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Introduction: Toward an Engaged Feminist Heritage Praxis

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ABSTRACT

We advocate a feminist approach to archaeological heritage work in order to transform heritage practice and the production of archaeological knowledge. We use an engaged feminist standpoint and situate intersubjectivity and intersectionality as critical components of this practice. An engaged feminist approach to heritage work allows the discipline to consider women's, men's, and gender non-conforming persons' positions in the field, to reveal their contributions, to develop critical pedagogical approaches, and to rethink forms of representation. Throughout, we emphasize the intellectual labor of women of color, queer and gender non-conforming persons, and early white feminists in archaeology. [feminism, engaged research, heritage praxis, intersubjectivity, intersectionality]

Introduction

Archaeologists increasingly identify as heritage practitioners, turning toward the many publics, communities, and audiences seeking to connect to history through the material past. This shift has many roots, including postmodern thought, postcolonial and Native American activism, and feminist critique. We argue that feminist influence in heritage work has not reached its full potential, and as a result, the project of reforming archaeological heritage practice remains unfinished. While archaeologists have started the hard work of grappling with their colonialist origins head-on they have rarely explored or challenged the links between archaeology, cultural heritage, and heteropatriarchy. However, the goals held by many heritage practitioners—empowerment, democracy, equality, and community transformation—can only be fulfilled by acknowledging, and deciding to incorporate, feminist approaches. We challenge archaeologists and heritage practitioners to recognize gender as a malleable and complex construction, embedded in the forms of social dominance that permeate archaeological and heritage practice. In this volume, we advocate employing a variety of feminisms and emphasizing a gender-conscious lens in archaeological heritage work in order to provide clarity to our practice. In this age of #MeToo, #Won'tBeErased, and #CiteBlackWomen we are inspired by the continued potential of ground-up movements for social, political, and epistemological change. Contributors to this volume thus draw on a wide range of feminisms including critical black, indigenous, queer, post- and de-colonial scholarship in order to transform heritage practice and the production of archaeological knowledge.

We root this volume in anthropological theory and methods while showcasing multiregional approaches to archaeology. The contributors rely predominantly on two standpoints: *feminist intersubjectivity*, influenced by feminist phenomenological, ethical, and psychoanalytic scholarship; and *intersectionality*, drawing specifically on

developments in black feminist scholarship (Collins 2001; Guy-Sheftall 1995; Hartsock 1998; Nash 2019). By highlighting these concepts, we do not mean to bog down the already weighty jargon of theory in archaeology. Rather, our intention is to embrace the connection between practice, interpretation, and the theories that they engender and to join cross-disciplinary debates and discussions. The volume presents a range of projects that fit within the corpus of heritage work including public engagement, education, museum work, community-based participatory research, tourism, political action, art activism, and data sharing. Although the notion of heritage is defined broadly, the works presented here share a concern for archaeology and material culture as well as how they impact lives in the present.

We seek to rebalance the relationship between archaeology and a larger body of heritage practices that contribute to the formation and maintenance of collective identities (Pels 2014; Reading 2015). We take a deliberate approach to feminist heritage practice that incorporates doing archaeology as a feminist (to reference Wylie 2007) and grows out of a consideration of black feminist standpoint theory and feminist phenomenology. We draw on the notion of intersubjectivity—at its most basic, a shared understanding between two or more people—as one critical component of this practice (Benjamin 1998; Borgerson 2001; Fowlkes 1997; Meyers 2015). Intersubjective relationality cannot be reached without a reflexive consideration of one's own subject position, relationship to material culture, and relationship to the many publics and communities we engage. But intersubjective theory alone does not address the complexity of navigating many social categories. Such confusion potentially reinforces power imbalances that exist between persons and collectivities (Hemmings 2012). An engaged feminist heritage practice couples intersubjectivity with *intersectionality*—an explicit theory of how people experience the world through intersecting identities and relationships of power (and oppression). For this reason, we position intersectionality and intersubjectivity as the twin pillars upholding an engaged feminist heritage practice throughout the volume.

Although critical writing on both gender and heritage in archaeology gained traction as early as the 1980s, these two topics followed different trajectories that have rarely explicitly overlapped. Some feminist scholars in archaeology have started to consider women's and non-gender conforming person's positions in the field, develop feminist pedagogical approaches, and rethink forms of representation. Yet such approaches remain marginalized in practice, and by extension, in the literature. As Wylie (2007, 210) wrote over a decade ago of the increased interest in gender but the rejection of feminist approaches:

> While this lack of engagement with feminism might initially have seemed inadvertent—a function of the androcentrism of existing disciplinary traditions in archaeology and perhaps uncertainty about where to find intellectual resources relevant to newly framed questions about women and gender—it is now clear that it reflects much deeper ambivalence about feminist scholarship and activism. (Wylie 2007, 210)

We aim to abolish ambivalence towards feminist scholarship and practice by taking feminism as the starting place for gender research in archaeology and by asserting that archaeological research *is* heritage practice—making archaeological researchers heritage practitioners.

To clarify, we take *practice* to encompass research design, data interpretation, (re)presentation, pedagogy, theorizing, and administration/management of heritage projects, sites, and museums. The subjectivity of heritage practitioners influences every component of an engaged heritage practice—from building teams, to selecting research questions and methodologies, to publication, scholarly and public presentation, and artifact and site management. Attending to the intersectional and intersubjective positions of heritage practitioners, project participants, and heritage publics requires feminist methodologies (Harrison 2007). Such an approach pairs an engaged feminist standpoint with qualities that advocates of collaboration and public engagement in archaeological heritage practice already champion: accountability, transparency, and the potential for sustainability. The results of such work come closer to fulfilling the ideals of a community-centric, publicly engaged heritage practice. In what follows, we offer an account of the relationship between archaeological heritage work and feminist practice. We then situate that relationship in the long trajectory of feminist theorizing by offering an abridged history. We proceed by elaborating on feminist intersectional and intersubjective approaches. We close the article with a provocation: to reinvest in the project of feminist heritage practice for archaeology.

Archaeological Heritage as Subject and Method

Beyond field practices, archaeologists have come to participate in broader discussions about heritage with anthropologists, historians, art historians, architectural historians, and other past-oriented scholars along with museums, global institutions (e.g., UNESCO), nation-states, NGOs, and the tourism industry. They have been constructing the concept of heritage more broadly, considering the relationship between material culture and "intangible heritage" or cultural practice (L. Smith 2006; L. Smith and Akagawa

2008), the various values invested in heritage (Mason 2008; G. Smith, Messenger, and Soderland 2010), and the ways that heritage fosters a sense of global citizenship (Meskell 2015). Heritage in its non-familial sense, like archaeology, is a political practice derived from colonialist aims to legitimize national, global, and ethnic narratives (Davison 2008; González-Ruibal 2009; Meskell 2015; Ndoro and Wijesuriya 2015). But heritage can also be a positive source of social cohesion, solidarity, and collective identity. Problems arise when dominating heritage discourses drown out narratives and practices connected to subaltern groups (L. Smith 2006), reinforcing unequal power dynamics across societies (González-Ruibal 2009; McKinney 2012). Heritage sites—frequently archaeological—may provide unequally distributed economic benefits to communities, sidelining those who most connect to heritage spaces and places (Breglia 2009; Salazar and Zhu 2015).

But value need not be conceived of in strictly economic terms; heritage offers a multiplicity of values to many constituencies (G. Smith, Messenger, and Soderland 2010). It is increasingly clear that local communities must value heritage sites in some way and retain rights to access and use of those sites in order for them to be effectively managed (Rajaraman 2019; Weerasinghe and Schmidt 2019). Top-down management of national and World heritage sites impinges on local autonomy and may trap locals in difficult circumstances while reinforcing inequalities (Colwell and Joy 2015; Fritz and Michell 2012). Communities have worked to resist these interventions, in part by demonstrating the enriching aspects of intangible heritage that they bring to those sites (De Cesari and Herzfeld 2015). Postcolonial and community-based approaches can ameliorate some of these issues in heritage management by decentering the location of power and by reframing "researchers" and "stakeholders" as "guests" and "hosts" (Nakata and David 2010). But such approaches do not frequently attend to questions of inequality and power with respect to gender bias, inequity, and violence.

The focus in conventional archaeological practices on the generation of scientific knowledge can sometimes lend it an undesirable extractive quality—whereby archaeologists and archaeological projects take knowledge and heritage resources from communities within which they work without significant regard to their impact (Watkins 2005). Over the past few decades, methodological and theoretical shifts in archaeology began to undermine this trend with the development of community archaeology. Simultaneously, the acknowledgment of the colonial roots of archaeology forced archaeologists to engage with stakeholders through intentionally participatory, community, and collaborative practices (Atalay 2012; Colwell and Ferguson 2008; Hodder

1999; Marshall 2002; McDavid 2008), and to develop new, decolonizing methods (Liebmann 2008; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Pollock 2010; Rizvi 2008). Engaging various publics and audiences is now seen as an ethical responsibility (Colwell and Joy 2015; Green, Green, and Neves 2003; Meskell 2009). Such work aspires to build strong contemporary communities, atone for past wrongs, challenge the status quo, establish a more equitable society, and address questions of concern to communities rather than archaeologists alone (Agbe-Davies 2010a; Atalay et al. 2014; Stottman 2010; Tilley 1989). However, projects that treat communities and stakeholders generically serve only to perpetuate current social and political misunderstandings (Agbe-Davies 2010b; Daehnke 2007; Green, Green, and Neves 2003; Pyburn 2011).

Heritage discourse has hinged on identity politics (particularly race, class, nation, and empire) but gender has been blatantly absent as a core concern. Although identity is a central consideration in heritage scholarship, gender rarely emerges as a relevant vector of identity in its analyses. In practice, considerations of gender can likewise be sidelined, resulting in a default to white (or otherwise racio-ethnically dominant), masculinist norms in the narratives presented at heritage sites and in the dynamics encountered on heritage projects (e.g., Hart, Chapter 4 this volume; Sayner and Mason 2018; A. Scott 2018; Setlhabi 2018). This sidelining can result in lower rates of participation from people of color, ethnic and religious minorities, white women, as well as LGBT, and queer+ participants (Heimlich and Koke 2008). Bianchi (2015, 60) explains, "as a woman, to enter a heritage site is generally to enter a space where female voices are absent. For the most part, heritage sites represent periods when women were almost universally oppressed, and the narratives promoted within these sites are largely male." As a discipline squarely situated in the academy, archaeology has often perpetuated masculinist discourses about the past that privilege the experiences of men, take on a tone of universalism, and reinforce unequal power dynamics inherited from colonial and patriarchal social projects (Joyce 2002). These normative dispositions were summed up nicely by Australian archaeologist Laurajane Smith (2006), who called them "authorized heritage discourse." A feminist heritage practice recognizes these tensions while incorporating strategies to address complex gender dynamics in heritage ownership, management, narrative production, performance, and experience.

An engendered approach can challenge practices that uphold forms of authorized heritage discourse by eliding gender as a relevant category of representation and by stimulating the co-creation of innovative heritage spaces through collaboration, performance, and other

attendant methodologies (Axelsson and Ludvigsson 2018; von Rosen, Sand, and Meskimmon 2018; Wilson 2018). The result is the creation of new narratives that not only render women (inclusively defined) and queer people visible, but center stories of conflict, resilience, and agency instead of domination and passivity (Bianchi 2015; Stefano 2018). The authors in this volume illustrate the ways that engendered engagement and nuanced attention fosters understanding across lines of inequality and injustice, while transforming both scholarly and community outcomes in the process. Jennifer Lupu, in her contribution, focuses on ethical stakeholders and shows how volunteering with the Sex Worker's Outreach Project (SWOP) allowed her to gain new perspectives and insight into the excavation of a Washington, DC brothel. Tiffany Fryer's contribution considers positionality and heritage practice in Quintana Roo, Mexico. Her work examining the Maya Social War demonstrates the ways that perceived and enacted identities can shape engagement with communities. Such heritage practices and performances have the potential to create new communities and new futures, as well as address some of the most contentious topics of our times (Christensen 2010). They also have the ability to transform the production and experience of spaces, making them safer and more welcoming for those previously excluded or marginalized (Axelsson and Ludvigsson 2018; Gorman-Murray and McKinnon 2018; von Rosen, Sand, and Meskimmon 2018).

We thus follow others in arguing that archaeology is only one small (yet integral) part of heritage practice and that we would be well-served by reflecting on the broader implications of our work. Patricia Kim's contribution to this volume provides one such analysis by reflecting on the ways that the public engages with monumental displays of heritage. She analyzes two transtemporal heritage objects: a victory monument commissioned by the Karian Queen Artemisia in the Greek city of Rhodes (mid-fourth century BCE) and the Peace Monument dedicated to the "comfort women" of World War II, first displayed in South Korea and later in replica around the world. She argues that efforts to enclose, hide, violate or otherwise police controversial monuments to women can be understood as "carceral heritage" practices that disproportionately affect the representations of those who are oppressed by societal norms. She analyzes the ways that authorities and the public interact with these monuments, in some cases covering or hiding them from view, to show how these performative actions serve to control and deny the events they memorialize while reinforcing racialized, gender-based oppression. Likewise, Surface-Evans and Jones (Chapter 8) demonstrate the ways that the Mount Pleasant Indian Boarding School in Michigan haunts and enlivens members of the Saginaw

Chippewa Tribe. Simple artifacts like a toothbrush or bricks with carved names evoke memories that demonstrate ways child residents may have subverted authority, including the adoption of gender roles that ran counter to the white administrator's notions of propriety. Examining such public interactions can help us understand collective memory making.

As we have suggested, our volume seeks to push thinking about a feminist archaeological heritage practice beyond a concern for re-peopling the past. We want to work toward understanding the gendered dynamics of heritage production and the ways that multilayered, gendered identities affect heritage-making choices and practices. The works collected here deepen feminist theorizing about the ways gender is performed and materialized in archaeological heritage places and work. An engaged feminist approach to heritage work allows the discipline to consider women's and gender non-conforming persons' positions in the field, to reveal the ways that femininities and masculinities shape our practices, to develop critical pedagogical approaches, and to rethink forms and categories of representation (whether through new recording and writing techniques or new media). In this volume, we position empirical examples within theoretical and analytical frameworks that forefront gendered perspectives on the intersectional constraints encountered within various models of heritage-making and past-mastering (Meskell 2002).

An Abridged History of Feminist Theorizing in Archaeology

Several recent histories of feminist thought in archaeology offer important evaluations of how feminist theories interjected concerns for gender and equality into the discipline (Blackmore 2015; Lozano Rubio 2011; Pyburn 2008; Rotman 2014; Voss 2006; Wilkie and Howlett Hayes 2006). Joan Gero and Meg Conkey's (1991) trailblazing volume, *Engendering Archaeology*, marked a watershed moment in archaeological thought, elevating the analytical biases that underpinned the discipline's interpretive frameworks and the inequalities faced by women in the field as principal concerns. As they put it, the volume pursued three goals: "first, to expose gender bias in all forms of archaeological inquiry…then to 'find' women in archaeological contexts, and… finally to problematize underlying assumptions about gender and difference" (Conkey and Gero 1991, 5). Feminism offered a means of correcting longstanding misrepresentations of the past. These misrepresentations were deeply linked to flagrant disregard by contemporary

archaeologists for the many ways gender may have been configured in and permeated past lives.

Conkey and Gero were not alone in their concern for the dearth of critical theorizing in their field. Coinciding with the Women's Liberation Movement—and leading eventually to the codification of Women's and Gender Studies as recognized academic programs—parallel calls to action were put forth across anthropology (e.g., Reiter 1975; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Weiner 1979; for more detailed histories, see Geller and Stockett 2006; Geller 2016; di Leonardo 1991; Lewin 2005; Lewin and Silverstein 2016; McClaurin 2001). These movements have been popularly characterized as "second wave" feminisms because they are often seen as the next instantiation (much delayed) of major gender activism after the gender equality-through-suffrage movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These "second wave" researchers approached gender as dualistic—both biological and culturally constructed—fluid, and having no inherently predetermined links to sexuality, labor, or social status. At their most basic they sought to identify women, as gendered persons in past societies, as equal actors in contemporary society, and as significant contributors to disciplinary advancements in anthropology. The strongest critique rallied against these new perspectives, however, centers on the overrepresentation of white women's experiences as the basis for scholarly interrogation. Thus emerged "third wave" feminism. Third wave feminism attempted to address these critiques by incorporating black, indigenous, and otherwise non-white, transgender, queer, and disabled perspectives from around the world into the corpus of available analytics. Major technological changes, especially the internet, ushered in what some have started to call fourth-wave feminisms through social media activisms like the #hashtag movements mentioned above.

But, as Laughlin et al. (2010) argue, the efficacy of this "waves" metaphor may be limited because it flattens the important historical trajectories and aims of each of the so-called waves. In the case of "second" and "third" wave feminisms, especially, the wave metaphor elides the important participation of black and otherwise marginalized women in the Women's Liberation Movement (Morrison 1971; Williams and Newman 1970). It also obscures the simultaneous theorizing that emerged among these communities during this period, creating the false impression that women-of-color feminisms are primarily reactionary to the dominance of white feminisms. Waves-based accounts of feminism are thus usually overdetermined by the story of second wave and middle class European American feminists to the exclusion of African American and global feminist histories, as well as the idea that comparable feminist

perspectives and actions permeate all of the waves (Davis and Cravin 2016; S. Nelson 2006).

Though her essay also relies on the waves metaphor as an organizing principle, Suzanne Spencer-Wood (2011) provides a useful introductory history of the many feminisms that have influenced archaeology. She implores archaeologists to recognize that while it has become commonplace to equate gender research in archaeology with feminist archaeology, the two are not the same; not all gender research is feminist. We agree. Rather, "feminist research focuses on gender power dynamics and draws on feminist theories of the causes and remedies for patriarchal inequalities" (Spencer-Wood 2011, 4). This misalignment of priorities lies at the core of the final major critique of the waves metaphor: that it presupposes that the first wave suffragists' movement was necessarily feminist, and that feminism can be identified as a shared quality and ideological mantle carried forth by the second and third waves (Nicholson 2010).

Even the term "feminist" has been challenged as reflecting a white and western perspective. For example, Alice Walker (1983) proposed the use of the term "womanist" as an alternative to "feminist," which was at the time largely defined by white middle-class women. Rejecting their specific critiques of patriarchy and vision of an androgynous world, she explains that "womanist" refers to acting like a grown woman, loving women, and accomplishing goals while remaining feminine. These debates and misgivings about feminism show it to be a complex mode of acting and being in the world that can look different across localized contexts depending on the power structures that undergird them (e.g., Sangari and Vaid 1989). For example, Kathryn Arthur (Chapter 3) draws on the feminist concept of "motherism" as it unfolds in Boreda society. Taking a reflexive narrative approach, she demonstrates how changes in her own life circumstances—becoming a mother—transformed her long-term relationships with Boreda women, while making clearer the localized feminism Boreda women shaped around the connections between motherhood and landscape.

Similar issues of genealogy and commensurability surround the place of queer theory in these feminist waves. For us, substantive feminism in archaeology is (and has always been) queer (see Blackmore 2011; Dowson 2007; Meskell 1996; Perry and Joyce 2001; Voss 2000; on feminism, broadly, as queer see Marinucci 2016). Jennifer Lupu (Chapter 5) shows how queer feminist approaches can be applied to working with stakeholders in contexts outside of archaeology. She advocates for a harm reduction approach to archaeological heritage work that she learned through volunteering with sex workers. Because of this work, she is able to provide a fresh perspective on the archaeology of

brothels in Washington, DC, subverting narratives that favor the perspective of wealthy white male heterosexual customers or the moral crusaders who sought to shut the brothels down. This work reverses the gaze while making space for queer narratives as well. Moreover, the intersection of queer and feminist theories provides space for inquiry not only into the conditions of womanness and femininity in our world, but to their counterpart: masculinity. Christopher Lowman (Chapter 9) explores artifacts that evoke memories in a similar way at Stanford University's Arboretum Chinese Quarters. Drawing on historical texts and object-based interviews he examines various moments that shaped the lives of its residents at the turn of the 20th century as they constructed Chinese American masculinities. In a different vein, Siobhan Hart (Chapter 4) describes how the rigid white, heteronormative masculinities of avocational archaeologists she was attempting to work with created deep tensions between them and her archaeological field staff in Deerfield, Massachusetts. She describes the ways that students, community members, and scholars navigate gender, class, ethnicity, and race as they pursue their goals of understanding and maintaining the past. Drawing on their sense of traditional masculinist gender norms, avocationals often tried to do the most physically demanding tasks and refer to the predominantly woman staff and students as "the ladies club," downplaying the intellectual contributions of these women researchers. Hart recognizes the contributions of the volunteers while discussing the challenges of navigating this difficult terrain.

Finally, though feminist archaeologists have done much intellectual work over the past four decades, we can also learn from the early work of feminist ethnographers to craft our own approaches in archaeological heritage work. Attention to their work may help us avoid the pitfalls that have challenged others. Feminist ethnography has developed a robust literature combining and reinventing feminist epistemology, method, and practice (Davis and Cravin 2016; Lewin and Silverstein 2016; McClaurin 2001; Visweswaran 1994, 1997). Davis and Cravin argue that

> feminist ethnography attends to the dynamics of power in social interaction that *starts* from a gender analysis. By gender analysis, we mean that a feminist ethnographic project takes into account all people in a field site/community/organization, and pays particular attention to gender by honing in on people's statuses, the different ways in which (multiple) forms of privilege allow them to wield power or benefit from it, and the forces and processes that emerge from all of the above. (2016, 9)

Although equality between participant and researcher may not always be possible to realize (Stacey 1988; Visweswaran

1994), Davis and Cravin (2016) suggest that many women share stories with anthropologists because they want their stories to be known and discussed among people who have the means to help. The work of feminist ethnographers easily translates to the goals of feminist archaeological heritage practice, in part because archaeological heritage practice often incorporates ethnographic methods through the scholarship of ethnohistory (oral history) and participatory methods (in this volume see Arthur, Chapter 3; Fryer, Chapter 2; Lowman, Chapter 9; and Raczek and Sugandhi, Chapter 6; see also Castañeda and Matthews 2008; Meskell 2007).

Gender is fore-fronted as an experiential axis in this volume precisely because it is often downplayed against other categories like race and class that are already presumed to operate at the collective level. For this reason, we pay special attention to the gendered dynamics of archaeological heritage practice and ask how an intentionally engaged feminist heritage practice might disrupt and even queer that space. We ask how participants in these projects—scholars and stakeholders—perform, enact, and represent gender. How do discourses of masculinity, femininity, and queer identities influence all phases of research—from project conception through public engagement, fieldwork, analysis, presentation, publication, and preservation? How does the processes of heritage-making engender new masculinities, femininities, and otherwise?

Key Feminist Theories for 21st Century Archaeological Heritage Practice: Intersubjectivity and Intersectionality

Though there appeared to be an uptick in archaeology projects that positioned *feminist* gender work as their central concern at the turn of the 21st century, it seems not to have taken strong enough hold. We hope that this volume will reinvigorate that commitment while also advocating an intentional and explicit engagement with heritage practice as a priority for any feminist archaeology from here on out. At the heart of these concerns lies an exploration of practice, power, memory, and narrative production that will enhance efforts at understanding and maintaining heritage. Each author is explicitly concerned with providing a gender-oriented analysis of heritage practice. Moreover, each actively takes a feminist stance, advocating not only for critical analysis of knowledge production in archaeological heritage projects, but also for conscious and engaged heritage practice as work that has the potential to move heritage dialogues in the direction of both

scientific innovation and social justice. Importantly, multiple contributions draw from different streams of feminist approaches. As such, we have (as editors) tried to honor those various strands while asking our contributors to also attend specifically to the efficacy of two threads of (queer) feminist theory—intersubjectivity and intersectionality—as they reflect on their various archaeologically-informed and -derived heritage practices.

Intersubjectivity

While intersubjectivity has been variously defined depending on the discipline, its roots are grounded in phenomenological philosophies. It broadly situates being in the world as an experience constituted by relationships between communal selves who co-create spheres of thought, action, and power through their interactions. As White and Strohm (2014, 193) outline, intersubjectivity has typically been used and understood in two distinct ways in anthropology. First, an epistemic aim considers the basic conditions that make human communication, knowledge generation, and mutual agreement possible. Second, an ethical aim seeks to foster dialogue as a desirable and pragmatic response to the baggage of anthropology's colonial and neocolonial ventures. In a sense, the former definition is simply a means of considering the semiotic spheres that contribute to social life and the constitution, maintenance, and breakdown of cultural praxis (Reuther 2014). The latter addresses concerns about ethnographic authority and the production of knowledge. It would be a mistake to understand these two definitions as in opposition or as divisible. The project of reorienting archaeological heritage practice toward the intersubjective requires both epistemic and ethical attention.

A feminist approach to intersubjectivity acknowledges the role of gender and power dynamics embedded in the co-constitution of selves as well as embodied knowledge of the material world. In anthropology, feminist intersubjectivity goes beyond the attempt to represent women by "giving voice" to them, instead creating shared understandings of situated knowledge. It seeks to both identify and foster a feminist ontology (notion of being and becoming) that acknowledges the complexity of gender and other identity categories as constituted and constituting processes. Intersubjectivity is a particularly relevant concept for heritage practitioners because of its intimate link to the establishment of collective memory and, by extension, identities. Because people are always in a state of becoming through their intersubjective associations, the formation of collective identity through heritage-making (and unmaking) acts as a productive mechanism for recognizing the interdependence of selves, collectives, and others as they participate in connected memory networks (Leichter 2012). These identity networks may, at times, defy the comfort zone of ethnographic timescales through the memory work that archaeological materials are uniquely situated to perform (Dawdy 2016; Olivier 2011).

In her contribution to this volume, Anna Sloan (Chapter 7) shows how Native and First Nations feminisms shaped her efforts to listen to Yup'ik in Alaska tell stories about the past, leading to generative discussions about gender roles in both the past and the present. She shows how material goods elicit stories about gender roles in the past from her interlocutors. This approach reoriented subsequent archaeological interpretation by focusing on family, subsistence, space, and importantly, the ways that Yup'ik cultural knowledge is taught and learned. Lowman's chapter on the excavation of a Stanford University staff residence in Palo Alto and Surface-Evans and Jones' article on discourses of the haunted similarly highlight the ways that objects recovered archaeologically can serve as mnemonic devices that evoke stories about the past and bridge the gap between storyteller and listener. Artifact-centered interviews with people connected to the site provided a way to show how male employees fashioned a Chinese American masculinity in the late 19th and early 20th century in the context of racial tensions with white male students and employers. Fryer's essay responds to similar mediations made by the archaeological landscapes of 19th century violent conflict within which she and her collaborators remain situated. Again, racial and otherwise embodied tensions are key issues in representational politics as Kim's, Hart's, as well as Teresa Raczek and Namita Sugandhi's contributions to this volume illustrate.

In some ways, intersubjectivity addresses the problems created by post-processual methodologies that sought multivocal interpretations. Advocates of multivocality typically saw the benefits of attending to the many voices of potential stakeholders but sometimes wound up frustrated by the inability to seek consensus. While acknowledging the problems associated with both objectivity and unequal power relations between researchers and stakeholders, multivocal approaches can unintentionally amplify angst over the possibilities of archaeology in a postmodern world (Hodder 1997; Habu, Fawcett, and Matsunaga 2008; McDavid 2004). Presenting side-by-side archaeological interpretations that are variously empirical, supernatural, or otherwise can potentially create tension about irreconcilable narratives about the past. But in contrast to multivocality, intersubjectivity as a framework doesn't seek consensus, it seeks shared understanding. Though the difference is subtle, it is substantial. Intersubjectivity allows for incommensurate views to coexist and be recognized by all involved parties,

thus allowing people to choose when to honor their incommensurate differences and simply be heard, and when to attempt to mitigate them in service to a larger goal. In their chapter, Raczek and Sugandhi show the ways that communication events can build such bridges. Applying models from linguistic anthropology to their work in various locations in India, they build intersubjectivity through the performance of field identities and the intentional demonstration of commonalities, legitimacy, and competency.

Intersectionality

The term *intersectionality* was coined by black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. Her intersectional framework sought to break down the false dichotomy between race and gender (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2016; Crenshaw 1989, 1991) in order to highlight the myriad ways that some persons encounter amplified forms of oppression because they belong to multiply-oppressed groups. Crenshaw's aim was to show how being both a woman and African American exposed people to compounding oppressions under the American legal system. The provisional notion she proposed has since been applied to a number of scenarios to help lawyers, academics, and activists better advocate for the diverse populations within which they work (see Collins and Bilge 2016; Hancock 2016). The term *intersectionality* usefully characterizes a well-established line of thinking among feminist women of color, especially the intellectual labors of black women who, in the 1980s, were writing against the earlier exclusivities of feminist scholarship (Anzaldúa 1987; Cole 1986; Guy-Sheftall 1995; hooks 1984; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1983; B. Smith 1983, 1998; Walker 1983). These core thinkers sought to challenge early feminist assumptions that middle class white women's experiences were universal. They centered instead on black women's experiences occupying the multiple and complex categories of race, gender, class, religion, and sexuality, globally (Collins 2000; Lourde [1984] 2007).

Intersubjectivity and intersectionality dialogue in important ways. An intersectional perspective regards the overlap between social categories like race and class as interdependent spheres of subjectivity that can create multi-layered experiences of oppression. Scholars writing from both of these standpoints with respect to collective identity, however, often implicitly privilege the positions of individuals while rejecting the self/other binary. This may be a function of the need to recognize analytical categories that carry social and political weight but that may not actually be extricable. Cursory readings of intersectionality,

for instance, can lead to the impression that these categories of personhood are *independent* rather than *inter*dependent. But, intersectional feminists unequivocally "reject the separability of analytical and identity categories" (McCall 2005, n1). Perhaps the strongest link between intersectional and intersubjective thinking is what some scholars have called *positionality*—or, the notion that identity is not a preconditional quality of a person or collective, but the result of how people are situated within customary social relationships defined by the distribution of power in society. In her contribution to this volume, Fryer suggests that the introduction of reflexive and positional interpretive strategies into archaeology during the last decade of the twentieth century had the potential to revolutionize both archaeological practice and the question of its value and significance. That potential, however, has yet to be fulfilled. She speaks to her experiences undertaking a community-based heritage initiative in a predominantly Yukatek-speaking Maya community in central Quintana Roo to argue that the yet unfinished project of positionality in archaeology might be accomplished through more conscious attention to intersectional and intersubjective perspectives.

Beyond presenting a notion of identity that makes it too complex to capture in a single category, the concept of intersectionality engages with power dynamics in nuanced ways. This concept has been mobilized by a number of scholars and activists across anthropology as a tool for exposing and overcoming the mechanisms that enable the continued oppression of women—especially women of color and those whose social identities overlay multiple minority categories (Behar and Gordon 1995; Harrison 2008; Navarro, Williams, and Ahmad 2013; E. Scott 1994). As such, scholars of intersectionality posit concerns similar to those expressed by postcolonial theorists, particularly those situated in subaltern studies. Subaltern studies focus on non-elites (as defined by class, caste, gender, etc.) as notable forces in history—especially in anti-colonialist independence movements and the formation of modern nation states (Guha 1982; Prakash 1994; Spivak 1988). Raczek and Sugandhi pivot from postcolonial literatures to discuss the ways that attending to nuance in local identity categories can lead to better communication and more fruitful collaborations. Their reflexive intersectional analysis explores how their collaborators in India engage with each of them not as disembodied project directors, but as fully formed people with their own identities.

Notable works in historical archaeology over the past decade have incorporated various third wave and queer feminisms, including iterations of intersectional feminism, to arrive at interpretations of the past that take race, class, and sexuality as critical points of investigation into any

gendered study of the past. Taking cue from Maria Franklin (2001), Whitney Battle-Baptiste's (2011) *Black Feminist Archaeology* is one such example. Battle-Baptiste does double work to reflect not only on her research contributions—to the study of the Hermitage Museum and the W.E.B. Du Bois Boyhood Homesite—but to deeply engage her own position and to imagine what the future of archaeology might look like if we take women's (and especially black women's) experiences in the past and the present seriously. Other examples include important work on how race, class, gender, and sexuality are conscripted as mechanisms of colonial encounter that spur the creation of new ethnicities (Singleton 1999; Voss 2008) or on how concepts of manhood and masculinity have shifted over the past century to create what appeared to be fixed gender categories instead of fluid ones (Wilkie 2010). And more recently still, feminist scholars have found ways of moving intersectional ideas out of their historical (predominantly colonial) contexts and into the deep past (Conkey 2017; Sterling 2015).

Origins and Aims of the Volume

This volume developed from "Engendered Archaeologies: Intersubjectivity in Archaeological Heritage Practice and Interpretation," a session, sponsored by the Women in Archaeology Interest Group, which we organized for the 2016 Society for American Archaeology Meetings. The composition of the volume and its contributors has shifted since that initial session. We are incredibly grateful to those who participated in that session and laid the groundwork for the field to engage a more substantive conversation about the role of complex gender identities in the labor of heritage-making.

We recognize that heritage work and the labor of transforming practice is not always valued by institutions and their gatekeepers; and that too often the burden of this work falls on women and non-white scholars (see Agbe-Davies 1998; Ahmed 2012, 2017; Lugones and Spelman 1983). We acknowledge that such work requires personal and emotional investment beyond intellectual labor. Hart's chapter illuminates the frustrations of gender and age-based prejudices, while Fryer's chapter honestly addresses her experiences as a young black woman in the field. Raczek and Sugandhi reflect on the different ways that project participants interact with them, in part because of their identities as Euro-American and Indian-American, while Arthur shows the ways that social status also hinges on conditions that go well beyond readily legible bodily markers. Such stories are rarely shared in archaeological circles because of the fear of career-killing repercussions.

As Laura Heath-Stout (2019) showed in her gut-wrenching exposé on the identities of archaeological practitioners, archaeology can be a hostile space for variously marginalized practitioners. Globally, the field remains over 85% white—in North America and Europe this statistic spikes to 91% and 93%, respectively. This statistic is significant because although archaeologists from other regions are actively increasing their participation and visibility in the discipline, archaeological and heritage scholarship remains grossly dominated by Europeans and North Americans. These majority white practitioners are also 65% cisgender men, and 93% straight (heterosexual; Heath-Stout 2019). In the North American context, within which we were trained, less than 2% of practitioners self-identify as either black or Native American (SAA 2016).

So, taking a cue from cultural critic bell hooks, we believe that a "fundamentally radical scholarship suggests that indeed the experience of black people, black females, might tell us more about the experience of women in general than simply an analysis of women who reside in privileged locations" (hooks (1994, 53). We invited our authors—who, like our field, are mostly white, but unlike our field, mostly cisgender women—to engage with and apply these important theories to contexts where such analyses might not typically be encountered. We did so in the hopes that they would be able to show how a concern for gender at the interstices of other power relations has real implications for contemporary heritage practices. Their contributions showcase the capacity of practitioners to affect positive social change rather than remain complicit in the work of injustice and oppression that uncritical (or even "useful") heritage practices have been known to perpetuate (Meskell 2005). It was equally important to us, however, that our authors be engaged in a conversation that recognized the origins of these theories, and the analogies they permit, rather than telling a crooked story (to riff on cultural anthropologist Lynne Bolles [2013]) that circumvented the intellectual labor of women of color, queer and gender non-conforming persons, and early white feminists in archaeology who were making waves when others were unwilling to go there (see also Todd 2016).

While feminist scholars took up the work of critiquing male dominance and heteronormativity in knowledge products of their respective fields, they also actively critiqued the position of women in the academy. The publication of *Equity Issues for Women in Archaeology* (M. Nelson, S. Nelson, and Wylie 1994) brought the gendered power imbalances, including workplace bias and homophobia, commonly encountered among archaeological practitioners, to the forefront (see also Baires and Henry 2015; Beaudry 1994; Claassen 2000; Hutson 2002; C. Smith and Burke

2006). Similar studies have been conducted across the heritage sector (Baldwin and Ackerson 2017; Heath-Stout 2019; Heitman 2017) and in many other fields inside and outside of academia (Goldstein et al. 2018; Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012). These field-wide analyses are surprisingly missing for anthropology more broadly, though more recent concerns about sexual harassment have garnered attention (Clancy et al. 2014; Ginsberg 2016; Meyers et al. 2015; R. Nelson et al. 2017; Trivedi and Wittman 2018). Although discipline-wide efforts to increase the representation of women in the field have been successful, nearly 70% of those women are under the age of 35 and still students (SAA 2016); women and gender queer people are still significantly less likely to have a publication in a major archaeology journal (Bardolph 2014; Bardolph and Vanderwarker 2016; Heath-Stout 2019) or land a large prestigious archaeology grant (Goldstein et al. 2018); and there are relatively few valued women theorists in archaeology, most of these occupying the now ghettoized "feminist theory" realm (as evidenced by still disproportionate citational practices; Conkey 2003, 876; Heath-Stout 2019, 91–102).

Heritage and community work are in danger of becoming "women's work." Just as archaeological lab work was once seen as analogous to housecleaning (Gero 1985, 344), heritage and community engagement is sometimes seen as service work: time intensive, but less prestigious than other forms of fieldwork (see Hart, Chapter 4). Like Grahn (2018), we recognize that being a woman in the field does not by default situate one as a feminist archaeologist or feminist heritage practitioner. However, we further argue that it is more pressing than ever that women lead and be provided the tools to run engaged, feminist heritage initiatives *and* to find those initiatives not only permitted but *expected* in the academy.

Perhaps more important still is the conspicuous lack of men in this volume's authorship. Of the 14 authors and co-authors represented in the volume, only one identifies as a man. Men still represent the highest earning brackets and are most likely to hold permanent academic positions in archaeology (SAA 2016). This means that men still hold a great deal of influence over the training of their students, the allocation of resources, and the academic direction of their departments (including hiring the next generation of tenure-line faculty). How can a shift in the discipline's ethos be made if men do not step up to engage feminist thought and heritage practice as integral to an ethical and epistemically sound archaeology? As A. Bernard Knapp (1998) once noted, "male archaeologists have been recalcitrant if not loathe to focus on gender" (1998, 91) but engendering archaeology—not only in the fulfillment of its social scientific aims but in its position as heritage practice— "has to

involve both women and men, not in order to neutralize gender, but to make it a more dynamic, multifaceted concept in archaeological interpretation" (Knapp 1998, 105). The same could be said of the responsibility to engage and incorporate black, indigenous, and women-of-color feminisms in a majority white discipline: the burden should not fall predominantly on the few archaeologists of color to bring nuanced, intersectional, and intersubjective analyses to the foreground. Archaeology may find its struggles with diversity reduced if it regularly fostered more inclusive spaces and practiced more epistemic deference.

Toward an Engaged Feminist Heritage Praxis

In 2003, Margaret Conkey characterized feminism's three major contributions to the field of archaeology as: 1) making women in the past visible; 2) promoting the use of visual representations (especially iconography) and performance theory to unsettle gender binaries through the promotion of concepts like "personhood;" and, 3) as taking a stance against archaeological assumptions by creating alternative epistemic positions that reject unreflective objectivism and taken-for-granted universals. But, she also worried that "passive smoke [from cigarettes] has had more impact on American social life than passive 'acceptance' of archaeology of gender or feminist archaeology has had on archaeological practice" (Conkey 2003, 875). In the nearly two decades since the publication of that article, feminist archaeologists—variously gendered—have been steadily working toward the active integration of feminist theories into spaces of archaeological knowledge production. In this article, though, we suggest that a fourth realm has to be breached for feminist contributions to become status quo practices in archaeology: we must pursue feminist archaeologies as heritage practice. Such a position means undertaking research that pushes beyond the projects of re-peopling (and re-gendering) the past by finding women or interrogating past people's gendered experiences. Rather, we must contend with the stakes living communities might have in such provocations. Indeed, many proponents of decolonial archaeologies have raised this very issue but male dominance has been (and continues to be) a major technique of colonialism (Lugones 2010; Minh-ha [1989] 2009). A truly decolonial project will remain unfinished if we do not actively address gender-based inequalities in our archaeological heritage work.

Recognizing the continued need for an account of gender in the past, this volume seeks to illuminate not only how past gendered lives were lived, nor simply that practitioners other than cis-men are involved in and taking on
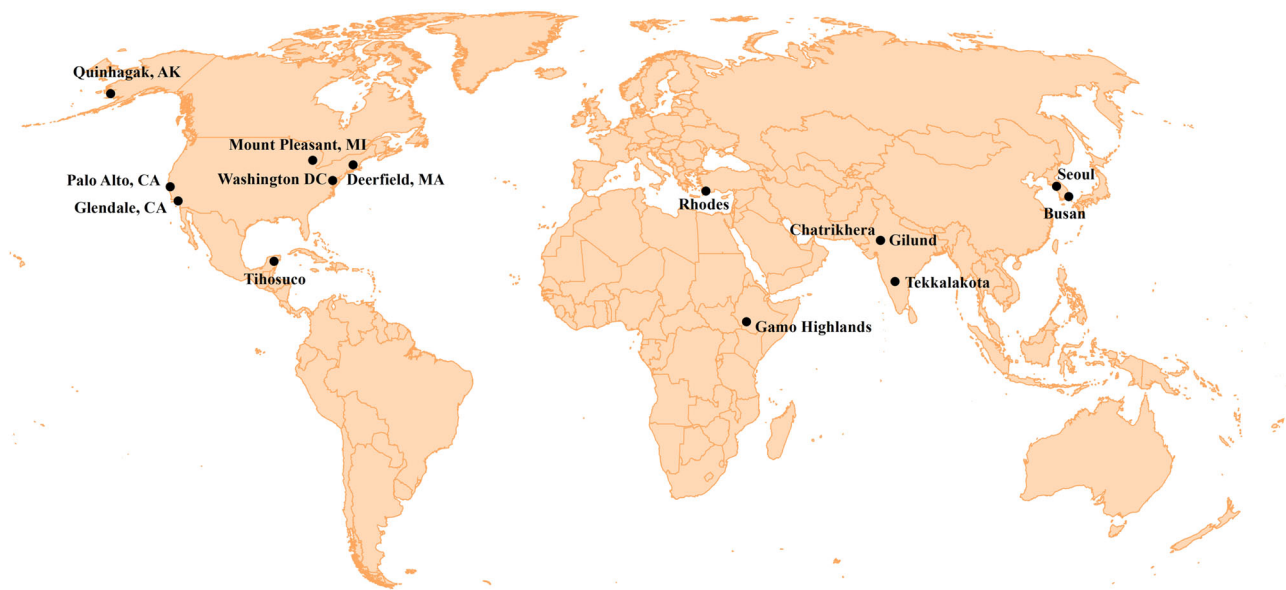
Figure 1.1. Map showing sites mentioned throughout the volume. Image courtesy of Ulrike Ingram. [This figure appears in color in the online issue]

increasing roles in heritage projects, broadly speaking. Rather, we highlight how the combination of multiple social categories, including but not limited to gender, class, and race, shapes heritage interpretation, practice, and theorizing (for an early example of how this might look, see Conkey and Tringham 1995; more recently, Marshall, Roseneil, and Armstrong 2009). Thus, the volume examines how archaeological and material heritage projects perform, enact, and represent gender. Our authors pursue many questions at this intersection: How is memory work gendered? How can we incorporate politics of care and harm reduction into our projects? How do discourses of masculinity, femininity, and queerness influence all phases of our research, from conceptualization through public engagement, fieldwork, analysis, presentation, publication, and preservation? What is at stake in maintaining a commitment to feminist agendas as central to the pressing and overlapping concerns of anti-racism and decolonization? At the heart of these questions lies an exploration of practice, power, memory, and narrative production that will enhance efforts at understanding and maintaining heritage. The works presented in our volume represent not only a wide variety of project types, career stages and gendered discourses, they also range in geographic scope to include India, the United States, Mexico, Ethiopia, Korea, and Greece (Figure 1.1).

In addition to this Introduction, readers will encounter two thematic sections followed by scholarly commentary on the nine body essays by Laurie Wilkie and Uzma Rizvi. Here, we have aimed to situate the goals and potentials of an engaged feminist heritage practice by joining feminist literatures from inside and outside of archaeology with the body of scholarship on heritage practice. Section II, "Reflexivity, Intentionality, and Feminist Field Practices," examines the ways that gender emerges in heritage work and the kinds of feminist practices that might advance the field. As we have alluded to throughout this piece, several of these chapters are self-reflexive, establishing the subject position of the researcher en route to the creation of intersubjective understandings. Section III, "Assemblages, Performances, and Contemporary Feminist 'Memorywork'," reflects on the politics and practices of artifact analysis and display and the materialities (or virtualities) of a feminist heritage practice. Here, artifacts, monuments, and spaces serve as indexical memories that call on stakeholders and visitors to engage with the past. Together, the articles offered in this volume showcase a variety of approaches that push the field of anthropological archaeology to create a more powerful praxis and more meaningful interpretations of the past. We believe each of the chapters provide a much-needed shift in orientation within archaeological heritage studies that positions gender and feminist approaches as critical axes from which contemporary heritage emerges. Although the articles can stand on their own, we hope the discussions that emerge between them encourage wider conversation among readers about the place of intersubjective and intersectional feminisms in archaeological heritage work. Ultimately, we aim to bring together archaeologists who identify as heritage practitioners (formally and informally) in order to

surface and confront the critical issue of gender in heritage practice.

Acknowledgments

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