

“Women in a Men’s World”: Still?

MARIA BIANCA D’ANNA*, NOLWEN ROL**, BIRGÜL ÖĞÜT*** & REEM ALJADER****

In the course of her career, Susan Pollock has explored gender in past Western Asian communities and gender representation in different media (Pollock 1991; Pollock and Bernbeck 2000; Pollock and Castro Gessner 2009). She turned her critical feminist gaze to the discipline of Western Asian archaeology as a whole in 2008 with her work *Wer hat Angst vorm bösen Wolf? Gender und Feminismus in der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, and took a feminist and engendering perspective in *Ancient Mesopotamia: The Eden that Never Was* (1999), simply because, as she stated, “without specific and critical attention to gender we condemn ourselves to the writing of histories that are inaccurate or at best unpeopled” (223). Even though we focus here on women in the present, the title of our contribution quotes Susan’s work of 1991, “Women in a Men’s World: Images of Sumerian Women”, which was published in the pioneering volume *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory* edited by Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey. This paper wants to acknowledge this central part of Susan’s work, and her life and activism that means so much for many colleagues, and for us four authors.

Introductory remarks and aims of this work

From the 1980s onwards, the second and third feminist waves challenged traditional archaeological discourse by focusing on women in past societies and critically enquiring about ancient gender differences and identities beyond implicitly and male-centered accounts (e.g., Alberti 2005; Bolger 2013; Claassen 1994; Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero and Conkey 1991; Hays-Gilpin 2000; Joyce 2008; Nelson 2006; Schmidt and Voss 2000; Wylie 1997). From very early on, feminist approaches tied ideas about engendering the past to epistemological analyses, encouraging critics of euro- and androcentric narratives and studies that discriminate against women in the fields of archaeology, anthropology and beyond, reporting on structural sexism and gender imbalances (Beck 1994; Gero 1985; Goldstein et al. 2018; Hamilton 2014; Monroe and Chiu 2010; Monroe et al. 2008; Santos and Dang Van Phu 2019; Sweely 1994; Wylie 1994; Wurtzburg 1994). This was evidenced in the work of Sue Hamilton (2014), who investigated the so-called “leaky pipeline” that women in Britain experienced in archaeology. Women, far from being the minority in university classes or contract archaeology positions, represent only a minority of full professors in UK universities and only 27% of the academic

* Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin (Germany)

** Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin (Germany)

*** Orient-Abteilung, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin (Germany)

**** Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen (Denmark)

personnel. At the Institute of Archaeology of University College London, one of the largest archaeological departments in the UK, women represent only 11% of full professors. An analogous situation can be observed in many other countries.¹

In this paper, we explore gender biases mainly in the so-called academic field of Near Eastern archaeology (hereafter, WA archaeology),² through the analysis of articles published in academic journals from different countries. We aim to explore the incidence of women scholars' perspective in archaeological knowledge production, which also correlates to the existence of "gendered topics"³ and possibly to their different academic weight, which is another form of underrepresentation. The results of this study will be coupled with preliminary results from an on-going, first-hand data collection through an anonymous online questionnaire directed to women archaeologists working in WA. This questionnaire is a non-random approach to explore women's experiences and perceptions in archaeological workplaces

such as universities and field projects and to provide a complementary perspective on representation issues in scientific publications.

Women in archaeological publications: an overview

In a ground-breaking publication, Conkey and Spector (1984) initiated a conversation about the deeply rooted androcentric dominance of archaeology, inspiring other scholars to research the extent of the (in)visibility of women in archaeology. The analysis of scientific publications has since then proven to be a good lens through which to look at gender (under)representation in academia. Research by Beaudry and White (1994) clearly showed that women were undercited in articles. Years later their research was further supported by Hutson (2002), who came to the same conclusions. Kerner (this volume) took on the research on gendered citation patterns and demonstrated that articles authored by female scholars are read more but cited less. The low representation of female authors

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- 1 Considering only some countries, in Italy (source: <https://cercauniversita.cineca.it/php5/docenti/cerca.php>; for data in 1999 see Levi 2001, 191–206), taking all the archaeological departments into account, women outnumber men in the lower academic positions (assistant professor: 55% and associated professor: 59%) but they represent only 29.8% of the total full professors (32% in 1999!). Narrowing the data to the main fields considered through our journal analysis (Near Eastern Archaeology and Art History; Classical Archaeology; Pre- and Proto-historic Archaeology; and Phoenician and Punic Archaeology) things get even worse, with only 8 women full professors (= 27%), all in Classical Archaeology. In Germany, while 61% of the M.A. degrees and 51% of the PhDs in archaeology between 1998 and 2016 were obtained by women, the percentage of women actually working in the field of archaeology was only 43% in 2012–2014, with a dire underrepresentation in executive positions (Gutsmiedl-Schümann and Helmbrecht 2017). Indeed, in 2016, women represented 43% of the research assistants and only 33% of the professors in historical disciplines, with only 30% of the *Habilitationen* between 2007–2016 acquired by women (source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2017); in Westasian archaeology, only 3 out of 9 professorships are currently held by women. This reflects international patterns in academia in general. At the University of Copenhagen (2018), out of 4841 research positions women are 55% of Ph.D. candidates, 47% post-docs., 44% assistant prof., 38% associate prof., and 24% (14% in 2007!) full prof. (source: <https://om.ku.dk/tal-og-fakta/medarbejdere/#mangfoldighed>). In Turkish universities (2015), women research assistants are 48%, assistant prof. 40%, associate prof. 34%, prof. 29%, with an increase in all categories since 1985 (source: <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr>). In French universities, too, "*si le ratio femme-homme est relativement équilibré pour les postes d'assistantes (45% de femmes, 55% d'hommes), le déséquilibre devient flagrant pour les postes de professeurs (37% – 63%)*" (Mary et al. 2019, 215).
 - 2 We prefer the denomination "West Asian" or "South-West Asian archaeology" to the Eurocentric "archaeology of the ancient Near East".
 - 3 Throughout this work we will use "gendered" as an adjective in connection with terms such as topic, trend, publication, and research choice in reference to differences or biases based on gender related to all these issues.

is not limited to citation trends: imbalanced gendered publication trends pervade the discipline and have previously been reported by Victor and Beaudry (1992) and more recently by Bardolph (2014), amongst others. Victor and Beaudry researched the publishing trends in *American Antiquity* and *Historical Archaeology* while Bardolph examined eleven mostly American and Latin-American peer-reviewed journals and, though published decades apart, both publications concluded that female authors are a minority in published articles. Several other comparable studies concerning different archaeological sub-fields, regions, and countries, reported substantial discrepancies in publication ratios between women and men (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Claassen et al. 1999; Ford 1994; Heath-Stout 2020; Kelly et al. 2019; Levi 2001).⁴ Gender disparity in scholarly productivity across various academic fields has also been critically addressed (Acker and Feuerverger 1996; Ahmad 2017; Bellas 1999; Park 1996; Suitor et al. 2001; Wolfinger et al. 2009).

Karen Dempsey’s recent work has been one of the inspirations for our research.⁵ Her analysis includes an overview of ten *Oxford Handbook* (henceforth *OH*) volumes on various archaeological topics (Dempsey 2019, Fig. 1). With the exception of the *OH of the Archaeology of Childhood* (surprise!) and the one dedicated to *Death and Burials*, all others are largely dominated by male authors. Synthesizing reference works such as these feature predominantly novel research results, providing an interesting baseline against which to compare journal publications. Building on

this, we briefly examined seven additional reference volumes to contextualize our work:

- two edited manuals of gender archaeology (Nelson 2006; Bolger 2013)
- the *OH of Archaeological Theory* (Gardner et al. 2013)
- two volumes of the multi-authored series Blackwell Companions (henceforth *BC*) to the Ancient World (Snell 2005; Potts 2012)
- two *OH* dealing with topics more directly related to WA archaeology (Bang and Scheidel 2013; Steadman and McMahon 2011).

The number and percentage of female and male authors are plotted in **Fig. 1** and confirm the marked predominance of male authors in archaeological reference works, except in those discussing gender issues. The gender of the volumes’ editors, too, is unbalanced: three female and eight male editors, excluding one woman for each handbook on gender archaeology. In the two *BC* dedicated to the ancient Near East, only two chapters explicitly center on women and gender roles, both in the work edited by Daniel Snell and both written by women (Melville 2005; Roth 2005). The other volume (Potts 2012) has a rather traditional structure: an introductory section (*The Framework*), in which only one contribution out of six was authored by a woman (Chevalier 2012), the core of the work organized chronologically and geographically with male contributions twice more frequent than female ones, and periods such as the Bronze Age, devoid of women’s voices altogether. The more thematically oriented section III is dedicated to *Developments in Farming, Animal Husbandry, and Technology*, and includes a total

4 Sara T. Levi analyzed four Italian prehistory journals until 1999 – *Bullettino di Preistoria Alpina* (from the 1870s), *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche* (from the 1940s), *Preistoria Alpina* (from the 1960s), and *Origini* (from the 1960s). The latter journal is included in our study, too. Her results show that in these journals there was a progressive increase of articles written by women as single authors and co-authors from the 1920s (2%) to the 1990s (37%), with a peak in the years 1985–1989 (39%).

5 Karen Dempsey explored gender biases in the field of Medieval Archaeology, which appears to be still dominated by patriarchal narratives. Her work intertwined an analysis of knowledge production and gender with gender disparity in authorship. She analyzes the issues 2014–2017 of three Medieval archaeology journals, observing that women make up only 39.7% of the authors (Dempsey 2019, Fig. 2).

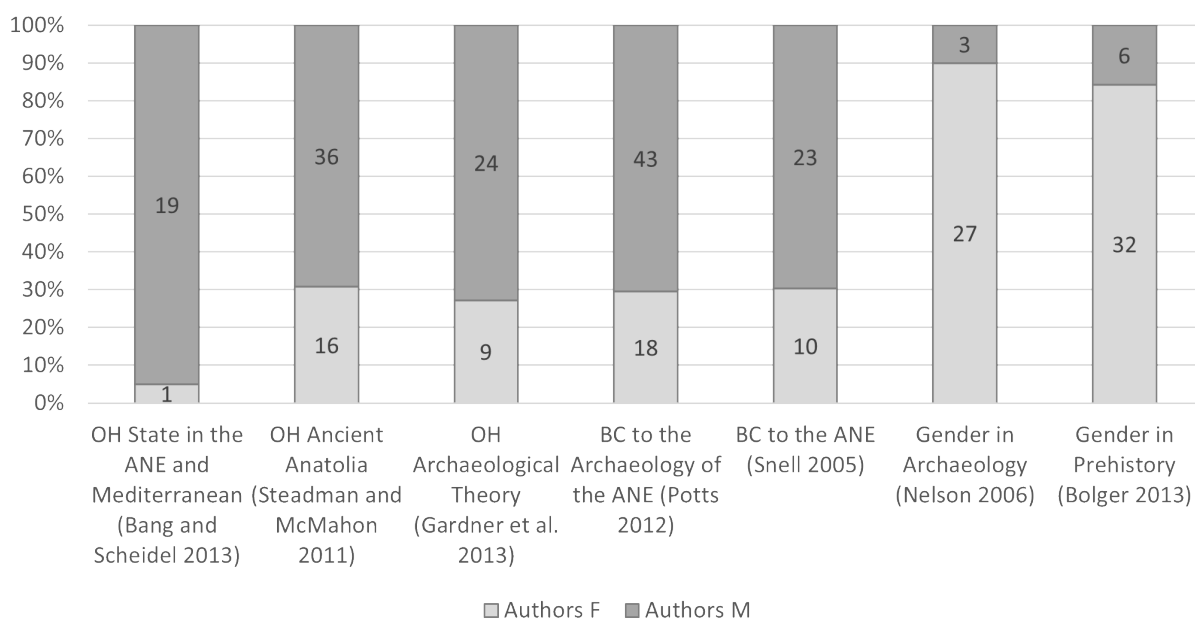


Fig. 1. Male and female authors in selected archaeological reference volumes (OH = Oxford Handbook; BC = Blackwell Companion; ANE = Ancient Near East; F = female; M = male). Graph: Maria Bianca D'Anna.

of ten contributions, only three of which were written by women who elaborated on very specific, apparently more “marginal” – meaning potentially few reads and few citations – topics such as textile (Good 2012), glass (Reade 2012) or fruit growing (Tengberg 2012). In the *OH of Archaeological Theory*, it is the absence of chapters specifically dedicated to gender and feminist archaeology that is especially striking. However, Elisa Perego (2013) elaborates on *Bodies and Persons* and dedicates an entire section to gender as a theoretical framework to understand social bodies and personhood. Perego’s contribution is in line with a tradition of studies on body and sexuality prominently carried out by female scholars such as Rosemary Joyce (2008) and Barbara Voss (2000). Though in the minority, other women scholars in the *OH of Archaeological Theory* volume write both on general and specific topics, even (!) on warfare and warriorhood (Vandkilde 2013), which is traditionally associated with the male sphere, and which may point to a welcome departure from earlier trends (Conkey and Spector 1984, 4). That this is unfortunately not the case for major research areas like politics is, however, aptly demonstrated in the *OH State*

in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean, with only one female author among the twenty contributors, showing that in historiographical disciplines dealing with the ancient Western Asian and Mediterranean world the “State” as a research topic remains firmly in the hand of male scholars.

State-of-the-art, reference volumes both reflect who is considered to be “the” specialist on a particular period, region, or topic, while at the same time asserting them as authoritative voices on the subject. In this *OH* reviewed reference series, excluding the two volumes on gender, only 27% are female authors and this low number both reveals and perpetuates gender biases in the production of archaeological knowledge.

Another work that has been an inspiration for this paper is Diane Bolger’s 2008 review of gender representation in the field of West Asian archaeology, which shows an interesting link between “women’s lower status in the field and the lack of scholarly attention traditionally given to issues of gender” (Bolger 2008, 336). Bolger focuses on a large time span – 1951 to 2005 – and strictly on what is traditionally

considered “Near Eastern Archaeology.” By first examining general monographs in English, she finds out that in the years between Vere Gordon Childe’s *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (1952) and Lisa Cooper’s *Early Urbanism on the Syrian Euphrates* (2006), only 25% of the monographs were written by women, and they strongly cluster in the years 1995–2006 with six out of eleven books published in that decade. According to Bolger, this parallels an increasing attention to women and gender in monographic works (Bolger 2008, 339–42). Bolger then examines ten journals specialized in the archaeology and history of WA and shows that despite a gradual increase of female authorship over time in most journals (but also stagnation or even decrease

when compared to earlier decades in others), no WA journal had by 2005 reached gender parity (Bolger 2008, 343–46) (see **Tab. 1** for an overview).

Her subsequent analysis of the journal topics further revealed that the highest incidence of female authors, ranging between 35–40% and only rarely up to 66%, occurred in nine topic/journal combinations:⁶ “artifacts report” in *Iraq*, *MDOG*, *Paléorient*, *RDAC*; “scientific analysis” in *MDOG*, *Levant*, *Paléorient*; “others” in *Paléorient*; “texts and inscriptions” in *RDAC*. Female scholars were in contrast heavily underrepresented in “survey and excavation report” (3% in *An. St.* to 28% in *RDAC*), and while male authors also dominated

Journals	Years	% of articles with F principal authors in multi-authored works (total 1,252)	Evolution of the % of articles written by F single authors through time (total 13,975)
<i>An. St.</i>	1951–2004	8.1%	Very low, slightly increased (from 8% to 20%)
<i>BASOR</i>	1951–2005	14.9%	Sharply increased (max. 42%)
<i>Iraq</i>	1951–2005	25.5%	Slightly increased (max. 39%)
<i>JAOS</i>	1951–2004	11.1%	Very low, slightly increased (from 7 to 12%)
<i>JESHO</i>	1957–2005	33.3%	No trend, fluctuating (from 0 to 24%; total: 15.5%)
<i>JNES</i>	1951–2005	25.4%	Very low, increased (max. 16%)
<i>Levant</i>	1969–2005	28.1%	No trend, fluctuating (from 20 to 35%; total: 29.4%)
<i>MDOG</i>	1973–2004	16.2%	Slightly increased (max. 24%)
<i>Paléorient</i>	1951–2004	32.3%	Almost stable (from 29% to 39%)
<i>RDAC</i>	1971–2005	78.1%	No trend, fluctuating (from 32% to 46%; total: 37.8%)

Tab. 1. Main results of Diane Bolger’s journal analysis (data after Bolger 2008, Tab. 10.2 and 10.3). Note that while Bolger calculated the percentage of female authors on the total number of authors, we recalculated her figures excluding the authors for which sex was marked as unknown, as the latter is very high in some journals, reaching more than 30% in single authored works and even 53% in *RDAC* multi-authored articles. Abbreviations: Female (F); Anatolian Studies (*An. St.*); Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research (*BASOR*); *Iraq*; Journal of the American Oriental Society (*JAOS*); Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (*JESHO*); Journal of Near Eastern Studies (*JNES*); *Levant*; *Paléorient*; *Mitteilung der Deutsch-Orient Gesellschaft* (*MDOG*); and *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (*RDAC*).

6 The percentage of male and female authors per topic is given by Bolger on the total number of authors, including those marked as sex unknown (cf. **Tab. 1** caption). From this analysis, Bolger excludes *JAOS*, *JESHO*, and *JNES*, as mostly not archaeological.

the category of “artifacts analysis,” women are more present there (from 18% in *BASOR* to 40% in *Paléorient* and *RDAC*) – a pattern clearly confirmed by our own research results (see below). Bolger sees the variability in the proportion of female authors in “general reports” as relatively positive, as data ranges between 13% and 31% (*An. St.* and *RDAC*, respectively). However, we read the data in a less optimistic way than Bolger: *RDAC* has generally good numbers, so excluding this journal we are left with a 27% in *Paléorient*, 23% in *Levant*, 15% in *BASOR*, 18% in *Iraq*, and 12% in *MDOG*, which altogether testify to a very low impact of female scholars on general discussions from the 1960s to 2005.

Building on Bolger’s observations twelve years ago, similar work by colleagues from other archaeological disciplines, and our own brief review of selected reference volumes, we seek here to explore further the representation of women archaeologists in scientific publications and, in the following case-study, review their presence in a number of archaeological journals published throughout Europe, with the main focus on Western Asia and especially Anatolia. Where are we now in 2020? Has any progress been made? Following the strong awareness since the 1980s for women’s underrepresentation in academia in general and archaeology in particular, we expect for instance that the gender gap in publications will have been at least partially reduced over the years, as may have the gender-based preference of specific topics.

Women in academic archaeological journals – a case-study

At the core of this study is a critical evaluation of the representation of women scholars in academic journals. In this section, we first present some general information on the surveyed publications as well as the analytical methods adopted, to then discuss the results obtained from the collected data in terms of

publishing rates for men and women, and then turn to the question of topic choice and gendered research specialties.

Preliminary information on the surveyed journals and research methods

In this work, we analyze data from eight archaeological journals (see **Tab. 2**). We mainly focused on journals dealing with the archaeology of WA in general (e.g., updating Bolger’s [2008] data on *Paléorient* and *MDOG*, and adding *Mesopotamia*) or Anatolia in particular (*Anatolica*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*), including a journal published by Turkish institutions (*TÜBA-AR*) to fill what we thought was a crucial gap in previous studies. *Origini*, though having a much wider geographical coverage, includes many contributions on WA prehistory as well (see Levi 2001). *NAR* also covers a wide geographic area and strongly focuses on anthropological archaeology and theory (see also Kerner, this volume). In chronological and thematic terms, both *Origini* and *Paléorient* feature primarily research on pre- and proto-historic contexts and topics, while *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* addresses more often classical and post-classical Anatolian antiquity than pre-classical periods, with a strong emphasis on architecture and art history. *MDOG* deals with archaeological and art historical subjects and covers a large span of periods including Islamic archaeology. This broad and somehow eclectic selection allowed us to cover various journal types as well as six countries with different cultural, scholarly, and academic traditions in order to identify trends throughout the field of WA archaeology.

For a comparative perspective, 1187 and 1232 additional articles were also surveyed from two humanities journals, respectively *Bellethen* (Turkey) and *Sfinx* (Denmark). Both journals cover a wide range of historical, art-historical, and archaeological topics over a large time span. *Bellethen* added more information on

Journal	Country (Institute)	Main geographic coverage	Chronological or thematic coverage	Gender of current directors and boards’ member: F/M
<i>Anatolica</i>	Netherlands (NINO + NIT)	Anatolia	Archaeology	2/8
<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen (Ist. Mitt.)</i>	Germany (DAI Istanbul)	Anatolia	More classical and post-classical than pre-classical	3/17
<i>Mitteilung der Deutsch-Orient Gesellschaft (MDOG)</i>	Germany (DOG)	SW Asia	Prehistory to Islamic period, field reports	4/9
<i>Mesopotamia</i>	Italy (CS Torino)	Mesopotamia and West Asia	Pre-classical to Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian	2/4
<i>Norwegian Archaeological Review (NAR)</i>	Norway (T&F)	Wide coverage	Wide coverage (mainly theory)	11/7
<i>Origini</i>	Italy (UniRM1)	More Europe, but also W Asia	Pre- and proto-history	16/15
<i>Paléorient</i>	France (CNRS)	W Asia	Pre- and proto-history	24/27
<i>TÜBA-Ar</i>	Turkey (TÜBA)	Anatolia	Archaeology	29/57
<i>Belleten</i>	Turkey (TTK)	Anatolia	Humanities	0/7
<i>Sfinx</i>	Denmark (AU IKS)	Wide coverage	Humanities	2/2

Tab. 2. The archaeological and general humanities journals considered in the present study. (NINO: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden; NIT: Nederlands Instituut in Turkije; DAI: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; DOG: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft; CS Torino: Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino; T&F: Publisher Taylor and Francis UK; UniRM1: ‘Sapienza’ Università di Roma; CNRS: Centre national de la recherche scientifique; TÜBA: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi; TTK: Türk Tarih Kurumu; AU IKS: Århus Universitet- Institut for Kultur og Samfund).

scientific publishing in Turkey to contextualize data from *TÜBA-AR*. The same can be said for *Sfinx* for the Scandinavian world, archaeologically covered by *NAR*. Due to page limitations, those journals are not analyzed in detail here but can help situate our data in the broader field of humanities in the future.

years of research, which also overlaps with the influence of feminist approaches on archaeological studies. We only reviewed scientific papers and did not take into account book reviews, obituaries, and other notes. The total number of articles considered is 3435, distributed as in **Tab. 3**.

For each journal, we considered the issues from 1980 to the last available one in January 2020, thus covering a solid timeframe of forty

For each article, we recorded the number of female and male authors, the gender of the first author,⁷ the title, and the kind of topic

7 When using the term “first author” in this article, we include single authors as well as the first author listed in two- or multi-authored papers.

Journal	Issues and years surveyed	Total issues	Total articles
<i>Anatolica</i>	7 (1980) to 45 (2019)	37	353
<i>Ist. Mitt.</i>	30 (1980) to 68 (2018)	49	622
<i>MDOG</i>	112 (1980) to 151 (2019)	40	325
<i>NAR</i>	13.1 (1980) to 52.2 (2019)	80	278
<i>Origini</i>	11 (1977-82) to 42 (2018)	34	413
<i>Mesopotamia</i>	15 (1980) to 53 (2018)	37	298
<i>Paléorient</i>	6 (1980) to 45.2 (2019)	78	874
<i>TÜBA-Ar</i>	1 (1998) to 25 (2019)	25	272
Total	8	380	3435

Tab. 3. General information on the archaeological journals included in this study.

Journal	Number of articles	Female authors		Male authors		F:M ratio by year	
		n	%	n	%	Geometric Mean*	Geometric % CV
<i>Anatolica</i>	353	271	35.6%	485	63.7%	0.49	39.1
<i>Ist. Mitt.</i>	622	195	25.1%	582	74.9%	0.31	47.0
<i>MDOG</i>	325	223	29.2%	541	70.8%	0.38	34.8
<i>Mesopotamia</i>	298	116	32.2%	240	66.7%	0.50	56.9
<i>NAR</i>	278	143	36.3%	251	63.7%	0.54	65.5
<i>Origini</i>	413	335	48.9%	349	50.9%	0.97	32.8
<i>Paléorient</i>	874	615	31.8%	1312	67.8%	0.46	29.2
<i>TÜBA-Ar</i>	272	172	38.5%	274	61.3%	0.63	39.7
Total	3435	2070	33.8%	4034	65.9%	0.49	49.3

*For math. purposes, publications of the following years have been paired together: *Ist. Mitt* 1980/1981; *Ist. Mitt* 1982/1983, *MDOG* 1990/1991, *Mesopotamia* 2007/2008, *Mesopotamia* 2012/2013, *NAR* 2011/2012.

Tab. 4. Proportion of male and female authors in the analyzed journal issues (1980–2018/19).

discussed. The gender of individual authors was determined based on their first name and through the available online records. When either only initials were mentioned or the names were ambiguous, we retrieved information from personal and institutional websites. For the purpose of this study, the data was recorded and elaborated in a binary form (male/female), though we acknowledge that there are more than two genders and that first names may not always coincide with a person's self-identification. The main topic of each paper was determined on the basis of the title and abstract, if available. To cope with the wide range of research

subjects, detailed topics were then grouped into broader categories (see **Tab. 6**). In some cases, as for example artifact studies and archaeometry, we additionally considered the archaeological find category (i.e., pottery, figurines, metal objects, etc.). Obviously, a single paper may on occasion cover several of those topics and, if that was the case, then the predominant one was chosen. As such, our thematic categorization does not aim to be exhaustive nor universal but rather provides a first frame of analysis to identify research areas and topics that particularly suffer from gender imbalance or, conversely, are particularly equidistributed. Based on the

compiled data, gendered publication trends can then be statistically assessed for each journal.

Rates of female authorship in journals

A first look at the data from the last forty years immediately reveals strong differences in gendered publication rates across journals, with an overall much higher percentage of male authors. Indeed, among the 3435 papers published between 1980 and 2019, women represented only 34% of the contributors (Tab. 4). Over this time span, this amounts to an overall ratio of barely one female author for every two male authors. Only the Italian journal *Origini* comes very close to gender parity (48.9%), while in all other journals the

overall proportion of female authors does not exceed 40%, and in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* and *MDOG* not even 30%. Calculating the annual ratios of female to male authors per journal (F:M ratio) – with a ratio of 1.0 indicating perfect parity – permits us to examine journal-specific patterns in more detail.

The box plots in Fig. 2 help visualize the distribution of annual F:M ratio values for each journal. While confirming that women authors are also on average less represented than men in archaeological journal issues – with all journals except *Origini* having a mean⁸ F:M ratio below 1.0 – the plots also illustrate that at least 75% of the yearly

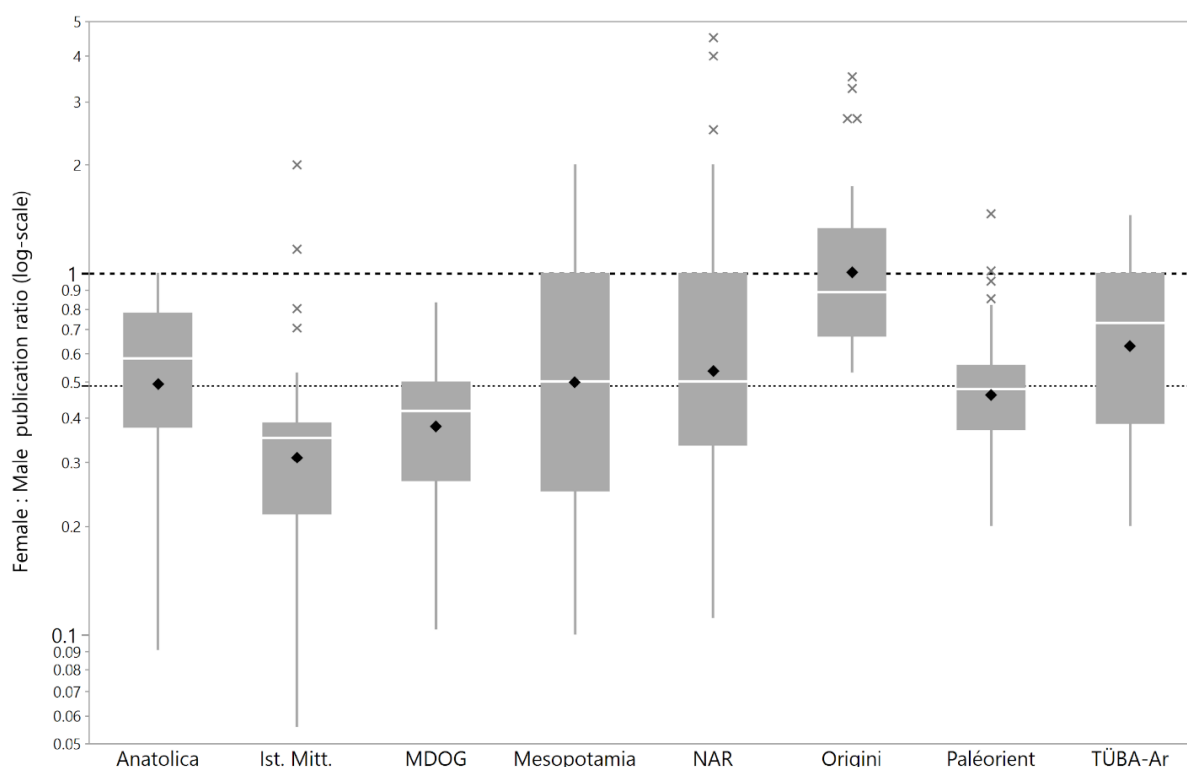


Fig. 2. Box plots of the female to male author ratio in the analyzed journal issues (1980–2018/19) by journal. The bold dashed line marks an F:M ratio of 1, which would represent perfect parity. The mean F:M ratios for each journal are indicated by a black diamond, while the thin dashed line marks the overall mean F:M ratio across the studied sample. Graph: Nokwen Rol.

8 In case of ratio data, a geometric mean is preferable to an arithmetic one. This is quite intuitive, as one would expect the average between ratios of 1:2 and 2:1 to be 1.0 (geometric mean) and not 1.25 (arithmetic one). To this end, Fig. 2 displays the raw data on a logarithmic scale, so that ratios of 1:2 and 2:1 are at equal Euclidean distance to 1:1.

Journal	1980- 1984	1985- 1989	1990- 1994	1995- 1999	2000- 2004	2005- 2009	2010- 2014	2015- 2019
<i>Anatolica</i>	31%	31%	22%	33%	40%	41%	37%	41%
<i>Ist. Mitt.</i>	8%	18%	25%	29%	26%	23%	34%	35%
<i>MDOG</i>	29%	30%	16%	28%	25%	27%	35%	39%
<i>Mesopotamia</i>	43%	33%	22%	40%	50%	34%	22%	35%
<i>NAR</i>	32%	37%	35%	26%	32%	31%	45%	51%
<i>Origini</i>	49%	55%	37%	44%	57%	57%	45%	50%
<i>Paléorient</i>	28%	33%	29%	25%	34%	34%	33%	36%
<i>TÜBA-Ar</i>	-	-	-	54%	33%	31%	42%	40%

Tab. 5. Percentage of female authors in the analyzed journals over time per five-year steps.

volumes of all journals, again except for *Origini*, fall below or even well below the parity line. For several journals, only in some years have female contributors published at least as much as their male counterparts: 1982 and 2007 in *Anatolica*, 2013 and 2018 in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, and 1987 and 2012 in *Paléorient* (both year with thematic issues respectively on “Economic and Social Perspectives on Ancient Greater Mesopotamia” and “Prehistory of Textiles in the Near East”); in *MDOG* this never happens. Those numbers rise slightly when taking only the first authors into account (see below). In this respect, the annual F:M ratio additionally provides a measure of variations across the studied period: comparatively low coefficients of variation suggest that the noted gender (im)balance is rather a persistent trend throughout the volumes of *MDOG*, *Origini*, and *Paléorient*, while larger coefficients of variation indicate a higher level of data dispersion, pointing to a greater annual variability of the F:M ratio especially for *NAR* and *Mesopotamia*.

Indeed, examining the chronological evolution of publication rates per gender for each journal reveals some unexpected patterns. Looking at five-year spans (Tab. 5), only five out of eight journals show a significant difference in the

percentage of female contributors over time.⁹ *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* features the strongest increase in proportions of female authors, with a relatively linear rise from only 8% in the early 1980s to 35% in the last five years considered in this study. Though not starting as low, the proportion of women contributors in *NAR* has also risen steadily, from 26% in the 1990s to 51% currently. *MDOG*, a journal that has had a consistently low representation of female authors until 2005 (Bolger 2008, 345–46), has in the last 15 years changed considerably, with an increase of female authors from 25% in the early 2000s to 39% in the last five years. In contrast, changes are more limited for *Paléorient* and *Anatolica*. After an increase in female authors from the 1990s to the early 2000s, both journals seem to have reached a plateau at ca. 35% and 40% respectively, with no significant change since the early 2000s and the 2008 analyses by Bolger (2008, 346). The three remaining journals do not seem to follow any temporal trends at all: the percentage of female contributors in *Mesopotamia* oscillated widely between 22% and 50% over the last forty years, while in *Origini* steadily revolving around the 50% threshold except for the 1990s (cf. Levi 2001). After a somewhat lower female participation in the 2000s, *TÜBA-Ar* has stabilized its female authorship around 40% in the last decade.

9 A Cochran-Armitage trend test was used to assess the association between a two-level categorical variable (gender) and an ordinal one (time slices) and was significant for five journals ($p < 0.05$).

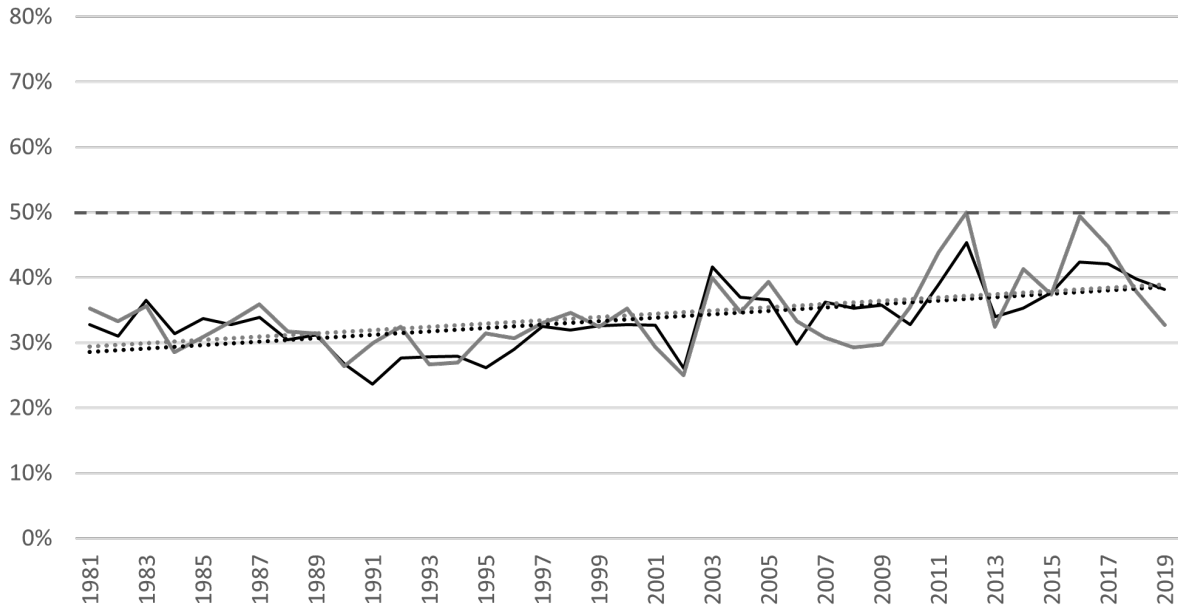


Fig. 3. Total percentage of female authors (black) and female first authors (gray) in the analyzed journals over time, along with the modeled (linear) relationship between the two variables (dotted lines). Note that the two series show a very similar trend over time. Graph: Nokwen Rol.

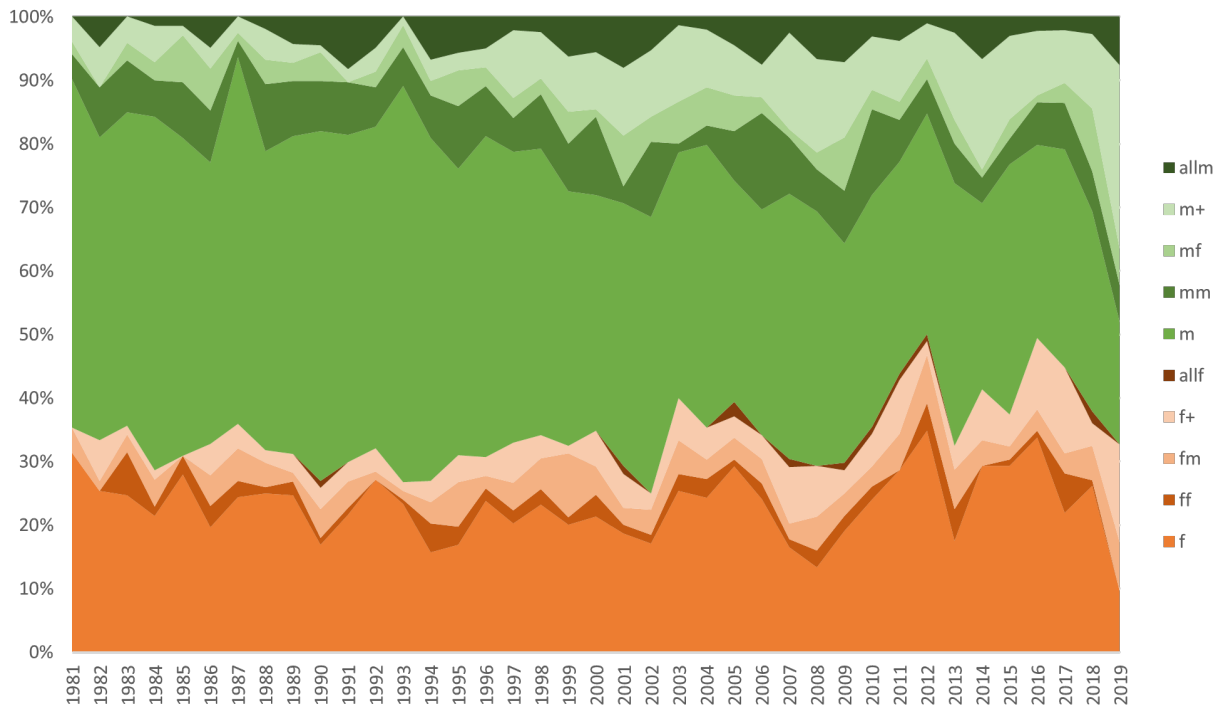


Fig. 4. Proportion of various gender combinations among the analyzed publications between 1980 and 2019. We distinguished ten types of contributions: single paper male (m) or female (f); two-authored papers male-male (mm), male-female (mf), female-male (fm) or female-female (ff); multi-authored papers of mixed gender with either a female (f+) or male (m+) first author; multi-authored papers with exclusively male (allm) or female (allf) authors (inspired by Broderick and Casadevall 2019). Graph: Nokwen Rol.

When considering to what extent the percentage of female authored contributions evolved with time, our initial hypothesis assumed that from the 1980s, female authorship in archaeological publications would have improved over the years. A comparison of the percentage of female authors over time in the analyzed corpus shows an average increase of 0.3 points per year (**Fig. 3**) confirming this hypothesis,¹⁰ but the progression is certainly less substantial than expected (or hoped for!). Thus, while the overall representation of female authors has picked up over time, rising from 30.4% in the first half of the 1980s to 39.9% in the last five years considered, the parity threshold remains yet out of sight.

To identify reasons for this disparity, differences between single-authored and multi-authored papers – and especially changes in gender combinations in multi-authored papers over time – are avenues worth exploring. Though the overall proportion of articles by female authors generally has risen at a pace very similar to that of articles written by female first authors (cf. **Fig. 3**), the trends indeed vary according to paper-type and author combinations as detailed below (**Fig. 4**). Overall, the proportion of single-authored articles has sharply decreased through time and seems to reflect general trends for the discipline at large, including a rise in interdisciplinary research, an alignment with publication practices from natural sciences, and to some extent a growing acknowledgement for the work of all team members in field reports. Interestingly, it is the proportion of single-authored papers by men that has shrunk almost by half over the last forty years, while the proportion of single-authored papers by women has remained extraordinarily constant, at an average of 23%. The relative number of

articles with two authors stays unchanged as well; in fact, articles with male-female or female-male authors are as common as male-male ones (average 7.5%), while articles with two female authors are much rarer (2%). The proportion of multi-authored works (three or more contributors) has in contrast very much risen since 1980, but it has not done so evenly: amongst mixed-gender publications, papers listing a male author first have increased by roughly 0.35 points per year, while those listing a female author first are increasing, but at twice the lower rate (+0.18 points per year). Interestingly, female first author papers reach on average parity (48% of female contributors), while this is not the case for those first authored by males (35%). The gender gap is at its highest when considering all male or all female multi-authored works. We count 257 all male authored publications and only 11 (!) all female ones, 9 of which date to 2005 or later. Overall, this suggests that the authorship of two-authored and multi-authored papers is where the challenge lies when we talk of improving gender representation, an issue that is likely to gain weight in the future.

Topic choices and “gendered specialties”

The papers analyzed in this study were grouped thematically into 28 topic categories, that we examine from two angles: first, topic choice by gender of author – in other words: of all women/men authors, how many chose a particular topic (**Tab. 6**)? – and, second, female authorship by topic – i.e., among all publications on a particular topic, how many are authored by women (**Fig. 5**)?

The eight most frequent topics of publication in our corpus were: “Artifacts”, “Field report”, “Architecture (and architectural features)”, “Burials/Human remains”, “Period discussion”

10 The percentage of female authors and year were correlated with $r = 0.63$, $p < 0.001$. A simple linear regression showed that the percentage of female authors could be predicted from the year by the following formula: % of women authors = $0.0029 \times \text{year} - 5.64$, $r^2 = 0.39$.

“Women in a Men’s World”: Still?

Topic	Number of articles	Number of authors	Male first authors		Female first authors	
			N	%	N	%
Artifacts	578	865	331	14.7%	245	21.2%
Field report	532	1682	419	18.6%	109	9.4%
Architecture (and other features)	248	330	188	8.3%	59	5.1%
Burials/Human remains	199	440	98	4.3%	101	8.7%
Period discussion	174	236	110	4.9%	64	5.5%
Theory/Methodology	153	188	97	4.3%	55	4.8%
Site(s) discussion	148	245	101	4.5%	47	4.1%
Art/Iconography	145	172	80	3.5%	64	5.5%
Epigraphy/Philology	116	135	84	3.7%	31	2.7%
Paleoenvironment/Geoarchaeology	92	198	71	3.1%	20	1.7%
Socio-Economy	87	109	55	2.4%	31	2.7%
Zooarchaeology	87	149	48	2.1%	38	3.3%
Resource exploitation/Technology	84	160	55	2.4%	28	2.4%
Ritual/Cult/Myths/Religion	83	100	46	2.0%	37	3.2%
Evental history/Historical geography	82	93	74	3.3%	7	0.6%
Subsistence economy/Food/Diet	68	131	48	2.1%	19	1.6%
Urban archaeology/Urbanism	67	91	44	2.0%	22	1.9%
Archaeometry	63	143	45	2.0%	18	1.6%
Chronology/Dating	62	112	44	2.0%	16	1.4%
History of research	57	65	43	1.9%	14	1.2%
Settlement and Landscape archaeology	56	103	37	1.6%	19	1.6%
Archaeobotany/Palynology	52	84	15	0.7%	36	3.1%
Textile	45	88	11	0.5%	34	2.9%
Architectural decorations	39	45	32	1.4%	7	0.6%
Trade/Exchange	34	54	23	1.0%	11	1.0%
Heritage/Conservation	25	31	14	0.6%	11	1.0%
Ethnoarchaeology/Experimental arch.	23	31	16	0.7%	7	0.6%
Rock art	21	29	16	0.7%	5	0.4%
Turkish studies	15	15	11	0.5%	2	0.2%
Total	3435	6124	2256	100.0%	1157	100.0%

Tab. 6. Paper topics and their popularity by gender.

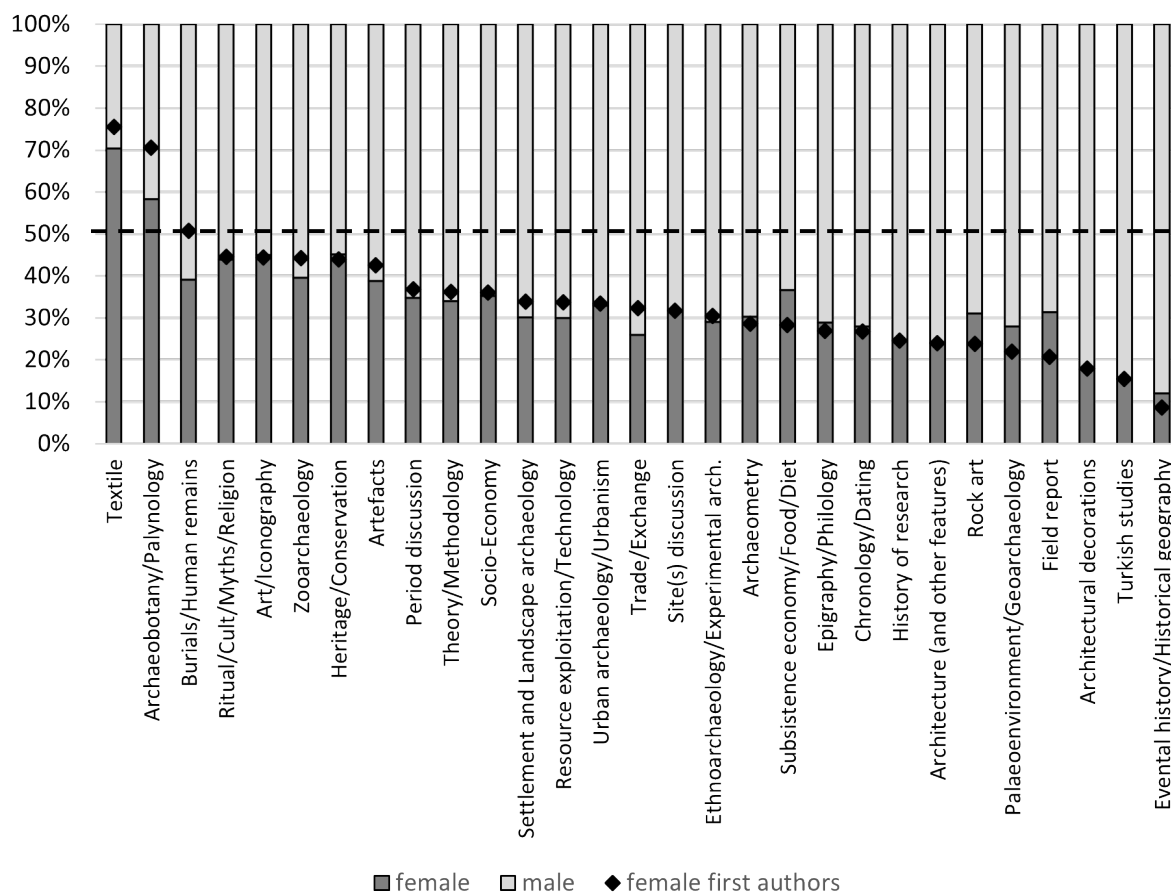


Fig. 5. Proportion of male and female contributors according to publication topic. The percentage of female first-authors for each topic is marked by a diamond. Graph: Nolwen Rol.

(meaning contributions on specific periods or archaeological cultures), “Theory/Methodology”, “Site(s) discussion”, and “Art/Iconography”, whereas in terms of the total number of authors per topic, the most popular themes were: Field report, Artefacts, Burials/Human remains, Architecture, Site(s) discussion and Period discussion. These rankings are by and large valid for both male and female contributors. However, taking only first authors into account, on whom the topic selection presumably rested, reveals clear preferences in topic choice according to gender. Female first authors predominantly chose to publish on (Fig. 5):

- “Artefacts”: 21%,
- “Field report” and “Burials/Human remains”: 9% each,
- “Period discussion” and “Art history/Iconography”: 6% each.

Men first authors in contrast published more often papers related to (Fig. 5):

- “Field reports”: 19%,
- “Artefacts”: 15%
- “Architecture”: 8%,
- “Period discussion”: 5%,
- “Site(s) discussion” (4%).

The two most popular topics expose persistent gender differences: with men more often writing interim and final excavation or survey reports, and women writing more often about archaeological finds. These differences beg the question, how far are we here from the “at-home ideology” denounced by Joan Gero 35 years ago (1985)? Disparities in terms of authorship are most evident in the case of field reports, which represent one-fifth of the male authored publications but only one-tenth of the female ones. Indeed, it is one of

the topics where gender representation is the poorest: for every report first-authored by a woman, there are four first-authored by a man. Considering that in those cases the first author is usually the project director, this points to a severe gender bias in the leadership of archaeological projects, an issue repeatedly brought up in the last decades (e.g., Gero 1991, 1994; and indirectly Bowman and Ulm 2009 on funding and gender).¹¹ The pattern is reversed for “Artifact” analysis, and while the gender gap is somewhat less obvious, it seems to confirm a discipline-wide trend that typically orients female archaeologists towards object studies. This field appears to be itself compartmentalized into rather female or male artifact categories, as discussed below. “Burials/Human Remains”, ranking third among female publications, is a topic twice more popular amongst female archaeologists, and accordingly one of the very rare subjects for which we have an equal number of publications from both genders. The reverse holds true for “Architecture” that comes up as a particularly male-dominated topic, with only 24% of female-authored papers. Interestingly, 71% (n=178) of the works on “Architecture (and other features)” originates from a single journal – *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* –, which means that a large number of these contributions deals with classical and post-classical architecture. This suggests that the apparently gendered male character of the topic is possibly period-related: whereas in *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* less than 20% of the contributions on architecture have a female first author, in *Paléorient*, a journal focusing on prehistory, 32% (n=31) of the articles on this topic have a female first author. In contrast, synthesis papers on general topics about a particular period or site are roughly equally popular among both

genders. Period discussions are more often first-authored by a woman (34%) than general site overviews (30%), and this might be due to the fact that “Site(s) discussions” more often require rights and access to first-hand excavation material and documentation, while “Period discussion” papers tend to be more comparative and draw most often on already published literature.

While we cannot explore here the specific publishing trends for each topic in detail, nor discuss the structural reasons and implications behind them in depth, a number of central tendencies can be remarked upon. Overall, most research topics analyzed in this corpus are characterized by very uneven gender authorship (Fig. 5). Only in two topics are more females than men identified as first authors: “Textile” (76%) and “Archaeobotany/Palynology” (71%), while, as already mentioned, “Burials/Human Remains” is the only subject on which male and female first authors have equally published (50%). However, those three topics make up only 9% of the total topics in these publications. Female authors are underrepresented in all other research topics. Keeping in mind that the overall percentage of female authors in the analyzed journals is only 33.8%, female lead authors score comparatively well in the fields of “Artifacts”, “Art/Iconography”, “Ritual/Cult/Myths/Religions” and “Zooarchaeology” (43–44%). In contrast, the proportion of female first-authored papers is particularly low for the topics of “Architecture” (24%), “History of research” (24%), “Paleoenvironment/Geoarchaeology” (22%), “Field reports” (21%) and “Evental history or *histoire événementielle*/Historical geography” (11%).

¹¹ This echoes the gender biases that we saw in university archaeology departments (See footnote 1), confirmed by UNESCO research on leadership positions at all levels of education systems (https://gem-report-2017.unesco.org/en/chapter/gender_monitoring_leadership/).

Besides textiles, famed for the lack of interest by male archaeologists,¹² one can note that it is especially in topics related to natural sciences and lab work (archaeobotany, bioanthropology, zooarchaeology) that publications come close to or even overshoot the parity line. In our data, those topics are more popular among female first authors than among male ones, confirming patterns of research specialization already pointed out and suggesting that female archaeologists have a much higher chance of obtaining economic funding if they apply for non-field related projects (Gero 1985; Yellen 1983; Hays-Gilpin 2000). Joan Gero termed the scholarly labor in which female archaeologists conducted non-field related work as archaeological “housework” or “soft” archaeology (Gero 1985). More specifically, Gero identified three research areas that in the 1980s were largely dominated by women: lithics, archaeobotany, and zooarchaeology. With regards to archaeobotany, Gero, however, underlined that women were working and writing more on botanical data analysis and men on more general issues, thus with her words “*it is males who synthesize the overview, abstract the environment, generalize the adaptation and theorize the origins – while women identify the seeds. Males construct the facts of prehistory – from women’s data*” (Gero 1994, 149). Looking at our data more closely, we found that 37.5% of the archaeobotany articles first-authored by a male deal with general issues, in contrast to the 19.4% first-authored by females. In the analyzed journals, archaeobotany is thus still a female-dominated field, but general discussions are, proportionally, favored by men. A similar pattern is visible in zooarchaeological works, too.

A closer look at contributions dealing with “Artifacts” points to the different trends per gender considering specific material categories as well (Fig. 6). In the analyzed papers, women authored over 85% of the papers on bone tools, 60% of the papers on figurines and statuettes, and 56% of the papers on jewelry. All other artifact categories are predominantly first authored by men, with 26% of the papers on stelae and reliefs first-authored by women, and 11% in numismatics. Articles on pottery and macrolithics show similar gender authorship figures with 8% of the women as lead or single authors in pottery and men with 4%.

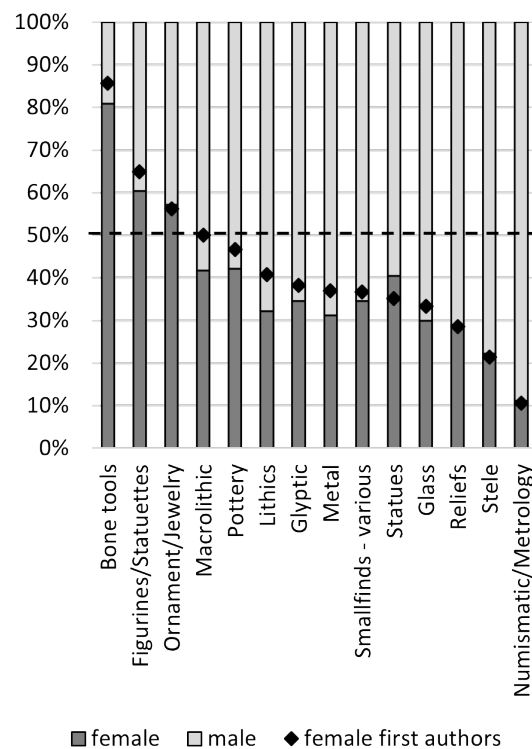


Fig. 6. Proportion of male and female contributors according to artifact category. The percentage of female first-authors for each category is marked by a diamond. Graph: Nolwen Rol.

12 For example, the Center for Textile Research of the University of Copenhagen, which is possibly the most renowned research center for archaeological textile research, textile tools and related materials and practices in Europe, list eleven women as permanent staff; twelve women and two men among the guest researcher and collaborators; four current Maria Skłodowska-Curie fellows, all women; and 15 women and three men previous MSC fellows (source: <https://ctr.hum.ku.dk/>).

	1 st rank		2 nd rank		3 rd rank		4 th rank		5 th rank	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1980-1984	art.	field	field	art.	bur.	hist.	env.	env.	arch.	arch.
1985-1989	art.	field	field	arch.	per.	art.	eco.	per.	theo.	sit.
1990-1994	art.	field	field	art.	ico.	arch.	theo.	per.	zoo.	theo.
1995-1999	art.	art.	field	field	ico.	arch.	bur.	bur.	arch.	env.
2000-2004	art.	field	bur.	art.	field	arch.	rit.	per.	per.	sit.
2005-2009	art.	field	per.	art.	zoo.	arch.	bur.	sit.	arch.	bur.
2010-2014	art.	field	bur.	art.	field	per.	per.	arch.	tex.	sit.
2015-2019	art.	field	bur.	art.	tex.	arch.	field	bur.	arch.	eco.

Tab. 7. Most popular topics in five-year sets and gender (first authors) in the analyzed journal issues (1980-2018/19). Abbreviations: arch. = architecture and other features; art. = artifacts; bur. = burials/human remains; eco. = socio-economy; env. = paleoenvironment/geoarchaeology; field = field reports; hist. = evental history/historical geography; ico. = art/iconography; per. = period discussion; rit. = ritual/cult/myths/religion; sit. = site(s) discussion; tex. = textile; theo. = theory/methodology; zoo. = zooarchaeology.

Has anything changed in archaeology since the 1980s? Are gendered roles in archaeology frozen in time? **Tab. 7** highlights a few temporal trends regarding topic preferences. “Artifacts” and “Field reports” remain respectively the two dominant paper topics for female and male authors over the years. Field reports in the 2010s show that 26% have been first-authored by women, which is hardly more than in the 1980s (25%). The same holds true for gendered thematic specialties within artifact studies: except for an overall decrease in the representation of women authors in lithic studies, the “gendering” of find categories did not undergo significant changes in the last forty years. A few shifts in topic selection are however apparent for women: in the 1990s Iconography and Art History become of interest, in the 2000s Burials/Human remains increase in popularity replacing Field Reports, and in the 2010s, textiles emerge as a favored subject for publication.¹³ Over the last forty years, other popular topics among women first authors also include “Period discussion”, “Theory/Methodology”, “Zooarchaeology” and “Architecture.”

In general, the gendered roles related to lab-work seem to have gained importance: “Burials/Human remains” and “Zooarchaeology” are some of the few topics showing a significant increase in female first-authored publications over time. Papers on architecture, typically a long associated male-dominated topic, are also being more often written by women, while the history of archaeological research has become a subject where women are better represented as well. In comparison, the topics men first authors were most interested in have been less variable over time and match, with only minor changes in ranking and a more frequent concern for “paleoenvironment” themes between 1980 and 2000, the above-mentioned overall pattern.

Our survey of journals has so far looked at the long-term changes (or lack thereof) and dealt with gender division on a macro scale. However, we also argue that the experience of being a woman in the field of archaeology deserves a space of its own in order to address biases, highlight the voices of female archaeologists and locate, identify and

13 No doubt related here to the thematic volumes on textile *Paléorient* 38 (1) and (2) and *Origini* XL.

understand the circumstances in the everyday and academic life that might contribute to the still underrepresentation of female authors in archaeology. In this regard, we are glad to notice that the topic has also reached popular culture and non-academic media: in 2018 a Wikipedia page dedicated to women in archaeology was created in English and Swedish. At least one exhibition – *Archéo-Sexisme* – has been recently dedicated in France to sexism in archaeology, especially in fieldwork (Mary et al. 2019).

Survey data – aims and preliminary results

Though we four authors have diverging research interests, it was primarily our own readings, experiences and perceptions of gender imbalance in academia that brought us together for this contribution. A lecture by Reem Aljader on gender representation in archaeological publications, which pointed out

the low representation of women of *Iraq* and the *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* acted as a potent catalyzer (Aljader 2018). We were primarily curious about the differences and similarities in the countries where we have a personal history or relationship through fieldwork.¹⁴ We wondered not only whether our perception of the underrepresentation of women in archaeology was corroborated by evidence but also whether it was matched by the experiences of fellow female colleagues in WA archaeology. Our expectation was that the situation had improved in the last forty years, perhaps an optimistic hope fostered by the privilege of having female role models, such as Susan Pollock and others, that inspired us, and no less by our young academic careers.

In order to gain insights into the experiences of female colleagues and explore how factors like socio-cultural background, self-awareness, academic degree and employment intersect, we created an anonymous

Question 1	How much importance have the following spheres in your self-identification?	Choices: Profession; Family; Sex/Gender; Sexual orientation; Nationality and/or ethnic group; Religion; Other; I don't want to answer.
Question 2	In which country do you live?	
Question 3	In which countries do you work (fieldwork)?	
Question 4	What is your highest level of qualification?	
Question 5	What is your current position?	
Question 6	Have you experienced disadvantages because of your gender in the following areas? How often?	Choices: In everyday life; In public life (administration, etc); In professional life; Other; I don't want to answer.
Question 7	Have you experienced discriminations because of your gender in the following areas?	
Question 8	In which spheres of archaeology do you see disadvantages based on gender?	Choices: Publications; Positions/jobs; Excavations; Topics (thesis and research); I don't want to answer.
Question 9	From whom did you experience more disadvantages or discriminations?	Choices: Same sex/gender; Other sex/genders; I don't want to answer.
Question 10	How old are you?	Choices: 20-40; 40-60; over 60; I don't want to answer.

Tab. 8. The ten questions included in our questionnaire and the given choices, when present.

¹⁴ We were respectively born, trained, and have been living and working in different countries; we also belong to different age groups and are in different stages of our academic career.

questionnaire available on the internet.¹⁵ We asked the participants ten questions (Tab. 8) about their academic degree, country of residence, country where they conduct field work, identity, experiences of discrimination or perceived advantages/disadvantages linked to gender. We contacted colleagues we knew personally via email encouraging them to forward the link to their colleagues, and we also disseminated the link through social media (Facebook and Twitter). As a first step we agreed to ask only women to participate in our survey. The preliminary results of this pilot phase with 37 participants are presented here. However, we plan to conduct a more detailed survey with a larger number of participants (all genders) in the future.

Our sample is largely composed of women who identify as having European¹⁶ origin (19 women out of 25 answers to this question); one with “Near Eastern roots”; three with a double nationality (West European and West Asian). “Profession” comes out as the principal element of self-identification, followed by “family” and “sex/gender” (Tab. 8, Question 1; Fig. 7). Sexual orientation, nationality and religion play only a minor role. The majority of the participants are cisgender heterosexual women. One participant commented on the question concerning gender to emphasize a kind of dichotomy: “[I] usually only think of myself as female when NOT in the field, e.g., as female role model for younger women at conferences, while teaching, etc.” At least for this person, it seems that during fieldwork her female gender identity becomes not important or at least it is “forgotten”, while it does play an important role in other aspects of her professional life.

How much importance have the following spheres in your self-identification?

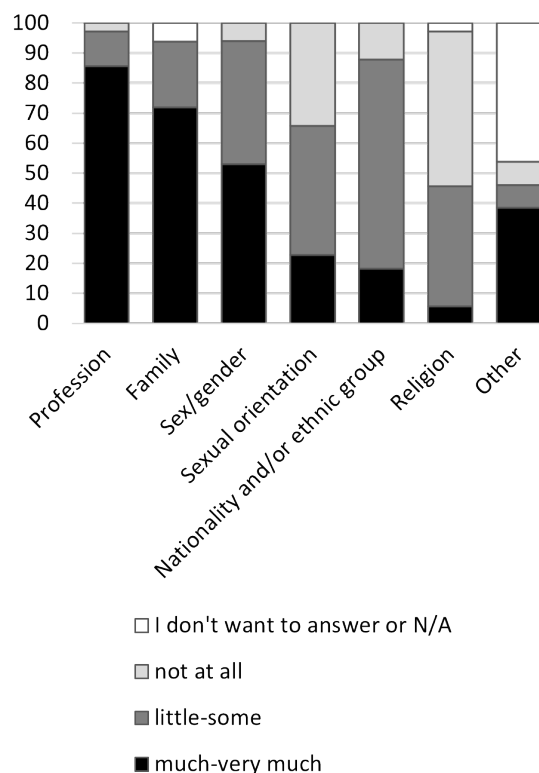


Fig. 7. Diagram presenting the answers to Question 1. Graph: Birgül Ögüt.

When asked about the countries in which the participants conduct fieldwork (Question 3), responses were as follows: Turkey (16%), countries of WA (57%), former GUS (21%), European countries (20%) and African countries (2%), where multiple answers were possible. Highest educational qualifications were 46% with a “PhD or equal”, 43% with a “MA or equal” (Question 4). Only 8% have a “Prof. or equal” degree¹⁷ and 3% gave BA as their highest qualification. A look at the answers to the last question of the survey (Questions 10) shows that 66% of the participants are between 20

15 <http://www.surveymonkey.com/r/TCWB2YY>. For this article we have evaluated data collected between May 1st until December 31st, 2019. However, the survey is still available. Survey replies can be subject to minor editing by the authors in case of misspelling or for privacy protection.

16 In order to simplify the evaluation, we have designated the countries that are mostly on the European continent as European, so that Turkey was counted as a West Asian country.

17 In some countries, a habilitation is required as a qualification for a full professorship. However, this qualification does not at the same time mean that the person is working as a professor. The answers were

and 40 years old and 32% are over 40. 28% are undergraduate and graduate students, 29% researchers or fellows and only 15% are employed in a senior/leader capacity; moreover, 12% are employed/freelancer and 11% are not employed (unemployed, on maternity-leave or retired). Therefore, the majority of this non-random sample is mainly composed of young archaeologists and few of them hold any kind of permanent positions.

In the answers to our questions about disadvantages and discrimination (Questions 6 and 7), experiences of issues in professional life were reported significantly more often than in everyday and public life. Furthermore, we were interested in whether disadvantages and/or discrimination of women by people with the same or opposite gender are more obvious (Question 9). It turned out that both experiences are reported, but the ones with the opposite sex were significantly more frequent.

Particularly interesting with regard to our evaluation of the journals was question 8 (Tab. 8), that tackles more precisely issues in professional life (Fig. 8). The majority of respondents feel that women are particularly disadvantaged first in securing paid positions/jobs and second in excavation contexts. Responses about payment, on the other hand, were contradictory: an approximately equal number of women stated to have much to very many disadvantages and no disadvantages at all; possibly this is a function of positions with or without wage agreement policies. About 40% of the respondents reported publications and topic distribution in theses or research as areas with gender-based disadvantages. Shared negative perceptions and experiences in the area of publication included: *“Harsher peer review than for male colleagues,” “The number of published articles by females is still small compared to men”* or even *“Peer reviews citing*

In which spheres of archaeology do you see disadvantages based on gender?

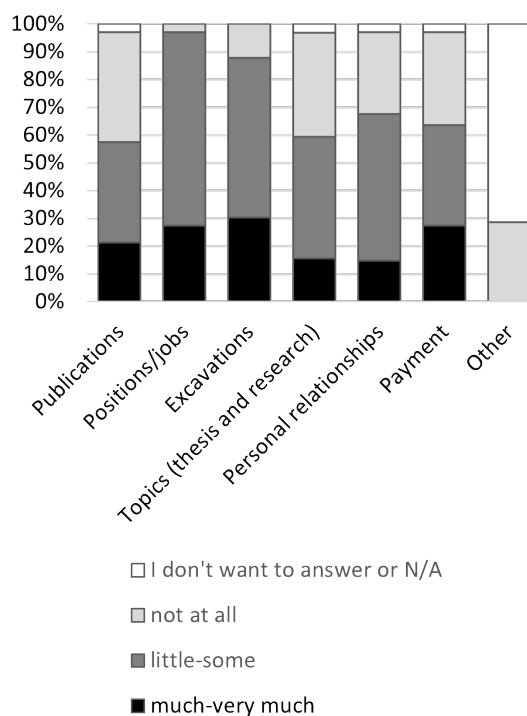


Fig. 8. Diagram presenting the answers to Question 8. Graph: Birgül Ögüt.

my professional literature as ‘highly emotional’; same sentences from a man would be called ‘strong convictions’.” According to one participant, women first authors are much rarer than men. The responses to Question 8 could not be linked to specific countries, job positions or degrees and seem to rather reflect broadly shared individual experiences.

With regards to labor distribution, several statements indicated that a division of tasks in archaeology based on preconceived ideas of gender norms has by no mean disappeared; one participant wrote that *“I always get more administration work jobs because I apparently have a ‘female touch’ for precision and detail”* while another experienced *“at fieldwork being told to do the breakfast while the men start preparing the truck.”* Other replies to questions

from persons from Austria, Germany and Italy, where a habilitation or equivalent is required for a professor position.

regarding gender discrimination and disadvantage in archaeological work included:

- “More administrative work than male colleagues of same rank [and] extra ‘emotional’ labor with students (assumption I will help them with life issues, stress, mental health etc., although male colleagues do not)”
- “Remarks from superiors like: ‘Isn’t fieldwork too hard on you, because you are a woman?’”
- “Women work inside and men in the field”; “General reluctance to give me position in the field. This way it becomes a self-induced fact that women work inside since you don’t get placed outside.”

Clearly, the assumption of hard work = scientific work = field work = male work versus soft work = administrative work = home work = female work, – the already mentioned “at-home ideology” in Gero (1985) – is still very much present in the academic life experiences of the participants, regardless of their reported identity in the survey.

Several participants further reported on gender segregation in topic choices or assignment, confirming the above results from the journal analysis:

- “Large-scale broad or economic topics still mostly male”
- “Male tend to choose or be given research topics of greater political importance”
- “The choice of more ‘traditional’ topics seems to be still connected to gender: pottery/textile tools/food – women, vs. metals – men”
- “Women more likely to be pushed into ‘safe’ topics such as analyses of existing small collections of material culture, less often encouraged towards big picture topics with significant independent fieldwork.”

Those first survey results illustrate the range and ubiquity of inequalities perceived in the field of WA archaeology regardless of age, education, career status, nationality or country. As expected, they appear to be much more frequent than the perceived

disadvantages and discriminations in everyday life.

Discussion and concluding remarks

As archaeological knowledge production is at the intersection of the past and present, studying the past forces us to constantly inspect the sociopolitical construction of our own contemporary discipline in an attempt to locate the roots of interpretations. Our study aimed to detect the manifestation of gender imbalance in the field of WA archaeology; we relied on a number of past studies that dealt with both archaeological publications in general and journals on WA archaeology in particular. We have not merely updated them (see Bolger 2008 and Levi 2001), but we also included journals published in Turkey and northern European countries to explore differences between various academic traditions; moreover, we briefly included the results of a pilot study on the personal experiences of women archaeologists. Our analysis of eight archaeological journals revealed strong gendered publication trends. First, the underrepresentation of women authors is overall widespread in scientific journals regardless of country of publication, with however some striking differences. Considering all the years as a whole, 1980-2018/9, the highest representation of female authors is attested in the Italian journal *Origini* (48.9%) and the Turkish *TÜBA-AR* (38.5%), while percentage ranges are a low 25.1% for the German journal *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* and a 35.6% for the Dutch *Anatolica*. To contrast the results of *TÜBA-AR* and the *Norwegian Archaeological Review* (36.3%), we also examined two journals published in Turkey and Scandinavia that deal with the humanities and cover a broader range of topics and time periods, namely *Belleten* and *Sfinx*. In both cases, women authors are less present than in the archaeological publications: 20.5 % in *Belleten* – the journal with the most unequal gender rates in our corpus – and 31.4% in *Sfinx*.

ICAANE conference location	International committee		Organizing committee	
	F members	M members	F members	M members
1 st – Rome 1998	1	7	-	-
2 nd – Copenhagen 2000	1	7	1	13
3 rd – Paris 2002	n.a.	n.a.	0	3
4 th – Berlin 2004	2	6	8	6
5 th – Madrid 2006	2	6	2	3
6 th – Rome 2008	2	6	1	3
7 th – London 2010	0	7	3	4
8 th – Warsaw 2012	2	6	3	5
9 th – Basel 2014	2	7	1	7
10 th – Vienna 2016	2	7	8	6
11 th – Munich 2018	6(1)*	3(5)*	1+6 ^o	1+5 ^o
12 th – Bologna 2021	6(1)*	3(6)*	2+2 [^]	9+6 [^]

Tab. 9. Gender distribution in the International and Organizing Committees of all ICAANE (*Members and Honorary Members in brackets; ^o11th ICAANE Organizing Committee and the LMU Organizing Committee; [^]12th ICAANE Organizing Committee and Scientific Advisory Board).

With an overall representation of female authors of only 33.8% and a mere 9.5% increase of female authors in an almost four-decade span in the investigated journals, a somber picture of gender (in)equality in archaeology emerges. At this rate, it will take another 40 years of research to approach an equivalent gender representation in this set of archaeological publications. Our study thereby suggests that efforts directed towards improving the gender configuration of two- and multi-authored papers may eventually be one of the most effective ways of reducing the gender publication gap.

The low representation of female authors is not limited to journals, however. Dempsey's (2019) and our research clearly demonstrated that women are a minority in handbooks as well. Female authors represent 37% of the contributors in the overall count of investigated handbooks. The percentage decreases to 33% once the volumes regarding gender ("Gender in Archaeology", Nelson 2006 and "Gender in Prehistory", Bolger 2013) are omitted, simultaneously confirming the strong significance of female authorship in gender-related studies as well as the infrequency of women

voices in authoritative reference works with more general topics. This fits well with evidence from another sphere of knowledge production in the field of WA archaeology: academic events. We checked the gender representation in the international and organizing committees of the most attended conference in the field in the European continent – the International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (ICAANE) –, which clearly reflects the paucity of women in prestige and organizing positions of the academic WA archaeological world (Tab. 9). The conference was initiated in 1998 by what became the international committee composed by seven men and one woman, and which remained more or less unchanged until 2018, when the situation reversed with more women (6) than men (3). Only two organizing committees counted at least as many women than men (Berlin 2004 and Vienna 2016).

Besides the strong numerical imbalance visible in both publication ratios and the structure of academia at large, our study showed a resolute division among the genders in topic selection in articles as well. Statistics reveal an overall male author dominance in practically

all topics, which was to be expected due to the high number of male authors in general. Interestingly, female authors are predominantly present in topics concerning "Artifacts" followed to a lesser degree by "Field Reports" and "Human Remains." These patterns are in alignment with previous research by Gero and her theory concerning gendered division of archaeological labor ("archaeological housework"). The outcome of our survey of archaeological handbooks further validates these patterns of gendered division of labor, in which female authors are almost exclusively present in topics concerning artifact studies and other specific topics. Besides gender, women authors clearly predominate in contributions concerned with children and childhood, bodies and personhood, as well as burials and human remains, as if engaging with such themes were a woman's prerogative. Still.

The conversation on the mechanisms behind gender imbalances in academic knowledge production is too complex and vast to be fully scrutinized here; however, some lingering questions remain. The primary one is why such a low representation of female authors in academic journals still occurs. In an effort to answer this question, one needs to examine the steps prior to publication: the writing/submission stage. Studies on gendered publishing trends agree that female archaeologists generally submit fewer articles for publication than their male peers (e.g., Heath-Stout 2020; Kelly et al. 2019).¹⁸ Laura Heath-Stout believes that *"this pattern reflects the systemic sexism embedded in higher teaching and service loads for female academics"* and that *"women may spend far more time in compliance work, rather than writing and submitting their scholarship to peer-reviewed journals"* (Heath-Stout 2020, 139). Research and academic writing are time-consuming

processes that might be often neglected in favor of other duties such as family or other academic "chores" (Suitor et al. 2001). Indeed, scholarly "housework" is a recurrent theme as indicated by several replies from women in our pilot survey where administrative tasks, student care, and domestic responsibilities in fieldwork become reduced to a "female" specific sphere of labor. These statements correspond with previous research showing that female scholars are more often tasked with administrative and caretaker duties compared to their male peers and thus have less time for academic writing (Park 1996; Acker and Feuerverger 1996; Bellas 1999; Bardolph 2014).

Turning to the female academic employment demographics in "research-friendly" positions, it is evident that the presence of women decreases along the ladder to the upper research professorial positions (see footnote 1). The structure of academia itself and the expectations for the achievement of higher research positions might be at fault as it does not encourage nor support time off for family or other non-academic endeavors. Archaeologists with families (i.e., with children), something women are still more expected to take care of than men, might therefore have to settle for less research-friendly positions in order to balance family and work. Additionally, the majority of paid positions for archaeologists outside academic appointments (tenure) do not host a compatible environment for research/academic writing (Wolfinger et al. 2009; Ahmad 2017).

Furthermore, the importance of scholarly self-confidence should not be underestimated. Female scholars, surrounded by the male-dominated narratives as well as other obstacles might be reluctant to submit their work for either fear of criticism or lack of

¹⁸ Apparently, this trend has been exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic and related lockdown (Minello 2020).

confidence in their own research and writing (Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Reichwein 2012). One female participant in our survey particularized the effect of the disadvantages and discriminations that female archaeologists face by stating: “*By myself: not trusting in self abilities, letting abuse happen [and] finding excuses for [the] perpetrator*”. Eventually a majority of female scholars might confine themselves within their ascribed spheres of labor and thus help maintain a socially constructed norm that is further strengthened by the continuity of this “male”-practice. As Dana Bardolph theorized, these factors contribute to a vicious circle where women, as a consequence of lower publishing contributions, are not invited to review articles, becoming less involved in the establishment of the archaeological narrative, and this further reproduces gender disparities (Bardolph 2014, 534–35).

In her 2008 article on gender and feminism in West Asian archeology, Susan Pollock mentions the lack of interest in the subjects of gender and feminism as the inability of archeology to explore tangible concepts such as sexuality and gender. This means that the difference between the past and the present is not perceived, and today’s practices are

projected into the past, as today’s stereotypes make clear: women are seen at home in a domestic context, men in politics. Echoing the voices of others before us, we urge journal boards, universities, institutions, governments and others to dismantle gender inequities and to empower the female population by helping to bring attention to these biased structural problems inherited from a faulted and outdated practice. We hope that this study has shown how much gender stereotypes are still a reality in today’s academic milieu. We also believe that there is plenty of research-based evidence of uncritical handling of gender roles. It is really time to change things.

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