 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white other	0	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	0	3 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	2 (<1%)
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Full Sample	**469**	**1218**	**194**	**936**	**130**	**2718**
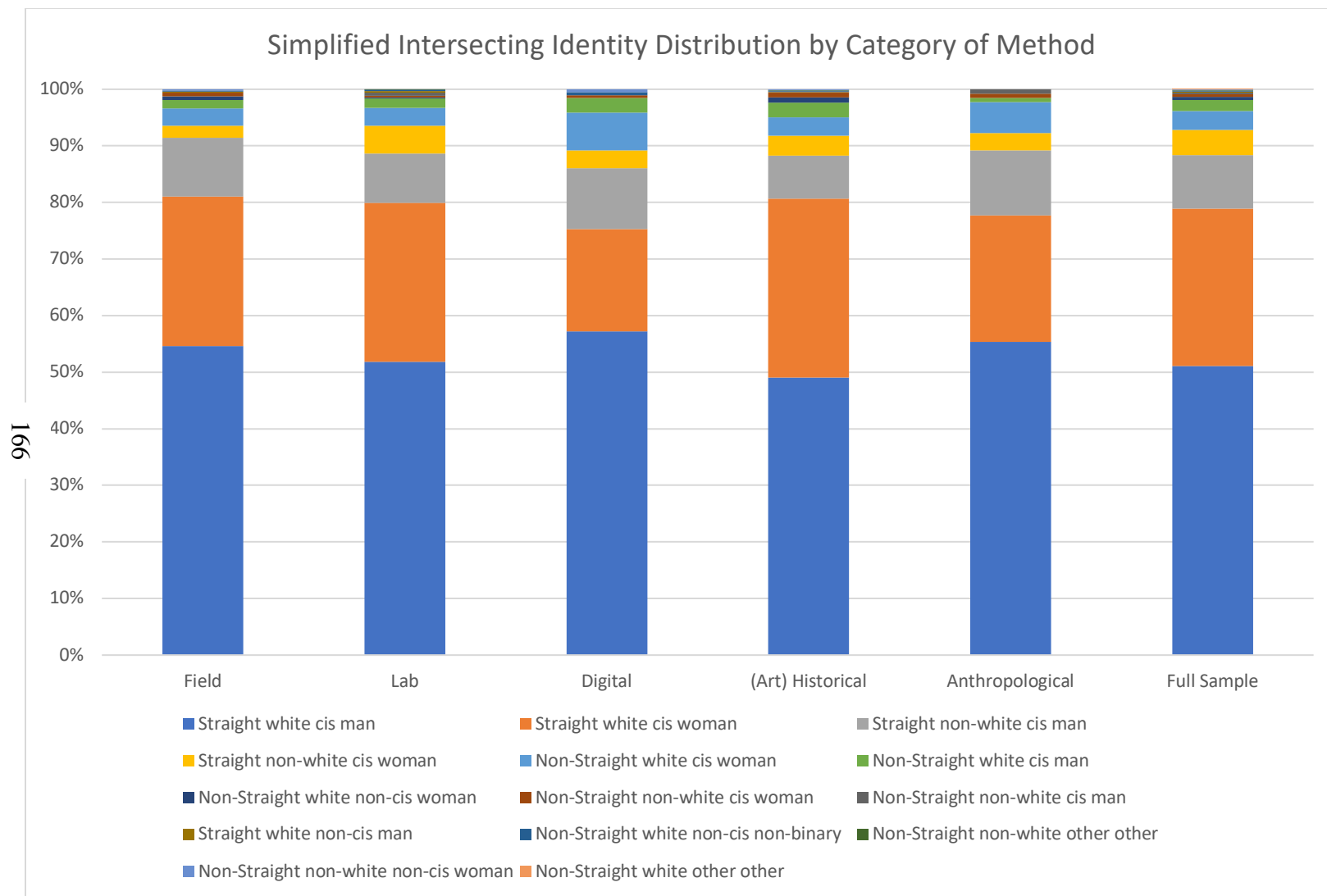
Figure 22: Simplified Intersecting Identity Distribution by Category of Method

There were fifteen methods tags that had more than 100 occurrences each: Contemporary and Historical Archaeology; Archaeological Science; Archaeological Chemistry; Ceramics; Bioarchaeology; Excavation; Zooarchaeology; Lithics; Architectural Analysis; Dating; Digital Archaeology; Survey; Paleoethnobotany; Iconographic Analysis; and Ethnoarchaeology, Ethnography, and Oral History. The distributions of people of different genders across these methods was significantly uneven ($p = 1.15 \times 10^7$, TABLE 26, FIGURE 23). All method tags had a cisgender male majority, but Paleoethnobotany, Iconography, Bioarchaeology, and Contemporary and Historical Archaeology were conducted by less than 60% cisgender men. Dating was the most male-dominated method tag, with 77% cisgender men.

As with the method categories, the distributions of white people and people of color across common methods was not statistically significant ($p = 0.176$, TABLE 27, FIGURE 24). Despite the lack of statistical significance, it is worth noting that Contemporary and Historical Archaeology, Excavation, and Architectural Analysis had the highest percentages of white practitioners, while Bioarchaeology, Zooarchaeology, and Iconographic Analysis had the lowest.

The distributions of straight and non-straight people were different enough to be statistically significant ($p = 0.00174$, TABLE 28, FIGURE 25). Some of the most queer-friendly methods were also the most feminine, including Contemporary and Historical Archaeology, Paleoethnobotany, and Iconographic Analysis. However, as noted above for the digital method category, Digital Archaeology had a high percentage of queer

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practitioners while also being fairly male-dominated. The simplified intersectional

analysis was also significant (p = 6.312×10^7, TABLE 29, FIGURE 26).

It is important to note that many articles used several methods and had multiple

authors. There may be authors who are not specialists in a particular method, but

collaborated with a specialist and thus have occurrences of a certain methods tag. It thus

may be that a majority of paleoethnobotanists are women, for example, but that they

collaborate with men so often that a majority of the occurrences of the tag were

associated with cisgender men.

Table 26: Gender Distribution Among Common Methods

	Contemporary & Historical	Archaeological Science	Archaeological Chemistry	Ceramics	Bioarchaeology
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*191 (42%)*	*128 (31%)*	*109 (31%)*	*107 (38%)*	*113 (43%)*
Cis Woman	182 (40%)	125 (31%)	107 (31%)	106 (37%)	111 (42%)
Non-Cis Man	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)
Non-Cis Woman	7 (2%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0
Non-Binary	1 (<1%)	0	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Other	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0
Cisgender Man	*263 (58%)*	*280 (69%)*	*240 (69%)*	*176 (62%)*	*151 (57%)*
Full Sample	**454**	**408**	**194**	**283**	**264**

	Excavation	Zooarchaeology	Lithics	Architecture	Dating	Digital Archaeology
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*84 (35%)*	*86 (37%)*	*68 (30%)*	*80 (37%)*	*41 (23%)*	*49 (29%)*
Cis Woman	80 (33%)	85 (36%)	68 (30%)	79 (36%)	38 (21%)	47 (28%)
Non-Cis Man	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Cis Woman	3 (1%)	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Non-Binary	0	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Other	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Cisgender Man	*159 (65%)*	*149 (63%)*	*156 (70%)*	*137 (63%)*	*137 (77%)*	*119 (71%)*
Full Sample	**243**	**235**	**224**	**217**	**178**	**168**

	Survey	Paleoethnobotany	Iconography	Ethnoarchaeology, Ethnography, Oral History	Full Sample
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*52 (31%)*	*68 (49%)*	*61 (48%)*	*38 (37%)*	*1011 (37%)*
Cis Woman	52 (31%)	67 (48%)	59 (47%)	38 (37%)	982 (36%)
Non-Cis Man	0	0	0	0	5 (<1%)
Non-Cis Woman	0	0	0	0	16 (<1%)
Non-Binary	0	0	2 (2%)	0	4 (<1%)
Other	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	4 (<1%)
Cisgender Man	*116 (69%)*	*72 (51%)*	*65 (52%)*	*64 (63%)*	*1707 (63%)*
Full Sample	**168**	**140**	**126**	**102**	**2718**
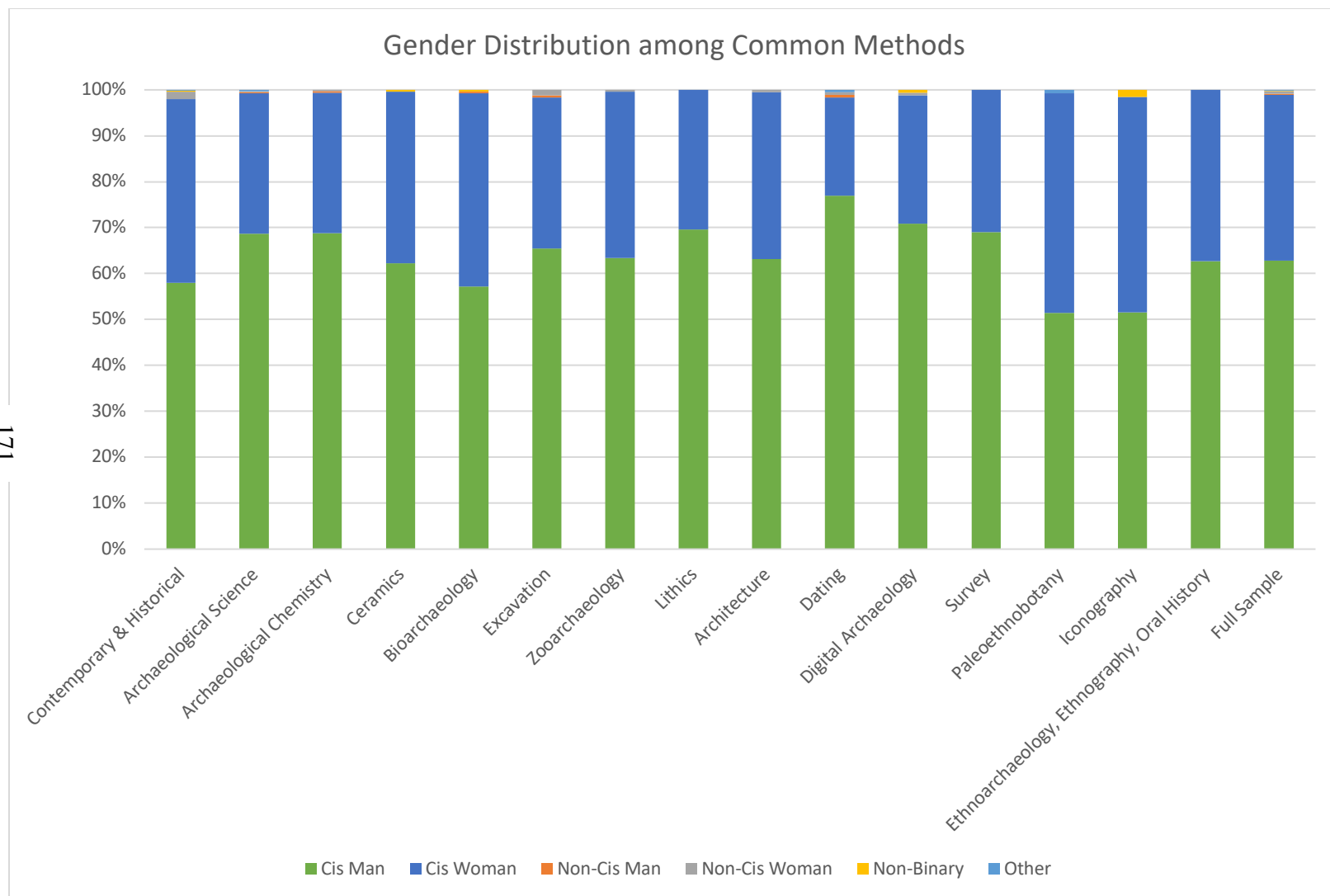
Figure 23: Gender Distribution among Common Methods

Table 27: Race/Ethnicity Distribution Among Common Methods

	Contemporary & Historical	Archaeological Science	Archaeological Chemistry	Ceramics	Bioarchaeology
Non-white	*49 (11%)*	*52 (13%)*	*46 (13%)*	*36 (13%)*	*48 (18%)*
Asian	0	4 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0
Black/African American	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Hispanic/Latinx	8 (2%)	22 (5%)	21 (6%)	11 (4%)	26 (10%)
Middle Eastern/North African	6 (1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	6 (2%)	2 (<1%)
Multiracial	29 (6%)	14 (3%)	14 (4%)	11 (4%)	13 (5%)
Native American/First Nation	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Other Race	2 (<1%)	8 92%)	5 (1%)	4 (1%)	5 (2%)
white	*405 (89%)*	*356 (87%)*	*303 (87%)*	*247 (87%)*	*216 (82%)*
Full Sample	**454**	**408**	**349**	**283**	**264**

	Excavation	Zooarchaeology	Lithics	Architecture	Dating	Digital Archaeology
Non-white	*27 (11%)*	*41 (17%)*	*37 (17%)*	*24 (11%)*	*27 (15%)*	*27 (16%)*
Asian	4 (2%)	5 (2%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	3 (2%)	1 (<1%)
Black/African American	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	3 (1%)	2 (<1%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)
Hispanic/Latinx	9 (4%)	20 (9%)	17 (8%)	14 (6%)	10 (6%)	7 (4%)
Middle Eastern/North African	3 (1%)	2 (<1%)	5 (2%)	2 (<1%)	4 (2%)	2 (1%)
Multiracial	6 (2%)	7 (3%)	8 (4%)	1 (<1%)	6 (3%)	11 (7%)
Native American/First Nation	0	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Other Race	2 (<1%)	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)
White	*216 (89%)*	*194 (83%)*	*187 (83%)*	*193 (89%)*	*151 (85%)*	*141 (84%)*
Full Sample	**243**	**235**	**224**	**217**	**178**	**168**

	Survey	Paleoethnobotany	Iconography	Ethnoarchaeology, Ethnography, Oral History	Full Sample
Non-white	*26 (15%)*	*18 (13%)*	*22 (17%)*	*17 (17%)*	*403 (15%)*
Asian	1 (<1%)	62 (1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	26 (<1%)
Black/African American	1 (<1%)	2 (1%)	0	2 (2%)	20 (<1%)
Hispanic/Latinx	11 (7%)	4 (3%)	10 (8%)	7 (7%)	129 (5%)
Middle Eastern/North African	3 (2%)	3 (2%)	1 (<1%)	2 (2%)	35 (1%)
Multiracial	6 (4%)	5 (4%)	7 (6%)	5 (5%)	138 (5%)
Native American/First Nation	0	0	0	0	8 (<1%)
Other Race	4 (2%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)	0	47 (2%)
White	*142 (85%)*	*122 (87%)*	*104 (83%)*	*85 (83%)*	*2315 (85%)*
Full Sample	**168**	**140**	**126**	**102**	**2718**
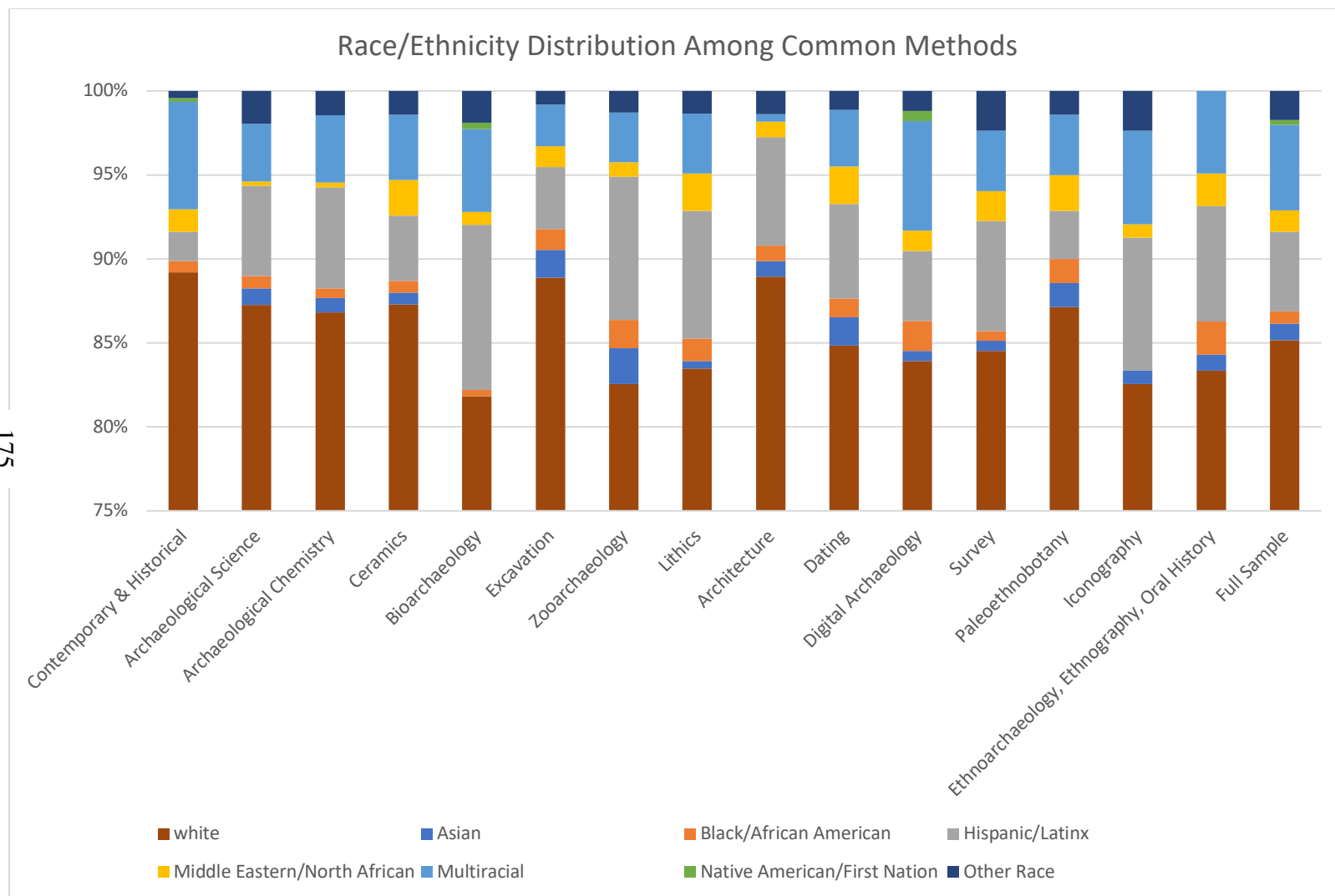
Figure 24: Race/Ethnicity Distribution Among Common Methods

Table 28: Sexual Orientation Distribution Among Common Methods

	Contemporary & Historical	Archaeological Science	Archaeological Chemistry	Ceramics	Bioarchaeology
Non-straight	*45 (10%)*	*17 (4%)*	*13 (4%)*	*15 (5%)*	*15 (6%)*
Bisexual/Pansexual	15 (3%)	3 (<1%)	2 (1%)	2 (<1%)	3 (1%)
Gay/Lesbian	14 (3%)	4 (<1%)	4 (1%)	7 (2%)	3 (1%)
Multiple Sexualities	4 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
Other Sexuality	6 (1%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	2 (<1%)
Queer	4 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	3 (1%)	5 (2%)	3 (1%)
Unknown Sexuality	2 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	3 (1%)	0	2 (<1%)
Straight	*409 (90%)*	*391 (96%)*	*336 (96%)*	*268 (95%)*	*249 (94%)*
Full Sample	**454**	**408**	**194**	**283**	**264**

	Excavation	Zooarchaeology	Lithics	Architecture	Dating	Digital Archaeology
Non-straight	*13 (5%)*	*14 (6%)*	*11 (5%)*	*7 (3%)*	*7 (4%)*	*18 (11%)*
Bisexual/Pansexual	4 (2%)	6 (3%)	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	2 (1%)	8 (5%)
Gay/Lesbian	5 (2%)	5 (2%)	1 (<1%)	5 (2%)	1 (<1%)	8 (5%)
Multiple Sexualities	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Other Sexuality	0	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Queer	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	4 (2%)	0	0	1 (<1%)
Unknown Sexuality	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0	2 (1%)	0
Straight	*230 (95%)*	*221 (94%)*	*213 (95%)*	*210 (97%)*	*171 (96%)*	*150 (89%)*
Full Sample	**243**	**235**	**224**	**217**	**178**	**168**

	Survey	Paleoethnobotany	Iconography	Ethnoarchaeology, Ethnography, Oral History	Full Sample
Non-straight	*9 (5%)*	*13 (9%)*	*11 (9%)*	*8 (8%)*	*151 (6%)*
Bisexual/Pansexual	1 (<1%)	4 (3%)	7 (6%)	2 (2%)	59 (2%)
Gay/Lesbian	5 (3%)	4 (3%)	3 (2%)	3 (3%)	67 (2%)
Multiple Sexualities	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	9 (<1%)
Other Sexuality	1 (<1%)	0	0	1 (<1%)	16 (<1%)
Queer	0	3 (2%)	0	2 (2%)	23 (<1%)
Unknown Sexuality	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	17 (<1%)
traight	*159 (95%)*	*127 (91%)*	*115 (91%)*	*94 (92%)*	*2527 (93%)*
Full Sample	**168**	**140**	**126**	**102**	**2718**
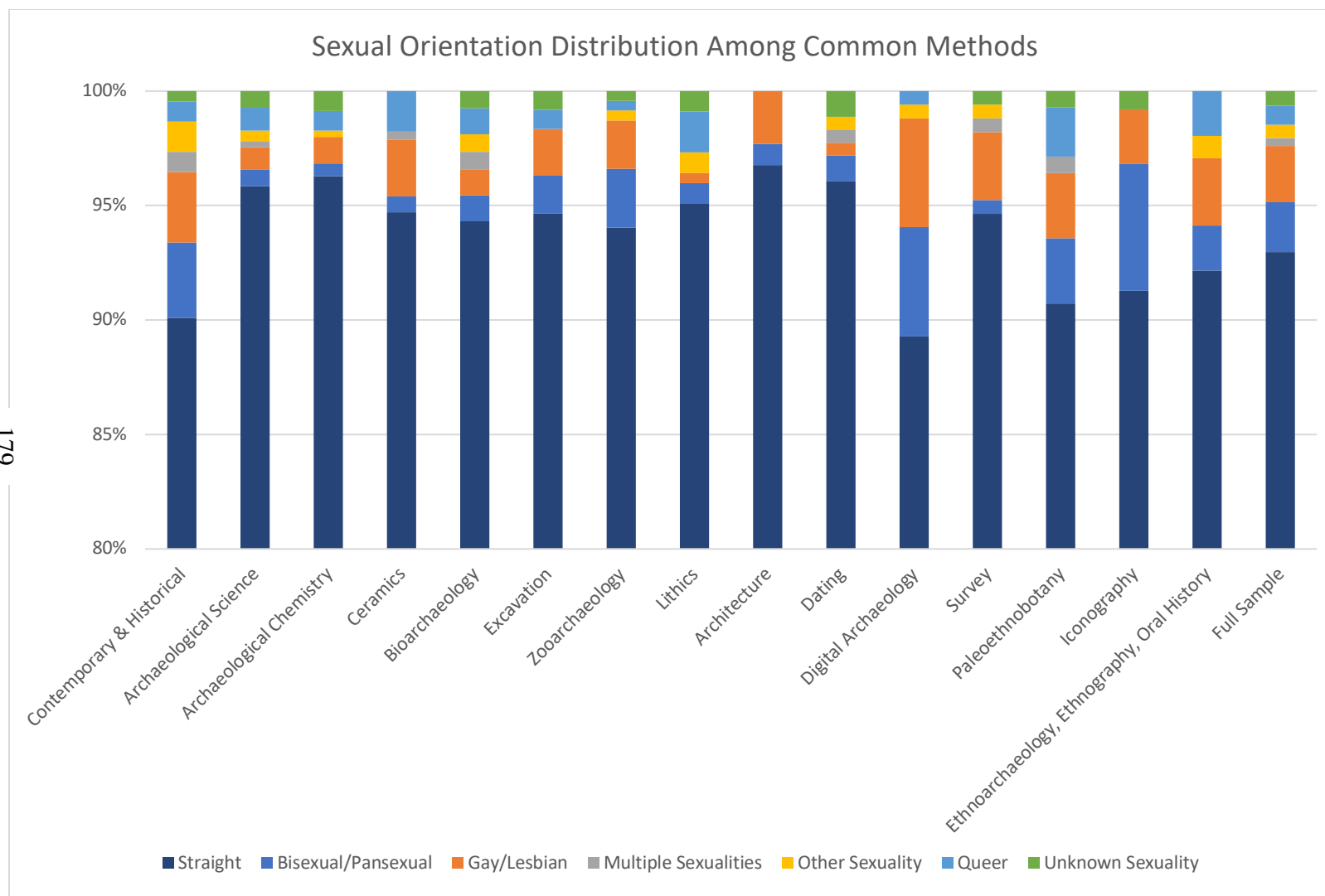
Figure 25: Sexual Orientation Distribution Among Common Methods

Table 29: Simplified Intersectional Identity Distribution Among Common Methods

	Contemporary & Historical	Archaeological Science	Archaeological Chemistry	Ceramics	Bioarchaeology
Straight white cis man	*222 (49%)*	*244 (60%)*	*209 (60%)*	*145 (51%)*	*122 (46%)*
Straight white cis woman	*142 (31%)*	*100 (25%)*	*85 (24%)*	*91 (32%)*	*82 (31%)*
Everyone else	*90 (20%)*	*64 (16%)*	*55 (16%)*	*47 (17%)*	*60 (23%)*
Straight non-white cis man	32 (7%)	26 (6%)	22 (6%)	19 (7%)	26 (10%)
Straight non-white cis woman	13 (3%)	20 (5%)	19 (5%)	13 (5%)	18 (7%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	25 (6%)	4 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	9 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis man	8 (2%)	6 (1%)	5 (1%)	8 (3%)	1 (<1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	7 (2%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	2 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	1 (<1%)	4 (<1%)	4 (1%)	4 (1%)	2 (<1%)
Straight white non-cis man	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	1 (<1%)	0	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white other	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	0	0
Full Sample	**454**	**408**	**349**	**283**	**264**

	Excavation	Zooarchaeology	Lithics	Architecture	Dating	Digital Archaeology
Straight white cis man	*134 (55%)*	*117 (50%)*	*125 (56%)*	*114 (53%)*	*114 (64%)*	*96 (57%)*
Straight white cis woman	*68 (28%)*	*64 (27%)*	*53 (24%)*	*72 (33%)*	*31 (17%)*	*29 (17%)*
Everyone else	*41 (17%)*	*54 (23%)*	*46 (21%)*	*31 (14%)*	*33 (19%)*	*43 (26%)*
Straight non-white cis man	22 (9%)	28 (12%)	25 (11%)	18 (8%)	20 (11%)	19 (11%)
Straight non-white cis woman	5 (2%)	12 (5%)	10 (4%)	6 (3%)	5 (3%)	6 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	7 (3%)	8 (3%)	5 (2%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	11 (7%)
Non-Straight white cis man	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	4 (2%)	5 (2%)	3 (2%)	4 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	3 (1%)	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	0	0	2 (<1%)	0	0	0
Straight white non-cis man	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	0	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white other	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	0	0	0
Full Sample	**243**	**235**	**224**	**217**	**178**	**168**

	Survey	Paleoethnobotany	Iconography	Ethnoarchaeology, Ethnography, Oral History	Full Sample
Straight white cis man	*94 (56%)*	*60 (43%)*	*46 (37%)*	*51 (50%)*	*1386 (51%)*
Straight white cis woman	*42 (25%)*	*50 (36%)*	*48 (38%)*	*27 (26%)*	*756 (28%)*
Everyone else	*32 (19%)*	*30 (21%)*	*32 (25%)*	*24 (24%)*	*571 (21%)*
Straight non-white cis man	19 (11%)	11 (8%)	16 (13%)	12 (12%)	256 (9%)
Straight non-white cis woman	4 (2%)	6 (4%)	5 (4%)	4 (4%)	120 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	3 (2%)	11 (8%)	5 (4%)	6 (6%)	91 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis man	3 (2%)	1 (<1%)	3 (2%)	1 (<1%)	53 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	0	0	0	0	14 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	3 (2%)	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	13 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	0	0	0	0	9 (<1%)
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	0	0	5 (<1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	0	0	2 (2%)	0	4 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white other	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	3 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	0	2 (<1%)
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Full Sample	**168**	**140**	**126**	**102**	**2718**
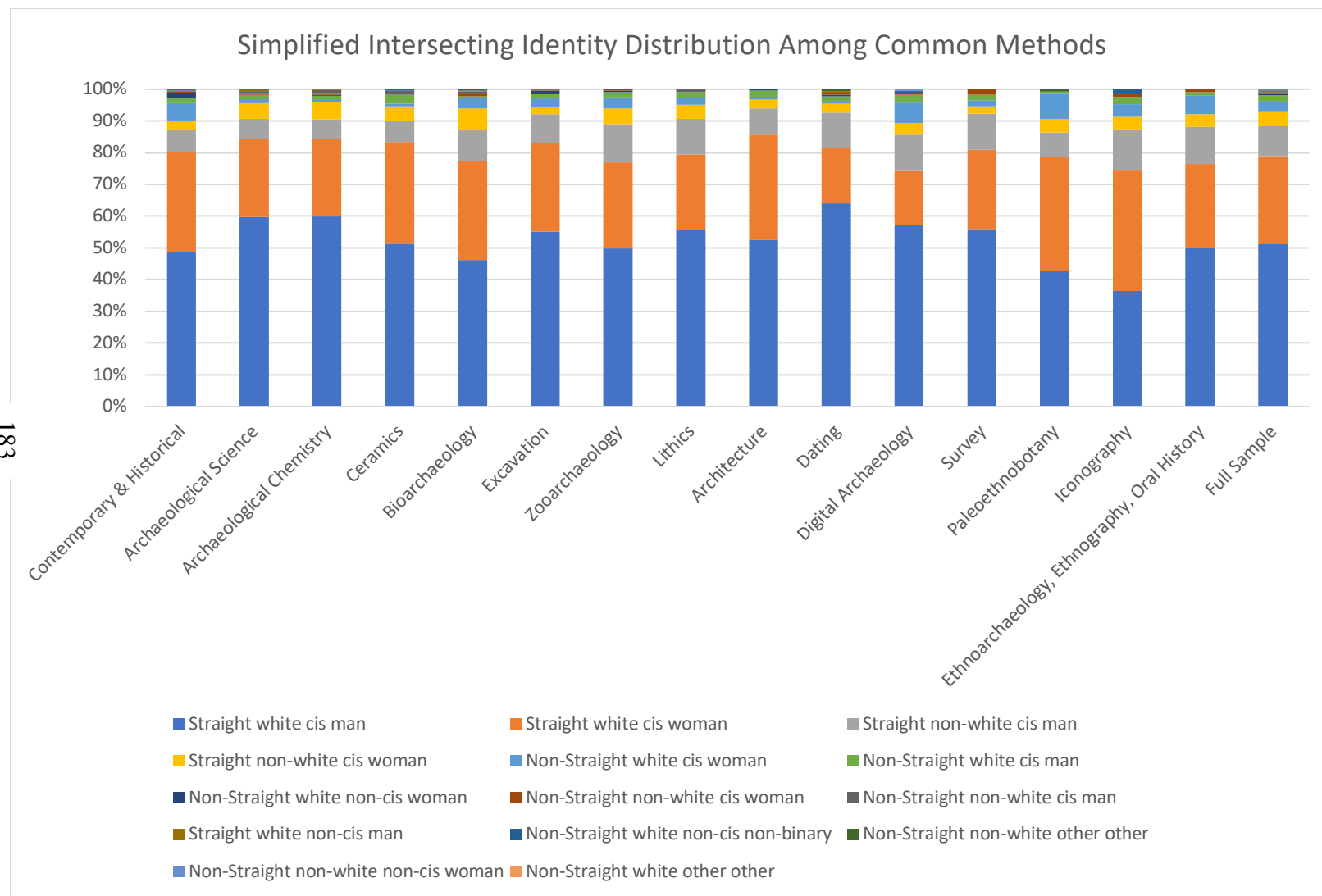
Figure 26: Simplified Intersecting Identity Distribution Among Common Methods

Identities and Themes/Topics

The distributions of cisgender men and people of other genders across the most common themes and topics were statistically significant (p = 3.60 × 10^{-10}, TABLE 30, FIGURE 27). Most themes and topics hovered between 55% and 65% studied by men. Notable exceptions included Introducing or Testing Methods (75% cisgender men) and Feminist and Gender Archaeology (28% cisgender men). Feminist and Gender Archaeology also had a high concentration of non-cisgender women (8%).

For topical and thematic choices, race/ethnicity was not a statistically significant predictor (p = 0.266, TABLE 31, FIGURE 28). White people constituted between 80% and 90% of scholars studying all topics, with articles on Class and Stratification, articles on Warfare and Violence, and review articles especially white-dominated (90%). Mortuary Practices was the least white-dominated topic, with 81% of instances of publication being by white people. Notably, the topic of "Race and Ethnicity" had 83% of its instances of publication being by white people, in line with many other topics.

Sexual orientation, on the other hand, was a significant predictor of topics and themes of studies (2.86 × 10^{-5}, TABLE 32, FIGURE 20). The least straight-dominated topic was, predictably, Feminist and Gender Archaeology (77% straight), followed by Collaborative and Public Archaeology (90% straight) and Class and Stratification (90% straight). All other topics fell between 92% and 95% straight.

The intersectional analysis showed that the combination of multiple identities was also a significant predictor of article topics (p = 4.32 × 10^{-5}, TABLE 33, FIGURE 30). The plurality or small majority of articles on most topics were by straight white cisgender

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men, who constituted between 43% and 53% of authors on many topics. Exceptions included Introducing or Testing Methods (65% straight white cisgender men), Warfare and Violence (55%), and Feminist and Gender Archaeology (22%). Straight white cisgender women wrote between 25% and 35% of articles on most topics, with the exceptions of Introducing and Testing Methods (18%) and Feminist and Gender Archaeology (45%).

Table 30: Gender Distribution Among Common Topics

	Regional Interaction	Environment & Landscape	Economy	Diet & Foodways	Political Organization	Religion	Technology
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*147 (36%)*	*145 (36%)*	*132 (34%)*	*147 (40%)*	*119 (36%)*	*128 (39%)*	*91 (33%)*
Cis Woman	147 (36%)	140 (35%)	130 (34%)	146 (40%)	116 (35$)	127 (39%)	89 (32%)
Non-Cis Man	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Cis Woman	0	4 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Binary	0	0	2 (<1%)	0	0	0	2 (<1%)
Other	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	0
Cisgender Man	*263 (64%)*	*259 (64%)*	*251 (66%)*	*219 (60%)*	*212 (64%)*	*199 (61%)*	*183 (67%)*
Full Sample	**410**	**404**	**383**	**366**	**331**	**327**	**274**

	Class & Stratification	Postcolonial Archaeology & Arch. of Colonialism	Introducing or Testing Methods	Mortuary Practices	Review Article	Households
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*109 (45%)*	*104 (44%)*	*49 (25%)*	*61 (35%)*	*63 (39%)*	*68 (44%)*
Cis Woman	100 (41%)	100 (42%)	48 (24%)	61 (35%)	61 (38%)	66 (43%)
Non-Cis Man	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Cis Woman	8 (3%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	2 (1%)	2 (1%)
Non-Binary	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Other	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Cisgender Man	*133 (55%)*	*132 (56%)*	*149 (75%)*	*111 (65%)*	*97 (61%)*	*85 (56%)*
Full Sample	**242**	**236**	**198**	**172**	**160**	**153**

	Collaborative & Public Archaeology	Law, Policy, & Current Threats to Heritage	Race & Ethnicity	Feminist & Gender Archaeology	Warfare & Violence	Full Sample
Non-Cisgender and/or Non-Man	*58 (45%)*	*43 (41%)*	*46 (44%)*	*60 (72%)*	*29 (35%)*	*1011 (37%)*
Cis Woman	56 (43%)	43 (41%)	45 (43%)	53 (64%)	29 (35%)	982 (36%)
Non-Cis Man	0	0	0	0	0	5 (<1%)
Non-Cis Woman	0	0	0	7 (8%)	0	16 (<1%)
Non-Binary	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	4 (<1%)
Other	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	4 (<1%)
Cisgender Man	*71 (55%)*	*63 (59%)*	*59 (56%)*	*23 (28%)*	*54 (65%)*	*1707 (63%)*
Full Sample	**129**	**106**	**105**	**83**	**83**	**2718**

Gender Distribution Among Common Topics
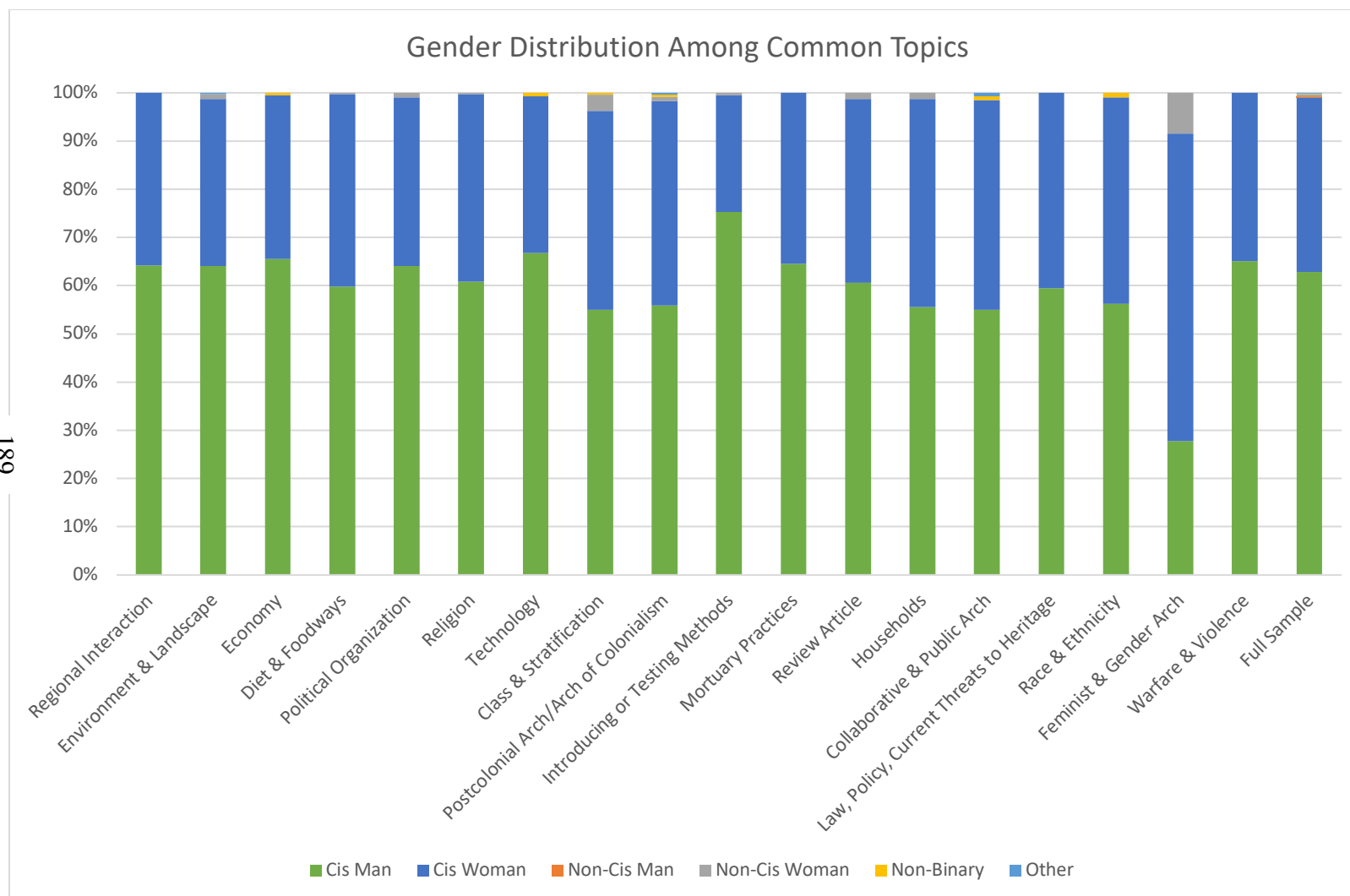
Figure 27: Gender Distribution Among Common Topics

Table 31: Race/Ethnicity Distribution Among Common Topics

	Regional Interaction	Environment & Landscape	Economy	Diet & Foodways	Political Organization	Religion	Technology
Non-white	*62 (15%)*	*68 (17%)*	*52 (14%)*	*48 (13%)*	*51 (15%)*	*51 (16%)*	*45 (16%)*
Asian	4 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	4 (1%)	7 (2%)	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
Black/ African American	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	0	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
Hispanic/Latinx	23 (6%)	28 (7%)	16 (4%)	20 (5%)	16 (5%)	18 (6%)	13 (5%)
Middle Eastern/ North African	1 (<1%)	6 (1%)	4 (1%)	4 (1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	10 (4%)
Multiracial	20 (5%)	18 (4%)	21 (5%)	13 (4%)	17 (5%)	23 (7%)	13 (5%)
Native American/ First Nation	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0
Other Race	10 (2%)	10 (2%)	9 (2%)	4 (1%)	6 (2%)	3 (<1%)	5 (2%)
white	*348 (85%)*	*336 (83%)*	*331 (86%)*	*318 (87%)*	*280 (85%)*	*276 (84%)*	*229 (84%)*
Full Sample	**410**	**404**	**383**	**366**	**331**	**327**	**274**

	Class & Stratification	Postcolonial Archaeology & Arch. of Colonialism	Introducing or Testing Methods	Mortuary Practices	Review Article	Households
Non-white	*25 (10%)*	*39 (17%)*	*21 (11%)*	*33 (19%)*	*16 (10%)*	*17 (11%)*
Asian	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (2%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	6 (4%)
Black/African American	0	1 (<1%)	4 (2%)	0	0	0
Hispanic/Latinx	8 (3%)	16 (7%)	4 (2%)	16 (9%)	1 (<1%)	2 (1%)
Middle Eastern/ North African	0	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)
Multiracial	10 (4%)	17 (7%)	6 (3%)	9 (5%)	10 (6%)	4 (3%)
Native American/ First Nation	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Other Race	6 (2%)	0	0	4 (2%)	1 (<1%)	2 (1%)
white	*217 (90%)*	*197 (83%)*	*177 (89%)*	*139 (81%)*	*144 (90%)*	*136 (89%)*
Full Sample	**242**	**236**	**198**	**172**	**160**	**153**

	Collaborative & Public Archaeology	Law, Policy, & Current Threats to Heritage	Race & Ethnicity	Feminist & Gender Archaeology	Warfare & Violence	Full Sample
Non-white	*19 (15%)*	*14 (13%)*	*18 (17%)*	*12 (14%)*	*8 (10%)*	*403 (15%)*
Asian	0	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	26 (<1%)
Black/African American	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	20 (<1%)
Hispanic/Latinx	3 (2%)	3 (3%)	5 (5%)	2 (2%)	3 (4%)	129 (5%)
Middle Eastern /North African	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (1%)	0	35 (1%)
Multiracial	6 (5%)	3 (3%)	10 (10%)	6 (7%)	2 (2%)	138 (5%)
Native American/ First Nation	4 (3%)	2 (2%)	0	0	0	8 (<1%)
Other Race	3 (2%)	1 (<1%)	0	3 (4%)	3 (4%)	47 (2%)
white	*110 (85%)*	*92 (87%)*	*87 (83%)*	*71 (86%)*	*75 (90%)*	*2315 (85%)*
Full Sample	**129**	**106**	**105**	**83**	**83**	**2718**
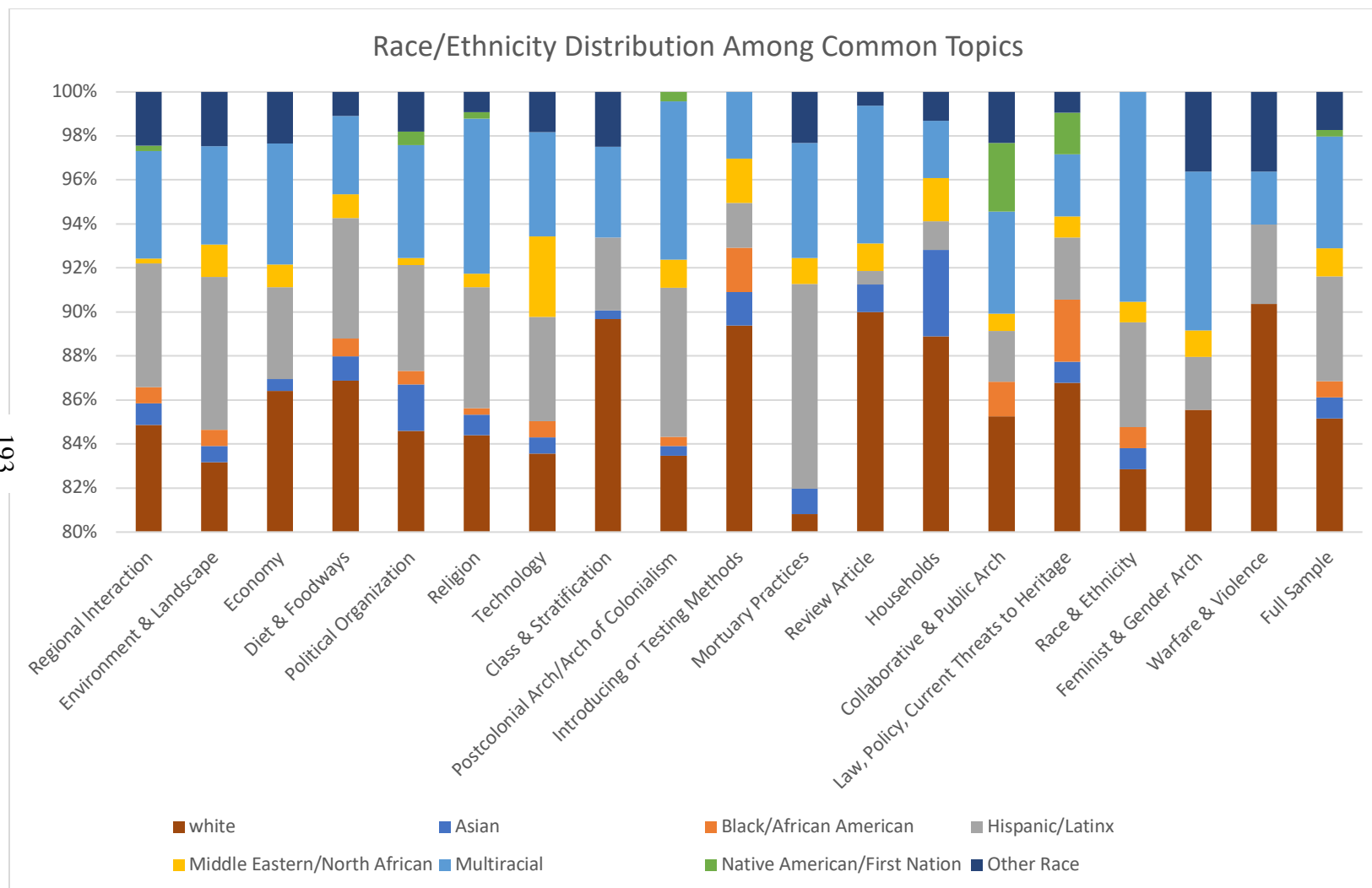
Figure 28: Race/Ethnicity Distribution Among Common Topics

Table 32: Sexual Orientation Distribution Across Common Topics

	Regional Interaction	Environment & Landscape	Economy	Diet & Foodways	Political Organization	Religion	Technology
Non-straight	*20 (5%)*	*29 (7%)*	*22 (6%)*	*27 (7%)*	*22 (7%)*	*17 (5%)*	*21 (8%)*
Bisexual/ Pansexual	4 (<1%)	13 (3%)	9 (2%)	7 (2%)	6 (2%)	1 (<1%)	10 (4%)
Gay/Lesbian	8 (2%)	6 (1%)	7 (2%)	9 (2%)	13 (4%)	10 (3%)	3 (1%)
Multiple Sexualities	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0	0	0	3 (<1%)	0
Other Sexuality	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Queer	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	4 (1%)	8 (2%)	0	2 (<1%)	5 (2%)
Unknown Sexuality	2 (<1%)	4 (1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
Straight	*390 (95%)*	*375 (93%)*	*361 (94%)*	*339 (93%)*	*309 (93%)*	*310 (95%)*	*253 (92%)*
Full Sample	**410**	**404**	**383**	**366**	**331**	**327**	**274**

	Class & Stratification	Postcolonial Archaeology & Arch. of Colonialism	Introducing or Testing Methods	Mortuary Practices	Review Article	Households
Non-straight	*24 (10%)*	*29 (12%)*	*13 (7%)*	*10 (6%)*	*9 (6%)*	*12 (8%)*
Bisexual/Pansexual	13 (5%)	5 (2%)	4 (2%)	4 (2%)	4 (3%)	3 (2%)
Gay/Lesbian	9 (4%)	11 (5%)	5 (3%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	6 (4%)
Multiple Sexualities	0	2 (<1%)	0	2 (1%)	0	0
Other Sexuality	0	2 (<1%)	2 (1%)	1 (<1%)	2 (1%)	0
Queer	2 (<1%)	7 (3%)	1 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	3 (2%)
Unknown Sexuality	0	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0	0
traight	*218 (90%)*	*207 (88%)*	*185 (93%)*	*162 (94%)*	*151 (94%)*	*141 (92%)*
Full Sample	**242**	**236**	**198**	**172**	**160**	**153**

	Collaborative & Public Archaeology	Law, Policy, & Current Threats to Heritage	Race & Ethnicity	Feminist & Gender Archaeology	Warfare & Violence	Full Sample
Non-straight	*13 (10%)*	*6 (6%)*	*8 (8%)*	*19 (23%)*	*7 (8%)*	*151 (6%)*
Bisexual/Pansexual	3 (2%)	0	4 (4%)	13 (16%)	0	59 (2%)
Gay/Lesbian	5 (4%)	4 (4%)	3 (3%)	4 (5%)	5 (6%)	67 (2%)
Multiple Sexualities	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0	9 (<1%)
Other Sexuality	4 (3%)	2 (2%)	0	0	1 (1%)	16 (<1%)
Queer	0	0	1 (<1%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	23 (<1%)
Unknown Sexuality	0	0	0	0	0	17 (<1%)
Straight	*116 (90%)*	*100 (94%)*	*97 (92%)*	*64 (77%)*	*76 (92%)*	*2527 (93%)*
Full Sample	**129**	**106**	**105**	**83**	**83**	**2718**
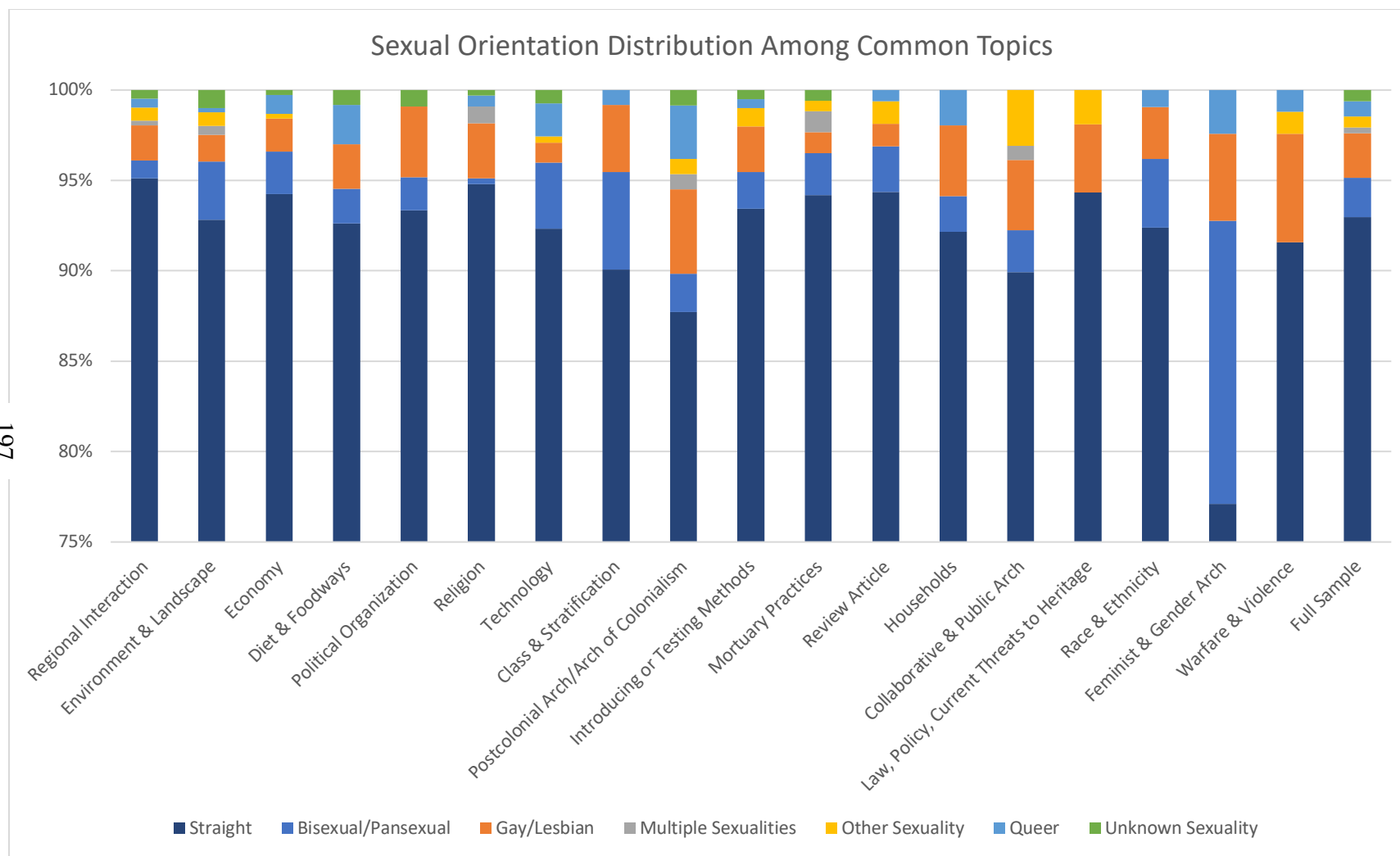
Figure 29: Sexual Orientation Distribution Among Common Topics

Table 33: Simplified Intersectional Identity Distribution Among Common Topics

	Regional Interaction	Environment & Landscape	Economy	Diet & Foodways	Political Organization
Straight white cis man	*213 (52%)*	*209 (52%)*	*203 (53%)*	*181 (49%)*	*172 (52%)*
Straight white cis woman	*120 (29%)*	*104 (26%)*	*109 (28%)*	*114 (31%)*	*93 (28%)*
Everyone else	*77 (19%)*	*91 (23%)*	*71 (19%)*	*71 (19%)*	*66 (20%)*
Straight non-white cis man	39 (1%)	42 (10%)	39 (10%)	30 (8%)	32 (10%)
Straight non-white cis woman	18 (4%)	20 (5%)	10 (3%)	14 (4%)	12 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	7 (2%)	14 (3%)	11 (3%)	17 (5%)	6 (2%)
Non-Straight white cis man	8 (2%)	6 (1%)	6 (2%)	5 (1%)	6 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	0	3 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	3 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	2 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	0	1 (<1%)	5 (2%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	2 (<1%)
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	0	0	2 (<1%)	0	0
Non-Straight non-white other	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	0
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	1 (<1%)	0	0	0
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	0	0
Full Sample	**410**	**404**	**383**	**366**	**331**

	Religion	Technology	Class & Stratification	Postcolonial Archaeology & Arch. of Colonialism	Introducing or Testing Methods
Straight white cis man	*162 (50%)*	*141 (51%)*	*112 (46%)*	*104 (44%)*	*129 (65%)*
Straight white cis woman	*99 (30%)*	*70 (26%)*	*82 (34%)*	*69 (29%)*	*35 (18%)*
Everyone else	*66 (20%)*	*63 (23%)*	*48 (20%)*	*63 (27%)*	*34 (17%)*
Straight non-white cis man	31 (9%)	32 (12%)	15 (6%)	20 (8%)	16 (8%)
Straight non-white cis woman	18 (6%)	10 (4%)	9 (4%)	14 (6%)	5 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	8 (2%)	9 (3%)	9 (4%)	16 (7%)	8 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis man	6 (2%)	7 (3%)	5 (2%)	4 (2%)	4 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	1 (<1%)	0	8 (3%)	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	2 (<1%)	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Straight non-white cis man	0	3 (1%)	1 (<1%)	4 (2%)	0
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	0	2 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Straight non-white other	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Full Sample	**327**	**274**	**242**	**236**	**198**

	Mortuary Practices	Review Article	Households	Collaborative & Public Archaeology	Law, Policy, & Current Threats to Heritage
Straight white cis man	*89 (52%)*	*85 (53%)*	*72 (47%)*	*58 (45%)*	*49 (46%)*
Straight white cis woman	*42 (24%)*	*50 (31%)*	*52 (34%)*	*39 (30%)*	*37 (35%)*
Everyone else	*41 (24%)*	*25 (16%)*	*29 (19%)*	*32 (25%)*	*20 (19%)*
Straight non-white cis man	18 (10%)	12 (8%)	11 (7%)	10 (8%)	11 (10%)
Straight non-white cis woman	13 (8%)	4 (3%)	6 (4%)	9 (7%)	3 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	5 (3%)	7 (4%)	8 (5%)	8 (6%)	3 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis man	3 (2%)	0	2 (1%)	3 (2%)	3 (3%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	0	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	0	0
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight non-white cis man	1 (<1%)	0	0	0	0
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Non-Straight non-white other	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	1 (<1%)	0
Full Sample	**172**	**160**	**153**	**129**	**106**

	Race & Ethnicity	Feminist & Gender Archaeology	Warfare & Violence	Full Sample
Straight white cis man	*45 (43%)*	*18 (22%)*	*46 (55%)*	*1386 (51%)*
Straight white cis woman	*35 (33%)*	*37 (45%)*	*23 (28%)*	*756 (28%)*
Everyone else	*25 (24%)*	*28 (34%)*	*14 (17%)*	*571 (21%)*
Straight non-white cis man	11 (10%)	3 (4%)	5 (6%)	256 (9%)
Straight non-white cis woman	6 (6%)	6 (7%)	2 (2%)	120 (4%)
Non-Straight white cis woman	3 (3%)	8 (10%)	3 (4%)	91 (3%)
Non-Straight white cis man	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	3 (4%)	53 (2%)
Non-Straight white non-cis woman	0	6 (7%)	0	14 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis woman	1 (<1%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	13 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white cis man	0	0	0	9 (<1%)
Straight white non-cis man	0	0	0	5 (<1%)
Non-Straight white non-cis non-binary	1 (<1%)	0	0	4 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white other	0	0	0	3 (<1%)
Non-Straight non-white non-cis woman	0	1 (1%)	0	2 (<1%)
Non-Straight white other	0	0	0	1 (<1%)
Full Sample	**105**	**83**	**83**	**2718**

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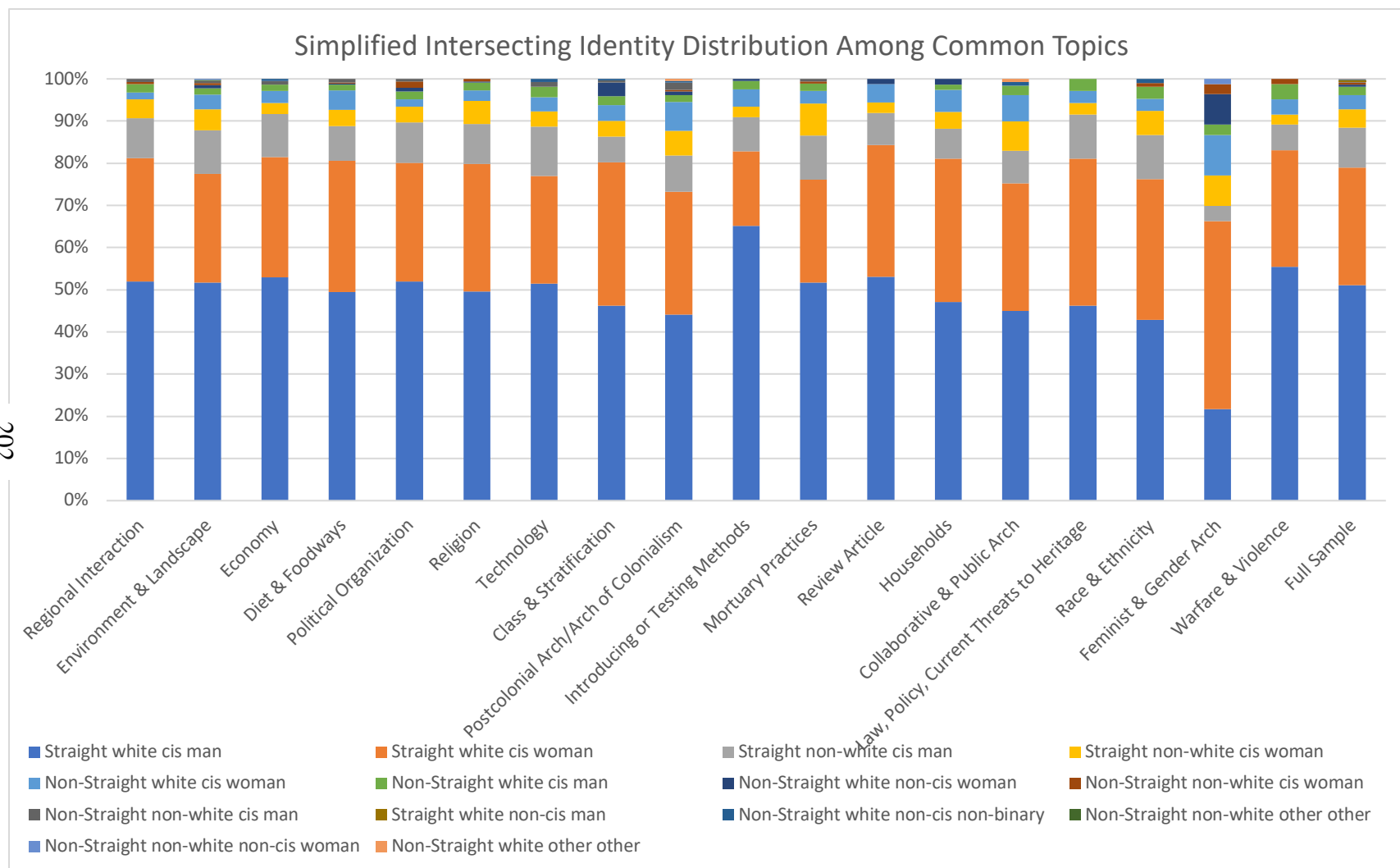
Figure 30: Simplified Intersectional Identity Distribution Among Common Topics

Discussion

One of the motivations for conducting this study was to update Joan Gero's (1985) work on the gendering of archaeological methods, discussed above. Like Gero, I found that field methods were more male-dominated than laboratory methods (Table 22, Figure 19). Yet there were also several significant differences between our findings, which show that the discipline's gender dynamics have substantially changed over the past several decades. First, Gero's sample contained many more field-based projects than laboratory-based projects. For example, she documented 99 field-based articles and 49 lab-based articles on Mesoamerica published in *American Antiquity* in 1979–1980 (Gero 1985, table 1), while my sample includes nearly three times as many instances of lab research as instances of field research. It seems likely that this is a symptom of a larger shift in the discipline. Many new laboratory methods have been developed in the past forty years, so it is not surprising that more archaeological research would occur in the lab. Furthermore, the gender imbalance of field research was only 2:1 in my study (67% men) whereas it was over 4:1 in Gero's (83% men in the 1979–1980 *American Antiquity* sample (Gero 1985, table 1). In my study, the greatest imbalance detected was in digital methods (71% men), which Gero did not include, as many of the methods in the digital archaeology articles in my sample had not yet been developed in the 1980s. The closest category to gender parity was Historical and Art Historical methods, which I imagine that Gero would have categorized as "non-field." This gendering of art historical and archival methods has remained. Thus, compared to Gero's study, mine shows that a larger proportion of archaeology is done by women (although we have not yet reached parity);

that archaeology has shifted to focus on laboratory work; that many of the women entering archaeology are doing field research; and that while all methods remain majority male, the prestigious digital methods are especially male-dominated.

All of the elements of identity that I studied (gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and nationality) are statistically significant predictors of at least some characteristics of archaeologists' research. Gender is a significant predictor of subfield, method (both specific methods and method categories such as field, lab, and digital), and themes, but not of geographic focus. Race/ethnicity is a significant predictor of regional focus, perhaps because it is related to nationality, which is a strong predictor of regional focus. Race/ethnicity was not, however, shown to be a significant predictor of subfield, methods, or topics; perhaps this is because there were so few people of color in the sample that I could not conduct statistical tests differentiating different identity groups, but had to only compare white people and people of color. Sexual orientation is a predictor of subfield, region, methods (although not categories of methods), and topics.

Conclusion

Straight white cisgender men conduct a plurality or majority of archaeological research across almost every subfield, region, method, and topic. There are only two exceptions: the method of Iconographic Analysis (38% straight white cisgender women, 37% straight white cisgender men) and the topic of Feminist and Gender Archaeology (45% straight white cisgender women, 22% straight white cisgender men). In all three subfields, all nine regions, all five method categories, the other fourteen methods, and the

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other seventeen topics I tested, straight white cisgender men are the largest identity group.

Straight white cisgender men do archaeology around the world, using all methods and studying all topics. Women and queer people are unevenly distributed across methods, subfields, and topics. People of color work around the world, but generally studying their own heritage. In Part 3, presenting my qualitative interview study, I will explore how these trends have come to be, and how they affect the lives and career trajectories of individual archaeologists.

Chapter 7: Resistance to the Survey

Although many archaeologists who received my survey filled it out willingly, and conference presentations of preliminary data have been well received, I have encountered some resistance to my project. The number of resistant responses is small compared to the total number of survey invitations, but these responses taught me about the strengths and weaknesses of my methods, and about the ways that some archaeologists currently understand gender, race, and sexuality. In this chapter, I examine some of the write-in answers on the survey and email responses I received to my survey invitation (all email quotations are reproduced anonymously and with permission from the writer). I address the legitimate weaknesses that were raised with regard to both privacy concerns and the complexities of identity. I then consider some of the resistant responses through the lenses of recent feminist and anti-racist theorizing concerning how people in positions of privilege resist discussions of the workings of oppression within their communities and institutions.

Privacy Concerns

One common theme in emailed responses to my survey invitation was privacy concerns. I received several emails verifying that I had an IRB-approved data management plan, and asking why I requested that authors provide their names. Many respondents were particularly concerned about the name question. Although I explained this choice (see chapter 4) to those who asked directly, I am sure that some possible

respondents simply did not answer the survey because of this concern. One even wrote in "Ridiculous to require a name on this survey" as their name and then wrote in "ridiculous" to answer the other questions.

Unexpectedly, 2017–2018 was a complicated time to distribute a survey asking for personal information. The Cambridge Analytica scandal broke in spring of 2018 (Cadwalladr and Graham-Harrison 2018; Rosenberg et al. 2018), revealing that the firm had inappropriately collected data from many Facebook users. Shortly after that, the European Union released new privacy rules for online data collection (European Union 2016). With so much public conversation about data privacy online, it was a strange time to ask thousands of archaeologists for personal data without anonymity. If I had the opportunity to redesign the study, I would provide more information in the recruitment script about data management and in the survey about the rationale for the collection of names.

Checkboxes and the Complexities of Identity

For each question of the survey, I provided both a list of checkboxes and an "Other" option with space for respondents to write in answers. After all, identities are not as neat as census forms and other demographic surveys make them seem. My own identities (cisgender woman, white, queer, from the United States) all fit neatly into the survey checkboxes, but these categories are socially constructed and contested, and their borders are messy. The answers that were written in on the survey and the emails I

received in response to the survey invitation elucidate the problems with asking people to identify with precisely-defined, discrete categories.

The complexities of sexual orientation

Written-in answers to the sexual orientation question were informative about the tricky dynamics of asking about identity. Several respondents simply did not answer my questions, especially this one. Write-in answers for this question included "I don't want to answer this," "No comment" (two instances), and "prefer not to say." These answers differed from the written-in responses to the race question, which tended to be more confrontational or negative about the survey methodology (see below). These are more neutral refusals to answer the question. Perhaps these refusals are informed by the stigma associated with being non-straight in a heterosexist world, or by pressures to keep personal matters out of one's work in order to maintain professionalism.

Other archaeologists expressed ambivalence about the presented categories. One man checked "straight," but also wrote in "mostly." Another straight archaeologist wrote in "but with no prejudice against any others," making sure to express their sense of being an ally with queer archaeologists. One archaeologist checked the "other" sexual orientation box and wrote that, "The categories listed rely on culturally specific 20th c western notions of sexual orientation and of identification - I choose not to go so far as to identity (sic) myself according to any single one of my hobbies!" She was correct that my sexual orientation categories were products of my time and place. My respondents are all 20th–21st century people publishing in Western scholarly journals, so the listed

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categories were designed to be emic concepts for my population of study, not universal

identifications. As Faderman (1981:311) put it, "Our century [the 20th century] has a

passion for categorizing love, as previous centuries did not, which stems from the

supposedly liberalized twentieth-century view of sex that, ironically, has created its own

rigidity." The study is also focused on U.S. archaeology, which creates a bias in survey

design. Both the body of respondents and the general population of the United States are

from many cultures, so respondents may not identify with checkboxes intended to be

emic. The respondent also refuses to identify herself on the basis of any "hobby,"

presumably meaning that she sees sexual activity as a hobby: although she has the right

to refuse identification, it is also important to study the presence or absence of queer-

identifying people in archaeology. After all, we live in societies where there are tangible

obstacles that face non-straight people. Even though sexual orientations and prejudices

are socially constructed, heteronormativity is real and must be studied. Therefore,

although it may be problematic to ask people to categorize themselves, I think it is

necessary to the project of understanding how oppression shapes the discipline of

archaeology.

> In another example of resistance to survey, one respondent wrote in that:

> I feel very uncomfortable with these gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation
> boxes! None of them matches anything related to my identity. I do not live in the
> country where I was born, I formerly lived as bisexual, but am now married to a
> man, who formerly lived as gay, and I believe that identity is a highly fluid matter,
> but I will end up in your analysis as a proof that only white heterosexuals publish
> in [journal].

Her specific trouble around the straight identification also came up in several of my interviews with cisgender women whose sexual orientations had changed over time or whose long-term monogamous relationships with cisgender men made it feel uncomfortable for them to claim queer, bisexual, or pansexual identities (see part 3). It is perfectly possible to be bisexual and/or pansexual while being in a long-term, monogamous relationship with a person of any gender. If this respondent said that she is currently bisexual and married to a man, I would not question her bisexuality (although some might). She says, though, that she "formerly lived as bisexual," implying that her self-identification has changed. It is true that my survey questions imply that identities are stable in a way they often are not. If a researcher comes out as queer or trans mid-career, should their pre-coming-out publications be marked as written by a queer or trans author? Some queer people feel that they were born non-heterosexual or non-cisgender, while others feel that their sexuality is more malleable.

By asking people to categorize themselves using my survey, I am asking them both to reveal stigmatized identities and to simplify their identities in ways that may be oppressive. Yet I am also committed to understanding who participates in archaeology along these axes. When does the need for data supersede the need to allow for complexity?

The complexities of race and ethnicity

Many of the intriguing written-in answers were responses to the race/ethnicity question on the survey. As discussed previously (see chapter 4), the race/ethnicity

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question was created by combining the U.S. Census's race and ethnicity questions, and thus included "Hispanic/Latinx" but no other ethnic identities. Many of the write-in answers were cultural identities: perhaps these are more important to the respondents than race, or respondents felt that my race options did not adequately include them. For example, one person wrote in "South Asian" but did not check the "Asian" box on the survey. Although the "Asian" checkbox was intended to include East Asian, Southeast Asian, and South Asian respondents, this person preferred to give a more specific answer. Another participant, whose nationality was British, wrote in "Cymro" (Welsh) as their race/ethnicity.

Some of the write-in answers were groups that are often considered white today, but who "became" white rather recently. One respondent wrote in "Irish/Scots," another wrote in "Irish-Canadian." Two respondents wrote in "Mediterranean" as their race, and countries in southern Europe as their nationality (one Spain and the other both Albania and Italy). In the U.S., the construction of whiteness did not originally include people from these nations, and they were welcomed into white privilege later than people from Northern Europe were (Painter 2010), so these two archaeologists may have felt that the white box did not include them. Exemplifying this tension is the respondent who both checked the "White and/or Caucasian" box and wrote in "Italian-American (which I know is white)." In this case, the respondent simultaneously knows that as an Italian-American, they are broadly considered white, and seems to feel that "White and/or Caucasian" does not adequately express their race and ethnicity. Similarly, one Canadian respondent both checked "White and/or Caucasian" and wrote in "Francophone."

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Obviously, being a French Canadian is an important part of this person's cultural identity. Perhaps they even face discrimination in Canada, and feel that although they have white privilege, there is another kind of cultural or linguistic privilege that they lack.

Some Jewish respondents had a similar response. Two responded only by writing in "Jewish" (one from Australia and the other from the United States). A third checked the "White and/or Caucasian" box and wrote in "Russian Jewish," also listing the United States as their nationality. Similar to Irish Americans, Ashkenazi Jews of European descent were not considered white until fairly recently in United States history (Brodkin 1998). Perhaps these Jewish respondents, especially the white Russian Jewish person, are expressing ambivalence about Ashkenazi Jews' membership in the construction of whiteness. As respondents filled out the survey in 2017 and 2018, shortly after the 2016 election and during the rise of anti-Semitic white nationalist movements in the United States (Bjork-James and Maskovsky 2017), such ambivalence makes sense. Of course, there are many Jews who are not white, including many Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews, Ethiopian Jews, converts of many races and their descendants, and mixed-race Ashkenazi Jews.

There are also differences in how cultures conceptualize and discuss race. Exemplifying these international differences are write-in answers from Latin American and/or Latinx and/or Hispanic respondents. Some wrote in nationalities, including Mexican and Argentinian, or regional identities like "Latino-europeo," "Americano," and "Latin American" in response to the race/ethnicity question. Others explained in more depth how their identities did not fit any of the listed options. A Portuguese-American

immigrant wrote that "In Portugal I am white, here I am Hispanic," making clear the international mutability of identity categories. Another respondent wrote in that they were "white but with hispanic heritage but not phenotypically hispanic," revealing the complicated relationship of the category of "Hispanic" with race: one can be culturally Hispanic but also be white and thus avoid some forms of racism that are directed at non-white Hispanic people.

Other respondents described their particular mestizx or multicultural ancestry to explain how the unified category of "Latinx," or even the more commonly-used gendered term "Latino," was not applicable to them. One Mexican respondent filled out the survey, writing "Maya/spanish [sic]/French descendant from Mexico" as her race, and also wrote me an email to say that,

> As Mexicans, we don't like to be asked [about race]. In addition, I do think there is a problem with the categories: they only contemplate the US idea of race. People would think that a Mexican should be categorized as Hispanic or Latino. Why are we Mexicans in the same category of people from South America or Spain? or even, why are all Mexicans in the same category when we our ascendancy [sic] comes from different indigenous groups? In [sic] a personal level, I do have Maya, Spaniard, and French blood so my "race" does not fit into any category and definitely, don't identify myself as Hispanic or Latino.

Similarly, an Argentinian respondent wrote that

> Son [sic] Latinoamericana porque nací en Argentina, pero no se a que te refieres cuando pones Latino/hispano. Desciendo de inmigrantes Europeos (italianos, españoles), libaneses y criollos americanos.

> I am Latin-American because I was born in Argentina, but I do not know what you mean when you put down Latino/hispanic. I am descended from European (Italian, Spanish) immigrants, Lebanese people, and American *criollos* [people of European ancestry born in the Americas] (translation by author).

These responses make it clear that my U.S.-centric racial categories are particularly difficult to apply in Latin America and to people of Iberian and Latin American nationalities. This is not surprising, given that the U.S. Census has shifted among multiple different ways to ask this question, and the meanings of "Hispanic" and "Latinx" are contested and ever-evolving within the United States.

My international respondents are correct that the survey reflects American racial discourse. The structure of the question and possible answers are from the U.S. Census, although modified. Except for fieldwork, a semester abroad during college, and occasional vacations, I have spent my entire life in the U.S., and was raised by white settler American parents. Furthermore, in some ways, this dissertation is focused on the United States. My interviewees are affiliated with American universities, and I chose journals that are widely read in the United States, even if some of them are published in the United Kingdom. The dissertation is not meant to focus on the ways race, gender, and sexuality play out in archaeology as practiced by people from around the world. Yet, archaeology is a global discipline and American universities and scholars include people from many nations, and my study is structured by American ideas about race and uses American vocabulary. I do not think there is a clear solution to this problem. After all, since race is socially constructed, it varies across cultures. Not only is there no globally-applicable language for talking about race (as some responses made clear, it is not socially acceptable to talk about race at all in some cultural contexts), but if there were, it would be so vague as to be meaningless in any one particular cultural context. Yet I continue to believe that we must talk about race and racism in order to create a diverse

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and inclusive discipline of archaeology. The best answer seems to be to acknowledge these complexities and the accompanying discomfort, but to continue as respectfully as possible.

White Fragility and the Feminist Killjoy Diversity Worker

The written-in responses and emails discussed above taught me about the complexities of asking people about their identities in the name of research; I appreciate the work of people with different, less-categorizable identities than my own to teach me about this complexity. Other responses, however, were more negative or even rude or hateful. These contained lessons about the ways that archaeologists resist discussions about diversity. In this section, I will examine some of these responses through the lenses recent works by two theorists: Robin DiAngelo (2018) and Sara Ahmed (2012, 2017). Both of these scholars address the ways that people and institutions resist anti-oppressive change and diversification, although they use different vocabulary and frameworks.

Sara Ahmed's feminist killjoy, brick wall, and institutional plumber

In *Living a Feminist Life*, feminist affect theorist Sara Ahmed (2017) discusses the figure of the feminist killjoy, and how people respond to her, in order to understand the complexities of working to diversify academia, building on her earlier work on diversity in higher education (Ahmed 2012). Some her language exactly described my own experiences of sending out this survey and receiving responses to it, and I thus summarize some of her work here, and use it to interpret some responses.

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Parts of *Living a Feminist Life* and *On Being Included* are based on Ahmed's experiences as a university diversity officer and her interview study of university diversity officers. She argues that higher education's diversity practitioners have "oblique" relationships with the institutions that employ them: they are appointed by the institution in order to change the institution, which may not be open to transformation. In fact, administrations may hire a diversity officer in order to show that they have done something about a diversity problem, with no intention of taking any further action (Ahmed 2017:chap. 4). The diversity practitioner thus fits into Ahmed's broader theory of the feminist killjoy: a cultural stereotype of the feminist who cannot relax and enjoy anything, but constantly insists that others pay attention to the oppressive dynamics at play. As Ahmed (2017:39) puts it, feminist killjoys "become a problem when we describe a problem" and thus are blamed for the problems that we are in fact attempting to address.

One way this phenomenon occurs is that when a killjoy or diversity activist attempts some intervention, she runs into a blockage or "brick wall." Ahmed draws the analogy of the brick wall as an *in vivo* code from one of her interviewees, who said that "So much of the time it is a banging your head on the brick wall job" (Ahmed 2012:26–27). As she put it, "The feeling of doing diversity work is the feeling of coming up against something that does not move; something solid and tangible" (Ahmed 2017:96). I had this feeling of hitting a brick wall when reading survey answers and finding a response from someone who wrote in "Cthulu" as their name. They checked both "man" and "woman," wrote in "reptilian" as their race/ethnicity, wrote in "parthenogenetic" as

their sexual orientation, and wrote in "Mu" as their nationality. This answer did not harm

my work, as I could simply disregard it, yet I found myself thinking about how the

respondent had not simply ignored the survey, but had carefully thought of a clever way

to show their refusal to engage. As I skimmed through the spreadsheet of answers, I

suddenly ran into a brick wall of scorn.

> Another brick wall arrived in my email inbox in the form of this email:

> I am afraid I think what you are doing is a complete waste of time and perhaps of your talent. Get out there and bloody dig. I think all post processualists should be taken out whipped and their loved ones sold into slavery and then be forced to take a trowel into their hands and do something of importance. Do you know the word crap? Cheers, [name]

When I responded asking for permission to quote the email in my dissertation, he

responded,

> Dear Ms. Heath-Stout,
> Of course you may. Read any of my book reviews to hear my views on the scourge of post processualism. I am old enough the remember, first hand, the new archaeology of the 1960s. That was bad enough. Do take my advice and DIG. Navel gazing is essentially self defeating.
> Cheers and take care.

I understand that there are many archaeologists with whom I disagree, but reading the

statement that my loved ones should be sold into slavery because of my commitment to

reflexivity certainly felt like running into a brick wall. The rhetorical violence of this

response was called to mind as I read Ahmed's book because of the idea that archaeology

was better before the changes of post-processualism (and even of processualism!). This

sense of something good being ruined by reflexive critique evokes Ahmed's killjoy: post-

processualist and feminist archaeologists are positioned as killjoys who insist on "self-

defeating" "navel gazing" instead of digging, thus "becom[ing] a problem when we describe a problem" in the discipline.

Ahmed writes about learning from these brick walls through trial and error. She describes this as "throwing" an initiative or idea into the world, "and you witness what happens to what you have thrown. This witnessing allows you to develop and refine your understanding. The process might not always be so refined. You might be thrown by how things are thrown" (Ahmed 2017:102). I was certainly "thrown" by the statement that I should be "taken out and whipped" because I "threw" a survey to archaeologists, but it also helped me see that some older archaeologists joined the field because they love excavation, specifically, and that they deeply resent any push for reflexivity in the field. I was already aware of that phenomenon, but the virulence with which this anger was expressed to me showed me that some of my colleagues feel it strongly enough to ignore the restraints of collegiality, because they are so determined to throw up the brick wall. This incident also taught me that I am on a productive track.

Another of Ahmed's metaphors that rings true in my own work is that of the "institutional plumber": "Diversity workers could be described as institutional plumbers: they develop an expertise in how things get stuck, as well as where things get stuck" (Ahmed 2017:96). She goes on to describe how these plumbers learn where and how blockages exist by trying to unblock the system and then seeing where blockages reappear. Thus, diversity initiatives can, themselves, be research: the results or lack of results of an initiative have something to teach the activist (Ahmed 2012:chap. Conclusion), just as the hateful response to my survey showed me that for some

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archaeologists, resisting reflexivity and anti-oppression initiatives becomes more important than maintaining respectful relationships with colleagues. I hope that such a strong and forceful blockage came because my survey was perceived as a plumber's snake, able to clean out the institutional pipes.

Robin DiAngelo's good/bad binary and white fragility

Robin DiAngelo's (2018) book *White Fragility* explores similar phenomena, with a focus on white people's refusals to engage in deep and honest conversation about structural racism. Although she uses different language than Ahmed, DiAngelo describes the ways that white people, even well-meaning liberals, resist the efforts of activists whom Ahmed might call anti-racist killjoys, putting up brick walls and blocking pipes in a variety of ways. Many survey responses that were written into the "other" boxes or sent to me by email are excellent examples of these common white responses to being confronted with the reality of racism.

One of DiAngelo's most useful concepts for understanding white backlash to anti-racist initiatives is the good/bad binary. She explains that horrific images from the Jim Crow south—lynchings, dogs and fire hoses used against nonviolent protestors, whites-only signs—led liberal white northerners to define racism as bigotry. They believed that they were not complicit in racism, because they were not perpetrating or supporting violence against Black people. They were "good" people, who therefore could not be racist. This conflation of inherent badness and violence with racism makes it very difficult to talk to white people about the ways that we are, in fact, complicit with

systemic racism. As DiAngelo (2018:72) puts it, "Within this paradigm, to suggest that I am racist is to deliver a deep moral blow—a kind of character assassination. Having received this blow, I must defend my character, and that is where all my energy will go—to deflecting the charge, rather than reflecting on my behavior."

Some respondents seemed to take my recruitment message and survey as an attack on them, as if by saying that systemic racism, sexism, and heterosexism shape our discipline, I was accusing them of bigotry or violence and placing them on the "bad" side of the binary. One straight white cisgender man wrote "Guilty as Charged" for his name. Another person checked "straight and/or heterosexual" for their sexual orientation but also wrote in "heterosexual, but with no prejudice against any others," as if I had implied that they were a homophobe by asking what their sexual orientation self-identification was.

Other respondents attempted to place themselves on the "good" side of the good/bad binary by invoking their non-American nationalities. One British and Australian respondent wrote in that "Race/ethnicity os [sic] an old fashioned concept that still seems to operate in the United States." Another respondent emailed me that "I looked at the survey but, sorry, it's too stupid. In Italy we do not talk about race for years. I am European and I am a woman, as can be understood from the name." (Of course, I disagree that it is possible to tell that she is European and a woman from her name.) Similarly, one Argentinian wrote in the following as their race/ethnicity: "Argentina...we do not use the concept of race." This linking of not being American with not being racist showed me that these respondents were invoking the good/bad binary, placing America

on the bad, racist side and their own nations on the good, non-racist, enlightened side of the binary. Unfortunately, the United States is not the only place where racism is systemic and entrenched, and nationality does not exempt anyone from complicity in white supremacy.

DiAngelo explores the various rhetorical tools that white people use to avoid reflecting on our own behavior and complicity in racism. One of these tools is making the implication that the person bringing up racism is, in fact, the oppressor in the situation (DiAngelo 2018:chap. 9), or, as Ahmed would put it, "we become a problem when we describe a problem." Two respondents did, in fact, attempt to position themselves as enlightened and me as oppressive and ignorant. One respondent, who indicated that she was a straight white cisgender woman from the U.S., wrote in that "You may not realize that 'caucasian' is a racist term. 'White' is inappropriate. Euroamerican is best." I certainly agree that "Caucasian" is a term constructed by a white supremacist society, as is the very concept of whiteness (Painter 2010). I disagree, however, that "white" is inappropriate. As DiAngelo (2018:xiv) writes, her usage of "white" "may be jarring to white readers because we are so rarely asked to think about ourselves or fellow whites in racial terms. But rather than retreat in the face of that discomfort, we can practice building our stamina for the critical examination of white identity—a necessary antidote to white fragility." It is in this spirit that I use the word "white" rather than "Euroamerican." I also note that by attempting to teach me what language I should use, she positioned herself as the expert, and therefore non-racist, and placed me on the other side of the good/bad binary. She used that energy to teach me rather than to reflect on

how her whiteness may have affected her career, deflecting discomfort rather than sitting with it.

Although DiAngelo's work focuses on racism and white fragility, some of her concepts also can be productively applied to other forms of social inequality, such as sexism. On my survey, one respondent checked "man" but also wrote "Actually we all exist somewhere on the gradient from woman to man." This serves as not only an excellent example of "mansplaining" (Solnit 2015), but positions the respondent as knowledgeable, enlightened, and therefore good, and therefore certainly not complicit in sexism, even as he implies that all gender identities exist in relationship to the binary categories of woman and man, and does not allow for a broader view of gender than this single axis.

Using scientific or anthropological language to deflect critique

The most common brick wall thrown up in response to my survey, however, was not discussed in DiAngelo's book because it is specific to the academic setting, while her book is about society more broadly. This was the use of scientific or anthropological language to indicate that my approach was invalid. Here I present several examples, some of which include answers to all survey questions and others of which concentrated this rhetoric in a single written-in answer to the race/ethnicity question:

Name: There is no statistical validity in this…
Gender: Gender is a post-modern-neo-fascist construct, not a real thing
Race/Ethnicity: MtDNA haplogroup H46, Y haplogroup R-LZ
Sexual Orientation: Ain't nobody's business but my own
Nationality:…terrible research methodology

Name: xxxx
Gender: human
Race/Ethnicity: Biracial and/or Multiracial, mixed out of Africa human /
neanderthal
Sexual Orientation: normal human being
Nationality: Scotland

Race/Ethnicity: Como antropóloga considero que las razas no existen… ("As an
anthropologist, I believe that race does not exist." Translation by author)

Race/Ethnicity: My DNA indicates that I am Indo-European-Middle Eastern

The appeals to DNA, Out of Africa theory, and the common knowledge in anthropology

that biological race does not truly exist are all refusals to confront the social realities of

racism. Of course I agree that there are no inherent biological differences between people

of different races, and that race is a social construct. However, as a social scientist, I am

interested in understanding social constructs! Being socially constructed does not mean

that race and racism do not deeply affect people's lives, and specifically relevant to this

research, their career trajectories and research. By focusing on the biological irrelevance

of race, these respondents use their anthropological expertise to deflect the question of

how their socially-constructed racial identities may have affected their lives. This

dismissal of the social is ironic given that all of my respondents are social scientists, with

an interest in understanding how societies and cultural ideas are constructed and affect

people's lives.

The "Sucking Chest Wound" of Classism and the "Sprained Ankle" of Sexism

There is one final email exchange that I would like to consider in this chapter: one

about classism. Over the months since this exchange occurred, I have often reflected on

it. As Ahmed might say, by throwing out my survey to this archaeologist, and seeing how

he responded, I have learned much about both the blocked pipes of the discipline and

about the ways that my own work is limited by its lack of emphasis on socioeconomic

class. Here I present the email exchange with some parts removed (indicated by ellipses)

for anonymity (which is required by research ethics and the Institutional Review Board,

although my correspondent told me that he was willing to be quoted by name).

> Dear Laura,
> Thanks for yours, sort of.
>
> Before I complete a questionnaire that seeks links between research topics and
> "race, gender, and sexuality," I must ask you a question: Do you consider these to
> comprehend the range of conceivable social factors? I ask because, although
> classifying by "race, gender, and sexuality" would place me in the same category
> as, say, Donald Trump ("white" [whatever that means], heterosexual male
> [without Trump's despicable standards of conduct]) or, say, George Bush, it puts
> it mildly to say that I don't identify with them at all. And I don't mean just in
> political views. What role do concepts of social class—regardless of, well, you
> know—play in your thought and research?
>
> I may be an academic, but for my entire life have viewed myself as a working-
> class stiff. My father was a truck driver, my mother a homemaker. I've been
> talked down to and patronized by many, including "white" and other women and
> who knows how many of other sexual inclinations (I don't make a point of asking
> people about such things), and my class background has limited my professional
> opportunities in ways that race, gender and sexuality do not, certainly in the
> academy.
>
> I grew up not far from BU, as it happens, but never could have afforded to attend
> it. I'm tempted to ask what your parents did or do, but the question would be
> unfair. What isn't unfair is to ask why you emphasize race, gender and sexuality
> and ignore social class which, in my judgment, at face value is equally as

legitimate a subject and in the lived world is a more powerful, pervasive reality than are gender and sexuality, certainly. So why them and not class?

Regards,
[correspondent]

Dear [correspondent],

I certainly agree with you that class is an important form of identity and oppression. As an intersectional feminist, I am interested in the ways class, race, gender, sexuality, age, religion, disability, and many other forms of difference work and interact in our society. As I planned my dissertation, I had to make some difficult decisions of where to focus in order to make a manageable project. I decided to specifically research gender, sexuality, and race and to address other forms of identity and oppression as they come up in the interviews I will be conducting. I do hope that my next project, perhaps as a postdoctoral fellow or professor, can expand on this research to incorporate class.

Sincerely,
Laura Heath-Stout

Dear Ms. Heath-Stout,

When that happens, feel free to contact me. In the meantime, I can't contribute to further obsession with factors already explored at great length while the whale in the living room—class bias—goes politely unmentioned.

[correspondent]

(Several months pass)

Dear [correspondent],

I am writing to follow up on our conversation about my dissertation survey on gender, race, and sexual orientation issues in archaeology. I have begun writing my dissertation chapter on the survey, and I have been reflecting on your emails. I think your perspective is an important one to include and discuss in the dissertation. May I quote your emails anonymously?

Best,
Laura

Dear Ms. Heath-Stout,

Boy, I don't know what to say. You speak of reflection, then suggest thinking of class some other time. I don't see much evidence of much reflection. The [sic] you suggest a post-doc to include class among other factors. That's like a physician attending to a patient's hangnail, slight fever and sprained ankle saying "I'll treat his sucking chest wound later, after I take care of these more pressing matters." Besides the obvious objection, there's the further one of the presumptive post-doc. ("I'll get to your concern when I receive my next entitlement.") I never had one, nor any sabbatical fellowship because, after all, whatever the quality of my scholarship, I just didn't have the right pedigree. On who gets fellowships and why, see Lamont (2009), How Professors Think... Harvard U. Press. (Ironically, Lamont is an Ivy whose acknowledgments are thick with thanks to the many foundations that gave her many fellowships.) But as an "intersectional feminist"—certainly a fashionable label, whatever it means—you should do well, especially if you have the right BA pedigree.

Let's try this. You want to quote my comments in our "conversation," actually email communications? First, read Chap. 14 and also pp. 313-16 of Sacks's Tearing Down the Gates… [2007], UC Press. Sacks isn't about how working-class faculty get fucked in the class-ridden academy. There is substantially no literature on that question, although there are testimonials (e.g. Lewis [1975] Scaling the Ivory Tower…; Muzzatti and Samarco [2006], Reflections from the Wrong Side of the Tracks…; the attached… addresses the question obliquely by demonstrating that faculty at "prestigious" places are no more productive than the rest of us—indeed, many of them are a good deal less productive, and that whatever productivity they can boast is largely a function of their placement, not their native ability). Instead, it's about how working-class undergraduates get fucked in that academy. But faces of the same coin. I particularly invite you to reflect—seriously—upon your preoccupation with race, gender, etc. and utter neglect of class in view of Sacks's thesis. Read in particular the pp. 296-97 passage about how the neglect of class that is a corollary of your orientation promotes the Reagan agenda—whose latest iteration gives us Bozo the Pig as president. Perhaps then you'll understand that the sucking chest wound requires immediate treatment; the sprained ankle can wait.

If you do that, sincerely—the reflection, I mean—sure, go ahead, quote our "conversation." It needn't be anonymous; I don't care who knows what I think.

Until then you're still standing next to a stinking carcass, dwarfed by it all the while that you ask, "what whale?"

[correspondent]

These emails felt like brick walls when I received them. I was defensive, angry, and hurt. Rereading the exchange months later, however, I am ambivalent. Here, I explore what I learned from these emails about the blockages in archaeology's institutional plumbing when it comes to addressing racism, sexism, and heterosexism, and also the ways that my own work does, indeed, ignore the "stinking carcass" of classism in archaeology.

In many ways, my correspondent's emails exemplify white fragility. He draws on many entries from DiAngelo's (2018:chap. 5) list of claims commonly made by people responding defensively to discussions of racism:

- "You are judging me."

- "You don't know me."

- "That is just your opinion."

- "I disagree."

- "The real oppression is class."

- "You are elitist."

- "Some people find offense where there is none."

- "You don't do this the right way."

- "You misunderstood me."

- "I have suffered, too."

This email exchange could have found its way into DiAngelo's book as an example of an "eruption" of white fragility. It shows me that there are some archaeologists who have faced hardships in the discipline and society due to working-class or poor backgrounds and who will use that to resist my research on the ways other systems of oppression have shaped archaeologists' lives. Socioeconomic status is a blockage in the institutional plumbing of archaeology.

And yet, as I have reflected on these emails, and read the books my correspondent recommended, and transcribed interviews with archaeologists who have faced severe difficulties in entering the discipline because of lack of money, connections, and comfort in upper-class-dominated spaces, I cannot dismiss the "sucking chest wound" of class. I dispute that sexism, racism, and heterosexism are "sprained ankles" in comparison, but if they are chest wounds, surely classism is too. I am standing on a beach with many rotting carcasses, and I am ignoring this one. Pointing out the class privilege inherent in expecting future fellowships, attending private universities, and not choosing class as a focus in my dissertation may have been a strategy my correspondent used to avoid talking about the ways he is privileged, and yet he was also correct.

I have not found a better answer than the one I gave my correspondent. My project is limited. I cannot study everything, and I have chosen a few things to study, and class is not a primary focus of this dissertation. I do plan to study class and disability next, after finishing this dissertation (see Chapter 11), and I wrote a paper on the cost of field schools for the 2019 SAA annual meeting (Hannigan and Heath-Stout 2019). It is

true that this is a weak answer, dependent upon the next fellowship coming my way, but it is the only one I have.

Conclusion

Write-in answers and emails are a small proportion of the data I received from sending out my survey, and I did not expect them to be so rich in information. As Ahmed (2017:102) wrote, however, "I think of the process a bit like this: you throw something out, and you witness what happens to what you have thrown. This witnessing allows you to develop and refine your understanding." She insists on diversity work as a phenomenological practice and a type of research in itself, since the practitioner learns so much from the ways her initiatives are received or blocked (Ahmed 2012). I have learned much about archaeology and about my own project's design from these respondents and correspondents.

My project is limited. It is based on my respondents' ability and willingness to share private information, using normative categories that do not adequately reflect the complexities of identity. My focus on gender, race, and sexual orientation limit me in my ability to understand other forms of inequality, such as class and disability.

Archaeology, like academia more broadly, has a problem with white fragility. Many archaeologists are unwilling to reflect on the ways that their privileges have smoothed their way in archaeology, and take any discussion of systemic oppression within the discipline as an attack on their own characters, to which they must respond with defensiveness and accusations couched in the language of expertise in order to

maintain their status on the good side of the good/bad binary. By throwing the survey out

to the world, I have learned where this sticking point is, and how structural oppression

resists activist work within the discipline.

Part 3: Identity and Oppression in Archaeological Knowledge Production

Chapter 8: The Interview Study: Introduction and Methods

The quantitative research presented in Part 2 can only answer certain kinds of research questions. Surveys sent to large samples of possible respondents provide data that are broad yet shallow. In Part 2, I showed that archaeologists are overwhelmingly straight and white, and that although the discipline has moved toward gender parity since the first gender equity studies were published in the 1980s, the most prestigious journals and subfields remain male-dominated. I demonstrated that there are statistically significant correlations between scholars' identities and particular subfields or methods. The quantitative methods used in the journal survey study are suitable for identifying and measuring these trends, but do not explain how or why they come to exist, or how they affect the lives of individual archaeologists. I therefore chose to complement the quantitative study with a qualitative investigation, designed to address these less quantifiable questions.

Most qualitative anthropological research comes in the form of ethnography. In ethnographic research, the researcher embeds themself in one community, participating and observing in order to understand the dynamics of that particular context. I considered conducting an ethnographic study of an archaeological field project or academic program as part of this project; however, I have worked on seven field projects in five countries over the course of my career and they have been quite diverse. The culture of an U.S.-run

field school in Ecuador is extremely different from that of a project run by a state office

of the Mexican INAH. Working with high school students on a nineteenth-century site in

Milton, Massachusetts, where we taught them to dig 50×50 cm shovel test pits and then

sent them home at the end of the day was a very different experience from being a high

school student working on an excavation in Mallorca where the archaeologists mostly

spoke Catalan, we were digging a 6×8 m unit in a Roman forum, and we took full

advantage of Spain's low and barely-enforced drinking age. Archaeologists work in such

varied social and professional contexts that it would be nearly impossible to find a

particular project that is exemplary. I therefore chose to conduct a set of interviews with a

broad sample of archaeologists working across several subfields. This approach gave me

access to a broader swath of the discipline than an ethnography would have, while also

allowing me to address the qualitative research questions that survey numbers alone

cannot tackle.

In this chapter, I describe the sample and methods of the interview study. I begin

with my sampling strategy and an overview of who my interviewees were. Then, I

describe the methods I used for conducting, transcribing, anonymizing, and analyzing the

interviews. This lays the groundwork for the following chapters in Part 3, in which I will

present the results of the interview study.

Sampling

I interviewed seventy-two archaeologists about their career trajectories; research

interests; and experiences of gender, race, and sexuality in the discipline. In-depth

interviews allowed me to explore the identities, experiences, and opinions of archaeologists more fully than a survey could, while allowing me to include a broader sample of archaeologists than an ethnography of a particular department or field project would have allowed.

When I began the project, my committee suggested that I compare three fields: archaeology, Classics, and sociocultural anthropology. The scope of such a project would be too large, however, for a dissertation. Yet the strengths of a comparative approach were appealing. I thus decided to focus my interviews on three subfields within archaeology: Latin American archaeology, Mediterranean archaeology, and the historical archaeology of the Americas. I chose these because they have three different cultures within archaeology: they even have separate conferences, with most Latin Americanists attending the SAA annual meeting, Mediterranean archaeologists attending the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) and Society for Classical Studies (SCS) joint meeting (AIA-SCS) or the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) meeting, and historical archaeologists attending the SHA or SAA meetings. In both 2017 and 2018, the AIA-SCS and SHA meetings were scheduled for the same weekend: there are so few people interested in attending both that I may have been the only person inconvenienced by the simultaneous conferences. By comparing these three sub-disciplines, I can see a diverse set of archaeologists' experiences, yet also see particular sub-disciplinary cultures (which would be difficult if I tried to cover the whole world). I have at least limited experience in all three subfields. I am a historical archaeologist of Latin America by training, and excavated at the Roman site of Pol-Léntia in Mallorca, Spain, as a teenager.

I have friends, acquaintances, and colleagues in all three areas, allowing me to begin my interviews.

Interviewees were identified through snowball sampling. I began with acquaintances, and asked each interviewee for recommendations of other people I should talk to, until I was several degrees of separation from my own circle. I did not interview anyone affiliated with Boston University, nor anyone who works very closely with members of my committee, in order to protect the privacy of my interlocutors. Snowball sampling is commonly used in sociological interview studies because it allows the researcher to get to know a wide network of members of the community being studied, and builds trust with interviewees since each has been put in touch with the researcher by a friend or colleague. I also found some interviewees through a small amount of advertising. I posted a recruitment call in a Facebook group called "Archaeologists for a Just Future" that was formed shortly after the 2016 U.S. Presidential election and that includes over 5,000 archaeologists concerned with social justice issues. I also made announcements at the meetings of QAIG at the 2017 and 2018 SAA conferences, at the SBA meeting at the 2017 SHA conference, and at the WAIG meeting at the 2018 AIA conference.

I did not want to build a representative sample of archaeologists: as seen in my quantitative study, that would entail interviewing many straight white cisgender archaeologists and few who are queer, transgender, or non-white. This would make it impossible to generalize about the experiences of people in these minority groups. Instead, I sought a diverse sample, including as many members of various marginalized

communities as possible. When I asked interviewees to suggest contacts or made announcements, I noted that I was especially looking for archaeologists who were non-straight and/or non-white.

I interviewed 72 archaeologists in total, all of whom are engaged in Mediterranean (21), Historical (26), or Latin American (17) archaeology, or in multiple of these subfields (seven historical archaeologists of Latin America, one who has worked in both Latin America and the Mediterranean). They ranged from one undergraduate through full professors nearing retirement, although many were graduate students, postdocs, or early career professors. One was no longer working as an archaeologist, having left graduate school partway through a degree program in order to pursue a career in community organizing.

In terms of gender (TABLE 34), my sample skewed toward women, with 51 cisgender women (71%), 19 cisgender men (71%), 1 transgender man (1%), and 1 genderfluid person (1%). I hoped to interview more non-cisgender people, but there are so few in archaeology, and some transgender and genderqueer archaeologists I met were not involved in any of my three subfields: I had to content myself with one trans man and one genderfluid person. The majority of my sample members were straight (TABLE 35), with 53 out of 72 people identifying as straight (74%). Two identified as gay (3%), 3 as bisexual (4%), and 10 as queer (14%). Finally, 4 interviewees (6%), all cisgender women, had complicated sexual orientation answers: they identified (or had previously identified) as queer or bisexual but due to primarily dating cisgender men, felt uncomfortable with those labels, so I listed them as "complicated" in my records (see further discussion of the

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complexity of sexual orientation identities in Chapter 8). Given the fluidity of sexuality,

it is unsurprising that some interviewees did not fit neatly into categories. With regard to

race (TABLE 36), my sample was majority-white (not surprising given the small numbers

of people of color publishing in archaeology). There were 52 white people (72%), 8

Black people (11%), 8 Latinx people (11%), 2 Asian people (3%), and 2 people (3%)

who are of multiracial heritage but pass as white and thus told me that identify as white

for the purposes of understanding racism in society. I was unable to find any Native

American interviewees in my three subfields.

Table 34: Gender of Interviewees

Gender	Number of Interviewees	% of Interviewees
Cisgender men	19	26%
Transgender men	1	1%
Cisgender women	51	71%
Genderfluid people	1	1%
Total	**72**	

Table 35: Sexual Orientation of Interviewees

Sexual Orientation	Number of Interviewees	% of Interviewees
straight	53	74%
complicated	4	6%
gay	2	3%
bisexual	3	4%
queer	10	14%
Total	**72**	

Table 36: Race of Interviewees

Race	Number of Interviewees	% of Interviewees
white	52	72%
Black	8	11%
Latinx	8	11%
Asian	2	3%
white-passing multiracial	2	3%
Total	**72**	

Table 37: Intersecting Identities of Interviewees (Percentages of Complete Sample)

| Gender	Sexual Orientation	Race					Total
		White	Black	Latinx	Asian	White-Passing Multiracial	
Cisgender Men		12	1	4	0	2	**19**
		(17%)	(1%)	(6%)	(0%)	(3%)	**(26%)**
	Straight	*9*	*1*	*3*	*0*	*2*	*15*
		(13%)	*(1%)*	*(4%)*	*(0%)*	*(3%)*	*(21%)*
	Gay	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*2*
		(3%)	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(3%)*
	Queer	*1*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*2*
		(1%)	*(0%)*	*(1%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(3%)*
Transgender men		1	0	0	0	0	**1**
		(1%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	**(1%)**
	Straight	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*
		(1%)	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(1%)*
Cisgender women		38	7	4	2	0	**51**
		(53%)	(10%)	(6%)	(3%)	(0%)	**(71%)**
	Straight	*28*	*5*	*2*	*2*	*0*	*37*
		(39%)	*(7%)*	*(3%)*	*(3%)*	*(0%)*	*(51%)*
	Complicated	*4*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*4*
		(6%)	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(6%)*
	Bisexual	*2*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*3*
		(3%)	*(1%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(4%)*
	Queer	*4*	*1*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*7*
		(6%)	*(1%)*	*(3%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(10%)*
Genderfluid people		1	0	0	0	0	**1**
		(1%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	**(1%)**
	Queer	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
		(1%)	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*	*(0%)*
Total		**52**	**8**	**8**	**2**	**2**	72
		(72%)	**(11%)**	**(11%)**	**(3%)**	**(3%)**	
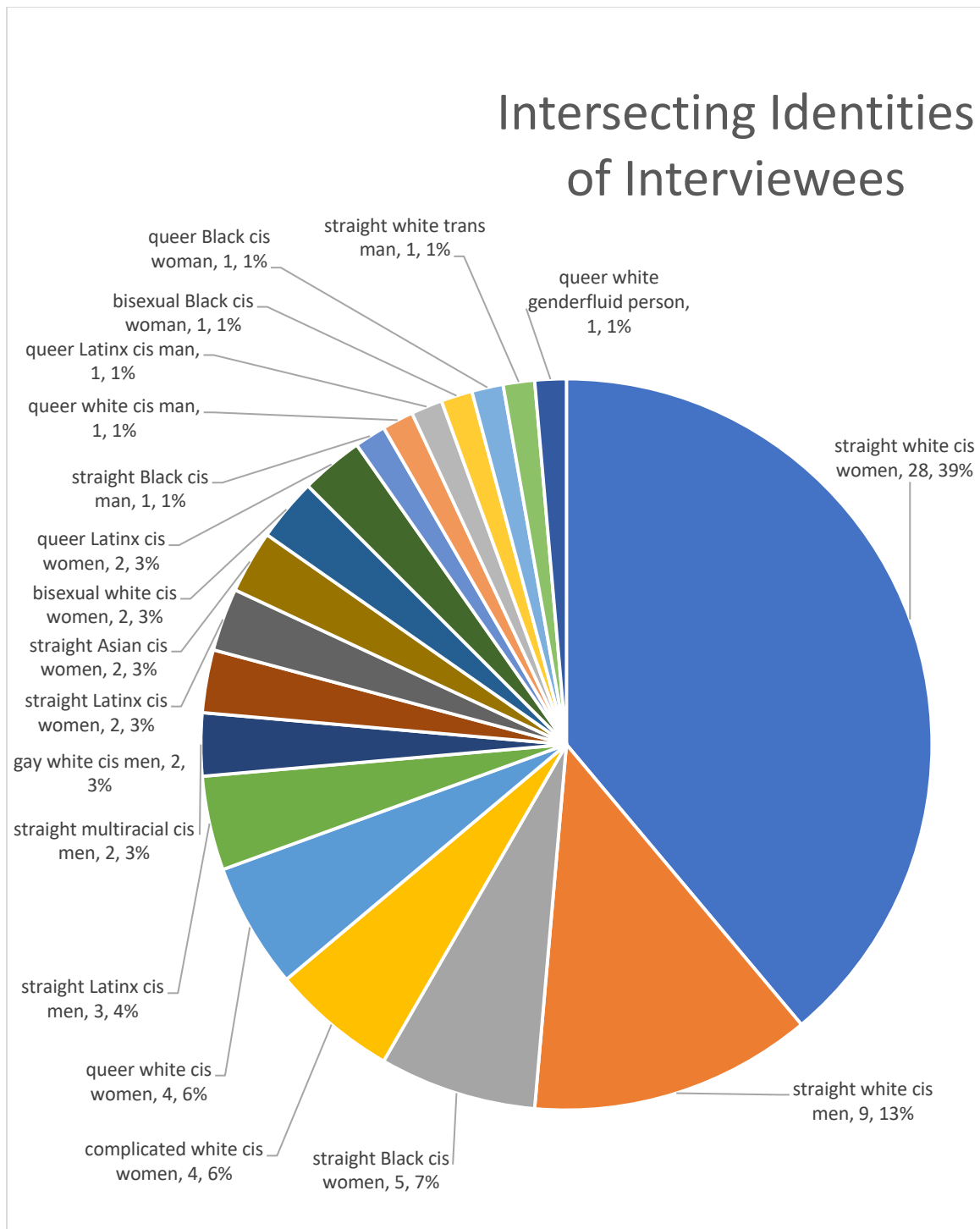
Figure 31: Intersecting Identities of Interviewees

Looking intersectionally at the sample, the plurality were straight white women (TABLE 37, FIGURE 31). It is not surprising that the majority were straight and white, given the general demographics of archaeology, but reflecting on my sample, I was surprised by the predominance of women. I did not set out intending to interview so many more straight white cisgender women than straight white cisgender men, but most interviewees suggested more women than men as possible interviewees. Perhaps this is because, although there are more publications by men than by women in most journals, there seem to be more women than men in undergraduate and graduate archaeology programs. Since my sample skewed toward early career researchers, women may be the majority of many interviewees' professional networks. I think it is more likely, however, that this is because in a majority straight white space, straight white women are more likely than straight white men to be talking about inequities. When I asked interviewees who else I should be talking to, they thought of colleagues with whom they discussed these issues and those people were women.

Interviewing

Some interviews were conducted in person, while others were conducted by phone or videoconferencing. In-person interviews took place at conferences (SAA meetings in 2017 and 2018, AAA meeting in 2017, and AIA meeting in 2018) or in the Boston area for local archaeologists. All interviews began with me introducing the project and then giving interviewees a copy of and going over the following privacy and anonymity information:

Hello, my name is Laura Heath-Stout. I am a Ph.D. candidate at Boston University in the Archaeology Department. I am conducting dissertation research on how archaeologists choose what to research, and how these choices may be shaped by their experiences of race, gender, and sexuality.

I will interview informants for approximately one hour each, asking about their identities; their research; their career paths as archaeologists; and their experiences of race, gender, and sexuality while doing archaeological work. Participation is completely voluntary. The main risk of allowing us to use and store your information for research is a potential loss of privacy. Although identifying information will be collected, it will be analyzed and reported using pseudonyms to protect confidentiality. The key connecting pseudonyms to names will be kept separate from the data and will not be shared with anyone. There are no anticipated direct benefits for participants, but I hope that my research will make our discipline more diverse and equitable.

If you need to contact me, I can be reached at lheath@bu.edu. If you have any concerns, you may contact my adviser, David Carballo, at carballo@bu.edu or the Boston University Institutional Review Board at (617) 358-6115.

I also informed interviewees that I would send anonymized transcripts to them to be checked over (see below for information about anonymization) before analysis, and that I would create an email list to send out my dissertation and other writing that I produce using the interviews, in order to maintain accountability and open lines of communication with my informants. I answered any questions informants had about the process, received verbal consent from the interviewee, and began recording. I used a hand-held voice recorder for in-person interviews and software called CallRecorder for Skype for phone and Skype interviews (when interviewees preferred to use the phone, I called their phone numbers from the Skype application on my computer).

In each interview, I worked with a set list of questions. I did not always ask every single question, ask them in the same order, or use the same wording, depending on how the interview went. Sometimes, interviewees addressed more than one question at once,

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making it unnecessary to ask each question separately. I changed the order based on what I felt would make the conversation flow most easily. I also asked follow-up questions based on what interviewees said, so each interview was a unique conversation. Here are the questions, with comments about the utility of each:

How did you decide to become an archaeologist? How long have you been doing archaeology? In what kinds of contexts have you worked? I always began with how and when the interviewee decided to become an archaeologist. This was a good starting question because it is something that most archaeologists have often been asked before. When telling non-archaeologists what I do, I am often met with answers of "Oh, I wanted to do that when I was a kid!" or "how did you get into that?" I have my own story, and each interviewee had theirs, even if they prefaced it with something like "I don't have a good story like some people." By starting with an easy question, I established a report with interviewees. Although I did not know it when I first wrote the questions, this question also became very important to my understanding of diversity issues in the field. After all, one of our problems is recruitment of diverse people. By asking how archaeologists became archaeologists, I am able to understand how our recruitment works, and its weaknesses (see Chapter 9). I also was able to get a sense of the archaeologist's career arc and interests. Getting a sense of the contexts in which an informant had worked (both in terms of institutions and in terms of field projects) gave me the background information to ask more detailed follow-up questions about other topics.

What is the focus of your current research? Tell me the story of how you came to pick this particular project. This question was foundational to my study, since I am interested in how archaeologists come to study what they study. By asking informants to tell the story of a research project currently in progress, I was able to elicit detailed answers that gave clues to relationships with advisers, the forces that push or pull scholars in particular directions, and the ways that archaeologists feel about their research trajectories. Because many scholars, especially those who have finished PhDs, are working on multiple projects at once, I was often able to elicit more than one story from a single interviewee.

What are your relationships with your colleagues like? Faculty in your department, chair of your department, mentors, fellow graduate students, other researchers on your research project? How have these relationships impacted your research experience? As I progressed through the interviews, I started asking this question in different ways. For informants who were new to their current workplace or who had worked in a variety of different workplaces, I often phrased the question as "Do you have a strong community or professional network in archaeology? Tell me about it." That encouraged people to tell me not only about their own departments but about the other communities that develop in archaeology through field projects, conferences/professional organizations, graduate school cohorts, and other structures, and that remain even as people move on with their careers and lives. This question also led some interviewees to talk about their experiences of oppression, which I asked about later in the interview.

How do you feel about archaeology? Are you satisfied with your work? Why or why not? This question moved around depending on how the interview was going. With some interviewees, the previous questions made it clear how they felt about archaeology, and I skipped it. For others, I moved it to the end, especially if their feelings felt diffused through their answers but not explicitly stated. For the particularly concise or non-emotive answerers, I asked it early in the interview in order to keep drawing them out.

The next three sets of questions were asked in different orders depending on how the conversation was going so far. Each addresses one of the three major axes of oppression (sexism, heterosexism, and racism) that are the foci of the project. If the interviewee mentioned one of the three before I got to these questions, I began with that one, in order to keep the conversation smooth. Because oppressions are intersecting, the three sets of questions rarely stayed fully separate: interviewees would mention each in the other questions. I did make sure to ask each interviewee about each of the three, however, as well as their intersections. With each of these sets of questions, I did not ask all the parts at once, as that would be overwhelming: I began by double-checking that I understood how the archaeologist identified in terms of the axis under discussion, and then asked "what are your perceptions of [gender/race/sexual orientation] issues in our field?" Interviewees often noted that this was a big question and needed a moment to think, so I began explicitly acknowledging that this is a large, open-ended question, and that they could answer with whatever came to mind. I then asked the follow-up questions I had prepared, or questions that arose as I listened to their stories.

What are your perceptions of gender issues in our field? What is it like to be [insert gender identity] in your subfield? Is your gender common in your subfield, department, and field project? Do you feel that your gender has affected your career or research? If so, how? If not, why not? When answers to previous questions had not included discussion of gender, race, or sexuality, I began with gender because, of the three, it has been the most discussed in the discipline. Most archaeologists are familiar with conversations about gender equity in publications and grants, sexual harassment, the "leaky pipeline" problem, and other commonly-discussed gender issues. When asked if their gender had affected their career path or research trajectory, many interviewees answered with a consciousness of intersectionality, e.g. "Yes, being a straight white man has certainly opened doors" or "Yes, I have faced barriers as a Black woman." If this happened, I did not necessarily ask the "how did *x* affect your work" question about all three axes separately.

What are your perceptions of queer/LGBTQ issues in our field? Do you feel that your sexual orientation has affected your career or research? If so, how? If not, why not? IF LGBTQIA+: Are you "out" as LGBTQIA+ to your colleagues at your university? To students? To mentors? On your field project? How did you come to your decision to disclose/not disclose your sexual identity? When interviewing queer archaeologists, this set of questions often elicited many stories and much conversation. When interviewing straight, cisgender interlocutors, this section of our conversation was usually much shorter.

What are your perceptions of race issues in our field? What is it like to be [insert race/ethnicity] in your subfield? Is your racial identity common in your subfield, department, and field project? Do you feel that your race or ethnicity has affected your career or research? If so, how? If not, why not? Similar to the sexual orientation question above, the length and depth of answers varied with the racial identity of the interviewee. People of color and people of all identities who focused on race in their work had much more to say than white people.

Where do you see your career in five years? Will you continue the same research projects you are doing now? Start something new? This was a question that I often skipped in the name of time management, especially with more loquacious informants or when one or both of us needed to leave at a particular time.

What do you like best about a career in archaeology? What do you like least? This question was nice to ask near the end of interviews, because it allowed informants to balance the tone of their statements. If they had been very negative about the state of the discipline in the interview, it gave them a chance to talk about what they loved about archaeology. If they had been very positive, it forced them to say something that they did not like, and these negatives were often related to structural problems, if not with systemic oppression directly, then with the job market or structure of the economy.

How do you think your department or the discipline of archaeology could improve in terms of diversity and equity? I always ended with this question. Originally, its purpose was simply to end the interview on a positive note, but I became fascinated with the answers, both in what they had in common and in the unique answers. The question

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raised many possibilities for policies and practices that called out to be investigated further.

Transcribing and Anonymizing

Interviews were transcribed using Trint, a web-based transcription service. Trint uses speech-to-text software to take an audio or video file and create a basic transcript. The transcript text is tied to the audio file, so that one can click on a particular part of the text and hear the audio, making editing the transcripts easy. Although it is less accurate than a professional transcriptionist, it is much quicker and less expensive.

Once interviews were transcribed, they were anonymized. A pseudonym was assigned to each interviewee, yet this would not be enough to provide privacy for informants, since archaeology is a small enough field that mentions of particular colleagues or sites might make it easy to guess who the speaker was. Therefore, I replaced several types of proper nouns with short descriptors in brackets. Names of people were replaced with descriptors of their relationships to the interviewee, e.g. "[adviser]," "[colleague]," "[student]," "[partner]." Site names were replaced with descriptors like "[Mesoamerican site]," "[site in Belize]," or "[field school site]" and employers' names with "[government agency]," "[university]," "[graduate school]," "[current workplace]," etc. These descriptors were more or less specific according to my discretion, in order to make the interview both readable and anonymous.

Next, transcripts were sent to interviewees to be checked and approved. Most researchers conducting in-depth interviews do not do this, but I felt that it was a

necessary part of respecting my informants and their confidentiality. After all, in most interview-based studies, the informants are a sample of the subjects, but are not the primary audience. In my work, I am an archaeologist, my subjects are archaeologists, my informants are archaeologists, and my primary audience is archaeologists. Although I hope that my research will be relevant to people working in different fields, one of the main motivations for this project is to hold up a mirror to my discipline and help it become more diverse and equitable. Since my interviewees are part of my audience, and the community is not so large, I wanted to make sure that they felt comfortable with the material I might quote and with how it was anonymized. I thus sent the transcripts to interviewees and allowed them to redact any parts that they wanted to, or to discuss any changes to the anonymization that they wanted. Once the transcripts had been approved by the interviewees, I began to code them. No one but me had access to the recordings or the pre-anonymization transcripts.

Analysis

Transcribed interviews were analyzed using NVivo software, using methods loosely based on Grounded Theory methods (Charmaz 2014). As Charmaz (2014:2) puts it,

> Grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories from the data themselves. Thus researchers construct a theory 'grounded' in their data. Grounded theory begins with inductive data, invokes iterative strategies of going back and forth between data and analysis, uses comparative methods, and keeps you interacting and involved with your data and emerging analysis.

Instead of beginning with a theory and imposing it on interviewees, grounded theorists begin with questions and develop theory from the words of their informants. I found grounded theory to be a particularly useful approach for my project because so many of my informants are actively thinking about the issues of race, gender, sexuality, and knowledge production in their own research and lives: grounded theory allows me to treat my interlocutors as both informants and theory-builders.

There were also several tenets of grounded theory methodology that harmonized nicely with elements of archaeological and feminist theory that informed this research. Charmaz's (2014:2) "going back and forth between data and analysis" recalled Wylie's (2002) formulation of historical archaeologists "tacking" back and forth, like a ship sailing into the wind, between documentary and archaeological evidence, in order to understand difficult concepts like past identities on the basis of the fragmentary archaeological record. Both emphasize looking at hard data, then thinking about creative interpretations, and then moving back to the hard data to try on those interpretations and keep them grounded in evidence.

Grounded theory tenets are also at play in Sara Ahmed's (2012, 2017) work, which deeply informed this dissertation, although Ahmed does not explicitly invoke grounded theory methodology. She does, however, draw her theory from the affective experiences of her interlocutors, taking the ideas of diversity work as "banging one's head against a brick wall" and as unclogging blocked plumbing directly from the words of her interviewees as *in vivo* analytical codes and using them to build her theory. Seeing how Ahmed moves from her interviewees' words to a theory of diversity work in the

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academy reinforced for me that grounded theory was a useful approach for analyzing my own interview data.

Following the research trajectory laid out by Charmaz (2014), I moved back and forth between interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, and back to interviewing. In interviews, after an interlocutor had given an answer to the question, I might tell them a story told by another interviewee, in order to hear their reaction to it and to compare experiences. The ways I asked the questions did not stay static throughout the data collection process: what I learned from early interviewees affected my phrasing and what kinds of follow-up questions I asked.

After interviews were transcribed, I imported the transcripts into the NVivo software, where I conducted first an initial round of coding (Charmaz 2014:chap. 5), in which I identified the processes and actions that my informants described line by line, often using "in vivo" codes drawn from interviewees' wording. Next, I picked particular initial codes that struck me as most telling and explored them in more depth in a round of focused coding (Charmaz 2014:chap. 6). Throughout this process, I recorded and honed my thoughts about the theories I was developing through memo-writing (Charmaz 2014:chap. 7). The theories I explore in the following chapters are informed by a constructivist grounded theory approach, in which I see my data and interpretations as knowledge that my interlocutors collaboratively created in our conversations (Charmaz 2014:239–241).

In the following chapters, I present the qualitative data generated through the interview study and the theory I have drawn from it. These chapters are organized thematically, with Chapter 9 focusing on the arc of archaeology careers, from recruitment to departure from the discipline, in order to address how systemic oppression shapes who is able to produce archaeological knowledge. Chapter 10 emphasizes knowledge production more specifically, by investigating how archaeologists' identities shape their specialization and research question choices, and how these decisions create a discipline that answers some questions much more fully than others, reinforcing hermeneutical injustices. Finally, in Part 4, I will bring together the qualitative data from Part 3 and the quantitative data from Part 2 in order to present a synthetic discussion of oppression and knowledge production in archaeology.

Chapter 9: Pulled In or Pushed Out: Who Has Careers in Archaeology?

In order to understand the forces behind the straight-, white-, cisgender-, and male-dominated demographics described in Part 2, we must contend with recruitment and retention. In this chapter, I explore the ways that people enter and leave careers in archaeology. I start with the beginnings of archaeologists' stories, describing the ways that childhood interests, undergraduate coursework, and fieldwork opportunities invite people onto archaeological career paths. These opportunities to enter the discipline are not equally available to all young people. I explore how class inequality, interwoven with systemic racism, shape who is or is not recruited and, therefore, the demographics of the discipline.

I next interrogate the circumstances that push archaeologists out of academic programs, field projects, and subdisciplines. Sometimes people are pushed out of the discipline entirely: I tell the stories of people who have left the discipline prematurely (i.e., as young or middle-aged adults beginning a non-archaeological career rather than as retirees), and those who are considering leaving, and how these tales have been shaped by identity and oppression. I show how the conditions that lead to recruitment and retention of a diverse community of archaeologists are structured by class, race, gender, and sexual orientation.

Pulled In: Recruiting Archaeologists

My interviewees fell into two main categories of recruitment: those who discovered archaeology as children or teenagers, before entering higher education, and those who found the discipline during their undergraduate studies. The child or teenager who decides to become an archaeologist and pursues the goal single-mindedly is enough of a trope in the discipline that some scholars who discovered archaeology after the age of eighteen mentioned that divergence self-consciously. As one interviewee put it, "So I feel like a lot of people are like, 'I wanted to do it since I was a little kid.' I did not want to do it." Two other interviewees began their stories by mentioning "not having" an origin story in childhood, even though both took archaeology courses starting in their first year as undergraduate students. Another interlocutor described entering college as an art history major and switching to archaeology during her sophomore year, and used the word "roundabout" to describe this career path. These archaeologists positioned childhood passion as a normative path into the discipline.

My interviews showed that while stories of childhood dreams of archaeology are not uncommon (and those of us who have these stories love to tell them), it is in fact more common to discover archaeology as an undergraduate student. Furthermore, the archaeologists who discovered the field before college were most commonly white and middle-class (TABLE 38). By positioning the story of childhood aspirations to archaeology as normative, we also reinforce the normativity of white middle-class backgrounds for archaeologists. In fact, the field is becoming more diverse by welcoming people with the

less dramatic and often-told story: arriving in college, taking an introductory course or a field school, and falling in love.

Table 38: Recruitment Strategies and Race

Race of Interviewee	Pre-College	College or Later	Total
Black	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	8
Latinx	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	8
Asian	0	2 (100%)	2
white	23 (44%)	29 (56%)	52
white-passing multiracial	0	2 (100%)	2
Total	**29 (40%)**	**43 (60%)**	**72**

Childhood interests and high school opportunities

In order for a child or teenager to decide that they want to become an archaeologist, they must come in contact with archaeology. Most archaeologists who cited childhood interests discussed their exposure to media (primarily books), archaeology curricula in school, public archaeology programming, or visits to archaeological or historical sites or museums. Often this access depended on support from teachers or parents.

Media and books were essential to many children dreaming of archaeology. An interviewee told me that, "I think I always knew I wanted to be an archaeologist as a little kid. And I'm of the generation of Indiana Jones so I think that fascination started pretty early. I remember watching *Temple of Doom* and being in a theater and being like, 'I want to do this thing.'" Others found more reputable sources of information, often in books. One scholar recalled reading books about figures in American history like Betsy Ross and Crispus Attucks during her childhood. Other children were given books by

family members, like Jorge, whose aunt gave him books on ancient civilizations that were directed at adults, but which nonetheless fascinated him. A Greek-American archaeologist was gifted an anthology of Classical mythology by a relative, sparking her interest in her nation's past. Another archaeologist remembers her mother reading novels set in ancient Egypt when she was child. One Mesoamericanist recalled science journalism of her childhood that emphasized the peaceful nature of Maya culture: although she now sees this coverage as problematic, it played an important role in her attraction to Mesoamerican archaeology.

In some cases, this exposure was part of elementary- or middle-school social studies curricula. An aspiring paleontologist was converted to dreams of archaeology as "part of the Houghton Mifflin curriculum, 'the ancient mysteries' and so we learned about Pompeii and I thought 'dude! You can do it with people, not just dinosaurs!' It's even more awesome!" Another interviewee reminisced about having been ill as a child and having PBS documentaries sent home from her school for her to watch during her sick days. A woman who grew up in the U.K. remembered a break in Eurocentric history curricula to study the Incas when she was 12, and how that fascinated her. Several of the Mediterranean archaeologists I interviewed had taken classes in Greek or Latin in high school. Others reminisced about courses on Greek, Roman, or Egyptian history in school, either as part of the official curriculum or as bits and pieces worked in by creative educators. One high school student at a private school even took an entire elective course on archaeology.

Some students whose school classes were not about archaeology specifically, but included independent research projects, used those to discover the field on their own. One scholar who now studies historical archaeology completed a report on Pompeii in elementary school. Another remembered being assigned to conduct research on a possible career and picking anthropology. A third scholar discovered archaeology books in the school library:

> I actually remember, you know those Scholastic books? They were mostly pictures, and then there'd just be a little description next to it. I remember it was fourth grade, we had library time where our school had a little library, and there was one on ancient Egypt, so it was just stuff like, "this is a pyramid, and here's a mummy."

Several interlocutors even found ways to gain hands-on experience in archaeology before entering college. Jorge, who had received books from his aunt, was also taken to a public archaeology program for children in his home city by his father. Some interviewees participated in summer programs like Crow Canyon Archaeological Center's High School Field School or in field schools that are directed at college students but accept some younger students. Others volunteered at local labs or museums, or even found paid archaeological or museum work. One woman, now a tenured professor, recalled that,

> When I turned 16, which was the legal age to work, and my parents said, "What do you want to do for your birthday?" I said, "I want to make sure that I'm at home," because we often would go on trips over the summer, "because I want to, on my first day of being 16, get a job and be working in archaeology." And I got a job at a contract archaeology firm.

Another scholar remembered an Eagle Scout project doing conservation work and research at a local historical cemetery, which primed him to develop an interest in

archaeology once he arrived at college and realized that it could be an attainable career path.

Many of these stories involve teachers, parents, or other family members who are willing and able to lend support. This support might take the form of books or museum trips. The same archaeologist who talked about being in the "generation of Indiana Jones" also recalled a trip to see family in Latin America and a visit to a site: "I remember being at the archaeological site and just being in total awe of the whole thing, and so at that point, I was like, 'I don't know what this is but I want to do this.'" This revelation was facilitated by both a family connection to Latin America and by a family trip to visit the site. For those who, like me, attended field schools before entering college, parents not only gave permission for their teenaged children to travel and forego paid summer jobs, but often paid for travel and tuition for these programs. The students who encountered archaeology or ancient civilizations classes in their school curricula were often in well-resourced public school districts or private schools, where teachers have access to diverse materials and face less pressure to teach to standardized tests. Most of the stories told in this section have been those of white archaeologists.

Children's books, public archaeology, science journalism, and the inclusion of archaeological content in school curricula are important forces in the recruitment of new generations of archaeologists. Yet this access is not evenly distributed. Because educational resources are so unequally distributed in America's racially segregated communities, and because parental support for archaeological aspirations require that parents have access to both financial and educational resources, white and middle- or

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upper-class children are much more likely than their Black and/or working-class peers to be exposed to the possibility of an archaeology career.

There were a few exceptions, in which Black archaeologists had parents or teachers supporting their interests from a young age. One Black historical archaeologist described seeing excavations in progress on an A.P. U.S. History class field trip to a historic site, and then being encouraged by her guidance counselor to volunteer in a lab at a nearby Historically Black College/University (HBCU): her school had the resources for A.P. classes and field trips, and a guidance counselor with connections to a nearby college. Another Black archaeologist had a European grandmother whom she visited and who took her to archaeological sites during those visits. In these cases, family and teachers were both willing and able to go out of their way to support a young potential archaeologist's interest. Both multiracial but white-passing archaeologists and both Asian archaeologists also discovered archaeology after entering college, but these samples are too small to draw conclusions.

Latinx archaeologists were perfectly split between college and pre-college origin stories (TABLE 38). Perhaps this is because the majority of Latinx and Latin American people identify as having at least partial indigenous ancestry, and thus feel connections with the archaeological sites present in their countries of origin. Furthermore, Latin American countries like Peru, Mexico, and Guatemala have large archaeological monuments that are sources of national pride and are visited by largue groups of people. We can see these forces at work in Nick's story of being brought to an archaeological site on a visit to family in Latin America. Similarly, Jorge, a middle-class mestizo from a

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South American metropolis, received books from his aunt and was brought to public

archaeology programs by his father.

If the next generation of archaeologists is not to be predominantly white and from

privileged class backgrounds, we must expand our public archaeology efforts and

outreach to schools in order to reach broader audiences. This work is already being done

by some archaeologists: Archaeology in the Community, founded by Dr. Alexandra

Jones, is an excellent example. As the organization's website states,

> In 2006, Dr. Alexandra Jones noticed that many of the young students in her
> Washington, D.C. neighborhood had never heard of archaeology, let alone met an
> archaeologist. As a trained archaeologist and educator, Dr. Jones was inspired to
> engage young people within her community and teach them the importance of
> archaeology. (Jones n.d.)

Following Jones' example, archaeologists can and should engage with diverse

communities and make archaeology available and accessible to people without access to

high school Latin classes and expensive summer programs.

College coursework

It was much more common for students to discover archaeology once they entered

an undergraduate university program. In some cases, students who had long been

interested in archaeology realized that it was a possible career path once they found

credited courses to take in college course catalogs. One interviewee told me that,

> Well, archaeology was something that I was interested in as a kid, but I didn't
> actually realize that it was something people could do as a profession until
> college. I thought it was just old, rich, white guys did it for fun... In college, I
> started out in a different major and when I was looking to change majors, I saw
> that you could actually take archaeology and major in anthropology. So that's

when I was like, "Wow! This is something I've always been interested in." And chose to pursue it and loved it just as much as I thought I might and continued on to it.

Archaeology's interdisciplinary nature opens paths into careers as some archaeology students enter college planning to major in a related field. Among my interviewees, these included history, forensic anthropology, Latin American Studies, Black Studies, art history, studio art, and architecture, among others. These majors were each adjacent to archaeology, and gave students exposure to archaeology in coursework, sparking the new interest. Lydia, a Classical archaeologist with a focus on art and iconography, reflected that,

> So I was a visual artist. I mean, I still am, and I started out as a studio art major at [state university], which is in my home state. I didn't even think of going to college anywhere else. It was like "this is college I'll do this." And I found that the environment of studio art was more technical and not intellectually rigorous at all... I was seeking art history classes with like, the intro and then I very quickly was interested in Renaissance art and very like representational… So I got to where I was frustrated with studio art and so I just changed my major, kind of on a whim, but then also I was super into it.

Her studio art major led naturally to art history courses, which led naturally to her career in archaeology, especially given her focus on iconography. Furthermore, her studio art background continues to inform her perceptions of ancient art, and gave her strong illustration skills that continue to serve her well.

This synergy between previous major and archaeological career was present in many such stories, such as that of Emma, who began university as an architecture major. She took an elective course on Mesoamerican architecture, thinking that it would give her design inspiration and new ways of thinking about how the built environment and natural

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environment can interact. Now she is working on a doctoral dissertation on a Maya *sacbe* (causeway) and how it facilitates human interactions across a landscape. History majors turned historical archaeologists were not uncommon in my sample, the Latin American Studies major has done fieldwork in both Mesoamerica and South America, and the student who discovered archaeology via Black Studies continues to work on African Diaspora studies.

Other students had never dreamed of archaeology, but found themselves in an archaeology classroom, whether because it fulfilled a general education or distribution requirement, because it sounded like an interesting elective, or, in one case, through a clerical error that landed a student a work-study job in an archaeology laboratory rather than the forensics laboratory that they had hoped for. As one interviewee said,

> When I signed up for my initial summer classes, we were supposed to take two. I couldn't get into anything that wasn't anthropology, and I had no idea what anthropology was. Somebody told me it would fulfill a science requirement. I said, "All right. Fine. I'll do it." So this Intro to Anthropology course, and Human Origins course ended up being things that get me focused on that. It was like, "What is this field? Is this something I could do?"

Another, who entered her undergraduate studies as a student in a special program for second career students, was encouraged to take whatever sounded most interesting in the catalog, since her program was founded on the belief that students who took courses they chose and found interesting were more likely to stay in school and complete their degrees. Multiple interviewees were encouraged by friends or roommates to take a course with a beloved professor.

The archaeologists who discovered archaeology via coursework were a larger and much more racially diverse group than those who decided as children to pursue this career path. Unfortunately, college itself is not accessible to many Americans: according to the U.S. Census Bureau, among adults over the age of 25, 38.9% of non-Hispanic white people and 56.5% of Asian people have bachelor's degrees or higher degrees, while only 25.2% of Black people and 18.4% of Hispanic people do (US Census Bureau 2018). Outside of HBCUs and Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), few of which offer archaeology programs, most universities have majority-white undergraduate student bodies. It is paradoxical, therefore, that college classrooms would be such fertile ground for recruiting archaeologists of color, but my research does demonstrate that this approach has been fruitful.

Most of the Black and Latinx archaeologists I interviewed found archaeology as undergraduate students, often through a course that was well-taught and included culturally relevant content. Thus, introductory courses and courses commonly taken as electives or general education/distribution requirement courses by non-majors are essential for the recruitment of a diverse next generation of archaeologists. Many interviewees spoke of the passion or charisma of their professors in the introductory courses that drew them in. Unfortunately, these courses are often seen as low priorities by administrators and faculty who value publications over teaching and the mentoring of graduate students over the teaching of undergraduates. We must resist this metric- and research-focused value system and do our best work in our introductory courses, and

incorporate diverse cultures and perspectives in order to appeal to a diverse group of students.

Fieldwork

There were several interviewees for whom fieldwork played an essential role in their decision to become archaeologists. Most students took classroom courses before going to the field, but for many, fieldwork was what clinched their interest in an archaeological career. For example, one Mediterranean archaeologist answered my question of when and how she decided to become an archaeologist by saying that,

> Yeah, when I participated in my first field school as an undergrad. I didn't really think about archaeology before that and then went to a field school in [Mediterranean country] and then just got hooked from it. I thought, "Wow, this is great." It was really cool just being the first to uncover something that hasn't been uncovered in a couple thousand years or something. So, yeah, it was really cool. Yeah, so, that's basically what it was.

I followed up by asking how she had found out about the field school in the first place, and she clarified that she had taken introductory courses in Classics, which she described as "cool enough, interesting enough." Then the Classics department advertised summer field schools, which "sounded like a fun way to get a credit and go on vacation at the same time." Once she was in the field, she was hooked. Other students told similar stories of field schools seeming like a good way to spend a summer, combining travel with college credit, or of study abroad programs during the semester that incorporated archaeology.

Fieldwork was a "defining experience" or caused students to "fall in love" with

archaeology. Furthermore, the specific appeals of touching ancient artifacts, being in the

spaces where ancient people lived, and the thrill of discovery were repeated over and

over in my informants' stories. For example, the architecture student turned archaeologist

discussed above remembered a trip to a Maya site:

> I had studied all this stuff about [site] and we also got to go on top of the
> [structure] during sunrise and I remember seeing the sunrise, and before the
> sunrise and there was this light blinking tower in the town, the radio tower. Sun is
> coming up, blinking radio tower, and I'm just like, "Holy f***, I would never be
> able to imagine. I'm standing where he sits, there's no f***ing way he could
> imagine what I'm looking at, sick. What the f*** is this crazy world we live in?"

Another Latin American archaeologist recalled,

> It was definitely the invitation to [South American country] and… they were like
> "here, why don't you work on the salvage excavation of these mummies from
> 1000 B.C.?", and I was like "oh, yeah!" And then you start excavating mummies
> and that was so cool, and I thought, "I don't know what else I could do that would
> equal how I feel right now."

Even when the finds were much less sensational than three-thousand-year-old mummies,

fieldwork held an allure. One interviewee reflected on her first field experience,

> I did the field school and it was the first year that they were doing a new project
> so it was [southwestern site], so it was like from scratch and they were like,
> "Alright. You have this unit, 1 x 2, to yourself." Everybody else was partnered up,
> I had my own unit and everybody else was digging in kivas and cool stuff. They
> were like, "Find a wall, we think there's a wall here." So for three weeks, I dug
> through rubble and I don't think I ever found the wall and I didn't find any
> artifacts until the last week, and I found one sherd of corrugated earthenware and
> I was so happy. I was like, "Alright, this is it. If I can go through three weeks of
> finding jack s***, and find one piece of pottery and still be excited, this is it," and
> that was it.

This sense of wonder that students found visiting archaeological sites, excavating, and

touching ancient objects is an essential part of many of my informants' commitments to

archaeology. It is an experience that is very difficult to replicate in a classroom, and so is usually felt on field schools. Thus, introductory archaeology courses are important recruitment tools not only for their own potential to encourage students to major in archaeology or a related field, but also because they help students learn about field opportunities, which have this uniquely compelling element.

It is the responsibility of field school directors and staff to make these opportunities visible and accessible to diverse possible participants. As one Black archaeologist studying African Diaspora sites put it,

> I do believe [directors and professors] need to be more cognizant of how they're recruiting students and actively recruiting students because I know a lot of people complain, they just complain that they don't have students that apply. And they don't feel that there's a responsibility to actually go out and recruit, which I think is very problematic. And I think that needs to change.

It is insufficient to simply hold a field school and hope that the student body with be diverse, without actively thinking through recruitment strategies.

Not everyone can afford to spend their summers excavating. According to research I conducted in collaboration with Elizabeth Hannigan (Hannigan and Heath-Stout 2019), the average cost of tuition, room, and board for a for-credit four-week field school is $4065. That cost, however, does not include airfare, which could be hundreds or thousands of dollars in additional cost, depending on the locations of the field school and the student's home or university. Furthermore, many students need to work for money in the summer in order to pay for living expenses, tuition, and textbooks during the school year, or to help family members. If a student works at the federal minimum wage ($7.25/hour) for forty hours per week for twelve weeks over the summer, they could

make $3480. Of course, some students might work more hours or at a higher wage. This is substantial income to lose, and when combined with field school tuition, room, board, and airfare, makes field school unattainable for many students.

Many interviewees mentioned field school scholarships as essential to their own participation in archaeology, or for diversification of the discipline. My coauthor and I were able to identify thirty-three field school scholarships, with an average grant amount of $2268.33. Unfortunately, this covers only about half of an average-cost field school (not counting airfare and lost wages), and there are many more than thirty-three students who need field school scholarships each year. Many students who do not have the financial resources or familial financial support to easily attend field schools find ways to gain field experience, often with a combination of field school scholarships, lower-cost field schools, local sites that do not require airfare, volunteering in order to avoid paying for credits, and using credits earned during the summer to graduate more quickly and avoid having to pay future tuition.

Some field projects make the effort to be more affordable or even free, as was the case for the projects where one Mediterraneanist informant works. As he told me,

> If I went to this info session and the professor had said, "And it's a $5000 program fee," I don't think I ever would have become an archaeologist. I honestly don't know where that path would have led, because I had saved enough money from working to get a flight over, I could do that, and I think I got some kind of grant or something from the university. So, that's always been in place, and that's important. And we've maintained that through, I just write a s*** ton of grant applications.

By refusing to charge money to field school students, this project recruited an archaeologist who now brings a critical eye to socioeconomic stratification in the ancient

settlement he studies, and who is willing to write that "s*** ton" of grant applications to keep the project free as he has entered leadership.

Despite the existence of scholarships, the ingenuity of students in navigating the system, and the efforts of some field projects to make opportunities available, the expense of field schools remains one of the major barriers to inclusivity and diversity in archaeology. Archaeologists must find ways to offer low-cost or even paid fieldwork opportunities to our students, expand scholarship programs, and help our students and mentees find opportunities that work for them in order to welcome diverse students into the discipline.

Pushed Out: What Makes Archaeologists Leave Projects, Subfields, and the Discipline?

Many of my interviewees, especially those who were marginalized in one or more ways (i.e. women, people of color, and queer people), had negative experiences that had affected their career trajectories. These ranged from small instances of rudeness and prejudice that built up over time and created a hostile environment to instances of assault by colleagues. Most of these situations had a sexist, racist, and/or heterosexist component.

When archaeologists faced these hostile situations, they responded in a variety of ways. When the insults were small, targets could ignore them or call them out. But ongoing situations of abuse and instances of assault or extreme bullying led to big changes in many survivors' careers. Many of my interviewees had left field projects,

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regions, or subfields in order to avoid colleagues who had harmed them. One interviewee (and many acquaintances of interviewees) even left the discipline altogether, and others were considering giving up archaeology to begin careers in different fields. When this happens, the discipline loses the unique insights that these archaeologists could have shared, and when those who quit are women, people of color, and queer people, the discipline loses the kinds of knowledge that marginalized people are especially equipped to create (see Chapter 10).

Changing subdisciplines is not a decision to be taken lightly, especially once an archaeologist has spent years gaining knowledge about one subfield. Building expertise in a new method or in the culture history and material culture of a new region is time-consuming, as is building a network of colleagues and collaborators in that new field. This substantial time investment slows down the research, publishing, and career progress of a scholar who makes such a change, which has material consequences on the job market.

Moreover, even if an archaeologist is willing to make this change and move to a different subfield, they may find the same problems they left behind in their new network. One archaeologist who switched her regional focus during graduate school in order to avoid a sexual predator told me that "But then once I got redirected, everything was really great. It was fine, except for these jerks in [new region] who have their own brand of harassment." She reflected that several of her colleagues from graduate school who had dealt with harassment from the same man had left the discipline "just because

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they didn't have the resources to fight it and the time in their lives. They were young, just getting their lives started. They just didn't have the time to go through it all again."

Leaving one subfield does not guarantee leaving problems of oppression or harassment behind. Informants moved among projects and regional foci in search of safety, but I could find no pattern to their movements. Several had left Belize for Guatemala or Mexico while staying in Maya archaeology, citing bad experiences at notoriously out-of-control field schools in Belize. Yet, others found safety on Belizean projects that they had not felt in neighboring countries, or were harassed in multiple regions of Mesoamerica. One Mexican project where an informant works has a running joke about how every Mesoamerican archaeologist has had a terrible experience in Belize, but that same project also hosted a student one summer who drove several women away from the project with his threatening behavior, and eventually needed to be forced out. An informant who had been encouraged by mentors to enter the academy was "scared off from grad school for a while" by a sexual harassment scandal in her department, and decided to enter a career in CRM instead. Others left CRM for the academy in order to escape hostile situations in their CRM workplaces. Many informants bemoaned the sexual harassment throughout the discipline of archaeology, and some implied that other subfields of anthropology are friendlier to women, but one interviewee had begun her anthropology career as an ethnographer, and had left ethnography for archaeology when she was sexually assaulted by an informant. As she said, "Archaeology seemed safer to me, which is kind of funny, I guess." All of this adds up to a chaotic

network where women and other marginalized people move among regions and projects in search of safety, but there are no reliably or predictably safe destinations.

Field projects, departments, and subfields with racist, sexist, or heterosexist cultures are doing harm to the careers of marginalized archaeologists and to the diversity of the field. When marginalized people leave the discipline of archaeology altogether, we lose the insights and knowledge that they could have produced, which limits our understanding of the past. This effect on knowledge creation will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 10; in this section, I focus on the ways that racism, sexism, and heterosexism manifest, and how navigating these hostile environments burdens marginalized people. Finally, I will explore how the structure of the academic job market in modern U.S. capitalist society pushes archaeologists of all identities out of the discipline.

Microaggressions

Hostility toward marginalized archaeologists on the part of their colleagues ranged widely from microaggressions to rape. In this section, I begin with the smaller aggressions, then explore bullying, sexual harassment, and assault in the discipline in the following sections. Although some of these stories are traumatic and others are smaller, all of the actions discussed here contribute to the discipline's domination by straight white cisgender men by wearing down or pushing away everyone else.

"Microaggression," coined by Chester Pierce in the 1970s (Lilienfeld 2017), has become a common term in justice movements in recent years, and is defined by social

psychologist Derald Wing Sue (2010:xvi) as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership." As Sue discusses, these actions may be intentional on the part of the offending party, but they are equally likely to be unintended. Either way, these actions do small harms that add up to create a hostile environment. A commonplace about microaggressions is that they are "death by a thousand cuts" or "paper cuts" or "mosquito bites": this cliché is commonly used enough that it has been attributed to a variety of people (Gin 2015; Fusion Comedy 2016; Chanicka 2018), and it is unclear who first described microaggressions this way.

One common form of microaggression experienced by my interviewees were subtle actions undermining women's scholarly authority. A male interviewee recalled an undergraduate experience of being introduced to a prominent woman archaeologist who is married to fellow archaeologist and being told that she was "an archaeologist's wife." He reflected, "And I'll never forget that initial experience, being told 'just sit with archaeologist's wife while we wait to get the archaeologist over here.' Do you know who this is?" One young woman engaged in public archaeology talked about how visitors to her excavation project always assume that the older white man on the project is the director, when, in fact, he is a volunteer avocational archaeologist with no formal education in archaeology. Another woman discussed being the PI on CRM projects: "I know this is a stereotypic story, but I'd be out there with a field crew, and somebody would come by and say, 'Let me talk to the director. I want to talk to the director,' and I'm saying, 'I'm the director.' They would say, 'No, you're not the director. You can't be the director, because you're a girl.'" This thread of infantilizing professional adult

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women also came out in other stories: one graduate student woman called out a peer on his sexist and racist statements and he responded by "decid[ing] it was appropriate to call a bunch of women—two of them were also in PhD programs, two of them were older than him—'children.' And wouldn't stop calling us children." Amy, a queer woman, told me that,

> I know from my experience… working in archaeology that they had male archaeologists who thought that women, particularly queer women, had no business doing archaeology… And, I wouldn't say, 'Say it to my face' because they always acted like I wasn't even standing there. But would say that literally in your presence.

Other women were told more directly and individually that they were not good enough to have successful careers in archaeology. One, who came from a small rural town, arrived at her prestigious undergraduate university planning to become a geologist and was told by her first-year adviser that she "probably wasn't smart enough to become a scientist." She believed him and focused on humanities courses, which led her to Classics and eventually to archaeology. Another remembered working with a misogynist boss who told her that her article based on analysis she had completed for his project was not worthy of being published. She went ahead and published it anyway, and it is one of the few publications from that site: many years later, he still has not published his own work from that project.

A white man remembered an older white man colleague whose behavior was rife with sexist microaggressions at their CRM company:

> So it's just me and my three [women] field techs and we were in the lab that day… when it's lab day and you have four people, there's kind of a lot of sitting around… and he comes out just laughing. Just kind of, Santa Claus like, "ho ho

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ho." And he was cleaning his office and found these field manuals from the 1960s written by the then field coordinator for advice to the next field coordinator about what to do. And just walked right up to me, and was like, "Do you think this is our problem?" Because we're sitting around not doing much. And then the thing was about how we shouldn't hire females because it will slow down work. And how you need to think about what females you hire and make sure they're physically and intellectually capable. And you can't have more than one third of your crew being females not because it will necessarily slow down the female side of the work, but it distracts the male side too much. But it does help the males stay in cleaner form and makes the office stay cleaner, the tools get cleaned more and all that…

My interviewee grabbed a camera and snapped a photo of the sexist notes being shown, and asked the colleague to show him the rest (to document it), but the threat of having his sexist behavior documented made the older man back off. However, this incident was not the first time my interviewee was concerned about this particular colleague's behavior. The older man was in charge of hiring for the company and tended to hire men as crew leaders and their assistants, and women as lower-status technicians.

When I was hired, I was there for an interview and I walked out the door and he told me I was hired right then. And he did his jolly laugh thing. And it was like, "oh the crew leaders, so the three male crew leaders are gonna be happy to have some more testosterone in the field." And I was just like, "oh boy." And that was not even day one. That was day zero.

Another way of undermining women in archaeology is based on the fact that the discipline prizes fieldwork and physical strength. Many women interviewees told me stories about how "chivalrous" men, especially local workers in the Mediterranean and Latin America, refused to let them carry their own buckets. This was often framed as an attempt to be helpful, but had the effect of being patronizing as it implied that women were physically weak. As one woman told me,

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> I don't know if it would be a fight, but I had a very strongly-worded discussion with this guy who would not let me carry a bucket of dirt, and I was like, "I'm an archaeologist. I can carry buckets of dirt. Just let me carry this f***ing bucket of dirt. You're wasting everyone's time in the workday by trying to do my work for me, so just let me do my work."

In a field that prizes the intrepid explorer and excavator, being allowed to literally pull one's own weight is a sign of respect and belonging that is denied when women archaeologists have heavy buckets taken out of their hands constantly, while men do not. Unfortunately, in our insistence that we can carry the buckets ourselves, many women fall into the trap of committing ableist microaggressions. After all, if being an archaeologist requires carrying buckets, that excludes many disabled people. Certainly every archaeological dig needs people who can carry buckets, but it is not necessary that every participant do this task, and there are many people who are unable to carry a bucket yet could contribute other skills to archaeological research. By emphasizing that it is upper body strength and physical mobility that makes women real archaeologists, we are claiming inclusion for some women at the expense of others.

Interviewees of color also told stories of being undermined in their authority as scholars. A Black man I interviewed told me that, "I can definitely tell that there are people that will wonder if I get the certain opportunities I get because I'm a Black archaeologist and I'm sure that comes up a lot. I don't really care what they think about it [laughs]." Another Black archaeologist was told by a white colleague that it was "racist" of her to pursue research in the African Diaspora as a Black person. This double-bind, in which archaeologists of color are simultaneously assumed to have a special insight into histories of people of their race and also to be unqualified, biased, and only successful

due to affirmative action programs, came up in a variety of interviews. For example, one Black graduate student, Angela, took a course on African Diaspora archaeology (her area of specialization) and a white classmate consistently picked fights with her during seminar discussions and told her that she was wrong in her interpretations of class readings. Angela remembers thinking, "So is this your history or mine? Because you seem like you know it all. Is this your experience? You seem like you've got it down pat, girlfriend." Although other white classmates told Angela that the other woman was out of line, none of them stood up for her in class discussions. When Angela complained to the professor (a white, cisgender man), he told her, "Well, take this as a learning opportunity, and you can help her. She's really trying to learn. So this is your chance to use the knowledge that you know to help assist her." Of course, disagreement in a seminar is not necessarily microaggressive, but in this case, the same woman refused to listen to the expertise of the only Black student in her program and was rude to her over and over throughout the semester. She refused to acknowledge Angela's authority both as a Black woman and as a specialist in African Diaspora archaeology. The professor, on the other hand, did acknowledge Angela's knowledge, but also turned this against her as he put her in the position of having to do his job (educating her classmate about racism) for him without his support in the classroom.

Queer interviewees also shared stories of heterosexist microaggressions in work settings, often taking the form of homophobic jokes, assumptions of heterosexuality, or explanations that microaggressions were not in fact homophobic. One of my own experiences is illustrative here: I worked on a field project in Mexico during the 2014

World Cup, which took place in Brazil. That year, there was a scandal about the way Mexican, Brazilian, and other Latin American fans yelled the word "puto" (literally "male sex worker," but with heavy homophobic overtones) at opposing goalies when there was a penalty kick (Jaramillo 2014; Press Association 2014; Balta 2018). When the Mexican team was playing, my colleagues and I would go to a bar after work to watch the game, and some of them would participate in this heckling. As many of the archaeologists and workers followed soccer avidly, the argument about whether screaming "puto" at people is homophobic or not became fodder for lunchtime conversation. I kept uncharacteristically quiet until I was asked whether I thought it was homophobic, at which point I briefly said that yes, I did think so. The rest of lunchtime was spent with many of my straight male colleagues trying to explain to me at great length that screaming homophobic epithets is not homophobic because the fans do not actually believe the goalies to be gay. Homosexuality is just a funny insult, but I should not worry, they do not actually believe any of their players are gay. It was very difficult to be a semi-closeted queer person in that conversation: it did not give me confidence that, if my sexual orientation were known to my colleagues, I would be safe. Screaming "puto" is in itself a homophobic action (whether or not it is intended to be), and then refusing to believe me that I experienced it as such was an example of both testimonial injustice (Fricker 2007) and mansplaining (Solnit 2015).

These microaggressions might seem minor when considered individually, but they add up to create a hostile work environment for marginalized people, undermining our authority and suggesting that our colleagues may not respect us as people. In a popular

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video that compares microaggressions to mosquito bites (Fusion Comedy 2016), the narrator points out that the occasional mosquito bite is insignificant, but if you are bitten over and over again, those bites are a larger concern. Furthermore, some mosquitos transmit serious diseases with their bites. My interviewees who were women, people of color, and/or queer told me so many stories of microaggressions, some of which they were still thinking through years or decades later, that it is clear that these small instances of disrespect have a large effect on diversity issues in the discipline.

Bullying, sexual harassment, and sexual assault

Many of the instances of sexism, racism, and heterosexism that my interviewees told me about went well beyond microaggressions. In this section, I will explore two stories of non-sexual bullying and then turn to the pervasive sexual harassment and assault that occurs in archaeological field contexts.

In one example of bullying, one Latino interviewee told me a story of a terrible experience on a field project, when he had the opportunity to work with an archaeologist he had admired who was suffering from a health problem that he later learned had deeply affected her personality.

> She takes us up into the mountains and the whole project is just falling apart. I mean, the locals hate us. There's a lot of drug smuggling going on. She's got all these crazy rules and regulations about us… things were collapsing all around her. Nothing was working out. I don't think she had never really run a field project. Most of it had been lab work and as things were collapsing, then I became the target for all of everything that was sort of wrong. Every day after work, some catastrophe would happen. And then she would make me get in the car with her. We'd roll the windows up and she could yell at me for an hour, that kind of thing. And I had been committed to being there for like four months and I left after two

months. I just said, "I can't do this anymore." …I ended up moving away from the field because I was like, "Well, I can't work in this field because I'm going to have to interact with a person who is so incredibly awful."

My interviewee had been planning to focus his research on that particular region, and changed to a different region to avoid that director. As he put it, "And so I kind got pushed out of the region, because of the uncomfortableness of stuff. People talk about how you have one bad experience in this thing and then all of a sudden now it completely changes the trajectory of your career. I mean, I definitely think that happened to me." Fortunately, he was able to find healthier work environments and continues in the discipline.

One Mesoamericanist told me a story of something that had happened to a classmate on a field school he attended as an undergraduate:

We had two women on our trip to [field site]. One of them went home on the second day because people thought it would be fun to take a dead fer de lance [a poisonous snake] and wrap it around her while she was sleeping. That was the end of her as an anthropologist at [our university]. She abandoned the program altogether. Never saw her back in the school again. And that was sort of seen as a playful hazing ritual. Well, why was she singled out?

My interlocutor was not able to answer that rhetorical question: it was unclear to him whether this was intended as a sexist action against the woman. Regardless of the intent, however, it was clearly a deeply upsetting incident that caused that woman to leave anthropology. We can also imagine how it might have felt to be the other woman on the project, and to have the only other woman driven out by bullying. Did she feel safe staying there, the only woman surrounded by men who thought putting dead snakes in people's beds is a funny but insignificant hazing joke? We cannot know how the victim

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of this prank feels now, or how the other woman felt, but my interlocutor remembers the incident years later, and said that he always remembers it when he sees bullying or sexual harassment in the field. When sexual harassment occurred on his current project, he reflected that,

> People's past experiences, too, were starting to become sort of more ... What's the word I'm looking for? Just more visible. Like we'd all had really weird experiences in the past with things…So I think we were all starting kind of have these weird flashbacks of terrible experiences we'd had when this was going on.

Each incident of bullying or sexual harassment builds on previous incidents, compounding previous traumas.

As I write this chapter in May 2019, sexual harassment is a timely topic for conversation in archaeology. Just last month, at the 2019 Annual Meeting of the SAA, there was a scandal about sexual harassment. David Yesner, an archaeologist who was removed from the University of Alaska at Anchorage after many counts of sexual harassment and assault of his graduate students were proved true, (Rivera 2019a, 2019b), came to the annual meeting. Michael Balter, a journalist covering the #MeTooinSTEM movement, reported his presence to the SAA staff, who did not remove Yesner from the meeting. Balter then confronted Yesner himself, escorting Yesner out of the conference while telling him he was a sexual predator. Balter was then expelled from the conference for harassment, while Yesner was allowed to stay, in a series of events that Balter documented in detail on his blog (Balter 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2019e). Several survivors of Yesner's harassment left the conference early, losing the opportunities to present their research and meet with colleagues in order to avoid their attacker. The

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resulting scandal and social media firestorm were even covered in higher education-focused news outlets (Flaherty 2019; Grens 2019; Wade 2019). In the wake of this situation, the SAA has formed a new Task Force on Sexual and Anti-Harassment Policies and Procedures, led by Kelley Hays-Gilpin and Meagan Thies-Sauder, of which I am a member (Society for American Archaeology 2019). I hope that the research I present here informs more robust policies that protect marginalized people from sexual harassment and assault, or at least from needing to interact with their assailants in professional contexts.

My interviews (which were all conducted well before the Yesner scandal that occurred in April 2019) showed that sexual harassment and assault are endemic in archaeology, corroborating previous literature on the topic in both archaeology and related field sciences (e.g., Wright 2002, 2008; Clancy 2013; Clancy et al. 2014, 2017; Adler 2017; Kelsky 2017; Kloß 2017; Nelson et al. 2017; Smith et al. 2018). Of my fifty-one cisgender women interviewees, most told stories of sexual harassment when asked about gender issues in the field, and the topic also commonly came up in interviews with men. In this section of the dissertation, I include only a few representative examples; future publications will expand on this. Here, I focus on demonstrating that sexual harassment and assault are ubiquitous in archaeology and limit women's (and other survivors') ability to safely participate in archaeological research and create knowledge about the human past.

In most cases, the harassment took place in the context of fieldwork, although there were also instances that took place in universities, laboratories, or offices. As one

interviewee explained, "So field work is obviously an area where …I think we're also starting to publicly address that this is a very susceptible area for this abuse to take place. Often because you have a gender disparity or power imbalance." Hierarchical power relations, being far away from home and support systems (and the idea that "what happens in the field stays in the field"), lack of privacy, and the drinking culture of archaeology combined to create environments with many opportunities for would-be harassers to target women.

Many of these harassers were archaeologists themselves, often superiors to the women they targeted. Barbara, an interviewee who has been directing CRM and academic fieldwork for many years, reflected on one colleague's bad behavior toward younger women:

> This guy, this misogynist that I worked with was so bad that he used to want to come to the excavation and sit on the side of the screens and watch the girls screen and bend over. Because he was so icky. I had to say to the girls, "Look, nobody comes out here in a tank top. You can't. I'm sorry. Your fellow male students are better to you than this person. No photographs from the rear. No photographs from the front with people leaning down." It's just icky. It's awful.

Similarly, a young woman interviewee told me, "I have had experiences that I found deeply upsetting with kind of the old guard. 'Wink wink, nudge nudge, let's go have some fun.'" In these and other cases, senior men used their seniority to get away with hitting on and harassing younger women.

In some projects, it is an expectation that young women will sleep with senior men, and the pressure to do so and the power imbalance make it hard to determine whether these relationships are consensual. As one Mesoamericanist, Joyce, told me,

On that project, there was a big emphasis on having the undergraduate women sleep with the senior men on the project. And that was just… That was commonplace. Many of these senior men were married. I must have grown up in some kind of crazy, weird bubble, because it never occurred to me that a married man would be hitting on me. I just… That was just not something that I thought was going to happen…

When I first started on the project, there was a senior male, not my professor ... It was just so wonderful, because he would take me around, tell me all of these stories about the past decades of the project, and "We had dug over here, and we had dug over here, and the camp used to be here," and it was just awesome for me. We would go on these long walks at the end of the day, and he would show me all of this stuff. And after a couple of weeks, we go on this long walk, and he goes, "You know, you've just got to tell me now, because while I would prefer to sleep with you, there is another undergraduate who would be willing to sleep with me right now. We have been going on all of these long walks, and you've never once kissed me."

I started screaming hysterically. You can imagine, I'm in the jungle, and I'm screaming hysterically at this individual. Everybody could hear everything. And so I didn't realize that; I got back into camp, everybody had heard everything. That individual never talked to me again for the rest of the season and hooked up with the other person.

The project director responded to this situation by placing Joyce under the supervision of the man who had propositioned her! Luckily, she was rescued by a woman graduate student who insisted that she needed Joyce's assistance on her own work and, in Joyce's words, "probably saved my career." The man who propositioned Joyce expected the opportunity to have sex with an undergraduate, but did not want to appear as if he was initiating this, so he simply gave her lots of opportunities to initiate and was confused when she did not. The director of the project then not only excused but enabled his bad behavior by placing Joyce under his supervision: clearly there was a deep cultural problem among the senior men on this excavation.

In other cases, the harassment comes from peers or equals within the structure of a field project. Caitlin, a woman professor, told me this story about a friend and colleague harassing her:

> It was the end of the day and he had been drinking, probably not that much, to be honest. But he had recently been married, and he hit me on the butt, in front of my students. I'm like, "what?" At the time, I'm like, "Did that just happen? What is going on here?" And you know, he probably learned that it was appropriate on the other field seasons that he's been on his whole career... it definitely made me feel lesser than him and I think the students probably thought something was going on between us. I'm like, "No, that's not…" I mean, we really get along, but it was like, that moment I was like, "You really think of me that way that you would do that in front of people?" And I wish that at the time I had confronted him… And I'm mad that I didn't say anything at the time, but you know what? He's someone that shouldn't have done it. So I've warned people, like: "Hey, if you're in the field with this person, this is what happened to me." And I'm sure it's gotten back to him. I probably should take it up with him. It just feels like it's another thing to do, right? It's more emotional labor to deal with this person. He doesn't deal with any of my students and he's not in a position where he would be anymore. So, that's good.

Caitlin's story is exemplary in many ways; in fact, she hit on many common points. First, her experience shows that, harassers are not always the obviously-creepy men: women are in danger of harassment from people they consider good friends. These harassers often use alcohol and the party culture of field schools to evade responsibility for their actions. Being harassed lessens women's sense of professional authority (in this case, being harassed in front of her students was an important part of why my Caitlin was upset). Although many interviewees expressed a belief or hope that archaeology is "getting better," Caitlin points out that her colleague had learned this behavior from previous generations of men. Women also often related not knowing how to respond to harassment in the moment, and spent a lot of time in the interviews analyzing their

responses to harassment and whether they had reacted correctly, in ways that preserved their own dignity and safety, held harassers accountable, and protected other women from them. All of these elements of her story came up over and over again in my interviews with women who had survived sexual harassment or assault.

Caitlin noted that her harasser had likely been taught by other men on other projects that sexual harassment of women colleagues was acceptable or even appropriate behavior. Several interviewees discussed the ways that senior men attempted to bring them into a culture of harassing women. Tomás had the most egregious story: while he worked on a project in Mesoamerica, he spent a day off at the beach with his project director (a man) and some other students who were women. The director told Tomás that he wanted to see one of the women naked, so Tomás should go skinny dipping in order to make the woman comfortable taking off her own clothes. Tomás was appalled by the suggestion, refused to take off his swimsuit, and felt unsafe himself on that project. Queer women had similar stories: both Ruby and Rowan told me about project directors who, upon learning that they were queer, wanted them to participate in discussions of the sexual appeal of other women on the project. Neither Rowan nor Ruby had any interest in being "one of the guys" and objectifying women colleagues, but feared that if they refused to participate, they would become targets for homophobia. In these stories, we see that sexual harassment creates a chilly climate not only for its direct targets, but also for men and queer women who refuse to participate in harassing colleagues, especially when they feel marginalized themselves because of their ages or sexual orientations.

Most of the women I interviewed had experienced sexual harassment, but some had had experiences that went beyond harassment to sexual assault. One graduate student, Jordan, went to Latin America for a year to do fieldwork, and when she had been there for only a week, her local co-director, an acquaintance who was married to a friendly colleague, "had gotten wasted and sexually assaulted [her]." At first, she thought that she would have to cancel the project, and her adviser back in the U.S. was supportive of her doing whatever she needed to do. She had supportive friends who were also in the country and they helped her get medical and psychological care, and checked in with her regularly. She was able to find a woman from the country to be a co-director on the project, and spent most of her time in the rural area where the site was, building a community of women friends there and avoiding the city where her rapist lived, and was able to complete her project.

Sometimes, sexual assault drives women archaeologists to change their research foci entirely. When I asked one Mediterranean archaeologist why she chose her region of specialty, she told me this story. She had always been interested in the Mediterranean because of her undergraduate Classical language studies, but first went to the field in a different part of the world.

> When I went to the field in [a different region] I was 18 and then 19. The first year was great. I went with a big team. Then I went back with the same person my second year and actually, this week I'm filing a Title IX report about him because he sexually assaulted me and basically told me that he would blacklist me from graduate school if we didn't have an intimate relationship and all this stuff. I got super sick. I started throwing up. I couldn't keep any food down. I dropped 25 pounds and I only weigh 110. So it was bad. I flew back to the States and never spoke to him again. Then I told my academic advisor in undergrad what happened. And keep in mind this is a little bit different of a time and I think his

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advice was good. But he told me that I shouldn't really report it ... Or not that I shouldn't. He told me he'd be behind me no matter what and he'd support me if I did want to report it.

But basically, when I tried to leave early from the field the guy was like, "You're just trying to get away from me." And got really angry. And he's very vindictive so I didn't want to set him off. So I wrote him this two page letter about what a great friend and mentor he was. So my advisor back in undergrad said, "Listen, if you file that report he's gonna be able to produce that letter and say this is just an undergrad who was in love with him." Or whatever. You know, it was like an infatuation when he rejected your advance. Like you got mad and decided to file this report. I think he was right. I really do.

This man, not only a project director but also a major figure in the archaeology of the region where he works, not only sexually assaulted a nineteen-year-old woman, but held his power over her to try to force her to stay under his power in the name of her career. She had so little power compared to him: not only did she lack male privilege, but she was an undergraduate when he was a leader in the field. She was dependent on him for the field opportunity, and his connections in the discipline for her future career, and he used that dependence. By trying not to "set him off" and stay safe as she left the field, she undermined her own ability to report him. She wanted to "get out of the space where [she] felt like he had a lot of control." Since her assailant was a major figure in the region's archaeology, she decided to change her regional focus, and chose to focus on the Mediterranean.

Years later, she told me

I feel like that was a win. I feel like I'm where I should be. I'm really devoted to the work I do. I'm really passionate about it. This isn't some sad story about this guy cutting off the career opportunities that I was really supposed to have…I don't think about this f***ing guy ever. It doesn't affect me anymore. I'm beyond it and above it. I don't care about his career. Mine's better anyway. But I do care about the students he's apparently still bringing.

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So, now that she is tenured, she has filed a report. I admire her tenacity and the way she

was able to start over in a different subfield. I wonder how many young women have

been abused by these men, or by others like them. Those women's skill and insight have

been lost to archaeology.

The pervasiveness of sexual harassment and assault have shaped the culture of the

field, and led some archaeologists to see weathering harassment as a kind of price of

entry for women doing archaeological work, especially in Latin America. Jordan, whose

Latin American co-director assaulted her, expected her adviser to say that "well, that's

just part of fieldwork. You just got to go through it" and was pleasantly surprised when,

instead, he told her, "You know what, if you don't feel safe, just come home and we'll

figure out a new project. We'll transfer the grant money. It will be okay." I am glad her

adviser responded this way, but her assumption that he would be unsupportive suggests a

larger culture where sexual harassment is seen as a normal part of women's fieldwork

experiences. As one straight white cisgender man told me,

> a lot of this fieldwork takes place in some pretty remote areas of Latin America,
> and just to be completely frank, these are areas that it's very difficult to work as a
> woman. The men tend to be quite brusque and forward, especially when
> drunk…Well, if you're female and you're gonna do field work, you basically just
> have to accept the fact that you're gonna get hit on on a regular basis. And I think
> half the time they're not even serious, they're just sort of asserting masculinity in
> a public way for the other male friends. I don't think they actually expect to get
> laid.

I agree with him that harassment is more about "asserting masculinity" than about

"expect[ing] to get laid," but disagree that that means that the harassers "aren't even

serious." They are serious about asserting their power over women. I also note that while

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some interviewees were harassed by non-archaeologist men in the communities where they did fieldwork, many were harassed or assaulted by colleagues from the United States, so the problem is not just Latin American machismo. And, we should not "have to accept the fact" of sexual harassment.

Even the few women I interviewed who were not survivors of sexual harassment and assault were affected by the misogynist culture of the discipline. When I asked Amber, a historical archaeologist, about sexism and sexual harassment in the discipline, she told me, "I don't feel like I've had any big door shut in face moments, which I feel like I'm pretty lucky to have that. I know most women probably have a story like that that they can point to…I almost feel a little weird that I don't have the story." A Mesoamericanist with the pseudonym Lauren shared a similar sentiment: "Honestly, it's not something that I think about much. I think I'm fortunate in that way because I don't feel like I have been negatively affected. I know that others have… I know there are issues, but it hasn't been directly in front of my face, like maybe I should feel guilty about it." Both Amber and Lauren felt a kind of sheepishness or survivor's guilt, like they were unusual or being unhelpful to me because they had no stories of trauma at the hands of their colleagues when so many others do. Perhaps someday their experiences will be more typical.

Bullying, sexual harassment, and sexual assault are essential components of most women's experiences in archaeology. As Barbara told me, "my whole academic history is just riddled with harassment. It's all over. There's just generations of it in my own life, and I have to say nothing makes me more angry, because I know how hard women work

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for this and how hard we try." Most women who remain in archaeology have been mistreated by their colleagues at some point, and many other women have left archaeology as a result of that mistreatment.

Cognitive burden of navigating marginalization

When I was twenty years old, I spent a summer as a field intern at Crow Canyon Archaeological Center. That summer, all the interns were women in our early twenties, and we spent a lot of time together. As we talked in the evenings, one set of topics came up over and over again. How would we combine academic careers with building satisfying family lives? When would we meet a partner? Did it make more sense to have children while in graduate school, or on the tenure track? Could we afford to wait until after getting tenure to have children? What if we hit menopause before getting tenure? What if we did not find a partner in time? We went round and round, calculating our timelines.

In the intervening years, I have had this conversation many times: with friends from undergraduate and graduate programs, and from many different field projects. Whenever I am with a group of women archaeologists, the talk seems to turn to the particular issues that come with being women: balancing work with family responsibilities, finding truly supportive partners, avoiding or responding to or recovering from sexual harassment and assault. These conversations are often valuable and supportive, but they also make me wonder what groups of men archaeologists are talking about over a beer. Are they wondering about the timing of having children and the job

search? Are they strategizing how to avoid being abused by future bosses and mentors? It seems more likely that they are either talking about the actual work of archaeology or about more fun topics.

In this section, I argue that being marginalized (i.e., a person of color, a queer person, and/or a woman) comes with an extra cognitive burden. Marginalized archaeologists must spend time and energy on strategizing how to navigate careers in a discipline where they are subject to microaggressions, bullying and harassment, and systemic injustices like the difficulty of finding affordable childcare. For white straight cisgender men, all that time and energy can go into either the work itself or into rest, recreation, family, and other pursuits. I suggest that this extra burden contributes to the inequalities in publications outlined in Part 2: marginalized people simply have less energy to write and publish because of the extra difficulties we face.

The stories my queer informants told me were especially evocative of this extra cognitive burden. Almost all of my interviewees with queer-identified interlocutors included extensive discussion of closeting and coming out. I asked each queer person whether they were openly gay, queer, bisexual, or however they identified, and the answer was almost never simple. Many of them are hypervigilant about how they are perceived and how they interact with colleagues. As Amy told me,

> I remember when I first came out being extremely sensitive to not wanting to make other people uncomfortable that I was queer, right? So being segregated (because this was a mixed gender field school) being segregated with all the women on one side and the men and the other side and just like, you know, not, not looking, you know, or not even not talk, like not being physically intimate with people or even, not intimacy even, but just like touching somebody on the shoulder, like all those things that are, yeah, of course. Like the normal way that

you might get somebody's attention if they're lost in their own head… I was just very, very like sort of hyper aware of not wanting to do something that was going to freak people out. Which was probably more about me freaking out about me than anything else usually.

Even if touching someone's shoulder to get their attention would have been no problem, Amy was afraid enough that she might either make someone else uncomfortable or trigger a homophobic reaction that it shaped all of her ordinary interactions with her colleagues. Imagine what she could have done with all of that sensitivity and mental energy if she had not been afraid of how people would respond to her queerness!

Queer archaeologists go through a complicated process of deciding who can safely know their identities and who must be kept in the dark, and these decisions are often in flux as relationships grow and change over time. One interviewee, Emily, talked about how when she first went to Mesoamerica, she would "flat-out lie" about her marital status and the gender of her partner, saying that she was married to a man. As she got to know people in the town where she worked, she slowly came out to people who felt safe, keeping close track of who knew and who did not. Like Emily, many of my queer interlocutors were afraid of having people in their host communities learn about their identities. A queer woman Mesoamericanist told this story of a misunderstanding with the Mayan-speaking workers she supervised:

> I get so scared that... I don't know what would happen if they found out. But like little things that'll happen. So you know they speak Maya amongst themselves and sometimes it's mixed with Spanish. And there was a while like a few years ago when we were finding a lot of obsidian but I didn't realize until later in the day but they started calling it lesbiana instead of obsidiana as a joke. So I just heard all this like "maya maya maya lesbiana maya maya maya lesbiana." And I was like "Oh my god! They found out!" I was so scared. But then later realized they were just joking and calling obsidiana "lesbiana."

My interlocutor did not know what would happen if her queer identity was discovered: perhaps it would be fine. But because she did not know, the prospect was frightening. In her case, the other archaeologists on her project knew, and they were accepting (in fact, several of them were queer themselves), but she felt safer remaining closeted from the local community.

Coming out to some people and not others requires keeping careful track of who knows and who does not. Unfortunately, well-meaning straight colleagues can disrupt this careful balance and accidentally out a queer archaeologist. Ruby told me a story of a well-intentioned (if patronizing) classmate on a field school trying to engage her in conversation about pride parades in front of others who did not know Ruby's identity:

> So when I did work in [Eastern European country], I didn't know... We were working with these students from [neighboring country] and [Eastern European country]. And so they all spoke English and I knew going there that [country] is one of the most homophobic countries in Eastern Europe. And so I was really scared to tell anyone who was [from that country]. And so, there were some American graduate students and undergrads on the trip too and with them I was completely different. With them I was like, telling them about my partner. Just like, you know, completely comfortable because a lot of them knew me from [graduate school]. But the problem was that they were not as sensitive to... They didn't notice that I was, you know, concerned about this. And one day coming back in the truck, we were in the bed of the truck, so it was the [local students] and me and this girl who is ex-Mormon and just didn't really know very much, but she was sweet. But she started talking about, started asking me if I like to go to pride parades. And asking like, "you don't go?" Oh I was like "I can't... Just don't..." And she's like "but like it's really good for you to go!" And so everyone was looking and I'm just like staring straight ahead at my friend who is from the US who was kind of getting really upset. And so we didn't say anything else about it. But then later like one of the guys did come up to me and kind of reprimanded me about it a little. And he was like "You know you should have told us that you are this way." ... So that scared me.

A similar story came from Taylor, a genderfluid Mesoamericanist, who told me that

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Oh, when I'm in the field I don't ever correct anybody on anything. I've been "she" in the field. I've been "señor" in the field… In [Mesoamerican country], I was "señor" for three weeks until somebody else corrected them, and then the workmen were very confused. So, I usually don't correct unless it comes up. Because it's just not worth the issues or dealing with awkwardness from my crew, when it's so awkward, when the day before you were chatting about soccer and Spanglish-ing at each other about a variety of things, and all of a sudden, they won't talk to you because they're unsure and they're uncomfortable. So, rather than deal with that... I let it go. Because I'd rather have a comfortable working relationship for the time I'm there than having to go through silence and weird questions and people not meeting my eyes anymore. That feels far, far more othering to me, and uncomfortable to me, than ever any sort of pronoun.

The workmen were speaking Spanish and the person who was leading the square corrected them in Spanish. It was a pronoun thing. They were like "él" and she said "no, no, no. Ella" and they were like... I could just see, in body language, just shut down. Darnit. And now they have to do an entire code switch, and now they're concerned about the code switch that they had to do in the middle of it. I understand that there's a consistency thing, but, it was fine for the longest time. Perhaps if I was in the field for three or four months at a time, then I would make that choice, but for a month, for a couple weeks, for something like that, it's not. I don't need to teach that lesson, especially at the expense of working relationships.

The leader who corrected Taylor's teammates likely intended to be helpful, but in fact, caused extra problems. Taylor prefers they/them pronouns, so the correction was not even correct! But more importantly, Taylor and their team had established a report that they were comfortable with, based on Taylor's choices of how to present themself, which was then disrupted by the colleague who drew attention to Taylor's gender non-conformity and made everyone uncomfortable.

In both Ruby's and Taylor's situations, they were carefully monitoring who was aware of their identities and who was not, and in what contexts their queer identities were discussed. Their colleagues were less "sensitive," and "did not notice that I was concerned about this" as Ruby put it, and disrupted this careful plan. The ways that

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Taylor and Ruby told me these stories, and expressed their frustration and fear at having their rules about who knew be broken, showed me how much thought and effort had gone into those decisions. Not only did their straight colleagues not have to be concerned about people knowing about their sexual orientations, they did not even notice that queer archaeologists were concerned about openness. All of the thought and care that went into Taylor and Ruby's self-presentation to new colleagues could have gone into their work, if they lived in a less homophobic society.

This kind of cognitive burden is also present for other marginalized groups. Many disabled archaeologists (most of whom are non-apparently disabled) have a similar conundrum about when and to whom to come out as disabled (Heath-Stout 2019). For people whose identities cannot be hidden, and who thus have no choice about whether to come out, the cognitive burden of navigating oppressive systems may still be present. Interviewees of color talked about how their graduate school application processes had an extra layer of consideration: they wanted not only a supportive adviser, funding, opportunities to study topics of interest, and other factors that all prospective graduate students seek, but also an adviser of color, or at least an adviser who was thoughtful and knowledgeable about racism and thus able to support them in their own particular trajectories. Women researched potential advisers to see if they had records of harassing, assaulting, or exploiting their students.

Most of my more privileged interviewees did not share these anxieties or express an awareness of the extra effort that their marginalized colleagues put into keeping safe. One exception was Greg, a straight white cisgender man, who told me:

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I'm about to gently push my adviser underneath the bus. He is someone who is a weird contradiction. He is... your classic old white man archaeologist. He is old, he is white. He's not only, he's a man, but he's also a sort of very masculine in terms of how he conducts himself. And he likes to do projects where you're riding into somewhere on a horse and like you're drinking whiskey out of a bottle. He wears cowboy boots... That sort of display of masculinity is something that is very important I think. He has never finished a student, I will be his first student. And I think it has everything to do with the fact that I can drink some whiskey out of a bottle and grunt a little bit... I can do that sort of white cowboy masculinity portrayal. Not that I consciously think about it, but like reflecting back on ... Because people always talk about how awful he is to work with and how difficult it must be and I've never had any bad experiences. Like, I mean I've had experiences with him where he's pretty mean on reviewing grants and commentary and that kind of stuff. He's a very direct person. But in terms of us hanging out in the field, it's always been pretty easy for me, almost even kind of fun. That I think is very much wrapped up into how I display my own identity.

This degree of self-awareness was rare: many men acknowledged that they had not been sexually harassed and so masculinity had helped their careers, but Greg saw how his gender presentation had opened the door to working with this particular man. He saw how others had to be careful about working with him, how the adviser was a man to warn each other about, but, "not that I consciously think about it," Greg can perform the kind of masculinity his adviser appreciates. Not consciously thinking about it—whether "it" is racism, sexism, heterosexism, other oppressions, or a combination of factors—is one of the ways privilege manifests most clearly and impactfully in archaeology.

The Job Market

It would be impossible to overlook the academic job market among the forces that push people out of archaeology careers. The specter of the job market hung over almost all of my interviews with archaeologists who do not have tenured or tenure-track

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positions already. A straight white cisgender man archaeologist who has been working as

an adjunct for years and is considering leaving the field, laid out many of the problems:

> The job market is terrible, …the field itself sucks. I'm watching full time tenured professors retire and get replaced by four adjuncts. …And it is a field in decline. Quantitatively, this can be shown. There's the students. The classes are smaller. Fewer classes are being offered, the positions are going away. It's being absorbed into other departments… And then there's the gimpy dysfunction of the university itself right now, which is, you know, the decline of tenure, the decline of full time positions, and the wide spread hiring of adjuncts which is unsustainable, unfair, exploitative, and unsustainable. I always get a chuckle when people in universities start getting on their moral high horses and start talking about representation. I'm like, "60% of your freshman classes are taught by adjuncts. Universities have no moral authority to lecture anyone. You people make meat packing plants look fair and balanced."
>
> My current position is not really tenable. I teach at a place that's already 80% adjunct faculty and is transferring to 100% adjunct faculty. They're eliminating all full time faculty positions. I mean, they're not calling ... They can get away with it 'cause they're not calling them adjunct positions, it's, "Oh, you're associate faculty." "B****, we're adjuncts. Come on man, we're part time." And the few remaining full time professors are being shifted into administration. They're being called supervising faculty, and they don't teach any classes. So I mean the job market is depressing, the culture is depressing, and the discipline is in decline. And if I don't ... I have to figure out some alternative, because in the current climate, I don't think I'm gonna get a tenure track job. I don't even think I can get a full time job. And it's an ugly, ugly reality.

He also accused hiring committees of being "bigoted" and hiring women and minorities

over more qualified candidates. Although I found that statement and his use of the ableist

"gimpy" disrespectful, the fact that even this privileged person feels victimized by the job

market shows how universally the job market affects archaeologists' careers.

While the neoliberalization of higher education is beyond the scope of this

project, it is important to note that it hung over all the earlier-career archaeologists'

interviews in similar ways. Unlike questions of sexual harassment, racist

microaggressions, coming out as queer, or other identity-specific concerns, the job

market and the lack of full-time, permanent employment seems to affect everyone's

feelings about their career trajectories. Straight white cisgender men were just as likely to

fret about the job market as their marginalized colleagues. This is not to say that

marginalized people do just as well on the job market as their privileged colleagues (a

question that needs to be empirically tested), but rather that all of the young

archaeologists saw the lack of employment as a reason they might end up leaving the

field. In the next chapter, I will explore how this anxiety shapes research questions of

marginalized people.

Conclusion

In Part 2, I showed that participation in archaeological careers is not evenly

distributed across people of different genders, races, and sexual orientations and that,

quantitatively, archaeology publications are dominated by straight white cisgender

people, especially men. In this chapter, I have used my qualitative interview data to

explain how that pattern comes into being and how it continues to exist through

generational changes.

Beginning with childhood ambitions, some people (white people, middle-class

people, boys, straight people) are more likely to become archaeologists than others. In

order to dream of an archaeology career, a child must have this option made available to

them as a possibility. Middle-class and white children were more likely to encounter

archaeology in their school curricula and through family connections than working-class

or non-white children. Once young potential archaeologists get to college (which is more likely among white people), they must encounter archaeology courses, which are less common at HBCUs and HSIs than at majority-white institutions. Furthermore, these courses must be well-taught and culturally relevant, a rarity when universities value research over teaching and graduate education over undergraduate. Students are more likely to fall in love with archaeology if they are able to experience fieldwork, which is expensive. All of these avenues of recruitment are most effective for sparking the interests of privileged young people, which keeps our discipline non-diverse. In order to recruit a diverse next generation of archaeologists, we must extend our public outreach efforts into communities of color and underfunded schools. We must resist the urge to focus our energy on peer-reviewed publications exclusively, and make both our public archaeology and our introductory courses compelling to people of all backgrounds. We must make fieldwork affordable and accessible (for suggestions of how to do this, see Chapter 11).

Once people enter archaeology, there are further hurdles for marginalized people if they want to continue their careers. Although the job market is difficult for all people, many of these hurdles are specific to particular forms of systemic oppression. Women, people of color, and queer people face hostility ranging from microaggressions to bullying and sexual assault. Even when we are not experiencing these types of enmity directly, marginalized archaeologists must put enormous amounts of effort into navigating relationships with colleagues and communities in order to remain safe and supported in our careers. More privileged people (straight people, white people, cisgender

men) not only are less likely to be harassed or assaulted, they also need not spend so much cognitive energy on staying safe, and therefore have more time and energy to do the work that will help them advance their careers. Thus, even after recruitment, queer archaeologists, women archaeologists, and archaeologists of color are more likely to be pushed out of their subdiscipline or out of archaeology altogether, leaving cisgender straight white men to succeed.

The racism, sexism, heterosexism, and other systemic oppressions that shape recruitment and retention create the demographic patterns of archaeology, explained in Part 2. But how do these patterns shape our knowledge of the human past? In the next chapter, I will explore how the identities and experiences of archaeologists shape the knowledge they produce.

Chapter 10: Interests, Opportunities, and Standpoints in the Production of Archaeological Knowledge

When I asked Alec how he chooses research topics, he told me, "What tends to drive the research, at least from my perspective, is a combination of funding and stuff that nobody knows." This statement has stuck with me because versions of the tension between interest and opportunity came up in nearly all of my interviews. For Alec, who is several years past his Ph.D., opportunity primarily means funding, while for earlier-career researchers and students, opportunity might mean a connection to an ongoing funded project, or access to a site or collection. Alec was also particularly driven by wanting to answer new questions about the past; other interviewees had interests that were more motivated by a commitment to a particular political ideal or philosophy, or by a personal or familial connection to a region or culture. However opportunity and interest manifest in an archaeologist's career, they must find a balance between the two. Each scholar brings a set of interests to the field, but must find opportunities to develop research that addresses those interests. Alternatively, they may be handed an opportunity and must find a way to shape it to their interests.

In this chapter, I will explore how archaeologists come to particular interests and opportunities, how they synchronize the two, and how all of these processes are shaped by identities and systems of oppression. I argue that research trajectories of archaeologists are the result of negotiating the tension between their interests and their opportunities. This tension is mediated by mentors and professional networks who

encourage particular interests and connect scholars to opportunities. Interests, opportunities, and access to good mentorship and strong networks are nonetheless shaped by social hierarchies. Archaeologists working from different standpoints and identities possess distinct interests, have unequal access to opportunities, and must take specific approaches to finding mentors and networks, leading them to create different knowledge about the human past.

Interests

How do we become interested in certain topics of study? In many cases, the particular ways that archaeologists were recruited (see Chapter 9) created a commitment not only to archaeology in general but also to a specific region, culture, or topic. Many of the archaeologists who told me about childhood books or visits to sites continue to study sites or themes related to those original interests. Others have continued in the subfields they were introduced to by charismatic professors, study abroad opportunities, or first field schools.

Several archaeologists told me about their personal or familial connections to particular cultures or regions. This correspondence between cultural or racial identity and topic of study was especially prevalent among archaeologists of color, but some white archaeologists also shared with me that they had a particular affinity to regions and cultures related to their own family histories. For example, one white American historical archaeologist told me that

> I'd say probably the fact that I was drawn to historical archaeology rather than pre-historic, problematic as those terms are... I think that probably is related to my European heritage. I was interested in the roots of globalization and the kinds of economic and political and social forces that would've caused people like my ancestors to leave their homelands in places like Germany and Scotland and move to places like the US.

Others mentioned wanting to stay in a home region, or near family members, as a factor in their choice of specialization.

As more people of color have entered the discipline, many of them have gravitated toward specialties in what might be thought of as "their own" cultures and histories. The culture of the discipline now includes the assumption that non-American or immigrant people of color will study the archaeology of their home nations and that Native and African American archaeologists will study their ancestors. This assumption is most visible in the surprise and resistance that archaeologists face when they do not fit the pattern. In a 2018 AIA symposium on race in the Classics classroom, a Black woman noted bitterly about how colleagues assume she must be a historical archaeologist studying the Black diaspora, arguing that we must stop assuming that students of color would not naturally be interested in Classics. Her comment made me curious, and once I began looking for these stories, they popped up everywhere. As one white Mesoamericanist told me,

> I think that in talking with folks who are trained in [Mesoamerican country] I realized the privilege I have to be able to study whatever I want, because if you're trained as an archaeologist in [university], which is the main school in [Mesoamerican country], you either do Mesoamerica archaeology or you do Mesoamerica archaeology. You don't have another choice, right? And the same thing, I think, has happened to a certain extent with folks of color in the United States where if you're Black you're expected to study the African-American experience, you know? My colleague is a Taiwanese American who works in

Peru and speaks Spanish and everyone, kind of like, doesn't know what to do with her.

In this remark, we see that my white interviewee was encouraged to explore and study whatever she was interested in, while her Latin American colleagues were educated to study their own nation's history. The Taiwanese-American Andeanist broke the trend that people of color study their own communities but white people study everyone, making everyone uncomfortable. As my interviewee said, part of the operation of white privilege in archaeology is the expectation that one can study any part of the world or cultural group, and there are social consequences for people of color who try to do the same, as I discussed in the section on microaggressions in Chapter 9. In this section, I explore how this pattern plays out in the careers and knowledge production of my interviewees of color.

Most of the people of color I interviewed did, indeed, study their own cultural histories. Seven of the eight Latinx archaeologists I interviewed have conducted research in Latin America, all in their or their families' countries of origin. This did not surprise me: many of them had grown up in Latin America and attended university there, and then came to the United States for graduate school. Since most archaeology programs at Latin American universities focus on the archaeology of the nation where they are located, it is not surprising that even those who came to U.S. graduate programs continued their focus on their country of origin. One of the Latinx archaeologists who grew up in the United States cited a day trip to an archaeological site during a visit to relatives in his parents'

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country of origin as central to his becoming an archaeologist. He continues to work in that country, although also has done some research in the United States.

Similarly, seven of the eight Black archaeologists who participated in the interview study are historical archaeologists studying the African diaspora. Most of them had been interested in Black histories before deciding to become archaeologists, and had entered archaeology specifically in to study the diaspora. They also told me about the particular affinity they had for Black histories; for example, Ben told me, "I specifically focus in African diaspora stuff because that's what I'm interested in and that's what I feel like I have the closest connection to and I feel like I can make contributions to that field that can then be used and replicated outside of that field." Some Black archaeologists have focused specifically on the histories of their own communities, like Candace, whose family emigrated from the Caribbean to the United States. She worked in CRM after her undergraduate degree, and many of the Black archaeologists she met were working on African diaspora sites, but she could not find research on Black communities on the island her family was from. When she decided to reenter academia, Candace specifically wanted to look at that island's Black history because of her familial history.

There are exceptions to the trends of Latin American and Latinx archaeologists studying Latin America and Black archaeologists studying the African Diaspora. I believe that these exceptional cases have much to show us about the operation of these patterns, so I will discuss two interviewees in greater depth. Rowan is a Latina historical archaeologist studying a Black community in the United States, and Michelle is a Black woman (who also has Native and white heritage) conducting historical-archaeological

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research in Latin America. Both of these women conduct politically engaged research that seeks to illuminate the histories of race and racism, and tell stories that have been overlooked because of systems of oppression. They both spoke explicitly about how their standpoints as people of color have shaped their research, even though they are studying communities of a different race than their own. When I asked Rowan whether her research on Black historical communities was affected by her own and her family's experiences of racism, she replied,

> Yeah, I mean, it's always been a motivator in terms of my interest in anthropology and just, you know, thinking about questions of race and ethnicity and also not just race, but thinking about various inequalities and differences within racialized communities that have an intersectional sort of lens when dealing with questions of race and ethnicity. And different matrices of oppression that exist within minority communities, whether it be class or sexuality or any other identity categories, I guess. So that has always been compelling to me, to see how those mechanisms play out.

Michelle also spoke explicitly about how her standpoint as a Black woman gave her insights into the lives of her historical research subjects and modern indigenous collaborators in Latin America:

> Just by virtue of having been Black in America, I have a very different experience on the [project] than my [white] colleagues do. That's not to say that they aren't doing wonderful work and really dedicated to this, but they have a different understanding of what it means to be living under an oppressive society and being able to find points of relationality to that. That has been an important vector in the kinds of relationships that I've been able to create and I don't know, I'm very conscious of those kinds of things.

Both Rowan and Michelle claimed particular insights into the experiences of their subjects because of their standpoints as women of color. Yet they also acknowledged the complexities of studying people of different races. Rowan has worked on African

diaspora sites since her first field school, and chose the site for her dissertation because of its potential for doing research within a queer archaeology framework. She told me about being queer led her to feel frustrated with the ways that African Diaspora archaeology tends to overlook queerness. On the other hand, Rowan was unwilling to claim that she is "giving voice" to those experiences because "they're not mine," because she is not Black. She navigates this uncomfortable tension by centering the work of both Black archaeologists and Black queer theorists in her writing.

Michelle told me about the ways that family, friends, and colleagues of various races are confused by her choice not to specialize in African Diaspora archaeology. She sees a clear connection between her work and broader anti-racist political agendas: "I think of everything I do as eventually working towards the betterment of my own people," she told me. "But to Black people, it's not obvious. It's not obvious why that is because I'm working in a space where I'm not supposed to be working. Because I made it in archaeology, which means that I ought to be working in African diaspora archaeology." This confusion and resistance also comes from Black colleagues within the discipline of archaeology, who ask her, "How many of us are there? What are you doing? The point of us even being here is to be dealing with the fact that there's not Black people representing Black people in archaeology." White archaeologists are also confused by Michelle, and often ask her whether she is Latina because she works in Latin America and because her appearance is racially ambiguous. She notes that once white colleagues have established that she is not Latina, they tend to assume that she is white, and their curiosity about why she works in Latin America disappears "because I think white people

just don't care. White people believe that, in archaeology, there's no conversation about what a white student can and cannot study, or should or should not study. It's open access."

One white archaeologist, Paul, had begun to realize this difference between his own experience and that of archaeologists of color when he took on a Ph.D. student who is indigenous. Paul reflected that as a white scholar with class privilege, "I don't have those kinds of responsibilities. I've been able to focus on a more orthodox academic research career. I've been able to focus on just teaching my classes, getting publications out there, applying for research grants because I don't have to worry about my family." His indigenous student, however, was being pressured by his community to study their history rather than working on Paul's project in a different region, was regularly being asked to mentor indigenous undergraduates, and was often put on the spot by white professors to represent his entire culture in seminars.

Taken together, all of these stories show that there are a variety of forces that reproduce the trend of archaeologists of color studying the histories of their own communities or, more broadly, communities of the same race or ethnicity, while white archaeologists have "open access" to the history of the entire world. One is educational systems: in Latin America (and perhaps in other developing nations), the mestizx majorities identify with the prehistoric pasts of their nations because of their indigenous ancestries. University programs focus on the archaeology of the nations where they are located, with the aim of training students for employment within government agencies that oversee and conduct archaeological research. In the U.S., the white majority of

people do not identify with Native American histories, and there are more academic archaeology programs, contributing to university programs that are much more globally focused.

Archaeologists of color may have a particular affinity for their own histories, or a sense that their standpoint gives them a particularly good understanding of that history, as in the cases of Ben and Candace. Conversely, they may feel that they do not have the right to give voice to other communities, as in the case of Rowan's ambivalence about representing Black histories as a Latina. The standpoints of archaeologists of color also often led them to a political commitment to fighting racism. Often, this took the form of feeling a sense of responsibility to serve their communities by studying them, a responsibility that their communities and families often explicitly place on their shoulders. In the cases of Rowan and Michelle, non-white standpoints and commitments to anti-racism led them to study communities of color that were not their own. Finally, white archaeologists will continuously assume that their colleagues of color study people of their own race.

Many of the marginalized archaeologists I spoke to were also motivated by particular political commitments in their choices of specialty. Historical archaeologists especially cited values like learning about and sharing the stories of marginalized people in the past. Notably, this was universally true among the Black archaeologists I interviewed, all of whom engaged with histories of racism in their work. Their standpoints and experiences as the targets of racism led them to a commitment to understanding and dismantling racism through their research (see below for more detail).

Many of the queer people and women I interviewed also cited political commitments to feminism or anti-oppressive movements as being key parts of their specializations within archaeology.

Political motivations were much less common among straight white men, who were more likely to describe their interests as intrinsic curiosity. As Alec, whose research was shaped by funding and "stuff nobody knows" told me, "I mean, I have no desire to do somebody else's research again. It's very boring. So it's these voids, these gaps in the knowledge that particularly drive me." Other interviewees simply stated that they had gotten interested in a particular topic as a child, teenager, or college student, and the way that original interest in a topic was sparked was no longer important or memorable. Of course, anyone who pursues a scholarly career is motivated by curiosity, and white men are no more intrinsically curious than anyone else. By explaining their interests as simple curiosity, unaffected by identity politics, many of the white men I interviewed showed a lack of self-awareness of how their standpoint affects their subjects of curiosity. When asked whether their identities had shaped their careers or research, most white men acknowledged that privilege had smoothed the way for them and helped them gain and take advantage of opportunities. None, however, told me that they were interested in economics, or in developing new methods, or in lithics because they were men. Yet, as shown in Chapter 6, these topics and methods are more male-dominated than the rest of archaeology: clearly there is some relationship between masculine standpoints and these topics. Stating an interest in terms of intrinsic curiosity does not seem related to identity politics at first glance, yet the fact that this rhetoric was primarily used by straight white

cisgender men shows that it is, in fact, shaped by a straight white cisgender male standpoint. This intrinsic curiosity rhetoric positions straight white men as the default, objective scientists and people with other standpoints as both exceptions to the rule and as non-objective or non-rigorous researchers.

All of these interest formation processes are inflected with the identities and experiences of the archaeologist. In Chapter 9, I showed how race and class influence recruitment of archaeologists. Personal connections to particular regions are often related to race or ethnicity, and political commitments were much more commonly cited among people of color, queer people, and women, than among straight white men. Because the knowledge archaeologists create is shaped by the questions we bring to our research, it is shaped by our standpoints.

When archaeology as a profession is not diverse, there are interests that no one holds, and questions that never receive answers. For example, a straight man who works in the Pacific told me that,

> I've said the region where I work can be pretty boys clubby and both within the academics who work there and also just the sort of nature of these environments a lot of these places. When in fact, gender in the Pacific in a lot of cultures, is and often was incredibly fluid and dynamic and interesting. And then the missionaries, kind of imposed a very western normative sense of family. And I was talking to a friend, he's working in Samoa. And so in Samoa they have this gender category called Fa'afafine which is basically people who are biologically male but dress up as women and behave as female in that society. And he said it's crazy, in Samoa homosexuality is illegal, and yet most men their first sexual experience is with the Fa'afafine, so what does that mean? How does that all fit together? But in terms of the people who are working in Polynesia and Melanesia, there's still this sense of public chiefly activities being very male and private, domestic activities being very female and it's not that these weren't male dominated societies in the past, but that a much more complex set of things were happening with gender than usually gets acknowledged. I think it's one of those

things where there is that feedback loop between who people are and what they are interested in studying. And then kind of what gets written about a region or a place or a time period or whatever.

The "feedback loop" between interests and identities, when identities are so non-diverse, lead to hermeneutical injustices like the one this archaeologist identifies. The "boys' club" of Pacific archaeology leads to a lack of critical, queer-inclusive analysis of gender in the past, which creates an archaeology that does not account for the lives of the Fa'afafine, but instead builds a hermeneuticalally unjust vision of Pacific cultures and histories that erases queerness.

This kind of pattern can play out in any region. Individual archaeologists' interests are shaped by their standpoints. If archaeologists were more diverse, we would have more diverse questions to ask about the past. As it is, some standpoints (e.g., straight white cisgender American man) are overrepresented and many others are underrepresented or are not represented at all, and the questions these standpoints would bring to light are left unanswered, creating hermeneutical injustices in our understandings of the human past.

Opportunities

It is not enough for a budding archaeologist to be curious about a particular question or culture, because archaeology is almost never a solitary pursuit. Although one interviewee told me about having conducted a season of field research and test-pitting on her own, that is the only instance of someone excavating alone that I have ever heard of.

Usually, archaeological field research, whether survey or excavation, is conducted by groups of archaeologists at various career stages, affiliated with institutions, and given permission for research by government agencies. Even laboratory or collections research usually requires collaboration, if only working with an institution to access collections, facilities, and equipment. Furthermore, because many analyses require time and effort to learn how to conduct, projects often consist of groups of scholars, each with a different specialization, so that there are experts who can do all of the different work that needs to be done.

Although this description might sound self-evident, this set of circumstances deeply shapes knowledge production in archaeology. Consider, in contrast, the field of literary criticism: although there are certainly grant-funded and collaborative projects, it is also possible for a single person to do library-based research worthy of publication in a peer-reviewed journal. I do not mean to disparage literary criticism, which requires extensive knowledge and skill to do well, but rather to point out that in archaeology, such independent and low-cost research is nearly impossible. When I asked my interviewees how they came to their current research projects, the stories they told were often as much about finding a site or collection, collaborators, permissions, and funding as they were about developing an interest in a topic.

Of course, opportunities are not equally distributed among people of different identities. In Chapter 9, I argued that the opportunity to enter an archaeological career in the first place is much more available to young people with race and/or class privilege. I also showed that microaggressions, hostile work environments, and even outright sexual

or other abuse make it difficult for marginalized archaeologists to continue careers successfully. The ways that queer, non-white, and women archaeologists must constantly calculate ways to maintain their safety, which I discussed as a cognitive burden in the previous chapter, also affect their abilities to pursue new opportunities. Marginalized people are likely to feel less safe than their privileged colleagues in entering a new field project, and must rely on whisper networks to find projects where they are more likely to be safe, limiting which field projects they may join. Unequal access to opportunities continues throughout archaeological career paths, as seen in the data on gender equity in grant funding (Yellen 1991; Bowman and Ulm 2009; Goldstein et al. 2018), which show that women apply for fewer grants and thus receive less funding. Furthermore, recent work by has shown that in the cutthroat competition for academic jobs in archaeology and anthropology, men are disproportionately likely to receive academic job offers (Speakman, Hadden, Colvin, Cramb, Jones, Jones, Kling, et al. 2018; Speakman, Hadden, Colvin, Cramb, Jones, Jones, Lulewicz, et al. 2018). Clearly, at the advanced levels of NSF grants and tenure-track job opportunities, the gender of an archaeologist affects their access to opportunities. Throughout an archaeology career, then, opportunities are more available to men, white people, straight people, and wealthy people than to their less privileged counterparts.

Not only are opportunities more available to privileged people, there are also more opportunities to create certain types of knowledge than others. Andrea, a feminist bioarchaeologist, told me this story:

I've been told multiple times that if I want to publish in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, I have to split my data up by sex. They won't publish it otherwise, so if you look at my CV, I have not published in that journal because I don't want to do it that way. But I also don't have a tenure-track job, because they look at those types of journals, and at where you're publishing. So oftentimes, on a really bad day, I'm like, "Well, maybe I should stop pushing the discipline to think about these topics differently, because if I did, I would have a job, where I'm more stable and not moving every two years or not knowing if I have a job at the end of each academic year for next year." But also you hear women archaeologists who are at that level, who have been tenured, who did their doctorate work in late '90s, early 2000s... I've had them tell me, "Play the system until you have tenure, and then say what you want." Because that's what they had to do, you know? ...I don't really want to do that, but maybe they're right, and that's what you start to think about.

Andrea sees the practice of dividing her data by sex as a hermeneutical injustice because it erases the existence of ambiguous or intersex bodies. By refusing to participate in this injustice, she forgoes the opportunity to publish in a prestigious journal, which in turn hurts her chances to gain a larger opportunity in the form of a tenure-track job, which might give her the resources and stability to fight for epistemic justice in her subdiscipline. Yet she cannot stomach complicity with cis-normativity in the name of career advancement. The hermeneutical injustice of dividing skeletal data by sex in all publications leads to an injustice against Andrea, which in turn strengthens the discipline's ability to perpetrate the hermeneutical injustice.

Navigating the Relationships Between Interests and Opportunities

An archaeologist's research trajectory is born out of the interactions of their interests and their opportunities. Both interest and an opportunity are necessary for most archaeological knowledge production: an archaeologist with a question but no data is

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frustrated, while an archaeologist with data in which they find no interest is unmotivated. Interest and opportunity also shape each other, as interests lead archaeologists to seek opportunities, and an opportunity may spark a new interest.

In some cases, archaeologists are able to locate new opportunities with little help. Undergraduate archaeology students or even high school students with the financial means to attend a field school may search the AIA's Archaeological Fieldwork Opportunities Bureau or other sources to find field schools to apply for. In field schools, students participate in the creation of archaeological knowledge, but generally have limited control over the process and limited voice in interpretations. Once a student reaches the skill level needed to pursue more independent research, they generally need someone else to make the connection between their interest and an opportunity to pursue that interest.

Mentorship

One of the primary ways that young archaeologists find these opportunities is through mentors, whether field school directors or university-based advisers. In some cases, the mentor's interests deeply shaped the mentee's, usually in cases when the mentee had not yet narrowed down their interests within archaeology and then the mentor gave the mentee a life-changing opportunity. In order to illustrate this point, I will share the story of Taylor, a white queer genderfluid person who told me about the two important mentors who had shaped their career. Taylor was an undergraduate student at a small-town public college in a rural, conservative area, and began taking the few

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anthropology courses that were offered at their college. Their anthropology professor saw

that they were interested and motivated and told them,

> "You need to get out of [small, local public university]. You need to do something
> else. Why don't I introduce you to my friend [adviser], or my friend [professor],
> or my friend over here?" And I was like, "Okay. I have no idea who these people
> are." She actually drove me up one weekend and I stayed with her, and she set up
> interviews for me with a lot of people to get a feel of the department. It was
> entirely out of the way, and the best thing that's happened to me to get into this
> career.

This mentor set up meetings with faculty at a research university, and supported Taylor in

transferring to that university, where they could focus on anthropology and pursue a

career as an archaeologist. Furthermore, the research university is located in a town that

is more welcoming to queer people than the town where they lived at the time, so this

mentor facilitated Taylor's move to a safer and more comfortable place to live. One of

the people she introduced them to is now their adviser, who has shaped their research

interests. When I asked if they had always been interested in their current topic, they

laughed and said,

> I had no idea! But when I transferred, I transferred to work with my adviser, who
> is a renowned [analyst of a particular type of artifact], and so, when I started
> taking classes, I was already really interested in material culture… So, I took a
> class that was about material culture, doing ceramic drawings, profile drawings,
> basic stuff that you would do in a lab… I really liked it, and then I worked with
> him [in a foreign country], I did all that training, and then my name got on the
> poster, got on the paper that he's publishing, so it just, kind of, went from there.

Taylor would likely not be an archaeologist if they had not met their first mentor, and

would not have become interested in their particular research without the second.

Taylor was far from the only interviewee whose research trajectory was shaped by

the particular tasks that a mentor needed someone to do at the time they met that mentor.

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Several interviewees told me that projects "fell into [their] lap," by which they meant that an adviser or supervisor had given them a particular set of materials to work on. In Claire's case, when she arrived in graduate school, she intended to pursue a career in museums, but there was a dynamic young professor looking for Ph.D. students to bring to Latin America for his fieldwork there. While they were there, they found a site that was in danger of damage by local farmers' agricultural work, and excavated it as a salvage project: this site became the foundation of several years of work for Claire, who found herself becoming a field archaeologist after all.

Some of my interviewees wondered aloud to me about why mentors had chosen to give them particular early-career opportunities that went on to shape their research trajectories. For example, Alyssa, an Asian woman who has been doing archaeological illustration since her first field school, questioned what role patriarchy had played in her specialization:.

> Sometimes it's a little arbitrary which field students are given certain opportunities to do something. You know, because, to a certain degree, there's a degree of natural skill and talent and temperament that you're looking for for particular duties and that sort of thing. I mean, I think ideally, everybody would have a taste of it, but then you kind of single out people who are especially skilled, and then you kind of use them more. And so, drawing is one of those things that I think a lot of people ... You know, I got to try my hand at it, and like, and learned how to ink and then after I left grad school, I was able to sort of capitalize on my connections with friends and stuff to do stuff with that.

She went on to mention Gero's (1985) work on the "woman-at-home" ideology, and speculate that perhaps she had been encouraged to become an illustrator because she was a woman, and illustration (especially of pottery, which she has often worked with) is part of the feminized "housework" of archaeology that Gero explored. Of course, it is

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impossible to know whether identity plays a part in which opportunities are given to any particular field school student, but the divisions of labor described in Chapter 6 suggest that gender does continue to play a role in specialization.

In cases where the mentee already has a developed interest, a good mentor can use their superior resources and networks to find an opportunity that matches that interest. In some cases, this means involving an advanced undergraduate or graduate student in the mentor's own research, and giving them access to data to interpret and write about independently or in collaboration with the mentor. My own M.A. thesis was an example of this type of opportunity: I was interested in Postclassic and Colonial central Mexico and in ceramics analysis, and my mentor, David Carballo, gave me the contact-period ceramic assemblage to analyze and interpret. This kind of opportunity works well when the mentor and mentee share some interests (central Mexico) but have different specialties (Postclassic vs. Formative, and my ceramics focus). Amber, a historical archaeology graduate student, shared a similar story: she volunteered with an archaeologist employed by the government. He encouraged her to apply to a particular graduate program that he knew well and, when he found out that she was interested in women's history specifically, suggested that she could propose a thesis about a relevant site he was planning to excavate. Since his job requires so much bureaucratic work, leaving little time for interpretation and writing, he was looking for someone to interpret this site, which is associated with women's education. Amber was the perfect candidate. In this case, Amber's mentor found a strong match between an opportunity he could provide and a mentee who would be interested in that opportunity.

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In other cases, there is not such a clear fit between the data a mentor would like someone to write about and the mentees available, so a mentor may use their professional network to find a mentee an opportunity to work with a colleague. This type of collaboration was also common among my interviewees. For example, one archaeologist with a specialization in soil chemistry was connected with a project by her adviser, who is friends with the project director. The adviser heard that the director wanted someone to conduct soil chemistry analyses at his site and recommended his graduate student. The soil chemist has continued to work at that site for her dissertation, mentored by both her adviser and her project director, which works nicely since they are friends with each other.

Sometimes the particular opportunities made available by mentors lead to shifts in the mentee's interests. Ashley entered graduate school planning to study the relationships between settled and nomadic communities in a particular ancient Mediterranean civilization, but found a mentor who worked in a different region and time period with whom she enjoyed working. He invited her to come to the field with him, and, she reflected,

> I found that [European country] was an amazing place to work and I found that the area that I wanted to work was very ... Not similar geographically, similar temporally or anything like that. But the research questions I had about interactions in the first place, the interactions between those sedentary and semi nomadic peoples, could be somewhat applicable in [European country] as well. Looking at how interactions between peoples impacts the socio cultural boundaries. So, even though temporally, geographically to a certain extent, and slightly topically, my interest changed, that theoretical basis for my research interest always remained the same. Which is kind of nice to see that continual thread throughout my research as it's evolved.

Ashley was able to find her own interests within the opportunity her graduate adviser offered to her.

All of these stories are of skilled mentorship by people who respect their mentees. Of course, there are also project directors and professors who neglect or abuse the people they should be supporting. Many of my interviewees had friends who had left graduate school due to poor advising, and in the previous chapter, I told a variety of stories of archaeologists who had left projects or subfields due to hostility or abuse from mentors. I told the story of Greg, a straight white man who told me that he was the first of his adviser's students to ever finish a doctorate. Greg attributed his success to his ability to perform a kind of macho masculinity that his adviser respected, while women tended to have terrible experiences with the adviser. A mentor should, at minimum, not harass, assault, or abuse their mentees, and should ideally actively respect and help them. Greg's story makes clear that it is easier for straight white men to find good mentorship than it is for marginalized people. All of the safety concerns that lead to the extra cognitive burden on marginalized archaeologists, which I discussed in the previous chapter, are especially important when finding a mentor because the power imbalance between mentor and mentee fosters harmful behavior.

The story of how Paul found his current project is illustrative of how an archaeologist unencumbered by racism, sexism, and heterosexism can go about finding new mentors and, through them, new opportunities. As Paul finished his doctoral work at a prestigious U.S. university, he began looking for a post-Ph.D. project, and reached out to a variety of scholars whom he did not know who worked in his large region of the

world. One of these connections indeed had a project for him, and said "Get yourself to [country] and we'll get you all set up and you can be off and running." Paul managed to get a small grant from the college where he was teaching, and started a new project under the auspices of his new mentor's project. This kind of success story is simply not accessible to many marginalized people: even if it occurred to us to send cold emails to a list of strangers, they might not be as well received, and even if they were, few women, people of color, or queer people would feel safe joining a new mentor's project sight unseen. It is safer to rely on both professional networks and friends of friends in order to find opportunities when one is in increased danger of mistreatment by mentors.

For all of these reasons, good mentorship is especially important for marginalized people, who may have more difficulty finding good mentors. Several of the Black women I interviewed talked about how powerful it was for them to be mentored by other Black women. In fact, many of my Black woman interviewees are connected to each other in a kind of academic family tree because of one particular Black woman professor who has made it her mission to advise young Black women archaeologists. As Jada, one of her advisees, marveled to me, "Seven Black women that she's trained in some capacity. Seven. There's seven of us. That's the sort of intentional work that she does... And she doesn't say it. She's never said to me, 'I'm intentionally looking for some Black women to train,' but her track record shows it." She is one of several Black anthropology faculty at her university and surrounds herself with young Black mentees, who form a diverse and vocally Black feminist community. As Keisha, another one of these mentees, told me,

I was lucky to come into that community. I did not recognize how much I took that for granted until now. And this is not to say that I don't have a great community here. I mean, I do…, but [graduate university] was one of the few places where I could literally sit around and talk to a room full of Black anthropologists… and this is important, there was a canon, there was actually a Black canon that we learned.

This particular trailblazer is able to give her students not just opportunities to study African diaspora archaeology, but also the opportunity to do so in a strong community of people who understand their struggles and are drawing on the same body of critical race theory and work by Black anthropologists. This kind of mentorship is what many marginalized students need to thrive as archaeologists.

Networking

For more established archaeologists, mentors become less important and networks of peers become more central to finding opportunities. This shift seems to take place as scholars make the transition from Ph.D. student to faculty positions. Over the course of graduate school and postdoctoral positions, a researcher gets to know more and more colleagues through research projects, conferences, and friends of friends. Andrea, a bioarchaeologist, found a project in a different region than where she had worked because of a social connection. She attended a conference in an expensive location and shared her hotel room with a friend, who in turn asked to invite one of her friends to share. This friend of a friend became an acquaintance, and when he needed a bioarchaeologist for his project, he thought of Andrea. This type of serendipity becomes more common as an archaeologist's professional network expands, and was much more commonly mentioned

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by interviewees who are professors than those still in graduate school. Thus, over the course of a career, a network can take on some of the purposes of a mentor, as networks help archaeologists find new opportunities and discover new interests.

Although networking can be exclusive and funnel opportunities to privileged people through "old boys' clubs," marginalized people can also form their own networks of mutual support in order to find opportunities and weather the hostility of the discipline. An excellent example is the SBA, which was articulates its mission as to

> create a strong network of archaeologists that will advocate to ensure the proper treatment of African and African diaspora material culture, promote more people of African descent to enter the field of archaeology, ensure community collaborations, raise and address concerns related to African peoples worldwide, and highlight the past and present achievements and contributions people of African descent have made to the field of archaeology. (Society of Black Archaeologists)

Several members of the SBA are also involved in a collaborative archaeology project on a historical site associated with a Black community. One described the project this way:

> One of the reasons why people want to do a master's degree and don't go on to a Ph.D. is because of a lack of research questions and a lack of field schools that they feel comfortable operating in. So we're trying to create a space where we can... it essentially is an incubator for Ph.D. students to develop research questions.

Through the SBA network, these archaeologists have found each other and created a project that provides opportunities for antiracist archaeology, and encourages young Black archaeologists to develop their interests in ways that may not be supported by mentors or institutions outside of the SBA. This kind of project will foster the growing community of Black archaeologists, diversifying the field of archaeology and also creating hermeneutical justice as they bring Black feminist and critical race perspectives

to African diaspora archaeology. The SBA provides a model for other groups of marginalized people who want to create supportive networks.

Community and collaborative archaeology

Although most opportunities were found through connections to other archaeologists, whether mentors or peers in a network, there was a less common third way that archaeologists found projects: through community invitations. Amy, a historical archaeologist, told me the story of finding the site that ended up becoming the subject of her dissertation in an internet search. She had an interest in women's history and public representation of heritage, and in a web search (she does not remember exactly what she was looking for), she came across an organization that takes care of a historical site related to women's history. She became interested and visited the site, meeting some members of the organization, and mentioned that she was an archaeologist. When a gardener working near the site found historical artifacts, those members remembered that they had met an archaeologist and asked her to come look. She advised them that there were two ways they could have archaeological research done at the site: by hiring a CRM firm (which would be quicker and more expensive) or by finding a graduate student to do a dissertation (which would be slower but likely free for the organization). Amy also mentioned that she was applying to graduate school. The organization immediately offered her the project for her dissertation.

In some ways, this was perfect serendipity: she needed a project and this community organization needed an archaeologist. But Amy had not been planning to

study that region and period: she in fact had a different regional and temporal focus in mind for her graduate research. What sealed the deal for her was her political commitment to community and public archaeology. As she told me,

> I think if you're not into doing the community, public thing and somebody says that to you, you don't follow up. But if that's your jam, you're like, "Oh really? Let's talk about it! That sounds really cool. Your place sounds cool. Is there a way we can make this work?" Whereas other people are like, "Yeah, well, unless you have $50,000 or $100,000, I'll see you later." So that might be the aligning thing.

Amy had found an alignment between her political commitments (feminist and public archaeology) and an opportunity, so she was willing to forgo the interests it did not meet (the other period and region).

In fact, many of the archaeologists involved in public, collaborative, or community archaeology had similar stories. For example, Mark, a historical archaeologist working in collaboration with a Native American tribal nation, told me that he moved to the region where he now lives and conducts fieldwork for his academic job, and had been hoping to start a new project on colonialism, but did not yet have a clear idea of his questions. He also hoped to collaborate with Native communities, but was not sure how to start: "I'd rather not be the archaeologist knocking on people's doors, finding who's going to be willing to let me come do something like that." But shortly after he moved, leaders of the tribe he works with approached his department looking for an archaeologist to work with, and that "collaborative moment at the beginning" set the stage for a fruitful relationship, where both the archaeologists and the Native participants benefit. In this case, Mark's commitment to collaboration and broad interest in the Colonial period of his

new region corresponded with the need of the community, and then that collaborative relationship and the data they found sharpened his research questions. For both Amy and Mark, being offered an opportunity to work with a community and simultaneously follow a general interest led them to research questions they might not have come up with on their own, and led to long-term community relationships and years of productive work.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored how scholars' research careers are shaped in the interactions between opportunities and interests, mediated by mentors and networks. All of these elements are shaped by identities and systems of oppression. Archaeologists' interests depend on their standpoints. They try to find opportunities to meet those interests, and the opportunities they find hone the questions they ask and help them discover new questions. Yet these opportunities are not evenly distributed, and are generally found through mentors and networks. Good mentorship is easiest to find for those who share standpoints with the majority of senior faculty, and who are least vulnerable to abuse: straight white cisgender men. Marginalized people may be more interested in using critical lenses to study past oppressive systems, because of our standpoints within society; yet in order to do so, we must find supportive (or at least non-abusive) mentors and networks who help us find opportunities to do so, in a field that does not always reward asking such questions. These extra difficulties for marginalized people and for scholars studying marginalization, alongside the hostility I described in Chapter 9, help reproduce an archaeology where researchers are predominantly straight,

white, cisgender, and male, and where anti-oppressive research is seen as fringe rather than mainstream. The discipline thus reproduces hermeneutical epistemic injustices by overlooking the experiences of marginalized people in the past.

Part 4: Conclusion

Chapter 11: Conclusion

Through this study, I have shown that racism, heterosexism, and sexism are pervasive in archaeology, shaping who enters archaeology careers, their career trajectories, their interests, their opportunities, their access to mentorship and networks, and the knowledge they produce. Because archaeologists are predominantly white and straight, and those with the most powerful positions and who publish the most new data are predominantly cisgender men, the discipline is unable to gain a full picture of the human past, and reinforces hermeneutical epistemic injustices with our limited understandings.

My quantitative study showed that the discipline is approaching gender parity, with only 57.1% of my survey respondents being cisgender men. When compared to earlier gender equity studies, this shows progress in that more women have entered the field. Yet the vast majority of women archaeologists who answered my survey are white, straight, and cisgender: this shift toward parity does not signal that the discipline is truly becoming more diverse. Furthermore, the more prestigious a journal is (as measured by three different metrics), the more straight-, white-, and male-dominated its authors are, showing that although more and more people who are not straight white cisgender men are entering archaeology and producing knowledge about the past, the straight white cisgender men retain the most power and influence over archaeological knowledge.

My journal authorship study also demonstrated that straight white cisgender male domination is pervasive across regional foci, topics, and methods in archaeology. Straight white cisgender men were the majority or plurality of authors writing about nearly every single subfield, method, topic, and region I examined. The sole exception was feminist and gender archaeology, for which a plurality of authors were straight white cisgender women. Iconographic analysis had near parity between straight white cisgender men and straight white cisgender women, and South America was the least white-dominated region of the world. Outside of North America and Europe, South America had the highest percentage of archaeologists conducting research in their home countries.

These findings are interesting given the common perception, often mentioned in my interviews, that some subfields and methods are dominated by women. The trope that some subfields are actually dominated by women seems to be based in a misunderstanding of Gero's (1985) argument that lab work is feminized in archaeology. Gero showed that women were more likely to do lab work than fieldwork, not that women were more likely than men to do lab work. Her data tables show that lab archaeology was simply less male-dominated than field archaeology, but did not have gender parity. In my interviews, the most commonly mentioned "women-dominated" fields were historical archaeology, bioarchaeology, and paleoethnobotany. According to my journal authorship study, 53% of publications about historical archaeology, 52% of those using laboratory methods, 57% of those using bioarchaeology, and 51% of those using paleoethnobotany were by cisgender men. My interviewees were correct that these specialties had more women than the discipline as a whole, but incorrectly perceived

them as dominated by women when in fact more than half of the knowledge produced in these areas was by men. Archaeology is not doing as well at achieving gender parity as many of us would like to think.

The qualitative interview study shed light on the mechanisms by which straight white cisgender male domination persists in archaeology. The problems begin with the initial recruitment of young people aspiring to be archaeologists: those of us whose career paths reach back to pre-college aspirations tend to be white and middle class or higher. Although white and middle-class students are also more likely to attend and complete college than less privileged peers, introductory college coursework nonetheless serves as a more egalitarian recruitment tool. When students have access to fieldwork opportunities, that often confirms and strengthens their interest in archaeology.

As archaeologists continue their educations and careers, those who are marginalized because of their gender, sexual orientation, race, or other identities face pervasive hostility ranging from microaggressions to bullying, abuse, and sexual harassment and assault. These actions by colleagues and mentors lead some people to change subfields, creating setbacks in their educational progress, or even to leave the discipline. Furthermore, marginalized archaeologists must contend with the extra cognitive burden of navigating a field that is hostile to them: whether or not they are being actively harassed, they must always be wary of discrimination, using time and energy to stay safe that could be going to their academic work, or to other pursuits. Because straight white cisgender men do not face these obstacles, they are more likely to succeed in archaeology careers.

Archaeologists' scholarly interests are shaped by their standpoints, informed by their gender, race, and sexual orientation identities and experiences. Although marginalized interviewees showed more self-awareness of the ways that their standpoints affected their research than their more privileged colleagues, the patterns of authorship shown in the quantitative study demonstrate that identities do shape research foci across the discipline. In order to pursue their research interests, archaeologists must find opportunities, whether in the form of funding, positions in a graduate program, employment, permits to excavation, access to collections, or affiliation with a larger research project. These opportunities are usually provided to young scholars by mentors, and to more established scholars via networks of peers, and these mentors, networks, and opportunities, in turn, encourage or discourage particular interests. Marginalized people have more limited access to good mentorship and to "old boys'" networks, in part because of the safety concerns addressed above; however, groups like the SBA are working to provide opportunities and community to people who lack access to more conventional networks and are interested in more radical projects. Because systems of oppression shape both individual archaeologists' scholarly interests and their access to opportunities, mentors, and networks, they also shape the knowledge that archaeologists are able to produce about the human past.

Differential recruitment, discrimination, harassment, and reduced access to opportunities work together to keep archaeology straight-, white-, cisgender-, and male-dominated. The standpoints of straight white cisgender men, and the interpretations created from these standpoints, are seen as normative, and dominate our publications.

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Marginalized people who attempt to bring new interpretations based on their own standpoints are discouraged. Thus, we tend to see the past from only a limited range of perspectives, leading us to overlook or misunderstand the experiences of marginalized people in the past. Only by building an inclusive discipline that values many different types of theorizing and interpretation will archaeology develop a clear and more strongly objective vision of the human past.

Publication Plans and Next Steps

In order for this work to be useful to advocates for diversity in archaeology, I plan to disseminate these findings to a wider audience than this dissertation will find. I will begin by transforming my quantitative study (Part 2) into two article manuscripts. The demographics of publication in general and journal-by-journal results presented in Chapter 5 will form the basis for one article to be submitted to journals in summer 2019. Then, I will revise the study of divisions of labor presented in Chapter 6 to form a second article, to be submitted in Fall 2019. Both of these articles will include elements of the rationale and methods for the quantitative study, which are presented in Chapter 4 in this dissertation. I am particularly interested in submitting to *American Antiquity* because it is the flagship journal of the SAA and has published articles on gender equity in publishing before, *American Anthropologist* because it is the flagship journal of the AAA, and *Advances in Archaeological Practice* because of its focus on examining the practices of the discipline. By submitting to these journals, I hope to bring my work to a broad audience of archaeologists and anthropologists.

As I revise my qualitative interview study (Part 3) as a monograph, I plan to

continue thinking through the seventy-two interviews I have already conducted: their rich

details will allow me to expand on and refine the interpretations I have presented here.

For example, I am interested in examining how the standpoints of straight white

cisgender men lead them to study the topics and methods that were shown to be most

straight-white-male-dominated in my quantitative study. In my interviews, I found that

marginalized people spoke much more explicitly about how their standpoints informed

their research interests than more privileged people did, making it more difficult for me

to understand the research trajectories of those privileged people. I want to explore this

difference in more depth.

I have also decided that I must expand my scope to include disability and class

alongside gender, race, and sexual orientation for the monograph. Several of my

interviewees told stories about ableism and classism and their intersections with other

types of discrimination, compelling me to plan this expansion. I have used these stories

from my completed interviews in two conference papers presented at the 2019 SAA

Annual Meeting. A revised version of "The Invisibly Disabled Archaeologist" (Heath-

Stout 2019) will be published in a themed issue of the *International Journal of Historical

Archaeology* on disability and archaeology, to be published in late 2019 or early 2020.

My coauthor Elizabeth Hannigan and I plan to revise our paper "Affording Archaeology:

How the Cost of Field School Keeps Archaeology Exclusive" (Hannigan and Heath-Stout

2019) and submit a manuscript to *Advances in Archaeological Practice* in Fall 2019. In

preparation for writing a book manuscript, I also plan to conduct a few more interviews

in order to include more voices of disabled archaeologists and archaeologists from poor or working-class backgrounds.

The other direction in which I would like to expand my interview sample is to include more ex-archaeologists. Although many of my interviewees who were at dissertation stage, postdoctoral researcher stage, or on the job market were considering pursuing non-archaeology careers, I only interviewed one person who had left archaeology for a career in union organizing. I would like to find more people like her in order to understand how people leave archaeology, what kinds of careers they pursue instead, and what they do and do not miss about archaeology, and what insights about the discipline they can provide from their distinctive vantage points. Expanding my interview study to include more disabled people, working-class people, and former archaeologists, and then writing a book manuscript, will be a multi-year project.

Building a More Diverse and Inclusive Archaeology

This dissertation has shown that discrimination and harassment are pervasive in archaeology, and that the field remains dominated by straight white cisgender men, especially in positions of power and influence. My interviews also showed, however, that there are many archaeologists working to build a more diverse and inclusive discipline. I would therefore like to end with a variety of recommendations for what scholars in a variety of positions can do to contribute to these efforts.

First, no matter what your professional position or context, do not harass, assault, bully, or otherwise abuse your colleagues. Although this should go without saying, the

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stories shared in Chapter 9 show that this needs to be made explicit. However, not abusing colleagues is a very low bar to clear, and there are many actions that archaeologists can take in the classroom, in the field and the lab, and in professional organizations, in order to undermine heterosexism, sexism, and racism in the discipline. I encourage readers to consider all of these recommendations, and choose a few to put into place in their work. If we all do our parts, we can create a diverse and inclusive discipline.

In the classroom

Professors and graduate students who teach introductory and general education archaeology courses should remember that these classes are where the next generation of archaeologists is recruited. Although the job market and tenure and promotion processes may not reward the work of teaching an excellent introductory class, this work is vitally important. General education and first-year archaeology courses should be well-organized and well-taught, and should include case studies from a wide variety of cultures in order to show archaeology's worldwide relevance. These courses also provide opportunities to offer explicit invitations to students who might be interested in becoming archaeologists. Many of my interviewees who discovered archaeology in college benefitted from being explicitly and proactively encouraged by a professor or teaching fellow: these mentors saw the students' interest in class and potential for an archaeology career, told the student they saw that, and suggested that they take more courses, attend field school, or find volunteer work in a lab or museum. Please consider updating your

syllabus to include diverse case studies, and proactively offering praise and encouragement to marginalized students who are doing good work in your classes.

Mentors are essential to students' success, because they connect students with opportunities that match their interests. The next time you teach a seminar upper-level undergraduate students or graduate students, consider how you could foster the interests they tell you about. Ask your most enthusiastic or successful students if they are interested in field, lab, or other research opportunities. As an instructor, you are likely to have a much larger professional network than your students, and you can use that to help marginalized students find opportunities. If students are interested, put them in touch with colleagues who work on related topics or are leading affordable field schools, and offer to coach your students on how to best take advantage of opportunities. Taylor, whose story I told in Chapter 10, had a mentor at their undergraduate university drive them several hours to a research university, where she set them up with meetings with a variety of faculty, allowing them to move to a more progressive and queer-friendly town and start a research career in archaeology. That mentor went above and beyond the call of duty: you can help marginalized students find opportunities to succeed in the discipline with the occasional email introduction.

In the field and the laboratory

If you run a field school, you are in a position to actively offer opportunities for students to enter archaeological careers. Please keep in mind that field schools exist to teach people about archaeology and to welcome diverse students into archaeology

careers, not to provide free labor for your research or to make money for the university. Your field school should be as affordable as you can make it, so consider including funding to subsidize students in grant proposal budgets, or applying for an NSF Research Experiences for Undergraduates grant if you are eligible. If you cannot make your field school more affordable to all students, consider offering a sliding scale, scholarships, or opportunities to volunteer without academic credit at a lower cost. Your field school should have concrete policies in place to deal with sexual harassment or assault, bullying, or other instances of hostility; these policies should be transparent, clearly communicated to all project participants, and effectively enforced. There should be multiple people with various identities and adequate training to whom incidents can be reported. Housing arrangements should be made with an eye toward making everyone safe and comfortable, not based on binary gender categories (if you do not know what arrangement would make each student comfortable, ask). Students should have the opportunity to learn a variety of skills and try a variety of different jobs in the research, so that they have the opportunity to discover and develop whatever interests they have. Do not assume that men are interested in fieldwork while women are interested in lab work and illustration.

Archaeological research does not always occur in the field: if you conduct laboratory work or collections-based research, consider finding students to serve as research assistants. If you have such an opportunity available, advertise widely to students, and also specifically invite promising students of color, queer students, and women to apply. If possible, pay them for their time and effort: some universities offer the possibility of work-study jobs or "research opportunities for undergraduates" funding.

Talk to your research assistants about what they are most interested in, and find them tasks that match those interests. Give them credit for the work that they do, and consider listing them as coauthors on publications, presentations, or posters that they are part of, or even encourage them to present that research at conferences themselves.

Research project staff should also carefully consider how they share their research with broader publics. Since public archaeology, museums, and journalism are important factors in the pre-high-school recruitment of archaeologists, we should be putting careful thought and effort into our outreach. Of course, public archaeology work is even less valued by metric-driven academia than introductory courses are, but it is also essential. Are your public programs accessible to diverse groups of people? Could you be working with public schools and community organizations to both support their educational efforts and bring archaeology to children whose parents may not have the time and money to take them to museums on the weekends? Do you only write about your research topics for ivory tower journals, or are you also disseminating your findings to broader audiences? Are you doing your part to create accessible, interesting, high-quality media about archaeology and ancient civilizations?

Of course, the scholarly journal publications are also important for disseminating information within the profession as well as for career advancement. You can use your publications to amplify marginalized voices. Take a close look at the references section of your next article manuscript and estimate how many of the sources you are citing are written by women, people of color, or queer people. Naturally, you will not know how all of the authors identify, but you are likely to know some of them. If your bibliography is

dominated by straight white men, consider reading and citing more work by marginalized people. This will help you create more strongly objective and interesting work, and will simultaneously boost your colleagues' citation counts and influence within the field.

In professional organizations

Professional organizations also have opportunities to make archaeology more diverse and inclusive. Since much of their work is done by members on a volunteer basis, I invite readers to consider what they could do to make the professional organizations they are members of and the conferences they attend more inclusive. If there are already committees or task forces working on issues like scholarships for marginalized people, sexual harassment policies, or accessibility and safety at conferences, consider joining them or offering to help. Too often, this labor falls on the shoulders of the people being targeted by oppression already, and the white person on the diversity scholarship committee or the straight man on the sexual harassment prevention task force can use their privilege to both lighten that load and advocate for change (while listening to and remaining accountable to marginalized people leading these efforts). Even less obviously social-justice-focused committees have an effect on the demographics of the discipline. The boards of professional organizations can help or hinder the work of advocacy groups, and conference planning committees can make the events they plan more or less welcoming to queer people, people of color, and other marginalized people.

If you are not ready to volunteer as an advocate, I encourage you to consider small ways to make the next conference you attend more welcoming for marginalized

people. If you see a woman being harassed at the bar or at a party, step in and ask her if she is alright. If a senior scholar is belittling a graduate student during a question and answer session or a poster session, you can interrupt them to ask a more respectful question about that student's work. Perhaps the harasser is someone you know: if so, consider telling them that their behavior is unacceptable, if you are able to do so safely. If there is an organized mentoring session for graduate students, volunteer to be a mentor, if only for an hour or two (or organize a mentoring session yourself, if there is none in the program!). Take a non-white, non-male, and/or non-straight former student out for coffee and offer them career advice if they are interested. Consider attending sessions on equity or diversity issues in the discipline. You are likely to find these on Sunday morning at 8:00 in the morning in a tiny room: if that room is full anyway, a similar session might be given a better timeslot the following year, and you will surely learn something interesting.

Conclusion

Systemic racism, heterosexism, and sexism cause us to remain dominated by straight white cisgender men, and support the abuse of marginalized archaeologists at the hands of their colleagues. These interlocking systems pervade the discipline of archaeology, influencing who creates our knowledge of the human past, and what kinds of knowledge they create. They lead us to push marginalized people out of our subfield and our discipline through ongoing microaggressions and abuse.

Archaeology has the potential to be a strongly objective study of the human past, and a discipline that welcomes the voices of scholars and stakeholders from varied backgrounds in shaping our studies. Archaeologists pride ourselves on looking beyond the documentary records written by the victors of history in order to see the lives and experiences of all people, regardless of gender, race, sexuality, age, class, status, nationality, or disability. If we are to live up to this goal and practice our science ethically, we must all do our part to dismantle the systems of oppression that limit and harm us.

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2019 Chairs Give Update on the SAA Task Force on Sexual and Anti-Harassment Policies and Procedures. *Society for American Archaeology*. May 8. https://www.saa.org/quick-nav/saa-media-room/saa-news/2019/05/08/chairs-give-update-on-the-saa-task-force-on-sexual-and-anti-harassment-policies-and-procedures, accessed May 17, 2019.
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Reinberger, Brandon T. Ritchison, Maria Jose Rivera-Araya, April K. Smith, and Victor
D. Thompson
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Speakman, Robert J., Carla S. Hadden, Matthew H. Colvin, Justin Cramb, K. C. Jones,
Travis W. Jones, Isabelle Lulewicz, Katharine G. Napora, Katherine L. Reinberger,

Brandon T. Ritchison, Alexandra R. Edwards, and Victor D. Thompson
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 1993   *What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village*. Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, MN.

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 2017   Intersectional Feminist Theory and Materializations of Diverse Plural, Fluid, Multivalent, Intersectional Gender Identities in the Historic Jewish Diaspora on Greater Boston's Landscape. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Vancouver, BC, Canada.

Stottman, M. Jay (editor)
 2010a *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL.
 2010b Introduction: Archaeologists as Activists. In *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?*, edited by M. Jay Stottman, pp. 1–16. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL.

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 2010   *Microaggressions in everyday life: race, gender, and sexual orientation*. Wiley, Hoboken, N.J.

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 1994   Madeline Kneberg Lewis: An Original Southeastern Archaeologist. In *Women in Archaeology*, edited by Cheryl Claassen, pp. 110–119. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

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 2001   *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity*. Basic Books, New York.

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 2008   History of COSWA: Beginnings, Ruptures, and Continuities. *SAA Archaeological Record* 8(4):8–11.

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2017 The peer review gap: A longitudinal case study of gendered publishing and occupational patterns in a female-rich discipline, Western North America (1974-2016). *PLoS ONE* 12(11):e0188403.

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2014 *An Anthropologist's Arrival: A Memoir*. Edited by Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Stephen E. Nash. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ.

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1992 Women's Participation in American Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology: A Comparative Look at the Journals American Antiquity and Historical Archaeology. In *Exploring Gender Through Archaeology: Selected Papers from the 1991 Boone Conference*, edited by Cheryl Claassen, pp. 11–21. Monographs in World Archaeology 11. Prehistory Press, Madison.

Voss, Barbara L.
2000 Feminisms, Queer Theories, and the Archaeological Study of Past Sexualities. *World Archaeology* 32(2):180–192.
2008a Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire. *American Anthropologist* 110(2):191–203.
2008b *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Voss, Barbara L., and Eleanor Conlin Casella (editors)
2012 *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

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2019 #MeToo controversy erupts at archaeology meeting. *Science | AAAS*, April 15.

Walde, Dale, and Noreen Willows (editors)
1991 *The Archaeology of Gender*. The University of Calgary Archaeological Association, Calgary.

Walley, Meghan (editor)
InDIGnant: Archaeology by & for Activists, Feminists, Punks, Queers, Anarchists, & Coprolite Disturbers. Self-published zine distributed at the 2017 Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting in Vancouver, BC, Canada.

White, Nancy Marie, Rochelle A. Marrinan, and Hester A. Davis
 1994   Early Women in Southeastern Archaeology: A Preliminary Report on Ongoing Research. In *Women in Archaeology*, edited by Cheryl Claassen, pp. 96–109. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

White, Nancy Marie, Lynn P. Sullivan, and Rochelle A. Marrinan (editors)
 1999   *Grit-Tempered: Early Women Archaeologists in the Southeastern United States*. The Ripley P. Bullen Series. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Whitehouse, Ruth D.
 2007   Gender Archaeology and Archaeology of Women: Do We Need Both? In *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*, pp. 27–40. Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, University College, London. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

Whitson, Risa
 2017   Painting Pictures of Ourselves: Researcher Subjectivity in the Practice of Feminist Reflexivity. *The Professional Geographer* 69(2):299–306.

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 2010   NAGPRA and Indigenous Peoples: The Social Context and Controversies, and the Transformation of American Archaeology. In *Voices in American Archaeology*, edited by Wendy Ashmore, Dorothy Lippert, and Barbara J. Mills, pp. 178–192. Society for American Archaeology Press, Washington, D.C.

Wilkie, Laurie A.
 2003   African-American Mothering and Enslavement. In *The Archaeology of Mothering: An African-American Midwife's Tale*, pp. 55–74. Routledge, New York.

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 2006   Engendered and Feminist Archaeologies of the Recent and Documented Pasts. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14:243–264.

Willey, Gordon Randolph, and Jeremy A. Sabloff
 1993   *A History of American Archaeology*. 3rd ed. W.H. Freeman, New York.

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 2002 COSWA Committee Article: Gender Equity, Sexual Harassment, and Professional Ethics. *SAA Archaeological Record* 2(4):18–19.
 2008 Sexual Harassment and Professional Ethics. *SAA Archaeological Record* 8(4):27–30.

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 1994 Down in the Field in Louisiana: An Historical Perspective on the Role of Women in Louisiana Archaeology. In *Women in Archaeology*, edited by Cheryl Claassen, pp. 120–138. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Wylie, Alison
 1991 Gender Theory and the Archaeological Record: Why Is There No Archaeology of Gender? In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, edited by Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, pp. 31–54. Social Archaeology. Basil Blackwell Ltd., Cambridge, MA.
 1992a The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interests: Recent Archaeological Research on Gender. *American Antiquity* 57(1):15–35.
 1992b Feminist Theories of Social Power: Some Implications for a Processual Archaeology. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 25(1):51–68.
 1993 A Proliferation of New Archaeologies: "Beyond Objectivism and Relativism." In *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?*, edited by Norman Yoffee and Andrew Sherratt, pp. 20–26. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
 1997 The Engendering of Archaeology: Refiguring Feminist Science Studies. *Osiris* 12:80–99.
 2000 Questions of Evidence, Legitimacy, and the (Dis)Unity of Science. *American Antiquity* 65(2):227–237.
 2002 *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
 2006a Introduction: When Difference Makes a Difference. *Episteme: A Journal of Social Epistemology* 3(1–2):1–7.
 2006b Introduction: When Difference Makes a Difference. *Episteme: A Journal of Social Epistemology* 3(1–2):1–7.
 2007 Doing Archaeology as a Feminist: Introduction. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14:209–216.
 2011a Standpoint (Still) Matters: Research on Women, Work, and the Academy. In *Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science: Power in Knowledge*, edited by Heidi Graswick, pp. 157–179. Springer, New York.
 2011b Women in Philosophy: the Costs of Exclusion--Editor's Introduction. *Hypatia* 26(2):374–382.
 2012 Feminist Philosophy of Science: Standpoint Matters. *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 86(2):47–76.

Wylie, Alison, and Lynn Hankinson Nelson

 2009   Coming to Terms with the Values of Science: Insights from Feminist Science Studies Scholarship. In *Value-Free Science?: Ideals and Illusions*, edited by Harold Kincaid, John Dupré, and Alison Wylie. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Yellen, John
 1991   Women, Archaeology, and the National Science Foundation: An Analysis of Fiscal Year 1989 Data. In *The Archaeology of Gender*, edited by Dale Walde and Noreen Willows, pp. 201–210. The University of Calgary Archaeological Association, Calgary.

Zeder, Melinda A.
 1997   *The American Archaeologist: A Profile*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek.

<p style="text-align:center"><u>Vita</u></p>

<p style="text-align:center">Laura E. Heath-Stout</p>

Boston University Archaeology Program   (551) 427-7485
675 Commonwealth Ave., Suite 347   lheath@bu.edu
Boston, MA 02215   www.lauraheathstout.com
           born 1989

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Anthropology (Anthropological Archaeology track), Boston University, Boston, MA
Dissertation: *Diversity, Identity, and Oppression in the Production of Archaeological Knowledge* (scheduled defense: June 26, 2019)
Committee: David Carballo, Mary Beaudry, Catherine Connell, Christopher Schmitt

2019   **Certificate**, Teaching College Writing, Boston University, Boston, MA

2013   **M.A.**, Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA
Thesis: *Postclassic Ceramics from La Laguna, Tlaxcala, Mexico*

2011   **B.A.**, Archaeology, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT
Honors Thesis: *Toward a "Full Biography of Obsidian:" Studies of Obsidian Use and Trade in the Maya Area*

2010   Semester abroad, Facultad de Antropología, Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, Mérida, Yucatán, Mexico

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2019   Lecturer, Writing Program, Boston University (beginning Fall 2019)

2017–present   Chad DiGregorio Editorial Fellow, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, BU

2016–present   Lecturer, Museum of Fine Arts Boston

2015–2017   Graduate Writing Fellow, Writing Program, BU

2012–2015   Teaching Fellow, Archaeology Program, BU

PUBLICATIONS

In preparation **Heath-Stout, Laura E**. "The Invisibly Disabled Archaeologist." To be submitted to the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* in Fall 2019.

Under revision **Heath-Stout, Laura E.** "Pottery on the Periphery: Contact-Period Ceramics and Regional Integration at La Laguna, Tlaxcala, Mexico." Received an invitation to revise and resubmit from the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* in April 2019.

In press Velasco Almanza, Ivonne, **Laura Heath**, Aurelio López Corral, and Ramón Santacruz Cano. "Complejos decorativos en la cerámica polícroma de Tepeticpac." In *VI Jornada de investigación sobre antropología e historia de Tlaxcala, Mexico*. Tlaxcala, Mexico: Centro INAH Tlaxcala.

AWARDS AND HONORS

2018 Laura Bassi Scholarship, Editing Press (honorable mention)

Student Membership Award, Archaeology Division, American Anthropological Association

2017 Outstanding Graduate Writing Fellow Award, BU Writing Program

2011 Inducted to Gamma Chapter, Phi Beta Kappa, Wesleyan

Departmental Honors in Archaeology, Wesleyan

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

2018 Boston University Archaeology Program, Chad DiGregorio Memorial Fund Travel Grant, $782

BU Graduate Student Organization, Travel Grant, $500

BU Archaeology Program, Chad DiGregorio Memorial Fund Research Grant, $700

2015 BU Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, Summer Research Fellowship, $6000

BU Latin American Studies Program, Graduate Student Field Research Grant, $800

2014   BU Archaeology Program, Chad DiGregorio Memorial Fund Research Grant, $650

2011–2012   BU Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, Dean's Fellowship, $10,500/semester

CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

Conferences and Sessions Organized

2018   Session Chair, Co-Organizer (with Dr. Chelsea Blackmore): "Changing Archaeology: Building a More Just and Inclusive Discipline" Invited Session, American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Jose, CA.

2015   Organizing Committee: Boston University Archaeology Biennial Graduate Student Conference, Boston, MA.

Papers and Posters Presented

2019   **Heath-Stout, Laura E**. "The Invisibly Disabled Archaeologist." Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, NM.

            Hannigan, Elizabeth, and **Laura E. Heath-Stout**. "Affording Archaeology: How the Cost of Field School Keeps Archaeology Exclusive." Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, NM.

2018   **Heath-Stout, Laura E**. "What Works? Insights on Building Diversity from a Series of Interviews with Archaeologists." American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Jose, CA.

            Heath-Stout, Laura E. "Who Writes about Archaeology? An Intersectional Study of Authorship in Archaeological Journals." State of the Field: Archaeology and Social Justice Conference, Joukowsky Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, Brown University, Providence, RI.

2017	**Heath-Stout, Laura E.** "Who Writes about Archaeology? An Intersectional Study of Authorship in American Anthropological Journals." Poster. American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC.
	Heath-Stout, Laura E. "Who Writes about Archaeology? An Intersectional Study of Authorship in American Anthropological Journals" Public Archaeology Twitter Conference, Online. https://twitter.com/lauraellenheath/status/931567863088992259
	Heath-Stout, Laura E. "An Intersectional Study of Authorship and Citation in *American Antiquity*, *Latin American Antiquity*, and *Advances in Archaeological Practice*." Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Vancouver, BC, Canada.
2015	Velasco Almanza, Ivonne, **Laura Heath**, Aurelio López Corral, and Ramón Santacruz Cano. "Complejos decorativos en la cerámica polícroma de Tepeticpac." VI Jornada de investigación sobre antropología e historia de Tlaxcala, Mexico, Tlaxcala, Mexico.
	Heath, Laura E. "Pottery on the Periphery: Postclassic Ceramics from La Laguna, Tlaxcala, Mexico." Boston University Archaeology Biennial Graduate Student Conference, Boston, MA.
	Heath, Laura E. "Pottery on the Periphery: Postclassic Ceramics from La Laguna, Tlaxcala, Mexico." Poster. Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.
2012	Carballo, David M., Anthony F. Aveni, and **Laura E. Heath**. "Public Architecture and Ritual Offerings during Central Mexico's Later Formative Periods." Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Memphis, TN.

Discussant and Panelist

2019	**Heath-Stout, Laura E.** Discussant: "#MeToo in Archaeology." Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, NM.
	Heath-Stout, Laura E. Panelist: "Black Lives Matter: The Fight Against Intersectional Operations of Oppression within Historical Archaeology." Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, St. Charles, MO.

INVITED GUEST LECTURES AND RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

2018   "Feminist, intersectional, and queer theory in archaeology." October 11, Invited Guest Lecture in Contemporary Theory in Archaeology, taught by Mary Beaudry, BU.

            "Who Writes about Archaeology? An Intersectional Study of Authorship in Archaeological Journals." February 28, Invited Talk in Archaeology Seminar Series, BU.

2014   "Archaeology of Identity." March 14, Invited Guest Lecture in Methods and Theory in Archaeology, taught by Catherine West, BU.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

As Instructor of Record at Boston University:

2017   AR100: Great Discoveries in Archaeology; Summer 2017

            WR150: Identity, Oppression, and Politics in Archaeological Heritage; Spring 2017

2016   WR150: Goddesses, Concubines, and Midwives: What Archaeology Can Teach Us about Gender and Sexuality; Spring 2016

2015–2016 WR100: Goddesses, Concubines, and Midwives: What Archaeology Can Teach Us about Gender and Sexuality; Fall 2015 and Fall 2016

As Teaching Assistant at Boston University:

2013–2014 AR100: Great Discoveries in Archaeology; Spring 2013, Fall 2013, Spring 2014

2012–2014 AR101: Introduction to Archaeology; Fall 2012, Fall 2014

As Teaching Assistant at Wesleyan University:

2009   ARCP101: Introduction to Archaeology; Fall 2009

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2013–2015   Proyecto Arqueológico Tepeticpac, Tlaxcala, Mexico; field archaeologist, ceramic analyst

2015   Proyecto Arqueológico Tlaxcallan, Tlaxcala, Mexico; field archaeologist

2014   Proyecto Arqueológico Tlajinga Teotihuacan, Estado de México, Mexico; field archaeologist

2012   Proyecto Arqueológico La Laguna, Tlaxcala, Mexico; ceramic analyst

Wakefield Summer Institute, Milton, Massachusetts; senior staff archaeologist

2010   Ka'Kabish Archaeological Research Project, Orange Walk District, Belize; field archaeologist

2009   Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, Cortez, Colorado; field intern

2008   Pambamarca Archaeological Project, Cayambe, Ecuador; student

2007–2008   Historic Bethlehem Partnership, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; volunteer

2005   ArchaeoSpain Pol-Léntia Program, Mallorca, Spain; student

2004   Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, Cortez, Colorado; student

SERVICE

2019   Task Force on Sexual and Anti-Harassment Policies and Procedures, Society for American Archaeology

2017–present   Archaeology Program Organizer; Graduate Workers' Union; BU

2016–2017   Planning Committee; Challenging Conversations: Diversities in the Writing Classroom, Writing Program Faculty Seminar; BU

Founder and Coordinator; Diversity and Inclusion in Academia and Writing Pedagogy Reading Group; Writing Program; BU

2015–2017	Founder and Coordinator; Archaeology of Gender and Sexuality Reading Group; BU
2014–2016	Founder and Administrator; Boston Archaeology Listserv
2014	Chair, Planning Committee; Archaeology Graduate Student Orientation; BU
2013–2014	Vice President; Archaeology Graduate Student Association; BU
	Planning Committee; Archaeology Brown Bag Lecture Series; BU
	Undergraduate Archaeology Student Mentoring Committee; BU
2011–2013	Archaeology Education and Outreach Committee; BU
2010–2011	Founding member; Students for NAGPRA Compliance; Wesleyan

PARTICIPATION IN PEDAGOGICAL WORKSHOPS

2018–present	Anthropology/Archaeology Professionalization Workshop; BU; August 2018–present
2019	Accessible Education in the Galleries; Gallery Learning Staff Training; Museum of Fine Arts Boston; January 2019
2018	Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion; Gallery Learning Staff Training; Museum of Fine Arts Boston; October 2018
2017	Challenging Conversations: Diversities in the Writing Classroom; Writing Program Faculty Seminar; BU; March 2017
2016	Feminist Strategies in the Classroom and Beyond; Boston Consortium for Graduate Studies in Gender, Culture, Women, and Sexuality Symposium; April 2016
	Teaching Multimodal Writing; Writing Program Faculty Seminar; BU; March 2016
	Teaching Writing to ESL Students; Writing Program Faculty Seminar; BU; January 2016

2015	ESL Writing Workshop with Paul Matsuda; Writing Program Seminar; BU; September 2015

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND OUTREACH

Teaching in the Museum and in the Field

2016–present	Lecturer; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Write and present gallery talks, spotlight talks, and "Looking Together" courses for museum visitors, especially focusing on historical ceramics, Mesoamerican archaeology, colonialism in the Americas, Mexican history, and intersectional feminism

2018	Lecturer; Evergreen Program, BU Wrote and presented a themed tour of the Museum of Fine Arts, titled "How did THIS get HERE?" for senior citizens.

2012	Senior Staff Archaeologist; Wakefield Summer Institute, Milton, Massachusetts Taught and supervised high school students in an archaeological field setting

2009	Field Intern; Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, Cortez, Colorado Taught and supervised middle school students, high school students, and adults in an archaeological field setting

Podcasts

2018	"AAA Takeaways." *Women in Archaeology Podcast*: Episode 41. January 7. https://www.archaeologypodcastnetwork.com/iia/41

2017	"Pop Science with Laura Heath-Stout." *You Have a Body Podcast*: Episode 52. July 24. http://noisepicnic.com/our-lovely-podcasts/you-have-a-body/pop-science-podcast

Blog Posts

2018	"Building an Archaeology as Diverse as the Human Past." *Anthropology News: Archaeology Division Section News*. Submitted November 10, 2018.

"Building a More Inclusive Introductory Archaeology Course." *Queer Archaeology*. December 11. https://queerarchaeology.com/2018/12/11/building-a-more-inclusive-introductory-archaeology-course/

2017   "Anti-Oppression Activities at SHA Annual Meeting in Fort Worth." *Society for Historical Archaeology Blog*. April 26. https://sha.org/blog/2017/04/anti-oppression-activities-sha-annual-meeting-fort-worth/

LANGUAGE SKILLS

English: native
Spanish: fluent
Classical Nahuatl: can read with dictionary

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Anthropological Association
    (Archaeology Division, Association for Queer Anthropology, Association for Feminist Anthropology)
Society for American Archaeology
    (Women in Archaeology Interest Group, Queer Archaeology Interest Group)
Society for Historical Archaeology

updated May 23, 2019