

Chapter 10

Prehistoric Archaeology in Spain from a Feminist Perspective: Thirty Years of Reflection and Debate



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Introduction

Since the late 1980s, feminist and gender studies in the field of archaeology in Spain have developed significantly thanks to a growing number of researchers who have turned this perspective into one of the most dynamic fields in the theoretical-methodological discussion. Díaz-Andreu and Montón (2012) point out several factors to explain the success of gender archaeology in Spain, ranging from the resurgence of feminism in our country following the Franco dictatorship – which undoubtedly influenced the pioneers in the field of feminist archaeology – to the transformation of the Spanish university system, which allowed the incorporation of teachers interested in Marxist and feminist perspectives. The pioneers of the introduction of feminism into Spanish archaeology, such as Encarna Sanahuja or Marina Picazo, combined a twin political commitment to Marxism and feminism while highlighting their concerns regarding the origin of the patriarchy, the production and reproduction of bodies, and the invisibility of women (Sanahuja and Picazo 1989).

Without a doubt, materialist feminist thought had the most significant influence in the early stages of building feminist archaeology in Spain, although the influences on its later development were multiple. Thus, perspectives such as postcolonial feminism and the archaeology of the body and identity have greatly influenced archaeology in Spain (Alarcón and Romero 2015). It began with the first article on this subject (Sanahuja and Picazo 1989) and the first session at a generalist archaeological conference held during the Meeting of Theoretical Archaeology (RAT) in Santiago de Compostela in 1992. The debate moved for the first time into a more general academic framework for the first time. Eventually, new conceptual and

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S. L. López Varela (ed.), *Women in Archaeology*, Women in Engineering and
Science, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27650-7_10

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methodological developments were introduced, such as maintenance activities, queer archaeology, models of masculinity, and public archaeology from a feminist perspective. However, this awareness has also been reinforced by the conviction of the importance of networking and strategies related to programming seminars, courses, conference seasons, and exhibitions. Through such activities, the latest theoretical or methodological trends can be discussed with colleagues; the state of affairs can be transmitted to university students, and the new proposals generated can be communicated to society.

In the last three decades, this combination of factors has led to the development of extensive, diverse, and rich literature regarding feminist women and gender archaeology in Spain, an excellent example of the relevance and solidity of this perspective in the discipline. The criticism of androcentrism; the articulation of new categories of analysis, such as maintenance activities (and what they mean in terms of the use of space, time, and identity); the study of the funeral record; and artistic representations were some of its earliest concerns. These have been joined in recent times by an effort to understand the dynamics through which knowledge of past societies is made available to citizens – a sphere that began with the analysis of museums and has continued to expand its scope to the so-called public archaeology (González Marcén and Romero 2018).

As mentioned previously, the first approaches to feminist archaeology were made from Marxist positions in Spain – undoubtedly the thought that initially had the most influence on the construction of feminist archaeology in the country. At its head were Encarna Sanahuja, and Marina Picazo. They opened up a path that other researchers such as Assumpció Vilá, Trinidad Escoriza, Olga Sánchez Liranzo, Manuela Pérez, and Marta Cintas continued from that same Marxist perspective. It involved the theoretical and methodological reformulation of Marxism, with an important reflection on the conditions of production and reproduction of people and objects. In the case of Encarna Sanahuja, her studies from the late 1970s and early 1980s – some of them published in *Poder y libertad, Revista teórica del partido feminista de España (Power and freedom, Theoretical magazine of the feminist party of Spain - Barcelona)* – already expressed what would be the main concerns: the origin of the patriarchy; the production of bodies, objects, and maintenance; the fundamental importance of sexing the past; the invisibility of women and their forms of representation; and the social use of archaeology. These themes remained fundamental in her later work (Sanahuja 2007).

Among the most relevant topics that began with Marxist feminism in archaeology and are still the subject of a debate of maximum interest, I can highlight four. The first is conceptual and refers to the use of ideas such as feminism, gender and women's archaeologies, gender or sex, and the debate they involve. The second is theoretical and considers the contributions of materialist feminism to the production of bodies, objects, and maintenance. The third is methodological and defends the need to sex in the past. The last is related to this perspective's representativeness and social value.

The first issue is a long-standing debate that continues today. The use of sex and gender categories has been discussed since the outset of feminist contributions to

the social sciences. For materialist feminism, the concept of gender is not helpful because it repeats the dominant ideological scheme of social categories generated by the specific dominant policies and does not address a crucial issue for many types of feminism: sexual difference. Therefore, it is more logical to speak of the socialization of the sexual condition (Sanahuja 2007). For other researchers, gender represents a complex system of meaning, a social category rooted in the mechanisms by which people of a particular culture identify. In short, it is a social construct based on negotiating the relationships between two sexes, a system of behaviors in continuous construction and evolution (Conkey and Spector 1984). Gender, as an essential category for historical analysis, meant breaking with the essentialisms and naturalizations that historically involved the relationships between women and men. As a socially constructed category, it could be dismantled and articulated under new premises (Scott 2010). According to María Cruz Berrocal (2009), the basic contradiction that transpires is in the treatment of gender as a biological, universal, and essential reality or as a social and historical construct. However, the different theoretical currents within feminism have in common that the concepts of sex and gender as intersectional social categories of the first order, which interact and intersect with other social categories such as age, socioeconomic class, or ethnicity (Sanahuja 2007).

An important distinction emerges from this debate in using notions such as feminist archaeology and gender archaeology. Feminist – and queer – archaeologies are politically committed to ending the patriarchy and, therefore, promoting a disciplinary culture shift that will end its sexist and heterosexual biases. Gender archaeology may or may not have that dimension. When it is not present, it expands the contents of other interpretive frameworks. Considering that the sociocultural interpretation of sexual difference constitutes a structural principle of societies, it adds gender to the study of the past. In any case, we consider that most of the use of the gender category in the study of pre-and protohistoric societies in Spain is considered from feminist premises.

The second statement concerns the most interesting contributions of materialist feminism: the treatment of the production of bodies, objects, and maintenance; the causes of the subordination of women and how this materializes in the production and reproduction relations that involve women. The traditional category of production ignores the work of women and biological reproduction. It does not consider that sexuality is an organic resource of society in which the raw materials and means of production are human bodies with sex and mind (Vilá et al. 2017). We will expand on this reading of the tasks and the concepts of maintenance activities below. In recent years, research lines have also been developed from these positions to analyze the origin of inequalities between women and men from the perspective of studying the body and bioarchaeology in funeral contexts (Cintas 2020).

The third aspect of interest, the methodological one, involves sexing the past to be able to address men and women in prehistory. Two plausible ways are proposed to recognize both sexes in the archaeological record: studying anthropological remains and analyzing symbolic referents -grave goods and figurative representations of sexed bodies. However, Encarna Sanahuja indicates another way, which is

undoubtedly more complicated but feasible. From her point of view, we can identify these identities in the places of settlement, attempting to ascertain the tasks carried out in the various social spaces from the transitivity of the material objects involved in the work processes and the instrumental resources necessary for that purpose (Sanahuja 2007).

The last element considered in this materialist perspective is the representativeness and social value of feminist archaeology, of women or gender, regarding the visibility of women, either through the use of language or through representations. Both cases evidence the impossible neutrality of the concept of “man,” which reveals the invisibility to which women have been subjected in all spheres of life, work, or social action, all with an inherently symbolic nature.

In summary, the proposals derived from Marxist thought and other theoretical positions will be discussed in further detail. It seeks to transcend a merely descriptive archaeology past societies to answer crucial questions regarding the current relations between women and men. Both positions seek a disciplinary change and, as in other cases, for some researchers, removal of such a caliber cannot be made from within. For others, it can only be made by affecting foundations.

Based on this concern in the 1980s about the role of women in the societies of the past, a particular interest developed on the part of some researchers, managers, and university professors to learn what was happening concerning this subject in other archaeologies in, for example, in the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian spheres. Proof of this interest is one of the first publications in Spanish on feminist archaeology: the volume *Arqueología y teoría feminista (Archaeology and Feminist Theory)* (Colomer et al. 1999). It is a compilation of key texts in feminist archaeology translated from their original languages that added to those existing in Spain. The volume generated a multiplicity of views with common basic assumptions: that feminism is an idea of justice and equality from which a clear policy derives a position to end inequalities between women and men.

Therefore, from different perspectives, beginning in the 1990s, researchers such as M.^a Ángeles Querol, Almudena Hernando, Margarita Díaz Andreu, Paloma González Marcén, Sandra Montón, Carmen Rísquez, Lourdes Prados and Francisca Hornos, among others, began to work in different areas. These included the analysis of heritage from a feminist perspective (Querol 2017; Soler 2008; Querol and Hornos 2015); the position of women archaeologist (Díaz-Andreu 2021), the field of maintenance activities (Picazo 1997); and female representation in both funeral spaces and iconography (Izquierdo 2007; Rísquez 2015). Essential are the works of Almudena Hernando on identity, as they abound in the complex and difficult issue of finding the historical reasons for inequality (Hernando 2012). All this has brought about an intensive emergence of feminist, gender, and women’s studies in Spanish archaeology, with the incorporation of new researchers who, based on these references, add other topics, such as ritual, childhood, the body, agency, and didactics (López Bertran and García-Ventura 2012; García Luque 2015; Rueda and Bellón 2016; Alarcón et al. 2018; Ferrer and López-Bertran 2020). I will point out below some of the most relevant feminist and gender archaeology lines of research in Spain in recent years.

The Archaeological Study of Maintenance Activities

Maintenance activities are well-defined in the archaeological literature (Picazo 1997; González Marcén et al. 2008). By this concept, we understand the series of activities related to the maintenance and care of each of the members of a community, as well as the practices related to generational replacement, which include production and relationship elements, since it is not only necessary to reproduce the means of production, but also the workforce. Traditionally, these spaces where maintenance activities are carried out are equated with domestic spaces and have a double consideration. On the one hand, their meaning is simplified through universal assumptions about what characterizes them through binary oppositions – private-public, dirty-clean, dark-bright, or passive-active – even though anthropology and ethnography demonstrate the potential of activities such as food preparation, care or organization of the domestic space for understanding the social relations of the populations of the past (Hernando 2008). Secondly, due to this simple translation to their consideration in contemporary times, these studies have been marginalized and treated as activities of little importance. They only appear in the background of the research for their social and economic contribution and are limited, in most cases, to a descriptive and quantitative treatment. All this is without considering that they guarantee the reproduction of any community's economic and social system. Until the construction of the concept of maintenance activities, some of these works were so little valued that we did not even have an analytical category that could be used to study them (Sánchez Romero 2014).

Without a doubt, one of the key concepts is maintenance activities. In one of the first studies of the subject, *Hearth and home: the timing of maintenance activities* (1997), Marina Picazo defined this category as the set of activities related to the maintenance and care of each of the members of a community as well as the practices related to generational replacement. It is a statement that forces us to question two more basic concepts. First, the very concept of technology and the consideration of the so-called feminine technologies, and second, the necessary change of perspective on everyday life. Regarding the first, we must point out that women are absent in technical history for two fundamental reasons: because the technology category has been based on production and not on consumption and use practices, and because of the emphasis on large-scale artifacts that require a major capital investment to the detriment of low-technology and user-friendly systems for day-to-day use. These views reinforce the stereotype of women's technological disability. However, research in recent years has indeed attempted to redirect this marked bias in archaeological studies of female technologies by following different theoretical and methodological strategies. It implies, in the first place, a change in perspective in the study of archaeological evidence through the study of technologies not traditionally investigated, such as weaving or food preparation. Firstly, this has resulted in reevaluating the archaeological evidence regarding technologies associated with female activities. Secondly, it incited a change in the interpretative schemes of these practices that considers the importance of female technologies in the

socio-historical change processes. Finally, it entails expanding documentary sources for interpreting archaeological evidence, emphasizing the informative potential of ethnographic, iconographic, and textual sources.

The second concept we must discuss is the change of perspective on everyday life. For a long time, studying day-to-day life, as a time scale and in specific historical situations and actions, was considered a by-product of historical research. The category of maintenance activities aims to redefine this everyday female experience and, therefore, that of the community, highlighting the diversity of female activities linked to a structural and essential function of any society.

Once the concept has been established and meaning given to it, the body of knowledge built has been necessary. Emphasis has been placed on why history has not valued maintenance activities (Hernando 2008); on how food production and consumption is managed (Alarcón and García 2019) how the learning and socialization of infant individuals is organised (Sánchez Romero 2017); maternal practices (Sánchez Romero and Cid 2018) and care; or textile production. However, in addition, the application of this analytical category has generated new views on pottery manufacturing (Colomer 2005; Alarcón and García 2019); metallurgical production processes (Alarcón and Romero 2010); or lithic production (Sánchez Romero 2005). Within these dynamics, particular emphasis has been placed on activities such as culinary practices, care, and textile production. We will briefly review related case studies to understand the possibilities of the archaeological record in approaching, from this perspective, the knowledge of past societies.

Through culinary practices, we understand the processes applied to transforming food into products suitable for consumption or preserving it. These processes involve actions as diverse as the supply of raw materials and their processing, the different cooking techniques, and the establishment of conservation and storage strategies. Despite the depth of technological processes and the aspects related to the transmission of knowledge and learning – with tradition and innovation or identity and memory – they have not been sufficiently relevant when analyzing historical processes (Alarcón and Sánchez Romero 2015). However, their study can help us understand how these tasks were carried out in the past and their social importance, and how our approach to certain technologies changes when we consider these activities from a different point of view.

A good example is a recent study (Alarcón and García 2019) that reviews pottery production at the Argaric site of Peñalosa (Baños de la Encina, Jaén) in the light of its significance in terms of efficiency and its use in the culinary process. Thus, the authors analyzed the vessels used for storage – in general small earthenware jars of different types – and verified the highly standardized and specialized processes involved in their production that made them very effective for handling and transporting. They also reviewed the different types of kitchen wares, especially the most frequent types: open-walled pots and cylindrical or ovoid pots. These not only share their excellent quality with those used for storage or allow cooking at different times and intensities appropriate to each type of food but are also related to the use of slate lids to reduce processes in food preparation. Furthermore, they indicate their possible use in cooking techniques related to boiling liquid or semi-solid foods. Finally,

the authors studied containers used to consume these foods. They were primarily hemispherical and medium-sized parabolic bowls, which ratify the idea of liquid or semi-liquid content and suggest individual consumption. In addition, the analysis of the pottery contents brings us closer to the type of food consumed by the people. For example, the study of residues has identified ruminant fat and, specifically in one of the areas of the village, horse fat. The zooarchaeological and taphonomic study of the cut marks corroborates the idea that horse meat was eaten at Peñalosa. In addition to this data, which referencing social status in specific town areas and a differential food consumption, the possible preparation of medicinal potions is verified through the presence of different mushrooms and herbs. Thus, considering pottery production based on the activity for which it was made adds important information to our knowledge of societies, in this case, the Argaric, and the taking of daily decisions of technological and social value.

Regarding caring, we must remember that its practice confronts us with two types of situations. The first concerns the care needed due to an illness or injury that causes temporary or permanent disability to any community member. Within the care tasks, we must consider those carried out on members of the group who do not suffer from any of the above circumstances; for example, they are not sick or injured but need attention due to a disability derived from their young age; in other words, children.

Archaeological recognition of these care practices also involves the anthropological analysis of infant individuals. It is one of this age group's most innovative and informative aspects (De Miguel 2010), developing new fields of inquiry, such as the bioarchaeology of the fetus. On the other hand, the evidence of care given to children manifests in many objects and structures specially designed for feeding, carrying, learning, socialization, or clothing (Sánchez Romero 2017).

Within maternal practices, we recognize diverse processes and experiences: breastfeeding and weaning (Bécares 2019; Sánchez Romero 2019), health care, or uses corresponding to socialization and learning designed to culminate in competent individuals for societies. However, we will focus briefly on childbirth or the perinatal period. The Bronze Age archaeological record documents these crucial moments in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, such as childbirth at the Cerro de las Viñas archaeological site (Malgosa et al. 2004). Other examples of premature births buried in settlements include Cabezo Redondo (Villena, Alicante, Spain) or Mas del Corral (Alcoi, Alicante) (De Miguel 2010).

At the Valencian Bronze Age of Mas del Corral, two perinatal infants were deposited in small bowls and buried under the room's floors. One would have been about 35 weeks of gestation, and the other between 32 and 34 weeks. In both cases, the infants exceeded 28 gestational weeks, the lower limit at which it is considered they could have survived. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that they could have shown vital signs at birth and even survived a few hours after delivery. From the thorough treatment of their bodies, possibly with a value that was more affective than social, we can perhaps infer a loss and mourning for those who were part of the community's life, albeit for a brief period (De Miguel and Siles 2020).

Referencing textile production finalizes these brushstrokes in the archaeological recognition of maintenance activities. This activity has not enjoyed explicit

recognition in the economic sphere of past societies, mainly because it is related to the domestic sphere and, therefore, linked to women. However, studies such as those carried out in recent years on Iberian societies inform us of these technologies' importance and explanatory capacity. Analysis of the material culture associated with these activities in settlements, sanctuaries, or burials reveals that they were an integral part of daily life. For example, the study of textile production in the *oppidum* of Puente Tablas (Jaén) [Risquez et al. 2020] is an excellent example of the possibilities we have of being able to document it through indirect evidence due to the difficulty in preserving cloth. Findings of raw materials (wool, linen, and esparto), the instruments to weave textiles (spindles, looms, loom weights), the combined analysis from archaeofauna and archaeobotany, and the study of Roman literary sources are valuable tools to approach the development of spinning activities from different perspectives and contexts.

The spatial analysis of these finds in various places at this site demonstrates that production was carried out in domestic spaces, distinguishing the specialization in the tasks. Likewise, the fact that this production is not documented in some houses with high social status could indicate a certain level of organization and control. Moreover, the different loom shapes and weights and their find related to the work with plate looms and the possibility of creating patterns with them, suggest different types of production for clothing, bedding, tapestries, and household furnishings (Risquez et al. 2020). Adding to these data are the findings of depictions such as Sant Miquel de Lliria (Izquierdo and Ballester 2005), which shows the use of spinning elements associated with young women that would refer us to aspects of the learning and transmission of knowledge of the different weaving processes. This hypothesis is reinforced by the analysis of the role that the miniatures of such implements often found in archaeological contexts may have played in transferring knowledge (López Bertran and Ferrandez 2015). Based on spatial analysis, it is possible to infer these tools' ritual and symbolic use, as they appear in symbolic and ritual spaces that allude to the home, family, initiation, or prosperity (Risquez et al. 2020).

The Archaeology of the Body

Feminist archaeology in Spain has also shown itself capable of developing new perspectives of the body. In recent decades, the analysis of how relationships between women and men have been established, maintained, and transmitted and how feminine and masculine identities have been defined in past societies through the use of the body, especially those of women, has undergone significant progress. The concept "archaeology of the body," as defined by Rosemary Joyce (2005), signals the replacement of the semiotic perspective by the analysis of the productions and experiences of human beings through the combined study of the material remains of the activities undertaken; the representations; and the consequences that the activities, attitudes and consumption practices left on the bodies. Recently, the concept "technologies of the body" has been added to identify those that serve to

either maintain it through practices such as food and care or use it to manifest social identity through the use of adornment, clothing, or the performance of the funeral ritual (Boric and Robb 2012).

Thus, from the archaeology of the body, activities as diverse as infant feeding (lactation and weaning), childbirth, feeding, or the importance of individual and collective care and health are studied. On the other hand, it investigates how social identity manifests through its adornment and transformation. The modification of bones, the use of clothing, hairstyle, ornamental objects, and the different levels of body construction, combination, and composition generate codes that the social group can read as transmitting social categories, identities, or status changes (Aranda et al. 2009; Hernando 2017; Rueda et al. 2021). Thus, from the analysis of how the body is fed, cared for, adorned, dressed, works, becomes ill, and is buried, we can approach the lifeways and social identities of women and child individuals in the societies of prehistory.

Maternity and Childhood

Deriving precisely from the combination of work on maintenance activities, the study of the body, and the invisibility of women and children, research has been undertaken on reproduction in recent years. We must bear in mind that the concept of transcultural and transhistorical motherhood has been crucial in the construction of female identity. The maternal instinct has become almost an obligation, and women who do not possess it are considered abnormal. Furthermore, to make it a universal issue, stereotypes are generated about mothers that are easy to retain and transmit. That natural and biological essentialism is compounded by the simplification of what motherhood entails, stripping it of all competence or experience beyond what is natural. Any knowledge or the use of technology is denied. All social significance is denied as if the very existence of the communities did not have its most transcendental condition in reproduction (Sánchez Romero and Cid 2018).

In history and archaeology, we only recently began discussing mothers and maternity and infants with defined roles as active agents in societies. Reproduction supposedly represents women more work, effort, experience, knowledge, modification of their bodies, the use of technology, and emotions. From the first publications that placed motherhood at the center of the debate to the studies undertaken in Spain in the early twenty-first century, archaeology has significantly contributed to the conceptual change in the construction of motherhood. Almudena Hernando (2012) and María Ángeles Querol (2005) suggested that cooperation and these solidarity mechanisms could have their origin in the most basic social relationship - maternal - and that their propagation would have been one of the keys to the success and survival of these groups.

This breeding ground has led in recent years to analyze how the idea of motherhood is created as a social and cultural practice (García-Ventura 2018; Rueda et al. 2018); how women's identity is constructed socially through their relationship with

motherhood; and how essential moments in women's lives, such as pregnancy or childbirth, are represented and recognized (Delgado and Rivera 2018). They bring us closer to the various ways of exercising care and nourishing infants and provide glimpses of the learning processes.

One of the derivatives of this theme, which I will deal with in more detail in due course, is the so-called archaeology of childhood. Among its first researchers were those from feminist and gender archaeology who understood the relationship – more or less constructed – between women and infant individuals and the possibilities their study could offer to the historical discourse. For this reason, they decided to focus their research on infants. Thus, babies and childhood have been recounted recently from the study of their bodies, spaces, or rituals, which is also beginning to become a solid line of research in Spain (Herrero 2021; Sánchez Romero 2008, 2017, 2018a, b, 2019).

Depictions

Closely linked to this perspective of the analysis of the body in archaeology, we find the study of its depictions, from the appearance of human figures in the so-called rock art to the embodiment of the bodies in Iberian votive offerings. Changes in the interpretative perspectives and the application of new analytical techniques reveal women's participation in elaborating rock art representations. Without a doubt, recognizing the sex and age of the people who made and participated in these representations can inform us of the role women and men of all ages played in shaping the symbolic system of prehistoric populations (Sánchez Romero 2020). The presence of women in rock art has indeed been recognised; however, beyond the occasional publication and the studies carried out in their doctoral theses by Escoriza (2002) and Lillo (2014), its appearance had been considered almost anecdotal. These scholars' research into Levantine rock art was a fundamental step in considering prehistoric art as a powerful tool for studying women in the past, their experiences, their work, and our knowledge of them.

The sex and age of those who created these pictorial panels define the social context in which they were made; whether they were individual or community acts, and, therefore, allow us to approach the configuration of the symbolic system of prehistoric populations. Today, the participation of women and other non-adult groups in the elaboration of rock art panels, in contrast to the previously simplistic assumption that only male adults participated in their creation, is being questioned. On the one hand, we look at those panels in which the representations of hands are frequent. The analyses in this respect have focused on their metric study and comparison with examples of current and ethnographic hands. These studies have made it possible to identify gender in the representations of hands in different parts of Europe, Asia, Australia, and North America.

The study of palaeodermatoglyphs in rock art – for example, the analysis of ancient fingerprints – provides us with information about the people who created these representations. A good example is the Abrigo de los Machos (Zujar, Granada)

(Martínez Sevilla et al. 2020), where the footprint of an adult man (older than 36) and possibly a young woman or a juvenile can be seen. These data, together with the study of the anthropomorphic representations, some manifestly masculine individuals, some indisputably feminine, and others without intentional sexual attribution, describe the whole community's participation to us. In the end, rock art supposes strategies of learning, socialization, and symbolic transmission of identity. The diversity of motifs and representations refers us to an enormous range of activities that have to do with people's daily lives and the materialization of their symbolic elements that do not allow a univocal and universal reading of all these creations (Sánchez Romero 2020).

The Postcolonial Views

As occurred with androcentrism, Eurocentrism has also marked the dynamics of research in prehistoric archaeology. One of its most direct consequences has been the universalization of change as a driving force of history. A change that forms part, along with individuality, power, reason, self-control, violence, technological growth, and competitiveness, of the values praised by the discourse that has predominated in explaining past societies (Montón and Hernando 2017). A discourse that only exalts values, attitudes, and abilities associated with the so-called "hegemonic masculinity" or with the "individual identity" (Hernando 2012) typical of the West. Postcolonial feminism is based on several statements. The first is the very definition of postcolonialism, which seeks to decolonize Western knowledge and consider other types of non-Western knowledge, from literature to philosophy and art, to other political, social or economic practices.

Postcolonial feminism in archaeology starts from this premise in a twin circumstance. On the one hand, it recovers the voices of the populations that have been seen as passive in the interaction processes between populations, also taking into account how the arrival of new communities gives rise to the formation of new social identities in which various elements interact. On the other hand, it considers that women are different. It is impossible to establish a single form of oppression based on sex, a single form of resistance, or a struggle against unjust power relations. Thus, postcolonial and decolonial theories give visibility to that previously hidden by the hegemonic discourse. Therefore, postcolonial feminism not only deals with understanding those relationships in the political and historical stages that follow the decolonization process but also does so in the form of a narrative that questions the way of doing things of the colonizing heritage, its experiences, and its knowledge (Peres Díaz 2017).

Two case studies of enormous interest in feminist archaeology in Spain from this perspective are those of the generation of colonial identities in the ancient Mediterranean (Delgado et al. 2020) and the transformation of gender identities – and representations – in situations of colonial domination in the Western Pacific. The first used the Phoenician colonies in the Western Mediterranean to analyze the

elements related to the metropolis and other Phoenician archaeological sites, including their architecture, technological innovation, ritual, and tableware for serving food and beverages. That information linked local cultural elements – for example, everyday cooking and eating practices – in the domestic sphere or the artisanal processes typical of local groups. These elements analyzed how new identities were consciously constructed in these colonies, hybrid identities that we can identify in rituals and everyday life.

We must also consider the postcolonial views of historical archaeology, which study how gender is constructed in situations of colonial domination, paying special attention to daily life, the body, and material culture in Guam (Mariana Islands). The early years of the Jesuit missions are explored, and missionary policies are described as engendered sexual policies that fostered the emergence of a new sex/gender system within the indigenous Chamorro society. These policies were directed at, among others, the field of maintenance activities. This concept highlights the foreground nature of daily practices essential for social continuity. Sandra Montón and Enrique Moral analyze how clothing became a fundamental “civilizing” element in the seventeenth century in the development of the Jesuit missions in Guam. The change of the native Chamorros’ body habits from nudity to dressed bodies was part of a disciplinary process that sought to “convert” the Chamorros to new ways of life and being.

Women and the Practice of Archaeology

In recent years, female archaeologists have undertaken historiographical studies in Spain. We know the work and circumstances of the archaeologists trained at universities during the Second Spanish Republic, to mention just a few, María Braña, Ma. Luisa Oliveros, Felipa Niño, Joaquina Eguaras, Pilar Fernández Vega, Concepción Blanco Mínguez, Ursicina Martínez and, above all, Encarnación Cabré. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, many women archaeologists worked in our discipline, mainly in museums and with little access to excavations, except in cases such as that of Encarnación Cabré (Díaz-Andreu 2021).

This disengagement of women from fieldwork and particularly excavation – considered the most essential activity in archaeological practice – further reinforced the indifference with which they were often treated despite their many and varied jobs. During the Franco dictatorship, the situation for women archaeologists worsened considerably regarding their professional aspirations since most were forced to leave their jobs after marriage or were removed from positions of responsibility in museums. Even so, we find figures such as Francisca Pallarès, Ma. Luz Navarro Mayor, Ana Ma. Muñoz Amilibia or Pilar González Serrano. This situation began to change in the 1960s when female archaeologists began to have a presence and responsibilities in archaeological field research. We cannot forget that the first woman to obtain a university chair – that of Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Numismatics at the University of Murcia – was Ana María Muñoz Amilibia in 1975.

We have little data on what happened to women in archaeological practice in Spain from the 1970s. In 1994, Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Nuria Sanz Gallego conducted a study with the data available then; it confirmed growth in the number of women working in institutions, universities and administration. The transfer of competencies in matters of historical heritage to the autonomous communities in the mid-1980s and the incorporation of full university professors in the areas of Prehistory and Archaeology definitively consolidated the presence of women in the different fields of archaeological heritage. Despite the time elapsed, figures reveal that much remains to be done.

The presence of women in university classrooms has also increased exponentially, although it is still interesting to observe how the so-called academic *cursus honorum* develops. Regarding the Archaeology Degree offered at the University of Granada since the 2013/2014 academic year, women represent 61.97% above the average number of females enrolled in the university (54.8%). Once the degree studies are finished, master's degrees have become practically obligatory to continue professional life, either in the academic field or as a liberal profession. Data from the Interuniversity Master's Degree in Archaeology at the University of Granada (from 2015) show us that the total number of women enrolled between 2005 and 2015 represented 44.8%. This figure continues to decline if we consider doctoral theses when this number drops to a third. It means fewer women will be able to occupy positions related to teaching and research at the university.

On the other hand, although the commercial and professional archaeology phenomenon in Spain has been studied (Parga-Dans and Valera-Pousa 2014), collecting data from professionals is very difficult since they tend to be widely scattered and not very up-to-date. One exception is the *Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe* project, which was set up to learn about the current situation of archaeology as a profession on the European continent. The study ascertained the number of people devoted professionally to archaeology, their distribution by sex, their training, whom they work for, the type of tasks they perform, their salaries and working conditions, their degree of geographical mobility, and, especially in recent years, how the current crisis is affecting them and what measures they have applied to try and adapt to the situation. In Spain, the analysis was carried out by the CSIC Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit) under the coordination of Eva Parga-Dans (Parga-Dans and Valera-Pousa 2014).

In Spain, two initiatives have shown us a strengthening of these working lines. On the one hand, we can cite the project *ArqueologAs. Recuperando la memoria: recorridos femeninos en la Historia de la Arqueología española (siglos xix y xx)* (*ArqueologAs. Recovering memory: women's journeys in the History of Spanish Archaeology (Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries)*), directed by Margarita Díaz-Andreu; and on the other, the *Informe sobre el acoso sexual en Arqueología (España) - Report on Sexual Harassment in Archaeology (Spain)*.

The main objective of *ArqueologAs* is to critically analyze the role of women in Spanish archaeology from the nineteenth century to the generation currently leaving active professional life or who have left it relatively recently (see Díaz-Andreu, in this volume). Lack of knowledge of this subject is widespread, and it requires

several reflections, ranging from how the disciplinary chronicles have been written up to date to the methodologies necessary to build the biographies of those women involved in one way or another in archaeology. The study considers those who worked in universities, research centers, museums, archaeology administration, and, more recently, commercial archaeology, as well as non-professionalized women who carried out their work in societies and associations or played supporting roles for other archaeologists.

One of the most interesting documents dealing with the professional and academic situation of women in our discipline in recent years is, without a doubt, the *Report on harassment in archaeology* (Coto et al. 2020), an instrument whose objective is to give voice to a situation sustained over time and experienced in many different ways. In addition, it aims to generate synergies to achieve safer spaces in both the public and private spheres. The report was prepared with information from an extensive online survey complemented by workshops and conferences on the subject. The survey was confidential, with answers given freely and the possibility of narrating specific facts, and it succeeded in reaching a vast community. Its narratives have made it possible to detail the type of verbal and physical harassment exercised, especially sexist and *machismo* comments, job assignments by sex, and even physical aggression.

Preliminary conclusions point out elements known in other professional and academic fields. In most cases, the harassers hold positions of power and are considered unpunishable. Thus, the fear of job loss or failure to advance in an academic career means that victims often do not report the events. Undoubtedly, raising awareness, making such events visible, and, above all, training in equality are more than necessary to shed light on the existing problem. In this respect, the EAA (European Association for Archaeologists), in collaboration with AGE (Age and Gender in Europe; <https://www.archaeology-gender-europe.org/>) – the association's community devoted to political, academic, and research aspects related to gender and age – has also drawn up a *Gender Statement* (<https://www.e-a-a.org/2020Statement>). This document warns about discriminatory practices based on gender and sexuality in archaeology and, on the other, insists on not tolerating gender inequality.

Feminist Public Archaeology

As pointed out in other publications (González Marcén and Sánchez Romero 2018), gender and feminist archaeology have also encouraged the need for more democratic disciplinary practice. Even though gender perspective has not always been taken into account in “public archaeology” projects. This is incomprehensible since feminist archaeology, as discussed, has expressed its desire to turn archaeology into a socially relevant discipline in multiple contexts.

The feminist perspective is increasing in archaeological activities. Efforts are being carried out on dissemination projects, networks, and even feminism's

criticism of the notion of heritage. Although it has had little impact so far on the policies and practices of its management, the number of proposals continues to grow; these range from re-readings of traditional heritage institutions – such as museums – to projects organized by women’s associations to give them visibility and raise awareness of the value and significance of their individual and collective heritage. Social media confirms the increasing presence of projects, associations, researchers, and disseminators in feminist archaeology, offering good-quality content. It provides the possibility of reaching a more diverse audience not accessible by other means, considerably assisting dissemination and also helping to explain the increased budgets allocated to them (González Marcén and Sánchez Romero 2018). Moreover, this feminist perspective in understanding heritage dissemination is beginning to consider other issues that speak of memory as a source of social well-being or that heal the traumas derived from migratory processes from the point of view of culture and feminist theory of care (Colomer y Catalani 2020). Similarly, other experiences are devoted to recovering of victims of gender-based violence – through the social action of museums, including archaeological museums. (González Marcén and Minuesa 2017).

Among these proposals, *Pastwomen* (Rísquez 2021) is a collective project and collaborative space involving researchers, managers, teachers, and other professionals linked to prehistoric and protohistoric heritage whose main objective is to promote the visibility of feminist perspectives in archaeology and history. This project and research network have been supported by research projects and funding gained through competitive calls. It has a dual mission. On the one hand: to generate knowledge through specific research that allows an understanding of concrete aspects of the life of women and other groups in the past, such as children or older people; on the other, based on this research, to generate the corresponding dissemination resources through different strategies. Thus, it aims to correct the enormous gap in historical knowledge about women from scientific knowledge of excellence and quality dissemination, using networking and sorority as basic tools.

A tool was launched in 2007 with the project entitled *Women’s work and the language of objects: renewal of historical reconstructions and recovery of female material culture as tools for transmitting values* (2007–2010). It was followed by the project *The material history of women: resources for research and dissemination* (2010–2011), which continued with new projects, such as *Resources for research into the archaeology of women and gender in Spain GENDAR* (2014–2018), or *BodyTales. Technologies of the Body. Research, innovation and dissemination of the (pre)history of women* (2020–2022) [Rísquez, 2021].

These research projects have organized seminars, conferences, scientific meetings, and various publications have been organised – undoubtedly, one of the most significant consequences of this work is the Pastwomen website (www.pastwomen.net). As indicated in its presentation, “it aims to give visibility to the lines of research in archaeology and history linked to the study of the material culture of women while also aiming to provide up-to-date resources from feminist perspectives to all the sectors involved in historical dissemination.” The website’s contents derive from the material culture analyses carried out by each team member in their different

lines of research, which cover a temporal scope ranging from the Palaeolithic to the Iberian societies and the environment of the Greek and Phoenician colonisations. Based on this information, and as an even more significant contribution, new images and content are being created in which the relevance of female agency in social life is valued (Rísquez, 2021).

Different sections structure delimited periods on the Iberian Peninsula chronologically and geographically. Activities, material culture, and different archaeological methodologies are explained for each period. In addition, dissemination proposals linked to archaeological sites, routes, and specific museums are offered. Finally, the website also contains a media library, a bibliographic database, a research map, and a database of research groups. A section offers resources with links to websites, documents, online articles, a YouTube channel, and direct downloads of content for use in the educational field (González Marcen and Sánchez Romero 2018). In addition, a new resource has been created, the virtual exhibition “Otras miradas al pasado” (<https://otrasmiradas.pastwomen.net/>).

These working dynamics have been reinforced with the creation of the *Mujeres y género en las sociedades prehistóricas y antiguas (2020–2021)* [*Thematic Network: Women and gender in prehistoric and ancient societies*], financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities. The network is made up of more than 30 professionals attached to research groups from seven Spanish universities with links to museums and educational and cultural institutions, as well as to European research centers. As a result, the feminist and gender perspective has permeated significantly into prehistoric archaeology in Spain and, from it, to other cultural periods.

The work of feminist researchers in archaeology in the last 30 years, starting from some basic premises, has grown exponentially. It has led to new research topics; has been transformed by the opening up of new avenues of study; has introduced innovative analytical methodologies; has been permeated by other theoretical currents; and has been concerned about its transfer and synergies, with feedback between researchers being one of its main riches.

Acknowledgements This chapter was written as part of the research project: “Bodytales. Tecnologías del cuerpo. Investigación, innovación y difusión de la (Pre)Historia de las Mujeres. BodyTales (P18-RT-3041, Regional Government of Andalusia) Proyectos de I + D + I, del Plan Andaluz de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación.

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