
The Texas Archeological Society: An Analysis of Current Demographics and Diachronic *BTAS* Authorship (1929–2019)

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Abstract

The social positions and employment contexts of archeologists shape the production and dissemination of archeological knowledge. Therefore, demographics have far-reaching impacts for how knowledge is constructed and received in the discipline. In this article we examine these dynamics using the Texas Archeological Society (TAS) and its *Bulletin* (*BTAS*) as a case study. We present aggregated data on longitudinal trends in *BTAS* publications as well as survey results of TAS members and *BTAS* authors. The *BTAS* is considered unique: it is one of the oldest, continuously published archeology journals in the United States (first published in 1929) and features editorially-reviewed articles, which may be peer-reviewed if the author prefers. Because the *BTAS* is a venue for avocational, academic, and professional archeologists, we are able to quantify rates of publication by authors from these sectors and to understand how they correlate with the institutional affiliation, gender, and race/ethnicity of authors. Our findings indicate that over the *BTAS*'s 90-year history, the majority of its authors have been men with a steady increase in authorship by women over most of this period; however, there was a decline in women authors in the period of 2009–2019, compared to the previous decade. Although our sample of TAS members was too small to conduct statistical significance testing, our survey results suggest that authors who are Cultural Resource Management archeologists or retirees with a background in professional archeology are especially likely to be men, while authors who identify as avocationalists, academics, and public sector archeologists have more gender-balanced representation. Contrary to findings in other regions, the *BTAS* is particularly dominated by male authors who are CRM practitioners, and publications from both men and women from other sectors are less represented.

Introduction

In its nearly century-long history, the Texas Archeological Society (TAS) has been instrumental in promoting archeological research and preservation in the state of Texas, mobilizing a community of both avocational and professional archeologists working in various volunteer, staff, and contractor roles across a variety of sectors to protect the state's cultural resources. Its publication, the *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society* (*BTAS*), is one of the oldest continuously published journals in the field and serves as an outlet for members and others in the archeological community to disseminate the results of their research.

Due to TAS's long history and prominence in the archeological community in Texas, vital questions

can be posed about the history of Texas archeological practice through analyzing larger demographic trends in TAS membership and in rates of *BTAS* authorship. What is the current demographic composition of TAS members and how has this changed through time? Are individuals from historically excluded groups represented in the organization as members, including as members in decision-making positions? Who publishes in the *BTAS* and how does this dictate which research topics or material culture studies are highlighted, and conversely, contribute to the concealment of others? Are there real or perceived barriers that limit participation in TAS and publication in the *BTAS*? What consequences could these barriers have on the future of TAS, *BTAS*, and archeology in Texas? And overall, what can these factors and trends reveal about the archeological community in Texas as a whole?

In other regional and disciplinary contexts, feminist archeologists have examined questions like these over the past several decades by conducting gendered analyses of the discipline at varying scales. These studies have included explorations of disciplinary demographics at the national and international scales (e.g., Bardolph 2014; Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; Gero 1985; Goldstein et al. 2018; Heath-Stout 2020a; Jalbert 2019), as well as regional studies of California/Great Basin (Bardolph 2018; Tushingham et al. 2017) and Southeastern archeology (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016). Though limited, demographic trends among avocational archeologists have also been the subject of recent work (see Hart 2020). Collectively, these studies have shown that despite strides toward gender parity, archeologists continue to be majority-white and majority-male, especially those in positions of authority. At the same time, the particular demographics and professional dynamics of regional archeologies in other areas of the U.S., like Texas archeology, have not yet been interrogated. We argue that attention to these regional archeologies can help further elucidate this situation.

In this article, we present an examination of TAS as a new case study for understanding the state of diversity and inclusion in U.S. regional archeologies. Using a survey of current TAS members and a study of authorship in the *BTAS* over its 90-year history, we demonstrate that TAS has always been racially homogeneous and male-dominated, and remains so despite increasing numbers of women participating in the field of archeology and the increase in racial diversity in the state of Texas as a whole. Furthermore, this research demonstrates that the career dynamics of Texas archeologists are different from other regions where universities are more exclusive to women than compliance archeology (Bardolph 2018; Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019): here, Cultural Resource Management (CRM) and avocational archeology are especially male-dominated, while universities are closer to gender parity.

Brief History of the TAS and *BTAS*

The Texas Archeological Society (formerly the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society, 1928–1952) was first established in 1928. Born out of local interest in the history of the Abilene region by “business and professional men,” the Society’s aim

was to promote literary and scientific undertakings that focused on the natural and cultural history of Texas and which encouraged proper preservation, research, and publication of findings among its members (Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society 1929).

Today, TAS is the primary statewide organization that fosters the preservation of the state’s cultural resources. It aims to educate its membership and the general public on all aspects of the archeological process, including the need for proper curation of collected data and dissemination of results. Each year, TAS holds a field school, runs educational workshops known as academies, organizes and hosts a three-day Annual Meeting that rotates to various host cities across the state, and publishes and distributes the *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society (BTAS)*. Unlike the Council of Texas Archaeologists (CTA), whose membership is open to professional archaeologists and students, anyone with an interest in archeology can become a member of TAS. Indeed, a substantial number of TAS members are avocational archeologists: they do not hold formal degrees or professional positions in archeology, but contribute their time and knowledge to archeological research and “[adhere] to a code of standards prescribed by the archaeological organizations to which they belong at local, regional, and national levels” (Hart 2020:54).

Originally published as the *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society*, the *BTAS* has been continuously published once per year, every year since 1929 (except for 1944), making it one of the oldest archeology journals in the United States. As the primary publication for the Society, the *BTAS* provides a venue for, and encourages, submissions by professional and avocational archeologists alike regardless of their membership status in TAS. Manuscripts are conditionally accepted upon submission in almost all cases and are editorially-reviewed (peer-review is available, if requested by the authors) (personal communication, Timothy K. Perttula, 2020). Over its tenure, the *BTAS* has had 26 different editors and has published articles on archeological research conducted within Texas and its surrounding states, as well as Mexico (Perttula 2019). While submissions cover a range of archeological subdisciplines, the majority of articles in *BTAS* have focused on research topics related to the pre-contact era.

TAS also actively fosters stewardship of archeological resources through additional media (e.g., exhibits and books) and through several initiatives originally conceived by TAS leadership. These include the Texas Archeology Stewards Network (TASN) formed in 1984 (<https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/texas-archeological-stewards>), and Texas Archeology Month (<https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/texas-archeology-month>) (Wheat Stranahan 2019); both programs are currently managed by the Texas Historical Commission, which is the State Historic Preservation Office.

From its inception, members of TAS have made significant contributions to the understanding of Texas archeology through research and reporting on thousands of sites and artifacts and overall advancement of public awareness and outreach. Celebrating its ninetieth anniversary in 2019, TAS represents one of the oldest continuously-operated archeological societies in the country, with a membership that typically ranges between approximately 1000–1400 members per year (personal communication, Jamie Ross, 2020).

Demographics of the Discipline of Archeology

This section provides a brief overview of the range of sociopolitical research and gender equity studies that have been undertaken to study the demographics of archeologists. Typically focused on evaluating the presence and status of women in the discipline, feminist studies of archeology continue to evolve with scholars expanding their understanding of gender inequities by taking into account a combination of other intersecting identities including race/ethnicity, sexuality, (dis)ability, and socioeconomic status (e.g., Battle-Baptiste 2011; Franklin 2001; Heath-Stout in press; Heath-Stout and Hannigan 2020; Lee and Scott 2019; O’Mahony 2015; Rutecki and Blackmore 2016). While space restrictions

prohibit a full examination of these works, attention will be paid to past studies that have dealt with demographic trends among avocational archeologists, relationships between avocationalists and professionals, and documented inequities in publications. Our discussion of publications will focus specifically on those studies that have evaluated journals produced by regional or avocational societies.

Gender Equity and Authorship in Archeology

Since the 1980s, researchers have drawn attention to androcentric interpretations of the archeological past and have exposed and worked to redress the prevalence of gender inequity in archeological practice. First discussed by Gero (1985) in her foundational article on the socio-politics of archeology and the “woman-at-home archaeologist,” structural inequities have been documented in many facets of disciplinary practice and culture. Previous studies have highlighted issues of differential access to fieldwork and the reinforcement of gender roles in research and employment (e.g., Baxter 2005; Claassen 1994; Gero 1985, 1996; Moser 2007); gender-based harassment including sexual harassment (e.g., Clancy et al. 2014; Colannino et al. 2020; Jalbert 2019; Meyers et al. 2018; Radde 2018); and gendered disparities in hiring and occupational status (e.g., Hutson 1998, 2002; Speakman et al. 2018;¹ Zeder 1997). Other topics have included analyses of funding opportunities and awards (e.g., Goldstein et al. 2018; Yellen 1991), and rates of publication (e.g., Bardolph 2014; Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; Gamble 2020; Heath-Stout 2019, 2020a, 2020b; Tushingham et al. 2017; Tushingham and Fulkerson 2020). Together, these studies reveal how inequities manifest, the ways these inequities are upheld in archeology, and, more broadly, how the discipline has historically favored the knowledge and contributions of men over those of researchers of other genders. Publication-based research, in particular, has demonstrated that national and regional

¹After an arrest for felony aggravated stalking and violating a protective order, Speakman was banned indefinitely from the University of Georgia campus in 2019 and from attending the 2020 Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting. Since many of his co-authors are early career women, we believe it remains important to elevate their work, although we believe it is problematic to cite Speakman here or in other works. For more information on the politics of citing scholars accused of misconduct or ethical violations, see Souleles (2020).

journals are dominated by men, whereas women are more likely to present their research at conferences (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Tushingham et al. 2017) or seek publication in non-peer-reviewed journals (Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019).

In their analysis, which included *Southeastern Archaeology* (the flagship journal of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference [SEAC]), and other regional and state journals and conference proceedings, Bardolph and Vanderwarker (2016) revealed persistent gendered disparities in the contributions of men and women to Southeastern archeology. Their research showed that while contributions by women have increased, women are more likely to present their research at SEAC conferences than pursue publication in *Southeastern Archaeology*; overall, women are published in *Southeastern Archaeology* at significantly lower rates than men (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016:4-5). Despite this documented increase in the participation of women at SEAC meetings, the rate of conference presentations remains at levels that are disproportionately low, compared to their representation in the society's membership (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016:4).

Fulkerson and Tushingham (2019) identified similar trends in their review of Great Basin regional journals in comparison with national journals. Through their analysis, they identified how occupational status might contribute to differential submission rates between men and women in peer-reviewed (e.g., scholarly journals) and non-peer-reviewed (e.g., conference proceedings, book reviews, regional journals) publications. While peer-reviewed publications remain dominated by academic authors, Fulkerson and Tushingham (2019) observed that authorship by CRM archeologists is more common and better represented in non-peer-reviewed publications. This is particularly true for women CRM and compliance archeologists, as they appear far more likely to seek publication in non-peer reviewed venues than in peer-reviewed journals. This result, which the authors describe as a "peer-review gap," generates significant questions regarding why women choose to publish in non-peer-reviewed over peer-reviewed publications and how occupational status and a lack of support for such activities could be driving factors in these decisions. Although Fulkerson and Tushingham (2019) conclude that non-peer-reviewed journals provide an important outlet for women and CRM archeologists

overall, other questions are raised. This includes evaluating the ways knowledge construction has been affected by the (under)valuing and (in)visibility of gray literature in the discipline.

Demographics of Avocational Archeologists

Literature on avocational archeologists has shown that avocationalists are essential members of the archeological community and contribute in important ways to the production and transmission of archeological knowledge (Christenson 2013; Frison 1984; Poetschat et al. 2012) and the protection of archeological sites (Davis 1991; DeAngelo 1992; Tesar 1988). A key aspect of this work has focused on the need for, and the importance of, productive collaborations between avocational and professional archeologists, especially with the increased professionalization of the discipline over the past 50 years (e.g., Christenson 2013; Davis 1991; Frison 1984; Poetschat et al. 2012). This has also been true in the context of Texas archeology (e.g., Hester 1981, 2019; Mitchell 1983; Prewitt et al. 1981; Shafer 2019). Yet, the demographics or social identities of avocationalists and how these identities may be contributing to and reinforcing dominant structures in archeology have received little attention in the literature.

Previous research indicates that the avocational community may be primarily composed of white male members: a demographic that has historically matched that of their professional colleagues (Hart 2020; Turnbaugh 1981). Using a large-scale community-based project in western Massachusetts as an example, Hart (2020) argues that the masculine-coded nature of fieldwork and the professionalization of the field remain as key "fracture points" in the avocational-professional relationship. She observes that despite the presence of common goals between avocational and professional archeologists (i.e., the preservation of the archeological record), masculinity, whiteness, and privilege present real, but invisible, barriers to continuing to build a more inclusive practice. This is particularly evident as the discipline moves toward archeologies that promote democratization and community-building (Hart 2020:61). Indeed, Hart's (2020) recent reflection on her collaborations with older white male avocationalists leads one to consider how tensions around gender, race, age, and professional status shape

archeological practices, relationships, and knowledge. While this area of research requires further consideration, developing an awareness of the tensions created by the demographics of avocational archeologists, their ongoing relationships with professionals, the interplay between various and intersecting axes of identity, and how authority is assigned or granted, will create more inclusive and welcoming projects and collaborations in the future.

Methods

This project consists of both diachronic and synchronic studies. The first examines longitudinal trends in the gender and affiliation composition of *BTAS* authors from its founding until the present, while the other provides a synchronic view of the current demographics of TAS membership.

To conduct a diachronic study of authorship, we began by gathering data on all articles published in the *BTAS*, from 1929 through 2019. Back issues of the *BTAS* were accessed online via the Portal of Texas History (<https://texashistory.unt.edu/explore/collections/BTAS/>). For each article, we recorded the following data on the author(s): the year, first page, name, rank (the order they are listed on the publication), affiliation if listed, and gender. Author affiliations were characterized as “CRM,” “Federal Government,” “Museum,” “Non-Profit,” “State or Local Government,” “University,” or “Other.” Authors whose affiliations were listed as the town or city where they live were characterized as “Avocational” and authors with no listed affiliations were listed as “Unknown.” For gender determinations, authors with common masculine first names were listed as men, those with common feminine first names as women, and those with uncommon or androgynous first names as unknown. When authors used a first initial and middle name, we searched for more information using Google searches, looking for gendered pronouns and photographs that suggested a normative gender presentation. Those who had common gendered middle names and whose web presences suggested the same gender as their middle name were listed as being of that gender. If the middle name was uncommon or androgynous or the Google search was inconclusive, we listed the author’s gender as “unknown.” Of course, Google searches were only useful for more recent authors.

Authors who published under initials without a first or middle name were listed as “unknown,” unless they had multiple publications, some of which used a first name and/or middle name, in which case we applied the same gender designation to all publications. For a handful of publications, especially in the early years of the journal, some authors were listed with “Mrs.” and their husband’s last name but no first name: these authors were designated as women in our study. Once these data had been gathered, we performed simple statistical analyses (chi-square tests) where sample sizes were sufficient for such tests in order to determine the significance of trends in the gender and affiliation patterns of *BTAS* authors over time.

Scholars have primarily used the assignment of binary gender categories to examine long-term publication trends in a variety of journals (Bardolph 2014; Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; Gamble 2020; Gero 1985; Goldstein 2018; Tushingham and Fulkerson 2020; Tushingham et al. 2017). While this approach is considered problematic because it assumes gender as a dichotomous (man/woman) identity and conflates an individual’s biological sex with their social gender, it has proven useful in measuring publication metrics and allowing scholars to engage in conversations regarding how and by whom archeological knowledge is produced. Recently, Heath-Stout (2020a) has demonstrated how gender equity scholars can employ an intersectional approach to further understand publication data. Rather than working with static data to assign gender to past authors, she issued a survey to authors who published in various journals over a 10-year period and asked respondents to self-identify across four different axes of identity: gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and nationality. Although Heath-Stout acknowledges that this approach also has its drawbacks (i.e. response bias), the overall methodological outcomes are positive: it allows scholars to push beyond the bounds of gender to better understand the state of diversity in authorship (Heath-Stout 2020a). For these reasons, we use a survey to ascertain the genders of current TAS members.

Our survey was distributed by the TAS leadership to all current members by email in February 2020. The survey was also available to members through a link on the TAS website. Due to the large

Latinx population of Texas, the survey was written bilingually in English and Spanish and included questions about the respondent's gender, race/ethnicity, age, highest level of education in archeology, institutional affiliation, and history of publication in *BTAS* (Appendix 1). We received 95 responses to the survey; since there were 721 members of TAS at the time of distribution of the survey (personal communication, Jamie Ross, 2020), this constitutes a response rate of 13.2 percent, which has a less than 10 percent margin of error at a 95 percent confidence level. This survey was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Rice University (where Heath-Stout was employed at the time).

Results

Demographics of the Texas Archeological Society Membership, 2019

Our survey results indicate that the membership of TAS is disproportionately white (91.6 percent), male (60 percent), older than 60 (53.7 percent), and retired (32.6 percent) and/or avocational (23.2 percent) when compared to demographic data from the most recent Society of American Archaeology Needs Assessment and the 2019 U.S. Census of Texas residents (Tables 1–3). A handful of members identified as biracial/multiracial (4.2 percent), Hispanic/Latinx (1.1 percent), or Native American (1.1 percent), but no Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern/North African, Asian, or Black/African American members responded to our survey. Although nearly one in three (29.5 percent) TAS members hold no degrees in archeology or related disciplines, many hold a B.A./B.S. (25.3 percent) or M.A./M.S. (31.6 percent) as their highest degree and a smaller number hold Ph.Ds. (13.7 percent).

Of the 95 respondents to our survey, 24 reported that they had previously published in the *BTAS*. The genders of these respondents were even more unbalanced than those of respondents as a whole as 70.8 percent of respondents who had published in the *BTAS* were men, compared to 60 percent of respondents in the full sample being men (Table 4). Put another way, 29.8 percent of male respondents had published in the journal, while only 19.4 percent of female respondents had. Across categories of affiliation, only small numbers of respondents reported

publishing in the *BTAS* (Table 5) with one exception: retirees (10/21, 47.6 percent). This can potentially be explained by their long careers in archeology and senior status in the field. These trends are intriguing, to be certain, although they cannot be tested for statistical significance due to the small sample size.

In contrast to previous studies, which have suggested that CRM and government archeology are less male-dominated than the academic (Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; Tushingham and Fulkerson 2020; Tushingham et al. 2017), our survey has demonstrated that in Texas, CRM is especially unbalanced with a male majority (see Table 3). Although our sample is too small to conduct statistical significance testing, our survey results suggest that retirees and CRM archeologists are especially likely to be men, while avocationalists, academics, and public sector archeologists are more gender-balanced. Overall, an intersectional analysis of race and gender revealed that the majority (56.8 percent) of respondents were white men (Table 2).

Demographics of BTAS Authors, 1929–2019

Over *BTAS*'s entire 90-year history, the majority of its authors (75 percent) have been men with only 20.1 percent identified as women and 4.9 percent of unidentified gender (Table 6 and Figures 1–2). There is a general trend wherein the numbers of women authors increase from the 1930s through the 2000s; however, this is followed by a reduction in the percentage of authors who are women for the last decade of this study (2009–2019). Because of the high numbers of single-authored papers, both men and women are more often first authors than secondary authors. A chi-square test showed that this difference is statistically significant ($p=0.0156$), with 67.9 percent ($n=651/958$) of men as first authors compared to only 59.9 percent ($n=154/257$) of women as first authors.

In terms of affiliation, *BTAS* authors have always included avocational archeologists and academics. In the past 50 years, there have been increasing numbers of CRM archeologists and government or museum archeologists, and a corresponding decrease in the percentage of *BTAS* authors who are affiliated with colleges or universities (Table 7).

There is a statistically significant correlation between the gender of *BTAS* authors and their affiliations: a chi-square test comparing the numbers of

Table 1. Demographics of survey respondents, compared to demographics of Society for American Archaeology members as of 2020 (Association Research 2020) and of Texas Residents as of 2019 (U.S. Census Bureau 2019).

Question	Response	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents	Percent of SAA Needs Assessment Survey Respondents	Percent of Texas Population
Gender	Man	57	60.0%	48%	49.7%
	Woman	36	37.9%	49%	50.3%
	Other	2	2.1%		
Race	White and/or Caucasian	87	91.6%	83.5%	41.2%
	Biracial and/or Multiracial or checked multiple boxes	4	4.2%	3.2%	2.1%
	Hispanic and/or Latinx	1	1.1%	5.8%	39.7%
	American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native	1	1.1%	2.2%	1.0%
	No answer	1	1.1%	6.9%	
	Other	1	1.1%	1.8%	
	Native Hawaiian and/or Pacific ¹ Islander	0			0.1%
	Middle Eastern and/or North African ²	0			
	Asian	0		1.0%	5.2%
	Black, African American, and/or Afro-Latinx	0		0.5%	12.9%
Age	19 or younger	0			
	20–29	6	6.3%		
	30–39	11	11.6%		
	40–49	11	11.6%		
	50–59	16	16.8%		
	60–69	22	23.2%		
	70–79	27	28.4%		
	80 or older	2	2.1%		

¹The SAA Needs Assessment survey combined Pacific Islanders with Asians and did not offer a Native Hawaiian option separate from “Asian or Pacific Islander” and “Native American/Alaskan Native.”

²The U.S. Census includes Middle Eastern and North African people as “white,” and the SAA Needs Assessment survey did not offer this option.

Table 1, cont.

Question	Response	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents	Percent of SAA Needs Assessment Survey Respondents	Percent of Texas Population
Highest Education ³	No higher education in archeology or closely related disciplines	13	13.7%	1.7%	
	Some college coursework	15	15.8%		
	B.A. or B.S.	24	25.3%	4.7%	
	M.A. or M.S.	30	31.6%	28.3%	
	Ph.D.	13	13.7%	62.9%	
Institutional Affiliation	Retired	31	32.6%	9.6%	
	None	22	23.2%	0.6%	
	Cultural Resource Management firm	13	13.7%	13.1%	
	Multiple	9	9.5%		
	Other	8	8.4%	9.2%	
	College or University	7	7.4%	49.5%	
	State or Local Government Agency	3	3.2%	6.5%	
	Federal Government Agency	1	1.1%	7.3%	
	Museum	1	1.1%	3.7%	

³In archeology or a closely related discipline.

men and women in avocational, CRM, University, and Other (government, museum, nonprofit) positions yielded a $p=0.00519$ (Table 8). CRM is the most male-dominated of the sectors, with 85.2 percent of the *BTAS* authors with CRM affiliations being men and 14.8 percent being women. Avocational archeologists were also male-dominated, with 81.3 percent being men and 15.9 percent being women (2.8 percent were of unknown gender). Academia and the other affiliations (government, museum, or nonprofit) were less male-dominated.

Summary

Overall, the membership of the TAS is older, whiter, and more male than Texans in general and more than is the case for the membership of the

Society for American Archaeology (see Table 1). Although our data show a trend of increasing numbers of women involved in the TAS and publishing in the *BTAS* over the decades, the most recent decade (2009–2019) shows a slight decline in publications by women. Although the exact causes for this decline are unclear and are likely the result of many factors, we postulate that it could partly be linked to the economic recession of 2008 and its after-effects on companies and their workforces. We suggest that investigating correlations between funding impacts on CRM field-based projects and publication rates in the *BTAS* by men and women from this sector through time could prove to be a fruitful avenue for future research.

As mentioned above, both our survey of current TAS members and our longitudinal study of

Table 2. Intersecting race and gender of survey respondents.

Race	Men	Women	Other Gender	Total
White and/or Caucasian	54 (56.8%)	31 (32.6%)	2 (2.1%)	87 (91.6%)
Biracial and/or Multiracial or checked multiple boxes	1 (1.1%)	3 (3.2%)	0	4 (4.2%)
Other	1 (1.1%)	1 (1.1%)	0	2 (2.1%)
Hispanic and/or Latinx	1 (1.1%)	0	0	1 (1.1%)
American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native	0	1 (1.1%)	0	1 (1.1%)
Native Hawaiian and/or Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0
Middle Eastern and/or North African	0	0	0	0
Asian	0	0	0	0
Black, African American, and/or Afro-Latinx	0	0	0	0
Total	57 (60.0%)	36 (37.9%)	2 (2.1%)	95

Table 3. Intersecting gender and affiliation of respondents.

Institutional Affiliation	Men	Women	Other Gender	Total
Retired	23 (24.2%)	7 (7.4%)	1 (1.1%)	31 (32.6%)
None	12 (12.6%)	9 (9.5%)	1 (1.1%)	22 (23.2%)
Cultural Resources Management Firm	10 (10.5%)	3 (3.2%)	0	13 (13.7%)
Multiple	4 (4.2%)	5 (5.2%)	0	9 (9.5%)
Other	2 (2.1%)	6 (6.3%)	0	8 (8.4%)
College or University	3 (3.2%)	4 (4.2%)	0	7 (7.4%)
State or Local Government Agency	2 (2.1%)	1 (1.1%)	0	3 (3.2%)
Federal Government Agency	1 (1.1%)	0	0	1 (1.1%)
Museum	0	1 (1.1%)	0	1 (1.1%)
Total	57 (60.0%)	36 (37.9%)	2 (2.1%)	95

Table 4. Survey respondents gender and publications in the BTAS.

Gender of Respondent	Has Published in BTAS	Has Not Published in BTAS	Total
Man	17	40	57
Woman	7	29	36
Other	0	2	2
Total	24	71	95

Table 5. Survey respondents affiliation and publications in the *BTAS*.

Affiliation of Respondent	Has Published in <i>BTAS</i>	Has Not Published in <i>BTAS</i>	Total
Retired	10	21	31
None	4	18	22
Cultural Resource Management Firm	3	10	13
Multiple	2	7	9
Other	3	5	8
College or University	1	6	7
State or Local Government Agency	1	2	3
Federal Government Agency	0	1	1
Museum	0	1	1
Total	24	71	95

Table 6. *BTAS* editors and gender of the *BTAS* authors and the *BTAS* editors over time.

Editors	Gender of Editor(s)	Decade	Men Authors	Women Authors	Unknown-Gender Authors	Total
Cyrus N. Ray (1929–1946)	Man	1929–1938	81 (80.2%)	6 (5.9%)	14 (13.9%)	101
E. B. Sayles (1931)	Man					
W. C. Holden (1947–1952)	Man	1939–1948	71 (78%)	7 (7.7%)	13 (14.3%)	91
Alex D. Krieger (1953–1956)	Man	1949–1958	66 (73.3%)	14 (15.6%)	10 (11.1%)	90
E. Mott Davis (1957–1958)	Man					
E. B. Jelks (1958)	Man					
H. F. Sturgis (1958)	Man					
T. N. Campbell (1959–1961)	Man	1959–1968	132 (76.3%)	29 (16.7%)	12 (7%)	173
Dee Ann Suhm (1962–1965)	Woman					
E. B. Jelks (1966–1967)	Man					
Joel L. Shriner (1967–1971)	Man					

Table 6, cont.

Editors	Gender of Editor(s)	Decade	Men Authors	Women Authors	Unknown-Gender Authors	Total
David F. Dibble (1972–1973)	Man	1969–1978	102 (87.2%)	13 (11.1%)	2 (1.7%)	117
Thomas R. Hester and Harry J. Shafer (1974–1978)	Man					
Eileen Johnson (1979–1981)	Woman	1979–1988	105 (77.8%)	21 (15.5%)	9 (6.7%)	135
Robert J. Mallouf (1982–1983)	Man					
Wayne R. Roberson (1984)	Man					
Thomas R. Hester (1985)	Man					
Harry J. Shafer (1985)	Man					
Ellen Sue Turner (1985)	Woman					
James E. Corbin (1986–1987)	Man					
Jimmy L. Mitchell (1988–1990)	Man					
Timothy K. Perttula (1991–2001)	Man	1989–1998	137 (69.5%)	58 (29.4%)	2 (1.1%)	197
Myles Miller (2002–2003)	Man	1999–2008	143 (65%)	77 (35%)	0	220
Nancy A. Kenmotsu (2004–2005)	Woman					
Timothy K. Perttula (2006–2011)	Man					
Tamara Walter (2012–2015)	Woman	2009–2019	121 (78.6%)	32 (20.8%)	1 (0.6%)	154
Robert Z. Selden, Jr. (2016–2017)	Man					
C. Britt Bousman (2018-2019)	Man					
Sarah Morris (2018–2019)	Woman					
		Total	958 (75%)	257 (20.1%)	63 (4.9%)	1278

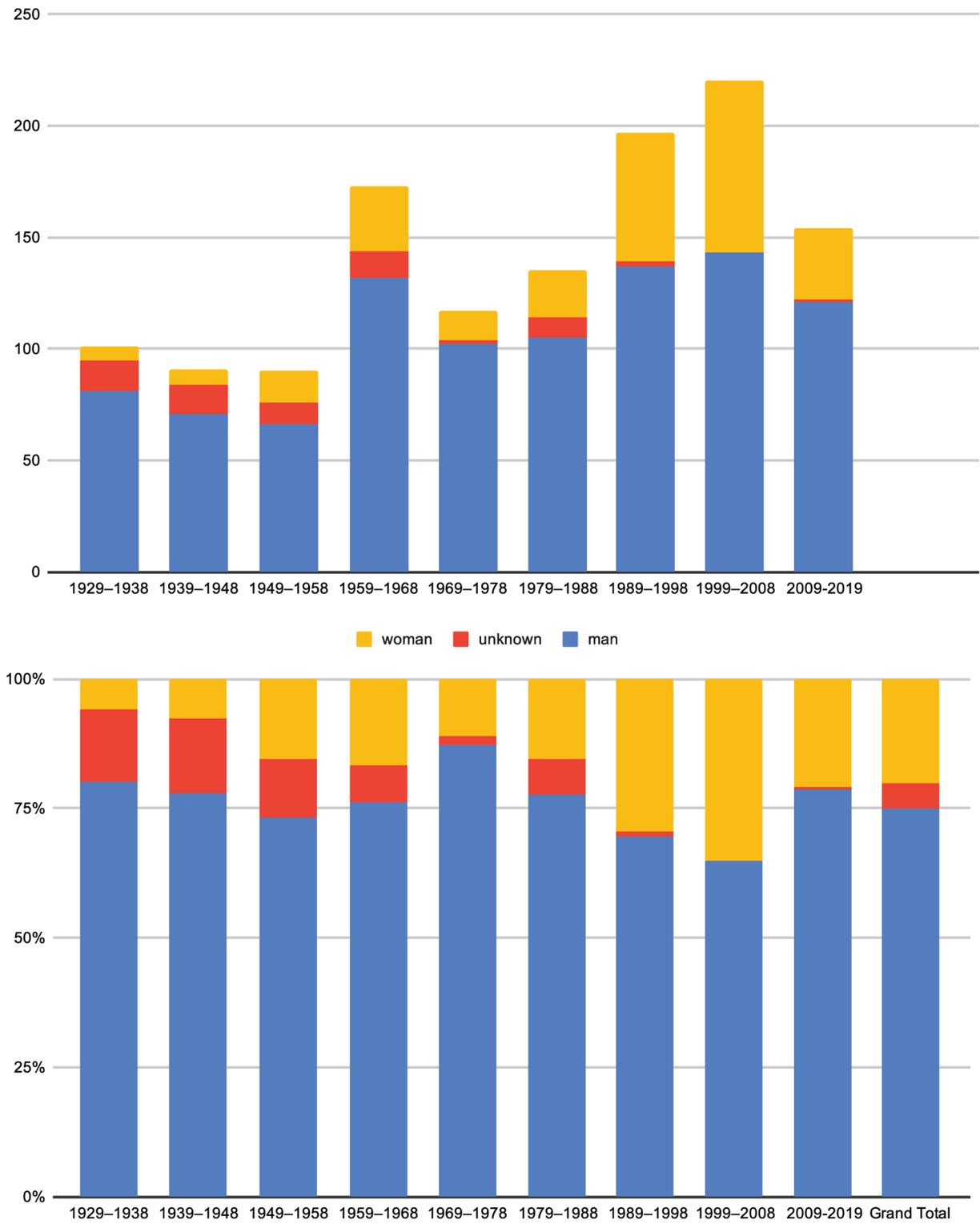


Figure 1. Numbers and percentages of authors of different genders in the *BTAS* by decade.

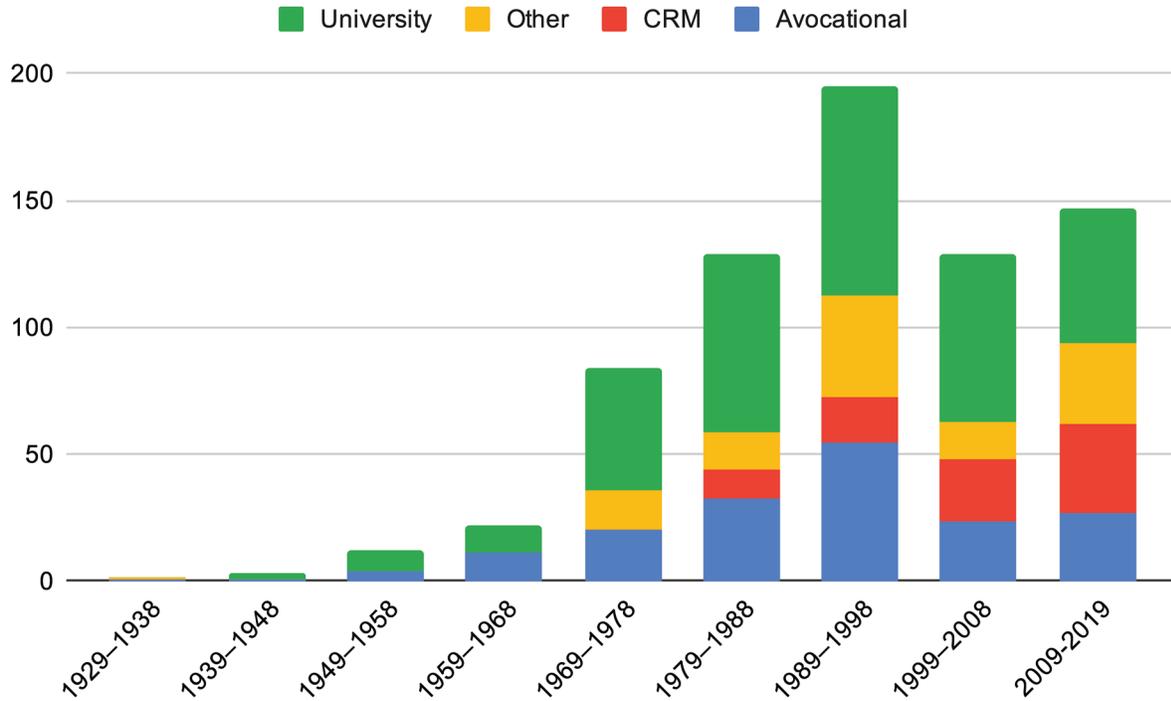


Figure 2. Numbers of authors of different affiliations in the BTAS over time.

Table 7. Affiliation of the BTAS authors over time: percentages represent proportions of listed affiliations.

Decade	University/ College	Avocational	CRM	Other	Total Listed Affiliations	Affiliation not listed	Total
1929-1938	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	1 (50.0%)	2	99	101
1939-1948	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3	89	92
1949-1958	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	12	79	91
1959-1968	11 (50.0%)	11 (50.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	22	153	175
1969-1978	48 (57.1%)	20 (23.8%)	0 (0%)	16 (19.0%)	84	34	118
1979-1988	70 (54.3%)	33 (25.6%)	11 (8.5%)	15 (11.6%)	129	6	135
1989-1998	82 (42.05%)	55 (28.2%)	18 (9.2%)	40 (20.5%)	195	2	197
1999-2008	66 (51.2%)	24 (18.6%)	24 (18.6%)	15 (11.6%)	129	91	220
2009-2018	53 (36.1%)	27 (18.4%)	35 (23.8%)	32 (21.8%)	147	7	154
Total	337 (46.8%)	176 (24.4%)	88 (12.2%)	119 (16.5%)	723	560	1283

Table 8. Gender and affiliation of BTAS authors.

Affiliation	Men	Women	Unknown Gender	Total
University	245 (72.1%)	91 (26.8%)	3 (1.2%)	340
Avocational	143 (81.3%)	28 (15.9%)	5 (2.8%)	176
CRM	75 (85.2%)	13 (14.8%)	0 (0%)	88
Other	82 (68.9%)	33 (27.7%)	4 (3.4%)	119
Unknown	413 (74.4%)	92 (16.6%)	50 (9.0%)	555
Total	958 (75%)	257 (20.1%)	63 (4.9%)	1278

BTAS authorship suggested that Texas CRM is more male-dominated than other sectors. This was surprising as it contradicted research conducted by Tushingham and Fulkerson in other regions of the country (Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; Tushingham and Fulkerson 2020; Tushingham et al. 2017); they concluded that public sector and CRM archeology were more inclusive of women than male-dominated universities. On the other hand, Bardolph's (2018) findings from California align with the results of our analysis. She reports that non-academic women continue to lag behind non-academic men in lead-authored publications in California compared to other regions (Bardolph 2018). This discrepancy in findings from different regions suggests that archeology's disciplinary culture around gender and affiliation is not monolithic but varies by region. It remains unclear whether the high number of men in Texas CRM indicates that the sector primarily employs men in all positions, or only in leadership positions that encourage TAS membership and *BTAS* publication.

According to our survey, avocational archeology in Texas is also quite male-dominated. Given that avocational archeology does not require expensive college degrees, it would seem at first glance that it would have the fewest barriers to entry and should be the most diverse sector. However, both previous research on avocationalists (Hart 2020; Turnbaugh 1981) and the results of our survey suggest that avocational archeologists may be as white and male (as a group) as their professional colleagues, if not more so. We suspect that many of the avocationalists who are members of TAS may be retired professionals from fields other than archeology with sufficient

financial resources to spend their time and money pursuing archeological research opportunities. We value participation by all current TAS members but we hope that, in the future, a more diverse group of non-professionals takes part in archeological work and in the TAS.

Recommendations

In 2019, Perttula suggested several recommendations to promote accessibility of the *BTAS*. This included the addition of a *Current Research* section to highlight recent findings across the state, the preparation of an index of all the *BTAS* publications for the TAS website (see Perttula and Sitters 2019; <https://www.txarch.org/btas>), increased frequency in posting the current *BTAS* issue to the University of North Texas' Portal to Texas History (then every five years; this has been changed to every three years now, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/>), and promoting the publication of more *BTAS* themed special issues (Perttula 2019). These recommendations primarily encourage the use and accessibility of *BTAS*'s literature but could also affect publication rates of avocational and student members. A *Current Research* section that accepts smaller illustrated articles that are less time- and labor-intensive to produce may encourage more submissions by student and avocational authors. Following Perttula's recommendations and based on the work presented in this article, we suggest a number of actionable items for TAS and the editors of the *BTAS* to consider. These include: (1) tracking basic demographic information on TAS members; (2) expanding the visibility of existing TAS research grant and scholarship opportunities; and (3) building

mentorship networks and peer-mentoring opportunities for publications.

The survey conducted as part of this study only provided a small snapshot of the overall demographics of TAS members. Collecting basic demographic information (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, age, affiliation, etc.) as part of the new member application or in the membership renewal process could provide further data to the TAS leadership regarding the overall composition of its members. Having these data points will better elucidate which members of the population the TAS is *already* reaching and likewise inform decisions regarding future member outreach, recruitment, and the ways the TAS can best serve a larger and more diverse membership base. In line with this recommendation, the TAS should also endeavor to expand the visibility of its research grant and scholarship opportunities by working with its members and community partners both within and outside archeology to better promote and advertise these scholarships.² TAS's Executive and Budget Committees should additionally investigate the viability of making scholarships a regular budget line item rather than relying on donation-related support as a primary source of funding for these opportunities.

Mentorship networks and pairing younger members with those who are well-established in the TAS and Texas archeology could also help diversify membership. Mentorship networks are proven to be an important avenue for students seeking additional guidance outside of their current supervisory relationships and have also been demonstrated to be an effective means of encouraging research participation by members of historically excluded groups in archeology (Heath-Stout 2019: part 3) and a variety of other fields (e.g., Crockett 2014, Jeste et al. 2009, Ragins 1995, Sopher et al. 2014). Furthermore, mentorship for budding avocational archeologists could bolster their interest in this work. Effective mentor/mentee relationships also help facilitate professional networking opportunities and could provide guidance in developing a variety of skill sets, including publishing. Furthermore, the creation of mentorship

or research collaboration networks could aid in connecting members from different sectors and have the added benefit of further strengthening professional-avocational collaboration opportunities.

This suggestion is not new. As articulated by Mitchell (1983) in his *BTAS*-published article "Responsibilities of the Avocational Archeologist," avocational archeologists greatly contribute to our knowledge and understanding of Texas archeology; however, they are less likely to publish their findings or share their regional knowledge in articles or reports. At the time of his writing, efforts to resolve tensions between the professional and avocational communities were at the forefront of discussions within the archeological community and the term "avocational" had only recently been applied in Texas (as opposed to "amateur" or "nonprofessional") (Hester 1981; Mitchell 1983). While the crux of Mitchell's (1983) argument focused on the importance of knowledge dissemination and the contributions that avocationalists can make to this step in the archeological process, he also recognized the hesitations that existed within the community with regard to publications. Central to these concerns was the perceived lack of authority of avocationalists, compounded by the professionalization of the discipline, and the uncertainty created by not obtaining a formal education in anthropology. To remedy this, Mitchell (1983:200) suggested that avocationalists interested in publishing deploy their networks in multiple sectors and at multiple levels to aid in the process. While we are suggesting a more formalized, TAS-promoted mentorship network, we are largely echoing Mitchell's sentiments, particularly as our study indicates that *BTAS* publication rates by avocationalists have not improved since the 1980s; avocational authors comprised only approximately 18 percent of total authorship per decade in the last two decades.

A lack of clarity around the publication process and ideas of 'authority' also applies to students, early career researchers, and CRM practitioners, including those who are new to Texas. To address these concerns, those in positions of leadership within

²Current scholarship opportunities offered by TAS include the Diversity Scholarship, the Native American Scholarship Program, and the Collegiate Scholarship. More information on each opportunity and how to apply can be found here: <https://www.txarch.org/scholarships>.

CRM firms and government agencies should actively encourage individuals they supervise to publish in the *BTAS*, and likewise provide guidance and support to shepherd them through the publication process. Broadly speaking, CRM firms and government agencies should also clearly communicate their stance on publication activities to their employees and allow them to designate a specified number of working hours to the preparation of manuscripts or related activities. Allowing employees to use working time to pursue these activities may also promote more inclusive participation, especially for those employees who are in primary caregiving roles for children or other family members.

Some of this mentorship and facilitation of publications could also come from journal staff, using the *Journal of Archaeological Research (JAR)* as a model for this engagement. In Heath-Stout's (2020a) study of a variety of national and international archeology journals, she found that there was a strong correlation between journal prestige (measured by three different metrics) and the percentage of authors who were straight white men. *JAR* was a notable outlier: despite high prestige statistics, it also had relatively high percentages of women, non-white, and LGBTQ authors. When Heath-Stout asked editor Gary Feinman about why this might be the case, he shared that *JAR* primarily publishes review articles that he solicits from authors, and that he and his co-editor Linda Nicholas actively choose to solicit articles from women and other underrepresented groups when choosing which authors to invite. Furthermore, they follow up with authors throughout the processes of writing and publication to offer support (Heath-Stout 2020a:421).

Considering *JAR*'s model, we recommend that the TAS Publication Policy Committee work with the Executive Committee and its larger membership to develop publication and editorial practices that promote diverse authorship in the journal. These could include the addition of more editorial assistants who could help solicit submissions from diverse authors; these positions could be given to graduate students who hold marginalized identities, giving them an understanding of publishing and crucial networking opportunities. As part of this work, we additionally recommend that the Publication Policy Committee work with the Public Outreach & Membership Committee to promote submission to the *BTAS* through

publicity and mobilizing TAS's Regional Directors to seek out possible authors in the TAS.

Finally, we recognize the path to structural change takes work and while we specify recommendations to those in leadership positions within the TAS, we also believe that a collective effort by all TAS members is required. We ask the membership to: (1) make deliberate and concerted efforts to encourage and support fellow archeologists to submit research to the *BTAS*, and (2) alert leadership to the concerns or barriers that the membership or others face in the submission process, from inception to publication.

Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that the Texas Archeological Society and its *BTAS* reflect disciplinary trends that have been documented by feminist archeologists over the past four decades; however, it also revealed how TAS differs compared with other region-specific archeologies. Regarding TAS membership, our survey indicated that TAS is disproportionately white, male, older than 60, retired, and/or are part of avocational members of the society. Additionally, authorship in the *BTAS* has largely been dominated by men over its 90+ year history. Despite increases in authorship by women from the 1930s through the 2000s, there has been a decline in the last decade (2009–2019). The reasons for this are unknown but we suggest this could be an interesting avenue for future research. Our work also shows that the pattern identified by Tushingham and Fulkerson (Fulkerson and Tushingham 2019; Tushingham and Fulkerson 2020; Tushingham et al. 2017), in which the higher education sector is more male-dominated than CRM or public sector archeology, varies by region, since the opposite is true in Texas.

Based on these results, we suggest that TAS begin to track member demographics so they can better understand who the organization is currently serving and, in turn, use these data to cultivate a membership base that is more reflective of the larger population of Texas. We have also suggested that mentorship networks and new publication practices be enacted within the TAS and the *BTAS* to create a more supportive and inclusive environment that purposely works to welcome more diverse authorship

to the *BTAS*. Given that the past and present peoples of Texas have been incredibly diverse, including a variety of Native peoples, Latinxs and Chicaxs, Anglo-Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and others, we hope that the professional and avocational archeological communities of Texas will someday reflect this rich diversity.

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Appendix 1, Survey Questions

What is your gender? (Please check all that apply) / ¿Cuál es su género? (Marque todas las respuestas que apliquen)

- Woman (Mujer)
- Man (hombre)
- Other (otro): _____

What is your race/ethnicity? (Please check all that apply) / Raza/etnicidad (Marque todas las respuestas que apliquen)

- Biracial and/or Multiracial (de múltiples razas)
- Native Hawaiian and/or Pacific Islander (nativo de Hawaii o de las Islas del Pacífico)
- Middle Eastern and/or North African (del Medio Oriente o el norte de África)
- American Indian, Native American, First Nations, and/or Alaskan Native (indígena americano, o nativo de Alaska)
- Hispanic and/or Latinx (hispano y/o latino/a/x)
- Asian (asiático)
- Black, African American, and/or Afro-Latinx (negro, africano americano, o africano latino/a/x)
- White and/or Caucasian (blanco)
- Other (otro): _____

What is your age range? / ¿Cuántos años tiene?

- 19 or younger (19 o menos)
- 20–29
- 30–39
- 40–49
- 50–59
- 60–69
- 70–79
- 80 or older (80 o más)

What is your highest level of education in archaeology or a closely related discipline? / ¿Cuál es el nivel más alto de educación que tiene en arqueología o una disciplina similar?

- No higher education in archaeology or closely related disciplines (sin enseñanza

superior en arqueología o disciplinas similares)

- Some college coursework (algunos cursos de enseñanza superior)
- B.A. or B.S. (bachillerato o licenciatura)
- M.A. or M.S. (maestría)
- Ph.D. (doctorado)

What is your current institutional affiliation? (Please check all that apply) / ¿Cuál es su afiliación institucional actual? (Marque todas las respuestas que apliquen)

- College or university (universidad)
- Federal government agency (agencia del gobierno federal)
- State or local government agency (agencia del gobierno estatal o local)
- Cultural Resource Management firm (negocio de Cultural Resource Management o salvamento arqueológico)
- Museum (museo)
- Retired (jubilado/a)
- Other (otra): _____
- None (sin afiliación institucional)

Have you ever published in the *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society*? / ¿Ha publicado en el *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society*?

- Yes / Sí
- No

(If yes) How many times have you published in *BTAS*? / ¿Cuántas veces ha publicado el *BTAS*?

(If yes) Did you choose to go through the optional peer review process? / ¿Participó en un proceso de revisión opcional realizado por colegas?

- Yes / Sí
- Yes for some manuscripts, no for others / Sí para algunos manuscritos, no para otros
- No

General comment section / Comentarios generales: