Women in Archaeology at UC-Berkeley: An Unusual Richness

The field of archaeology, whether within the frameworks of anthropology, history, classics or other theoretical and methodological approaches, does not have a history of many women as project directors or researchers on faculties, in museums or other primary capacities. Recent research about those few women who were active has "recovered" many lives, activities, and contributions that we did not previously know about. Nonetheless, for many years and in many scholarly contexts, women as archaeologists have been among the "missing", often blocked from a fuller participation by many factors. While there are definitely some notable exceptions globally, women as faculty in ladder rank positions in North American universities have been, until relatively recently, scarce. As recently as a 1994 census study by Melinda Zeder for the Society for American Archaeology, women in professional archaeology positions comprised only about 36% of the sampled population, despite the fact that as students, men and women were about equally represented.

At the time of the 1994 census, UC-Berkeley was already well ahead of the national representation in having four ladder-rank women archaeologists on staff, with additional hires to come in the next two years, followed by three more. In fact, Berkeley had a reverse percentage of women and men. In 2010, before the most recent hiring of Lisa Maher in Anthropology and the retirements of the first two women archaeologists (Profs. Tringham and Conkey), the Anthropology department archaeologists were 3 males and 7 females. As we submit this statement in 2021, Berkeley has had at least nine tenured women archaeologists on campus (8 in the Department of Anthropology and one in the former department of Classics.) By contrast, there are several major archaeology PhD program faculties in the US with no women archaeologists on faculty at all, and many with only from one to three women.

The program here at Berkeley, as attested in the following biographies, has been rich in not just women as successful and prominent archaeologists but women who developed a program that both respected and contributed to a robust push for a more feminist practice of archaeology. As the bios will provide, the overall program in anthropological archaeology has also explicitly attended to and pro-actively pursued an increase in not only the number of women but also those from a variety of under-represented groups.

Although, in comparison to other fields even within Anthropology, archaeology came late to the hiring of women at Berkeley (Ruth Tringham was hired in 1978), the subsequent representation has been a notable success and, moreover, a national leader. What follows are brief biographies of who we are, in the chronological order of our having been hired.
I received my Ph.D. in Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, with sojourns at Charles University, Prague and the (then) University of Leningrad, USSR. I came to the US as a “drained brain”, hired by Harvard University. I left Harvard in 1978 after 7 years in the Anthropology Dept. as an untenured faculty member. But I was hired immediately in Fall 1978 as an Associate Professor with tenure in the Anthropology Dept. at the University of California at Berkeley. At Harvard, I was already used to being the only female faculty member in the archaeology part of the department, so it was not a new experience to find myself in the same position at Berkeley. What was different was collegiality and lack of hierarchy amongst the faculty members of the department and the active support of the female faculty members amongst the social anthropologists, including Laura Nader and Elizabeth Colson. I also had the support especially from Glyn Isaac and (at first) Desmond Clark, as well as Gene Hammel and Bill Simmons.

When I came to Berkeley, I was in the middle of an archaeological project (excavation of the Neolithic settlement of Selevac in Serbia), that involved a long study season in Serbia in 1979. I took advantage of a scheme that was possible at UCB at that time, in which a faculty member could run courses for graduate students in the field during a regular semester. During the 1980s I repeated this several times with my new project at Opovo, Serbia. These long sojourns in the field were motivated by research needs, but I think they were also motivated by the fact that I felt rather alienated in the department, especially after Glynn Isaac left.

Glynn left in 1983. After that, I felt that my broader interests in use-lives of materials, that went beyond my original (at Harvard) contact trace studies on stone tools, in household archaeology and architecture, and in the social organization of production in prehistory did not resonate at all with the interests of my male archaeology colleagues. Amongst the archaeologists we had struggles for almost 5 years with hiring an archaeologist to replace Glynn. As the youngest of the archaeology faculty as well as the only female, I felt that I was constantly with an outlier opinion. In our discussions, I had more support amongst the social anthropologists than the other archaeologists. Finally, however, in 1987 after a very emotional discussion of the whole faculty about - amongst other issues - what constituted a “real” archaeologist, a vote was taken that changed everything, including my life in the Department of Anthro. We voted to hire Kent Lightfoot and another female archaeologist, Meg Conkey.

Right from the beginning of their joining the Berkeley faculty, we worked together as friends to make Berkeley archaeology a happy and productive place, and succeeded in transforming it into a place of international renown for the feminist practice of archaeology and many other additional foci.

For me personally, the 1990s were transformational against this background of the mutual
respect of my colleagues, and the excitement of our collaborations. My research in the Balkans morphed into fieldwork dominated by a feminist practice of archaeology (thanks to Meg Conkey and the other inspirational researchers amongst my archaeology colleagues in the department) on the life-histories of buildings and the construction of place, directing a team from UC Berkeley in the excavation of the 9000-year old site of Çatalhöyük, Turkey.

At the same time from 1993, I became entranced by the potential of digital technology and the Internet for education, telling stories, organizing data, creating multimedia, and sharing the process of archaeological interpretation. My first such project in 1995 (with help from Rosemary Joyce) was the Chimera Web, about the Neolithic site of Opovo, Yugoslavia; my most recent project is about Çatalhöyük, Dead Women Do Tell Tales, with many others in between. This was done with the support of the university campus funding in which Meg Conkey and I were able to establish the Multimedia Authoring Center for Teaching in Anthropology (MACTiA) in 1998, where a number of us taught courses until the Center’s retirement in 2011. In 1998, I was awarded the Presidential Chair in Undergraduate Teaching to incorporate multimedia authoring into teaching regular courses in archaeology. In 2001, with Meg Conkey and Rosemary Joyce, I was awarded the Educational Initiatives Award for the innovative development of digital education in the MACTiA. I was part of a team that even expanded the teaching of digital storytelling skills to middle school students in Oakland in a long running project, for which we were awarded the 2008 Chancellor’s Award for Public Service.

My work with digital technology culminated in the establishment in 2011 of the NPO Center for Digital Archaeology with Meg Conkey, Michael Ashley and Cinzia Perlingieri; a non-profit activity for our retirement. But that is another story……

Margaret (Meg) Conkey

I came to join the Berkeley faculty as an Associate Professor in 1987, following 5 years at San Jose State in both Anthropology and in Environmental Studies, and 10 years at Binghamton University in New York. It was not a 100% welcoming by Anthropology colleagues, some of whom had hoped that the hire would be someone to continue the rich and successful program in the early archaeology of Africa, but that is not me. Nevertheless, I found wonderful collegiality with most faculty and entered into a time of rewarding collaboration in research, teaching and a reshaping of the graduate program. Key colleagues at the start were Kent
Lightfoot, who had also just joined the faculty the same year, and Ruth Tringham. At a personal level, this was a dream-fulfilling move for me, to be able to join my husband who was a professor at San Jose State, after 10 years of a cross-country commute. Within a few years of being at Berkeley, I found myself planning and receiving funding to begin a long-term archaeological survey project in the French Midi-Pyrénées that we called Between the Caves. This project (1993-2006) focused on surveying fields to document and recover archaeological materials of Paleolithic age, mostly stone tools (lithics) and to document the pathways and lifeways outside of the much-celebrated caves that dominated the narratives of prehistoric life. At the same time, I was beginning ever more engagement with what became the feminist practice of archaeology, co-organizing a 1989 conference with Joan Gero that led to the publication of a key volume in the burgeoning archaeology of gender, Engendering Archaeology: Women and Production in Prehistory. Since then, I have continued to publish often on issues raised by a feminist practice of archaeology, which have been enhanced greatly by on-going team teaching and co-publishing with colleague Ruth Tringham: on pedagogy, "the Goddess" in prehistory, in digital adventures, and cultural heritage.

As well, I began what has been a long-term involvement in various administrative positions on campus, serving as department Chair in 1994, (and again in 2010), as Director of the Archaeological Research Facility (1995- 2007), on multiple Academic Senate committees, including as Chair of 3 different ones, such as the Budget Committee, and I feel I have been recognized generously with various campus awards. That four of us- Kent Lightfoot, Laurie Wilkie, Rosemary Joyce and myself -were recognized with the Henkin Citation for supporting students from under-represented groups is a most meaningful one attesting to our collaborative efforts to admit and mentor a diverse cadre of graduate students. I was especially fulfilled to have worked closely with numerous Native American graduate students as Berkeley remains a major program to produce indigenous students with PhDs in anthropological archaeology. One on-going involvement has been with issues of gender equity and academic integrity in Cal Athletics, including chairing a Chancellor's Task Force (2014-2016) and serving as the Faculty Fellow to the women's Lacrosse team. Beyond campus, I was humbled to serve as President of several professional archaeology and feminist organizations, including the Society for American Archaeology.

In 2006, our French research team began work on an amazing open air site dating to about 19,000 years ago, Peyre Blanque, with ongoing excavations as I write this. Both the survey and now this excavation are part of an overall interest in trying to better understand the social contexts within which these people of the late Ice Age engaged with and produced a vibrant visual and material world, including cave art. I continue to be involved in research, conferences, and publications on our interpretations of this cave-art making practice, as well as have had the good fortune and privilege to join colleagues in the field in some of the most exciting cave art discoveries. I am grateful to the Class of 1960 Endowed Chair (1996-2011) which enabled me to share the research process with Berkeley undergraduates.
In 1993, I visited California for only the second time in my life, to interview for the position of Director of the Hearst Museum of Anthropology. I was concluding a term as a non-tenured Associate Professor at Harvard, where my first appointment was as Assistant Curator of Precolumbian Archaeology. Museums were my first love, and the possibility of leading one of the most historic university anthropology museums in the country was exciting. I was taken by surprise when a senior faculty member asked me "aren't you afraid?" I realized I hadn't thought of it as a challenge-- even though the Hearst Museum at that moment was known as the most aggressive anthropology university museum resisting the implementation of NAGPRA.

The next five years gave me an extraordinary introduction to California anthropology, its history of engagement (and lack of engagement) with Native Californians, and challenges that were less visible from outside Berkeley, of small staff, minuscule budget, and tiny exhibit space (with no parking for visitors or school groups!). We were able to successfully seek funding from NSF, NEH, and private foundations for a series of exhibitions, starting with one jointly curated by two Native California artists, with an accompanying video, a new book series, and events, culminating in our hosting the California Indian Conference.

Those years coincided with the development of my own fieldwork on an early village site in Honduras, allowing me to explore a history of dwelling in a tropical riverine valley beginning before 1500 BC. I analyzed the way figurines relate to bodies and persons and proposed an early history of chocolate as beer brewed and served by women. After a coup disrupted the country in 2009, I continued research on museum collections with materials from Honduras in Europe and North America. I added to my 1991 book Cerro Palenque two more titles describing life in Honduras between 500-1000 AD, Material Relations (with Julia Hendon and Jeanne Lopiparo, 2014) and Painted Pottery from Honduras (2017).

While conducting fieldwork in Honduras I found Berkeley a welcoming place for me to develop research I had started before arriving, exploring sex and gender in ancient Mexico and Central America. Coming to a department where in the 1990s the majority of anthropological archaeologists were women committed to feminist archaeology allowed me to flourish and develop my engagement with queer theory in ways that would not have been possible elsewhere at the time. The books that followed-- the 2001 Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica, Embodied Lives (with Lynn Meskell, 2003), and Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives
Berkeley affirmed that this work, and the other strands of my research, was successful by appointing me the Richard and Rhoda Goldman Distinguished Professor in the Social Sciences (2009-2014) and the Alice S. Davis Endowed Chair in Anthropology (2015-2018). The university asked me for service as department Chair, a graduate dean, and head of the Center for Latin American Studies, showing trust in my leadership. But the honor I cherish the most is the Faculty Award for Outstanding Mentorship of GSIs that I received in 2006, nominated by graduate students who worked with me in teaching History of Anthropological Thought. They see me as a teacher-scholar, which is how I hope to be remembered.

Christine Hastorf

I grew up in a small New Hampshire town. One of my strongest memories of school there was in the fourth grade, when the school was having an event about the town’s history, and the students were asked to create presentations for it. I created a small play with one friend where we were local Native Americans dealing with the European settlers arriving. Where I got that idea is still a mystery to me, but it was the only Native American mention in the whole event. That was the start of my interest in the deeper history of land and people who so successfully lived there. My family moved to California in my junior school years and I ended up at Stanford in the brand-new Human Biology Program where one could mix both biology and social science courses in a unique major. I mixed botany and anthropology. My first archaeological field season was the summer after graduation. For a year I eagerly joined any field project that would have me. After several years of working for the US Geological Survey I finally decided I really wanted to study long term food production and how it was successful. That led me to archaeobotany. I went to graduate school at UCLA and after excavating in the Mimbres Valley in New Mexico and writing about agricultural change, I found that the Andes was just where I wanted to investigate, a location of original plant domestication with a long history of diverse, impressive agricultural strategies, allowing me to study the rich history of this agricultural history. After a decade in the Anthropology Department at the University of Minnesota I was fortunate to gain a position at UC Berkeley, thanks to the burgeoning feminist archaeology there with Ruth Tringham and Meg Conkey, which continued to expand after I arrived. It was a very exciting times there as we worked together to create a flexible robust program. I created the
McCown Archaeobotany Laboratory and focused on Andean archaeological research, the long interaction of plants and people, and the continuing plant domestication that has taken place in the fields of Lake Titicaca on the Taraco Peninsula where I have had the great fortune to work with the residents since 1992. This research led to winning the Society for American Archaeology Fryxell Award for Excellence in the Botanical Sciences in Archaeology in 2012. I have been fortunate to have wonderful students who have made the laboratory a rich and productive place for research on many themes. My students and I have been able to think and write about the methods and place of wild plants and domesticates in the symbolic and political realms, illuminating both culture and the natural world. I have published a range of articles but the ones I most enjoyed have been with my students, with special mention to the Antiquity article published in 2017: *Exploring plantscapes at the ancient Maya village of Joya de Cerén, El Salvador* with Alan Farahani, Katie Chiou, and Anna Harkey.

I am currently the director of the Archaeological Research Facility, a curator of the South American archaeological collection in the PA Hearst Museum of Anthropology, a co-editor of a Food in Archaeology book series with the University of Alabama Press, a co-director of the Taraco Archaeological Project, and a committee member of the UC-Berkeley Committee on the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. In 2020 my book, *The Social Archaeology of Food: Thinking about eating in the past and present* won the scholarly book award from the Society for American Archaeology. I will have completed research in Bolivia over 30 years in 2022, which I hope to be able to do, tracing the domestication of potatoes and quinoa. In 2022 the Archaeological Research Facility hopes to organize an archaeological field school for under-represented students. To learn more visit: https://anthropology.berkeley.edu/christine-hastorf or http://archaeobotany.berkeley.edu.

Laurie Wilkie

Laurie A. Wilkie was hired after finishing her PhD to join Berkeley’s Anthropology Department as a historical archaeologist in fall of 1995, the beneficiary of the VERIP rebuilding that focused on the hiring of junior faculty. A wee lass of 27 when she started, like many of her female colleagues, she has spent the last 25 years being asked if she is a graduate student. Wilkie quickly settled into making Berkeley her own, developing historical archaeological research on campus as well as in the Bahamas, Louisiana, Texas and California more broadly. Most (in)famously, she led excavations at the site of the original Zeta Psi fraternity house, 2251 College Ave., now a building that houses Department of Anthropology offices and the
Archaeological Research Facility. That research led to the publication of her award-winning book, *The Lost Boys of Zeta Psi* (UC Press, 2010), which examines ways that the college fraternal system naturalized white male class privilege.

Author of 8 books (and one edited volume), Wilkie’s research is notable for its attention to understanding how persons in different places and times have navigated, contested and persisted in the face of structural inequalities like racism and sexism. Her books have achieved readership outside of the academy, with her *Archaeology of Mothering* book (Routledge, 2003), for example, being notably incorporated into several midwifery training programs. Her focus on micro-scalar archaeologies highlights the humanity and dignity of persons whose stories are not widely shared. Wilkie brings her focus on archaeologies of families, households and communities into the classroom, including teaching the ever-popular American Material Culture class. Her contemporary archaeology study of Mardi Gras’ throwing game, *Strung Out on Archaeology*, (Left Coast Press/Routledge 2014) has become a popularly used textbook. In addition to her academic work, Wilkie has served as the anthropology's Vice Chair and Department Chair, Director of the Archaeological Research Facility, and is the recipient of the Social Sciences’ Distinguished Teaching Award and is a founding member of the Disabled Archaeologist Network.

Junko Habu

I conduct research on human-environmental interaction and long-term sustainability of human cultures and societies in the past and present. The geographic focus of my research is on Japan and East Asia. Born in 1959, I grew up in Yokoyama City, a suburb of the Tokyo metropolitan area in Japan. During my childhood, I witnessed rapid destructions of rural landscapes, including archaeological sites, in the vicinity of my house. At age 10, I decided that I would like to be an archaeologist, but female archaeologists were extremely rare in Japan at that time: about 1.4%. By the early 1980s when I finished my BA and MA in archaeology at Keio University in Tokyo, the number still looked pathetic, about 2%, and it seemed better to pursue my archaeological career outside Japan. Eventually, I went to McGill University in Canada to do my Ph.D. work, finished my Ph.D. in 1996, and joined the Dept. of Anthropology of UC Berkeley in the same year. Currently, I am Professor of Anthropology, Chair of the Center for Japanese Studies (the first Asian chair of the CJS), Tomoye Takahashi Endowed Chair of Japanese Studies, and Curator of East Asian Ethnology and Archaeology of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley. My books include *Ancient Jomon of Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), *Evaluating Multiple Narratives* (Springer 2008, co-edited with C. Fawcett and J.M. Matsunaga), and *Handbook of East and Southeast Asian Archaeology* (Springer 2018, co-edited
Sabrina Agarwal

Sabrina C. Agarwal joined the Department of Anthropology in 2004, after completing a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Postdoctoral Fellowship at McMaster University, following her M.Sc. and Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Toronto and the Samuel Lunenfeld Research Institute of Mount Sinai Hospital, Toronto. She was easily lured to join the Department of Anthropology and renowned cadre of trailblazing female archaeologists, establishing the first bioarcheology program at UC Berkeley.

Her interests are broadly centered on understanding the relationship between biology and social behavior as related to bone health and development over the life course. Her longstanding research foci has been on human bone growth and senescence and understanding the entangled experiences of disease with sex and gender, with recent projects specifically aimed to examine issues of developmental plasticity, labor, diet, social inequality and structural violence, disability, and religious practice. Her research scope has been global, with a temporal focus on the historic, prehistoric, and contemporary, with bioarchaeological research that has contributed to projects in Britain, Colombia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, The Netherlands, North America, Portugal, and Turkey. She has numerous peer-reviewed journal publications, four well-reviewed edited volumes, and is the co-author of the leading textbook in biological anthropology entitled A Laboratory Manual and Workbook for Biological Anthropology. She currently serves on the Editorial Board of American Antiquity, and the Editorial Board of the book series with Springer entitled “Bioarchaeology and Social Theory” and was the founding Co Editor-in-Chief for the peer-reviewed journal Bioarchaeology International, and formerly served on the Editorial Board of the “American Anthropologist”. Agarwal is the co-founder of the Western Bioarchaeology Group (WeBiG), co-founder and Chair of the Bioarchaeology Interest Group in the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), and has served on the Biological Anthropology Section of the American Anthropological Association (AAA).

She is deeply interested in the philosophies of teaching, and actively involved in the pedagogical training of current and future college instructors and has served as primary mentor with P.V. Lape and J.W. Olsen). For more information about my work, please visit https://junkohabu.com/.
for eleven bioarchaeology Ph.D. mentees. She has a sustained history and commitment of working to encourage participation in biological anthropology by women, and by students from groups historically under-represented in science. Her commitment to diversity in the field of bioarchaeology includes deliberate mentoring of graduate students, undergraduates, and junior colleagues that bring diverse experiences and positionalities on theoretical and methodological approaches. She was awarded the honor of The Faculty Award for Outstanding Mentorship of GSIs from the Berkeley Graduate Division and was nominated for the Distinguished Teaching Award. Her most recent research has been invested in bioethics of skeletal biology/bioarchaeology, specifically the practice and ethics of skeletal conservation, and in 2020/2021 is serving as Chair of the UC Berkeley NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation) Advisory Committee.

Kim Shelton

I came to Berkeley in 2005 as a 15-year field archaeologist to direct the newly formed Nemea Center for Classical Archaeology, a research center in the Classics department organized around the archaeological project begun in the 1970s at the Sanctuary of Zeus in Ancient Nemea, Greece. I brought with me another archaeological project, the excavation of Petsas House at the Bronze Age site of Mycenae, which I had developed and directed since 2000 for the Archaeological Society of Athens. As director, I expanded the Nemea Center’s regional focus and opportunities for international collaboration, I created an archaeological field school for undergraduates and volunteers at both sites, and I developed new archaeological and museological projects, including the excavations of the Late Bronze Age cemeteries of Aidonia – the TAPHOS project to protect and investigate cultural heritage under threat of looting.

As a specialist in ceramics and the political economy of the prehistoric Aegean, I research and publish on the Petsas House ceramic workshop and its relationship to the market economy of pottery, the regional needs of a diverse population, and the palatial administration. My research on ancient Greek ritual and religion has resulted in publications on Mycenaean figurines and the Cult Center at Mycenae and the prehistory and early history of the Nemean hero shrine, the results of my research program and excavations in the Sanctuary of Zeus that focus on the earliest manifestations of Greek religious ritual through permanent architectural establishments and ritual paraphernalia. I have involved many students in my research: through the Undergraduate Research Apprentice Program (URAP) in the Nemea Center, as part of the summer field school – now at three sites, and with material culture, practice, and research topics for graduate students in Near Eastern Studies, History of Art, Classical Archaeology, and Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology.
I have always been interested in the past and puzzling over what the material traces of past people can tell us about their lives. As a high school student, I had a history teacher who thought that everyone should become an archaeologist, and this was the first time I understood that I could actually do archaeology as a job! I completed my BSc at Lakehead University, a small school in northern Ontario, and dug for the first time on the West Coast of Canada. I finished my PhD at the University of Toronto, where I experienced fieldwork in Jordan for the first time and was hooked. After a post-doc and research position at the University of Cambridge, I joined the Anthropology Department at Berkeley in 2012 as an environmental archaeologist. With a focus on prehistoric archaeology and geoarchaeological approaches to reconstructing human-environment dynamics, I have been running archaeological projects in Jordan for over twenty years now and have worked in many other countries throughout the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa and North America. I have published over 60 articles on my work in these places.

In my 10 years at Berkeley, I have continued to develop large field projects in Jordan’s northern hills and harsh eastern desert where, with international collaborators, we have discovered some of Jordan’s earliest hut structures, mobile art and human burials. After spending many, many field seasons in the deserts of the Middle East, I recently broadened my horizons to explore island archaeology and the arrival of humans in Cyprus and Hawaii. My passion for prehistory, uncovering humanity’s deep past and exploring how humans have changed the earth permeates into the classes I teach at Berkeley on topics of human origins and evolution, the emergence of social complexity and agriculture, ancient technologies, geoarchaeology, and human palaeoecology. Originally Canadian, once living in the UK, now living in the US, and regularly travelling around the world for fieldwork, the importance of place-making and landscapes in my research is no accident—even now my students regularly comment on my persistent ‘Canadian-ness’ and inability to convert temperature or distances into imperial units! This diversity of living experiences—I am an anthropological archaeologist, after all—has translated into the high value I place on promoting diversity in anthropology and providing opportunities for and encouraging the participation of underrepresented groups on campus, within the community, and in the various places where I conduct field research. As an undergraduate student, I was often the only woman in my geology classes (where marking my lab equipment with pink ribbons ensured they were never lost), and certainly the only one combining archaeology and the earth sciences. As a result, I have been committed to diversity.
in the archaeological sciences and promoting opportunities for women and other traditionally underrepresented groups in academic settings. In Jordan archaeology is an underrepresented and underpaid profession. Long term involvement of Jordanian students in my projects, including all-female teams, aims to contribute to the training of future generations of Jordanian prehistorians and archaeological scientists, especially women in science for whom professional training opportunities are traditionally limited. Being a female professional archaeologist in Jordan is a challenging career path and providing the social and economic opportunities for women to participate in research and field work in an income-earning capacity is greatly increasing the number of trained women archaeologists completing graduate school and continuing in archaeology as a career. I am pleased to see that women are now much more widely represented in archaeological programs in North America, including in geoarchaeology. For more information about my work, please visit https://anthropology.berkeley.edu/lisa-maher.