

An Examination of Experiences in Archaeology of Females and LGBTQIAs in the Philippines

Isang pag-aaral sa mga karanasan ng mga kababaihan at mga LGBTQIAs sa arkiyolohiya sa Pilipinas

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Abstract

More women and members of the LGBTQIA+ community are noticeably enrolling in and graduating from the University of the Philippines School of Archaeology (formerly Archaeological Studies Program) since it was established in the mid-1990s. This paper presents the challenges women and LGBTQIA+ individuals face in this traditionally male-dominated field. We examine unknowingly discriminatory practices, attitudes toward women and LGBTQIA+ individuals, rights and responsibilities in the field and laboratory, research opportunities, intellectual property rights, a safe working environment, and other issues that came out during interviews. More importantly, it focuses on the victories of women and LGBTQIA+ archaeologists working in the Philippines. We end by recommending how we can improve the practice of archaeology for all individuals.

Patuloy ang pagdami ng mga mag-aaral sa arkiyolohiya sa Pilipinas mula nang itinatag ang University of the Philippines School of Archaeology noong 1995. Bunsod nito, pinag-aralan ng mga may-akda ang mga hamon na kinakaharap ng mga kababaihan at LGBTQIA+ na indibidwal na nagsasagawa ng arkiyolohiya sa Pilipinas sapagkat ito ay isang disiplina kung saan mas nangingibabaw ang kalalakihan. Sinuri ng mga may-akda ang mga hindi sinasadyang pag-uugali, pakikitungo, at diskriminasyon sa mga kababaihan at LGBTQIA+ na mga indibidwal; kanilang mga karapatan at responsibilidad sa fieldwork at sa laboratoryo; mga oportunidad sa pananaliksik; mga karapatan sa intelektwal na pag-aari, ligtas na kapaligiran sa pagtatrabaho, at ibang mga isyu na nabanggit sa mga panayam. Layunin rin ng pag-aaral na ito na kilalanin ang mga tagumpay ng mga kababaihan at LGBTQIA+ na indibidwal na arkiyolohists na nagtatrabaho sa Pilipinas. Sa pagtatapos, nagrekomenda ang mga may-akda kung paano mas mapapabuti para sa lahat ang pag-aaral ng arkiyolohiya sa Pilipinas.

Keywords: Philippine archaeology, gender in archaeology, queer archaeology, discrimination, women in archaeology, LGBTQIA archaeologists | arkiyolohiya sa Pilipinas, kasarian, kababaihan, LGBTQIA arkiyolohists

Introduction

In 2003, while excavating a burial site in the Philippines, a senior male archaeologist opposed a junior female archaeologist's interpretation of a trench. This prompted another male but younger archaeologist to react by saying, '*Ahhh... the struggles of the female archaeologist against the dominant male*'. The following morning, further excavation validated the female archaeologist's previous interpretation. The older male did not react, while the younger male expounded on the value of being able to recheck data while in the field. This incident suggests that *first*, there is a propensity for male archaeologists to doubt the excavation skills of female archaeologists; and *second*, due to preconceived notions about females, female archaeologists constantly struggle to convince others that they are capable of being archaeologists. Although 16 years have passed, this incident became the inspiration for this paper when the authors received an invitation to present in the panel convened by Dr. Lia Genovese on women at the SPAFA 2019 conference in Bangkok, Thailand.

This paper examines the experiences of females and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual (LGBTQIA+) individuals in archaeology at the University of the Philippines School of Archaeology (formerly Archaeological Studies Program [ASP]) (UPSA). There is a growing number of female and LGBTQIA+ archaeology students in UPSA, and we explore their experiences of discrimination and/or challenges on the bases of their sex-assigned-at-birth, sexual orientation, and gender identity, particularly as archaeology has unconventional workplaces (i.e. field sites) that may be venues for such conflicts. This preliminary study is also a response to the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) 2019 conference controversy (Wade 2019). Though studies on gender representation in the Philippines are already available (Commission on Higher Education 2017), our research is the first to focus on the experiences of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals in archaeology. Incorporating the narratives of the respondents ensures that the policies are inclusive, respectful, and data driven. In addition, the challenges that our respondents identified are crucial factors in crafting solutions that will prevent harassment and discrimination in all shared spaces and different contexts. We aim to provide statistical data on the status of females and LGBTQIA+ studying and practising archaeology. We will examine existing University and UPSA policies and practices that will aid us to analyse problem areas and identify best practices for females and LGBTQIA+ in archaeology. We conclude by recommending changes for creating more inclusive and conducive working spaces for females and LGBTQIA+ individuals who are studying and practising archaeology in the Philippines.

Background

Our research is guided by the definitions provided by the Human Rights Campaign (n.d.), as taken from the organisation's website:

- Gender identity - One's innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither – how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth.
- Sexual orientation - An inherent or immutable enduring emotional, romantic, or sexual attraction to other people. Note: an individual's sexual orientation is independent of their gender identity.

- Sex assigned at birth - The sex, male, female or intersex, that a doctor or midwife uses to describe a child at birth based on their external anatomy.

In the Philippines, these terms are confusing and complicated, if not completely unfamiliar. Thus, we find it important to explicitly state and highlight these concepts not only for the reader's benefit but also as our contribution to the emerging research on women and LGBTQIA+ individuals in the academe. The more that these terms become visible, the more that we can talk about these issues openly. To reiterate, these terms are independent of each other, reflecting human variation resulting from social, cultural, and biological influences.

Women and LGBTQIA+ Representation

Research regarding the experiences of women in archaeology has seen significant progress through the emergence of gender archaeology in the 1980s. Initially, feminist archaeology critically examined archaeology's androcentric bias that impacted interpretation and methods (Gilchrist 2009). In recent years, however, the desire to change this androcentricity has exposed not only the inequality but also the consequences of female invisibility in terms of workplace policies for mothers, publications (Bradley and Dahl 1994; Claassen et al. 1999; Bardolph 2014 and 2018; Heath-Stout 2019), fieldwork (Claassen 2000; Moser 2007; Bruno et al. 2012; Meyers et al. 2018; Radde 2018; Colaninno et al. 2020; Leighton 2020), career trajectories (Hamilton 2014; Heath-Stout 2019), and work-family balance (Wasson et al. 2008).

Several themes appear in these findings. First, more women have entered the discipline today compared to the last few years. In Canada, two-thirds of archaeology doctorates are women (Overholtzer and Jalbert 2021). In the United States, the University of California's Gender Equity Project reports that 60.6% of their 454 respondents from the Society for California (SCA) were women whereas 38.5% were men, and 0.9% were transgender individuals (VanDerwarker et al. 2018; Radde 2018). Bardolph (2018) likewise argues that gender parity is growing in memberships and conference presentations in North and Southeastern American archaeology. A 2014 study on European archaeologists state that female archaeologists in 21 countries are 50.7% compared to 49.3% who were male (Lazar et al. 2014). Despite the increased population of female archaeologists, gender parity is yet to be achieved. However, Heath-Stout (2020) argues that more women are now publishing than men, suggesting that gender parity has become more pronounced in recent years. However, Heath-Stout (2020:14) cautions that from an intersectional perspective, underrepresentation of gender and ethnic minorities remains such that "archaeological knowledge production remains dominated by straight, white, cisgender people." The Cambridge Dictionary (n. d.) defines 'cisgender' as an individual "who feels that they are the same gender as the physical body they were born with." Simply put, it is an individual whose gender identity and biological sex match. LGBTQIA+ and non-white archaeologists have yet to witness an increase in representation in publications. The UCSB (University of California, Santa Barbara) Gender Equity Project also records that men occupied higher positions in the academe, including postdoctoral and associate professorial positions (VanDerwarker et al. 2018). The same situation exists for women in Canada, as more men were awarded more grants and received tenure-track positions than women (Overholtzer and Jalbert 2021). Further, a survey that the American Anthropology Association (AAA) conducted among its members reveals that women received more administrative and advising duties – tasks associated with "women's role" (Wasson et al. 2008). The same report also states that women often found their careers stagnating due to interruptions resulting from work-family balance, such that 'women were less often married than men, and had fewer children'

(Wasson et al. 2008: 2-3). In other words, men did not experience career disruptions despite building families because the burden lay on women. This ‘leaky pipeline’ problem refers to the reality that gender parity only exists on paper. Even though more women are entering archaeology, gender equity does not translate to representations in their career tracks (Wasson et al. 2008; Overholtzer and Jalbert 2021). Thus, despite the seemingly positive trend for women and LGBTQIA individuals in archaeology, gender parity in university-based positions and publications remain elusive. In Southeast Asia, as of this writing, no such studies have been accomplished, emphasising the need to initiate research to identify trends and issues in gender in/equality within the academic discipline.

Archaeology as a male/masculine discipline

Another emerging theme in the literature is the image of archaeology as a masculine discipline. Knowledge of archaeology may be influenced by the different types of research questions that men and women archaeologists ask about their respective archaeological studies (Strasser and Kronsteiner 1993). Gero’s (1991) review of male and female approaches to the study of lithics revealed that males conduct experiments on flint-knapping, while females analyse how tasks are executed. Women also study flake tools and nutting stones, while males go on to study artefacts associated with hunting and warfare, such as axes and adzes. Gero’s previous work (1985) had also demonstrated that male archaeologists were more concentrated on archaeological fieldwork, while women were recognized for analysing archaeological materials. An androcentric or a male-centred practice of archaeology may thus “render the female contribution invisible” (Gilchrist 1999:22).

In popular culture, the famous image of an archaeology professor is that of *Indiana Jones*, while a close female counterpart would be that of *Lara Croft* in the *Tomb Raider Series*, who is not recognized as someone with formal training in archaeology but as a civilian who intends to retrieve relics. The differences in the two characters’ traits ultimately have gendered connotations, such that a male-dominated image of those who formally study and practice archaeology has been the norm for generations.

Several studies address why archaeology is perceived and dominated by masculinity (Claassen 2000; Moser 2007). Claassen’s (2000:173) seminal work attributes women’s lack of representation to homophobia, ‘the irrational fear of gender expansion,’ that drove women from pursuing archaeology in the United States in the late 19th-early 20th centuries. Implicit in this argument is framing archaeology as a masculine field because fieldwork required skills attributed to masculinity (i.e. logistics, physical work, tactics). Thus, women entering archaeology were viewed as a threat to its masculinity and its distinctiveness as a field (Claassen 2000). Relatedly, fieldwork and field schools created the “cowboy culture” in archaeology wherein alcohol plays an important role in perpetuating hierarchy and privilege (Miller 2018; Wade 2019; Colaninno et al. 2020; Leighton 2020). Archaeology’s drinking culture is now recognized as a problem, especially in field schools and fieldwork. Alcohol contributes to problematic behaviour that results in sexually inappropriate behaviour (VanDerwaker et al. 2018; Colaninno et al. 2020). Further, the lack or ambiguity of rules perpetuates sexual harassment because boundaries and consequences are not directly addressed (Nelson et al. 2017).

However, these studies also emphasise the need to develop further research on LGBTQIA+ archaeologists. In other words, while studies on women’s experiences in archaeology are gaining

ground, those of LGBTQIA+ practitioners of the field remain severely underrepresented. While few, however, these studies examine various aspects of archaeology that highlight the need for representation and change in the field. Blackmore et al.'s (2016) study on queer archaeology, for instance, argue that archaeological fieldworks perpetuate heteronormativity and masculinity through housing policies, sexist/homophobic statements, and social rules.

Workplace Discrimination/Inclusivity

Several studies focus on the nature of archaeology as a discipline, examining factors that increase risk of discrimination and harassment of junior researchers, women, minorities, and LGBTQIA individuals (Moser 2007, Blackmore et al. 2016; Miller 2018; Heath-Stout 2019; Colaninno et al. 2020; Leighton 2020; Voss 2021a). Leighton (2020) asserts that archaeology's façade of being meritocratic and egalitarian masks the reality of the discipline perpetuating male privilege. Individuals need to engage in 'performative informality' to gain access to excavations, collaborations, recommendations, and other opportunities in archaeology (Leighton 2020). Indeed, archaeology takes pride in its drinking culture, with alcohol-fuelled sessions often resulting in discussing potential projects and mentorship (Meyers 2018; Miller 2018; Moser 2007). What happens is that some individuals who do not drink or feel uncomfortable in such environments may lose opportunities for academic advancement (Leighton 2020). As such, the same occasions have become spaces for harassment and discrimination, especially when students feel like they have no choice but to unwillingly engage in these kinds of behaviour to expand their professional networks (Meyers et al. 2018; Heath-Stout 2019; Voss 2021a). These studies also emphasize the environment of archaeological fieldwork that further contributes to inequality, discrimination, and harassment: it is hierarchical and considered a rite of passage (Blackmore et al. 2016; Colaninno et al. 2020).

Methods

Studies on gender representation in the Philippines are already available, in fields such as politics (David et al. 2017; Lundgren and Petrosiute 2017), labour (Asian Development Bank 2013), education (Manalo 2018; Paqueo and Orbeta Jr. 2019), and advertising (Paragas et al. 2020). However, considering the various factors involved in the practice of archaeology, a more specialised approach is needed when examining gender identities in the said field. Thus, our research is the first to focus on the experiences of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals in archaeology. The lived experiences of the respondents provide nuanced insights that would be crucial to crafting non-discriminatory policies that are backed by data. In addition, the challenges that our respondents identified are critical factors in introducing policies that will prevent harassment and discrimination in all shared spaces and in different contexts.

The authors conducted a qualitative study of UPSA as a workplace. We sent an online survey interview to women and LGBTQIA+ students and graduates of the program regarding challenges in the workspace, gender inclusivity, and discrimination in May 2019. The confidentiality and anonymity of all respondents were guaranteed unless they voluntarily identified themselves. The survey interviews determined the personal views of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals who are studying and practising archaeology in the Philippines regarding conflicts in the workplace and gender inclusivity. We also conducted follow-up interviews if clarifications were required. We categorised our respondents mainly based on their self-ascribed sexual orientation and gender identity. For instance, the respondents categorised as LGBTQIA+ were those openly comfortable with identifying themselves as members of the community. We also asked the respondents for their

age because we are aware that gender issues and experiences are shaped by specific periods or events. In addition, PhD holders include those who graduated from foreign universities and are currently or have practised archaeology in the Philippines.

Framework of the UP School of Archaeology (UPSA)

The UP School of Archaeology was formerly the Archaeological Studies Program or ASP which was established on August 24, 1995, by the Board of Regents (BOR) at the University of the Philippines Diliman. It is a multidisciplinary program and its faculty collaborate with various international and local institutions. To date, it is the only institution that offers a formal archaeology program in the country. Currently, the program offers degrees in Diploma, Master of Arts, Master of Science, and a Doctorate in Philosophy. UPSA is led by a Director and supported by the School Director. As of June 2019, during the SPAFA conference, there were five male and three female regular faculty members, three male and five female lecturers, and one male and four female research associates. The administrative staff is composed of four females and four males.

Results

This section is presented in two parts. The first part is on the statistical data on women and LGBTQIA+ archaeology students and graduates of UPSA to provide information of what constitutes the student population in the UPSA over the years and in its current population. Data graphs from the first batch of enrollees from 1996 to 2019 will be presented to illustrate how the number of women in archaeology has increased since introducing archaeology as a formal educational discipline. Through this data, we should be able to determine the period when there was an influx of female enrollees in UPSA. Information on dropouts and LOAs (Leave of Absence) may also reveal information regarding the continuity in UPSA. Data on Females and LGBTQIA+ individuals will be presented separately based on biological sex (male/female) and gender identities (heterosexuals and LGBTQIA+). We will also identify the number of women and LGBTQIA+ UPSA graduates who are working in or have worked at the National Museum of the Philippines since this is the main avenue apart from UPSA where archaeology can be practised professionally. As of this writing, we like to note that archaeologists who graduated from UPSA are working in other Philippine universities such as the Philippine Normal University and the Ateneo De Manila University. The second part shows the result of the online survey and interview.

Data on enrollees

As of May 2019, there were 22 females and 30 male students in UPSA (13 Diploma, 23 MA, 7 MS, and 9 PhD). Six of these 52 students are LGBTQIA+ individuals. Let us look at the data since 1996.

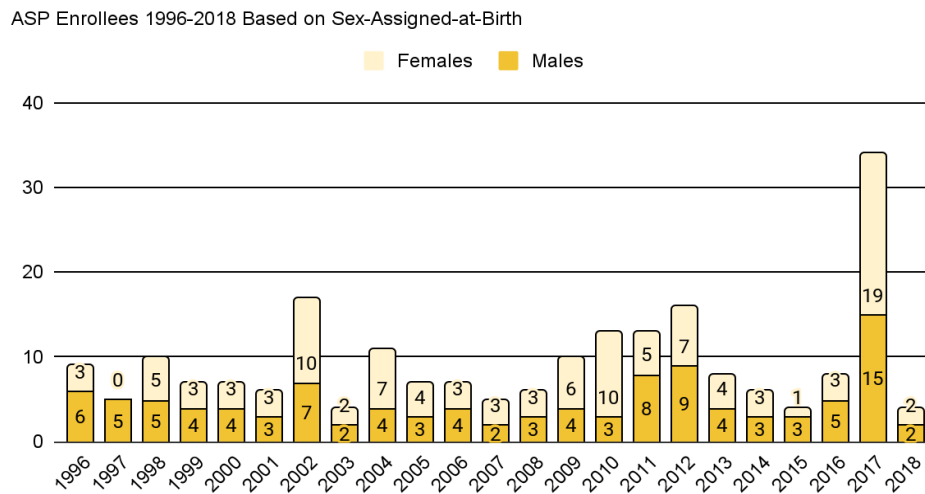


Fig. 1 UPSA enrollees since 1996 until 2018 showing sex assigned at birth.

From the academic year 1996-1997 to 2018-2019, 217 (108 males, 109 females) have enrolled in UPSA. Figure 1 (UPSA enrollees since 1996) shows that enrolment in UPSA fluctuates but clearly there are academic years when there were more female enrollees. The unusual number of enrollees in 2017 can be attributed to the shift from a semestral calendar to a trimester. The shift from semestral (four months each semester for two semesters in an academic year) to trimestral (three months each trimester for three trimesters in an academic year) may have been more accommodating to the enrollees’ respective personal schedules.

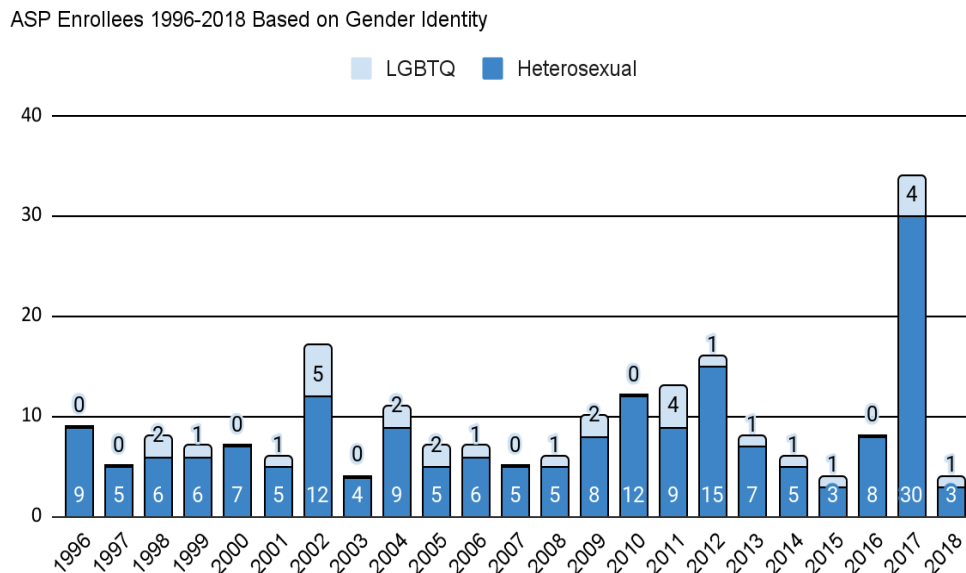


Fig. 2 UPSA enrollees since 1996 until 2018 showing gender identity.

Figure 2 shows that among the 217 enrollees, 30 who openly identify themselves as LGBTQIA+ have been tallied. Actual figures may be underestimated because of those who decided not to disclose and discuss their gender identity. This data shows that there are LGBTQIA+ students in UPSA.

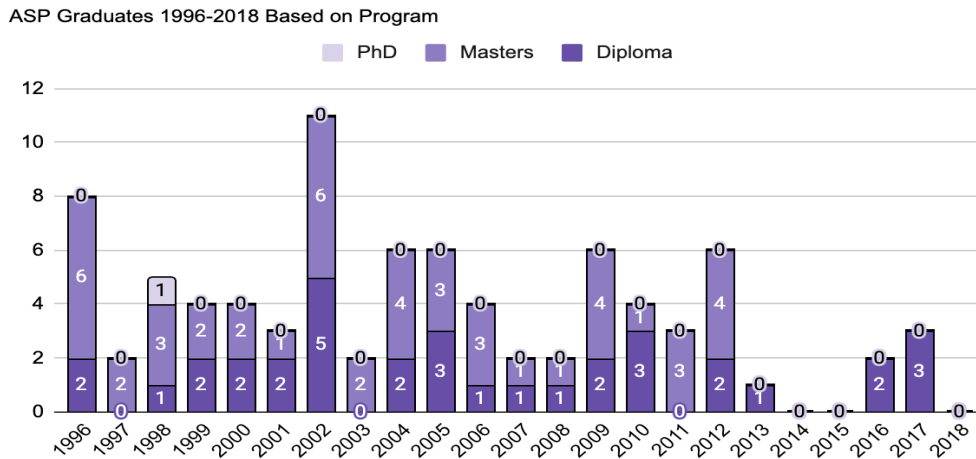


Fig. 3 Graduates of UPSA from 1996 to 2018. Note: this chart displays the degree obtained by the student vis-à-vis the year they entered UPSA to show what students in a batch studied and not the actual year the student graduated.

Figure 3 shows that UPSA has consistently been producing graduates of both the diploma and master’s courses since its inception in 1996: 35 Diploma, 47 Master’s, and 1 PhD.

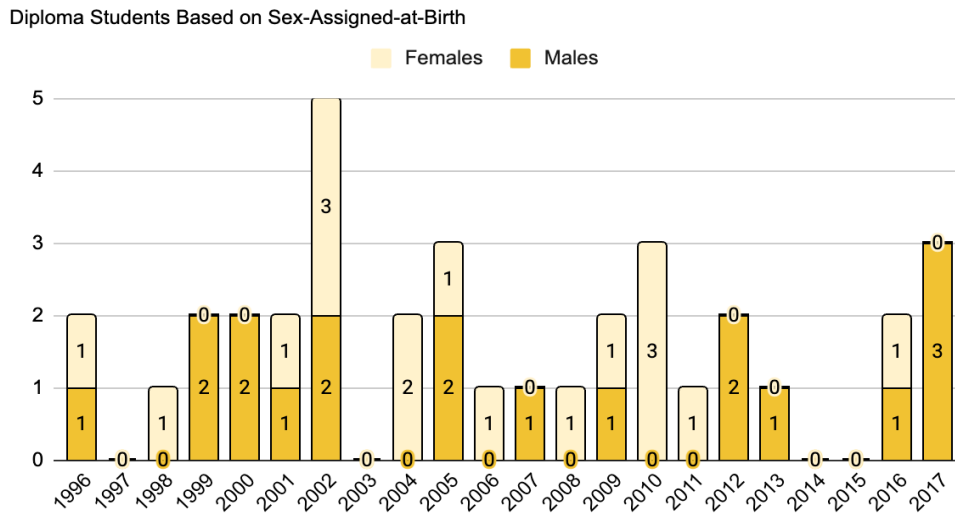


Fig. 4 Number of students who took the Diploma based on sex at birth.

Figure 4 gives us data on the number of enrollees on the diploma course based on sex-assigned-at-birth (19 males, 17 females).

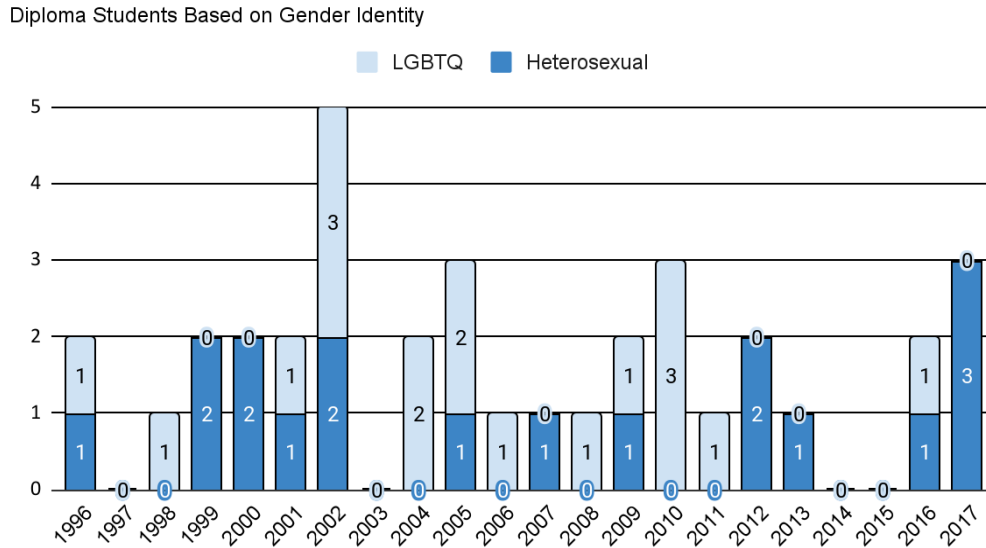


Fig. 5 Number of students who took the Diploma based on gender identity.

Based on gender identity, there were 18 LGBTQIA+ students who took the Diploma program (Figure 5).

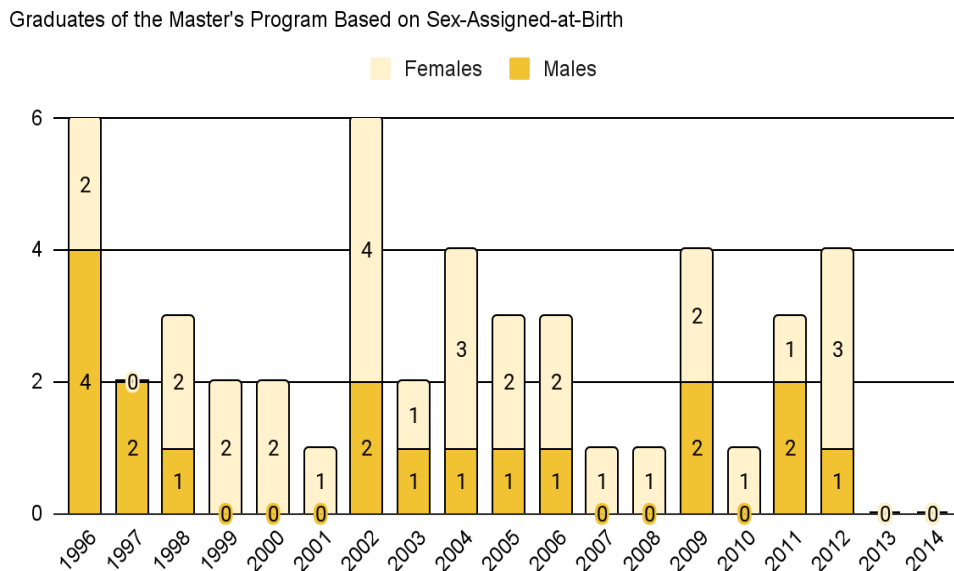


Fig. 6 Graduates of the master's program based on sex-assigned-at-birth.

Some Diploma graduates have the option to pursue a master’s degree and the courses taken during the Diploma will be credited. Figure 6 shows 16 males and 32 females graduating from the master’s program.

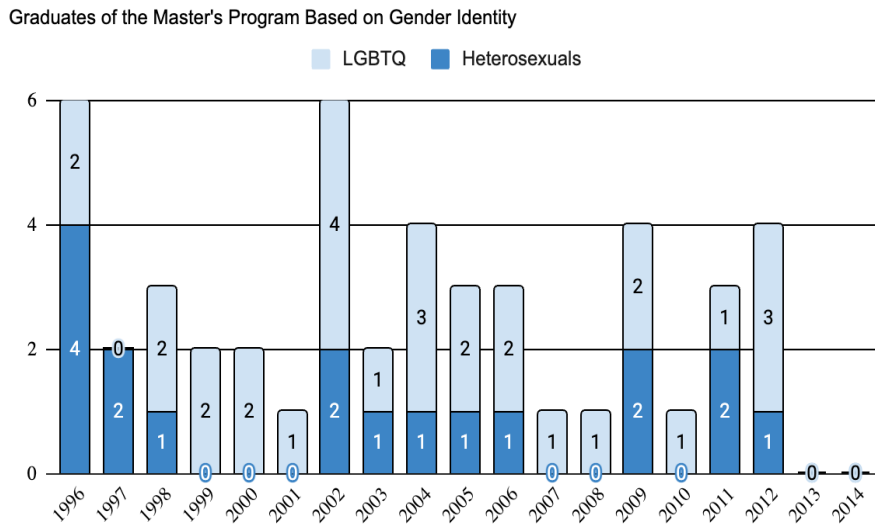


Fig. 7 LGBTQ graduates of the master’s program.

Here are the graduates of the master’s program based on gender identity (Figure 7). In some years, there are more LGBTQIA+ graduates in the master’s program than heterosexual graduates (total LGBTQIA+ graduates 30, total heterosexual graduates 18).

As of May 2019, UPSA has produced one PhD graduate since it was instituted in 2009. Although there are several Filipinos with a PhD in Archaeology, they obtained their degrees elsewhere. Some PhD holders from American universities graduated with an Anthropology degree specialising in archaeology.

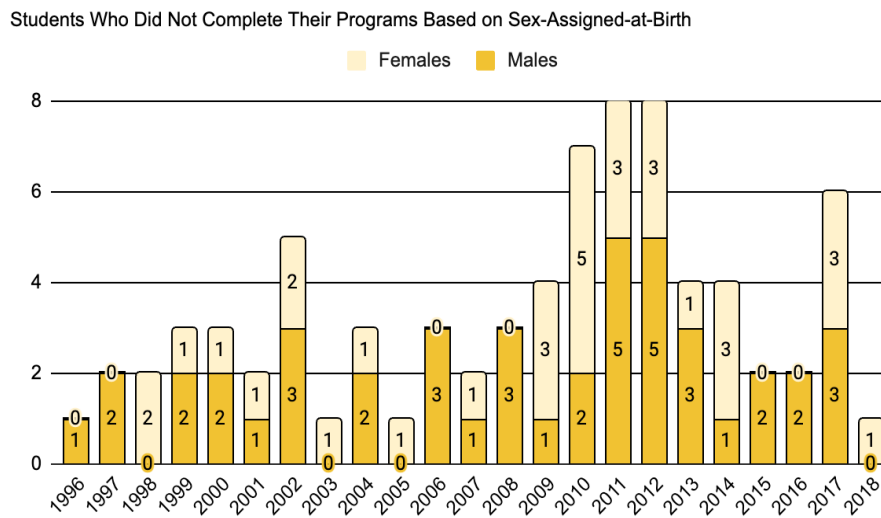


Fig. 8 Number of students who did not finish the course.

From 1996 to 2006, Figure 8 shows the “Dropouts”, or those who are no longer qualified to enrol in the course. A total of 75 students (44 males, 31 females) dropped out. Reasons for not finishing the degree include reaching the Maximum Residency Rule of the University that allows the student to finish a degree within ten years; those honourably dismissed; those who unfortunately passed away while enrolled at UPSA; and those who discontinued enrolment. From 2008 to 2018, the data shows the number of students who are currently on a leave of absence but are still qualified to finish the course. More males are either dropping out or taking a leave of absence than females. Females are likely to complete the degree program in which they enrol in, while men are more likely to drop out.

Online survey and interview

Out of the 58 students and graduates of UPSA since 1997 who were invited to participate in this research, 28 individuals responded to the survey. They represent 48.27% of all the invited respondents for the study. Majority of our respondents identified themselves as straight and female. All respondents are females and LGBTQIA+ individuals who were open to the UPSA community about their gender identities. Age range of respondents are from 21 to 50 and above, while others did not disclose their age (Figure 9: Age of respondents). 71.4% identified themselves as straight, 10.7% see themselves as bisexuals. Queer was not added as a category; hence, no value is included (Figure 10: Sexual orientation).

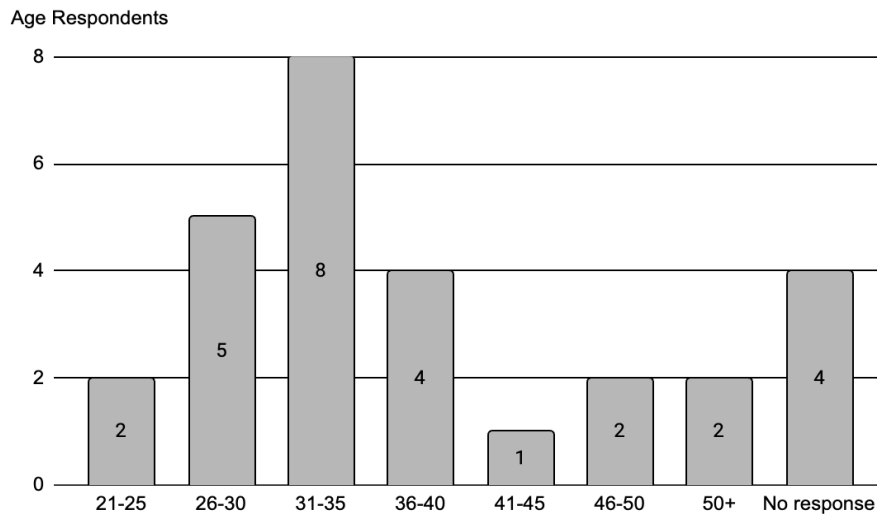


Fig. 9 Age range of respondents for this study.

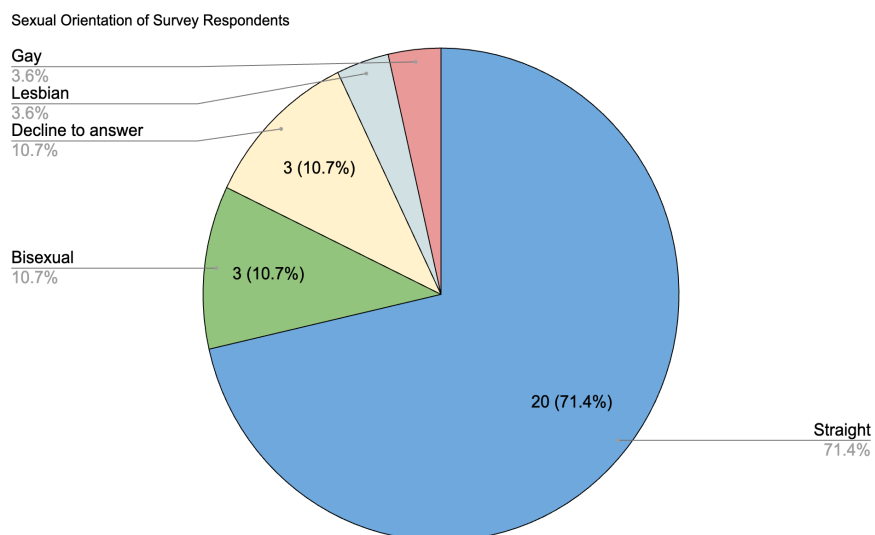


Fig. 10 Sexual orientation of respondents.

According to the online survey, the motivations of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals to pursue a course in archaeology include the following:

1. Accomplishing a childhood dream
2. Genuine interest in the past
3. See archaeology as an opportunity to travel and be in the field
4. Relevant to their other fields of interest such as cultural resource management and material culture
5. Influence of media such as documentaries, tv shows, and Indiana Jones movies
6. Motivation to develop public appreciation of archaeology
7. Previous experience as a volunteer in past excavations

Women and LGBTQIA+ respondents struggled against the following:

1. **Power relations.** Responses described occasions where a field director was adamant in assuring that at least one heterosexual male student would be assigned to each trench and other essential activities, whereas much of the domestic duties that required less physical work (such as those that did not require heavy lifting) were generally assigned to females. Respondents expressed that such arrangements were unnecessary as they believed females and LGBTQIA+ students could perform all tasks involved in an archaeological excavation.
2. **Discriminatory practices.** Respondents expressed that they experienced discrimination in relation to one's gender during archaeological excavations. For instance, one female respondent narrated that one male colleague would be allowed to leave and return to site as he pleases, while others, especially females, would have to seek the necessary clearance from and negotiate with site directors to leave and return to the site. Such male colleagues would perform basic excavation tasks only when convenient, and such would be deemed acceptable, while domestic chores such as washing of plates were seldom done by the males. On the other hand, it was also observed that some project leaders would prefer certain students over others for field activities. In one instance, it was also conveyed that '*bakla*' (the Filipino word for *gay man*) was used to demean and insult the person. However, a respondent also said that gay guys "are among the most capable and most diligent archaeologists around".
3. **Double standards.** Female respondents have experienced being called names and being the subject of gossip when their colleagues perceived their behaviour to be inappropriate. One respondent disclosed double standards in the field regarding intimate relationships. Females are heavily chastised for engaging in sexual relationships, but males are shown leniency. While female archaeologists are considered unprofessional, similar behaviour from male counterparts are seen as 'normal' and 'acceptable' without severe consequences for their careers.

Female respondents also experienced being stereotyped due to their gender. For instance, one respondent reported being called '*maarte sa field*' (delicate or pretentious in the field) for being a girl. '*Maarte*', in this context, refers to being choosy about jobs that are easy or preferring luxuries such as being less exposed to harsh field conditions or heavy tasks. Likewise, '*maarte*' suggests that females would not want to sweat or experience fatigue during fieldwork. Since male colleagues are perceived as being more accepting of gruelling tasks and harsher field conditions, women who do not demonstrate the same attitude are labelled and perceived negatively.

3. **Inappropriate Behaviour.** Respondents have expressed that they have experienced behaviour that caused them to feel uncomfortable in the field during archaeological excavations. These include jokes and stories that are of sexual nature that make females and LGBTQIA+ individuals uncomfortable; uninvited physical contact/touching by males, and vulgar gestures that refer to females and LGBTQIA+ individuals. Respondents also experienced inappropriate behaviour specifically from their male teammates. Some respondents felt uncomfortable with males making lewd jokes in their company. One respondent also noted feeling uncomfortable with a male colleague placing a lingering hand on her, fully aware that this was no longer a friendly touch. Respondents also observed that colleagues gossiped when colleagues of the same sex are often seen together, many of whom were immediately rumoured as "romantic partners". LGBTQIA+ respondents had observed that rumourmongering involving LGBTQIA+ persons bear a heavier

weight as compared to those involving heterosexual individuals because in the Philippines, such same sex partners is not widely accepted, especially in rural areas where most archaeological excavations take place.

4. **Lack of protocols for mothers with young children.** Having a small child and the current set-up were not conducive to mothers with young children. A respondent shared that she was unable to participate in archaeological excavations and went on a LOA during her pregnancy. These hindered her from resuming her studies. She also felt that she was not a viable participant anymore in field excavations because she shared that "...I would have to bring my child with me, and that adds more logistical challenges". She added, "When I am accommodated, it feels as though it is a favour given to me".

5. **Archaeological Field School.** Several respondents stated that they had experienced disagreements with their classmates and colleagues during their field schools. Respondents also experienced disagreements in subsequent archaeological excavations and in other occasions during their study such as laboratory work, research writing, and office work. In the case of post-field activities, it was not explicitly mentioned if this was due to their gender or sexual orientation.

6. **Behaviour during drinking sessions.** One respondent talked about the 'drinking culture that veers toward showcasing the machismo culture.' It was observed that some conversations were about the objectification of women.

Existing policies in the University and UPSA

To situate UPSA in the gender-based policies of the University, we looked at relevant existing policies. We present here the existing norms with respect to policy to serve as a reference in examining whether these policies are adequate to accommodate the current and future needs of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals.

Currently, there is the Office of Anti-Sexual Harassment (OASH) and Gender and Development Office (GAD). Each academic unit and office are required to have an equivalent office and a focal person to oversee cases, if any. UPSA follows the University rules on filing complaints. Professors also practice an 'open-door policy' for one-on-one consultations with a student. Internally, UPSA's shared accommodation was revised to single-sex occupation only.

We also examined workspaces in UPSA because these are the areas where students and faculty interact and where existing UPSA and University policies mentioned are applicable. These are the following areas: the UPSA Library, Graduate Student Lounge, Faculty Lounge, all laboratories, classrooms, seminar rooms, faculty rooms, administrative office, and garden. These spaces were evaluated whether they provide potential conflict. In areas where personal and professional lines are blurred, conflicts have been observed.

To date, no internal rules and/or policies involving LGBTQIA+ individuals have been created. There are designated male and female restrooms that are followed by LGBTQIA+ individuals. They are welcomed everywhere in UPSA. These policies have not been questioned by anyone thus far.

At the time of the survey, no formal policies existed to accommodate the needs of mothers such as a breastfeeding room and/or childcare. The community took initiative to assign the Faculty Lounge as a temporary nursing room. The University now encourages each unit to create a Baby Room.

Regarding fieldwork, there are no standardised written internal rules for archaeological excavations. Each fieldwork director is given liberty on how to conduct their excavations if universal protocols are followed. This leeway extends to the preferences of directors pertaining to orientations to discuss the rules of the fieldwork projects. Further, fieldwork participants are expected to act based on moral norms and decency according to available resources and conditions such as changing clothes and sleeping quarters. They are also expected to be aware that engaging in intimate relations with locals is frowned upon.

According to respondents, everyone performs tasks regardless of gender during fieldwork. Household chores are rotated among all participants, but some are exempted based on age and rank. Other daily tasks and practices are dependent on circumstances and resources. Depending on some factors such as the faculty-in-charge and availability of space, there are no written policies on sharing living quarters based on gender, but it is common practice to prioritise the comfort and security of women.

Results also demonstrate that conflicts were not gender-based but caused by personality, status, rank, capability, and background of a student and/or colleague. One respondent reported their site report analysis being disregarded by a senior male colleague despite them being specialists in that field, suggesting that rank played a role in this conflict. Similarly, another respondent lamented that some site directors do not appreciate individuals with strong opinions on things. Personality differences also created conflicts, such as when a respondent noted a difference in leadership style caused them to disagree in deciding on a framework or structure for a project.

Discussion

The data presented above demonstrate that since its establishment in 1995, women and LGBTQIA+ individuals are increasingly enrolling in and graduating from UPSA. Statistics indicate that women have more chances of pursuing the course, whereas males are more likely to drop out from the course. However, as men were not included in this study, the reasons for a higher dropout rate for males cannot be speculated on.

When it comes to the perceptions on the status of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals compared to their male peers, majority of the respondents (59%) believe that archaeology is not dominated by males anymore. Those who do believe that males dominate, they do so in specific areas like publications and professorial positions. Others also believe that females and LGBTQIA+ academics are accomplished in terms of research. Finally, some believe that male domination is not intentional. Rather, it just so happened that earlier batches and pioneers were mostly males.

Many respondents affirmed that currently, there are more women and LGBTQIA+ archaeologists in archaeology. This breaks the stereotype that archaeology is for males only. However, the increased representation of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals now does not mean that male privilege and toxic masculinity has disappeared. As the respondents stated, the 'machismo' culture still exists in the institution. Senior male privilege is present in the field and within office spaces. Cis-hetero male

archaeologists hold senior and higher positions. However, women archaeologists are now emerging as leaders in the discipline as well. Currently, UPSA and the Archaeology Division of the National Museum are headed by women archaeologists. At one point, the Maritime Underwater and Cultural Heritage Division in the National Museum was also headed by a female maritime archaeologist who is an UPSA alumna. It is important, however, to emphasise the implication of respondents believing that there is increased representation *today*. This statement suggests that discrimination existed in the past.

These responses parallel the early days of archaeology in the United States, wherein ‘machismo’ culture and male archaeologists dominated the discipline. In Claassen’s (2000) discussion of the history of archaeology, she argues that archaeology needed to stand out as a discipline, and that meant emphasising the role of fieldwork and excavation, such that Preucel and Joyce (in Claassen 2000) described it as a ‘military campaign’ that involved tactics, field of action, battle, and reconnaissance. Moser (2007:259) adds that fieldwork’s place in the identity of archaeology resulted in its association with ‘traditional masculine values and modes of behaviour.’ Thus, the presence of women threatened the discipline by challenging its masculinity and distinctiveness (Claassen 2000). Indeed, archaeology eventually welcomed several notable women archaeologists who found ways to resist gender stereotypes in this traditionally male-dominated field. The names Jane Dieulafoy (1851-1916), Esther B. Van Deman (1862-1937), Margaret A. Murray (1863-1963), Gertrude Bell (1868-1926), Harriet Boyd Hawes (1871-1945), Dorothy A. E. Garrod (1892-1968), Edith H. H. Dohan (1879-1943) Hetty Goldman (1881-1972), Gertrude Caton-Thompson (1888-1985), Winifred Lamb (1894-1963), Theresa B. Goell (1901-1985), Kathleen Kenyon (1906-1978) come to mind. These determined, ambitious, and tenacious women led excavations, pioneered methods, and published works — all while male archaeologists, and the public who was not ready for women to leave their domestic duties, patronized, ignored, and/or minimized their contributions to archaeology as evidenced by male archaeologists erasing them, if not merely acknowledging them, in their publications (Root 2004).

In the Philippines, archaeology became a ‘gendered’ discipline for the same reason as its American counterpart: the requirement of physically demanding tasks such as the heavy workload of excavating with trowels and shovels, coupled with doing bucket runs, the discipline became associated with men. The use of Ground Penetrating Radar is not widely used in Philippine sites as of this writing, hence, the reliance on excavating with trowels and shovels. The technology makes possible archaeological surveys through a non-intrusive method as GPR maps the subsurface by variations in the waves caused by chemical and physical changes in the strata and/or artefacts. As such, it would influence the gendered nature of field work. It was also men who were more flexible in travelling, as women who travelled in far-flung places were rare, if not discouraged for safety reasons. At around the same time that UPSA was created in 1995, Vitug (1994:1491) writes, “On one hand, women, who already predominate in some areas of science, are branching out into previously male-dominated fields at a high rate”. It was during this decade when females started to enrol at UPSA, as the early archaeologists were males who graduated from foreign universities. Their presence in archaeology did not ‘threaten’ the field’s masculinity per se, as it was never emphasised; however, having women archaeologists certainly changed the landscape of the discipline in the Philippines. As the respondents demonstrate, tasks in the field are, to some extent, influenced by gender.

Likewise, women archaeologists who eventually became mothers experienced challenges in balancing their gender roles. Vitug (1994:1491) adds that "these female scientists live in a culture where machismo is strong and the idea of 'woman for the home' is reinforced by Catholicism... The result of these conflicting imperatives is that... they have difficulty reaching the highest levels and most powerful jobs." Though the concept of women being stay-at-home mothers is not prevalent in the practice of archaeology in the Philippines, the dilemma of choosing between advancing one's career and taking care of their new-born still exists for mothers. Though archaeology did not discriminate against women entering the discipline, the burden of caregiving remained with the mothers.

As the mothers who responded to the survey attest, the conflict exists between their academic career and caregiving roles. Therefore, they found it challenging to balance academics with motherhood. Mothers found it difficult to participate in archaeological excavations especially if they have a young child because the field is not conducive to their presence. Being a mother with a young child is one of the reasons for someone to not participate in archaeological excavations. Pregnancy is also a reason for taking an LOA which delays finishing the degree. After birth, having a small child with the current set-up was not conducive to mothers with young children. These hindered them from returning to their studies. Some mothers who responded felt discriminated against in terms of opportunities because their inclusion in fieldwork makes them feel as if it were a favour to them instead of a testament to their capabilities. Dapiton et al. (2020) argue that parenting impacts a mother's work-life balance, particularly for female faculty members who need to balance family obligations and quality research. The current set-up in UPSA is inclusive since children are allowed in some areas of the building. However, designated areas for new mothers are still non-existent. Likewise, concerns pertaining to fieldwork inclusion and opportunities continue to pose a challenge for mothers.

The field school is an archaeology student's formal introduction to proper archaeological methods. For many it is their first time to be exposed to fieldwork conditions, that is outside their comfort zones. It is also when a student is most vulnerable, since besides being beyond their comfort zones, they are also under time pressure to accomplish tasks with limited resources and at the same time are expected to produce good archaeological records. During the field school, students are in the process of formulating individual and collective effective systems that enable them to accomplish the objectives of the excavation. Often, this involves a lot of trial and error, thus prone to creating conflicts among classmates.

Archaeological field schools also involve the assignment and the systematisation of roles of each student that may be gender-based. However, the online survey shows that 85% have observed that such role assignments were not actually gender-based. This was supported by specific survey results in which less physically demanding tasks such as recording, drawing, and mapping and more physically demanding tasks such as emptying buckets were observed to have been performed by both females and males. The only significant difference between roles that were performed by either males or females was food preparation, where it was observed that more females fulfilled such roles compared to males.

Female respondents faced challenges in the field. Instances of discrimination were shared by some respondents. For instance, one respondent reported that some senior male archaeologists enjoy more privileges in the field. Meanwhile, others feared "possible harassment" during fieldwork.

Respondents conveyed reluctance in sharing their experiences due to confusion as to what constitutes sexual harassment despite feeling uncomfortable when it was happening. As reflected elsewhere in society, the likelihood that females who experienced sexual harassment will not only be dismissed but also forgotten while male perpetrators will be excused and may even be rewarded is high (Nelson et al. 2017). Survivors could also face victim-blaming. There is also the matter of engaging in sexual liaisons with locals within the context of academic fieldwork. The power relations embedded in such activities, regardless of gender and sexual orientation, dictates that these interactions should be avoided; however, the reality is that they do happen and must be addressed openly — through explicit rules and productive discussions to name a few. In these situations, it is the women who bear the brunt of the consequences of this behaviour. In the same way that female survivors of sexual harassment could be forgotten, if not ignored, females who engaged in unethical behaviours could experience reproachment and castigation through social and professional exclusion. Meanwhile, men who engaged in similar behaviours would be celebrated for displays of machismo and masculinity. These double standards reflect the patriarchal attitudes on sexual behaviour, echoing the still conservative and traditional views on men and women in society.

The influx of female and LGBTQIA+ students signal a need to examine existing norms and practices in Philippine archaeology since the discipline encourages unconventional workplaces that may cause conflicts. The evaluation of existing practices should consider the needs of females and LGBTQIA+ individuals that will help formulate more effective policies and safe workplaces for all genders.

While the authors aimed to provide a platform for women and LGBTQIA+ individuals in archaeology to share their experiences, the authors also took this opportunity to reflect on their own behaviour within the archaeological community. In the process of doing the research, the authors realised that they, too, must be more mindful of how they interact with others. Though this research focused on women and LGBTQIA+ archaeologists, the authors recognize that men, too, have their stories to tell. Male colleagues are encouraged to share their narratives in a similar research in the future.

Recommendations:

Based on the responses and the evaluation of current policies that exist in UPSA, we offer the following recommendations:

1. UPSA can initiate a study on the reasons of male dropouts for not finishing the course which now is beyond the scope of our study. These reasons can be the basis for adjustments in UPSA practices to accommodate these students.
2. Policies and practices should be more inclusive for women and LGBTQIA+ individuals considering increased enrolment of women and LGBTQIA+ students. Facilities that can accommodate mothers both on campus and on site can be very helpful for them. Following Wasson et al. (2008), UPSA could provide a space for new mothers to breastfeed and flexible teaching schedules.
3. A clear gender policy at the institution level that demonstrates that sexual harassment will not be tolerated. Regardless of whether there have been cases or none, there must be a proactive solution to preventing gender-based violence. The institution or organization plays a crucial role in preventing sexual harassment because it is the policy-making body that

could determine how perpetrators will be penalized and how survivors will be supported and protected (Voss 2021b). In this regard, a venue should be set up for individuals to air their grievances and conflicts. Voss (2021b:451) argues that ‘digital activism and collective complaint [sic] are forcing institutional responses and generating support for individual survivors.’ Thus, the lack of proper channels compels a re-evaluation of how institutions respond to reports of sexual harassment. At the same time, members of the UPSA community should be informed who their OASH and GAD focal person is so that they know who to report these incidents to. Using social-environmental and trauma-informed approaches that recognize the contributions of the individual, institution, the community, and society to an environment that may prevent or inhibit harassment will be a more effective way to address sexual harassment complaints and help the survivor heal from the trauma (Voss 2021b).

4. Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and Expression (SOGIE) orientations should be held regularly for everyone to be informed of their responsibilities and rights. These orientations should complement awareness programs to decrease sexual harassment. Individuals who witnessed sexual harassment should intervene as incidents occur. A bystander intervention training allows people within a community to see the specific role they can play in recognizing scenarios where harassment and assault are likely to occur. When we call out bad behaviour, we become accountable to our actions because we become more self-aware of what we do and what we say. This also echoes the policy of being consistent in correcting inappropriate behaviour. As of 2022, UPSA issued a memo requiring all field schoolers to attend a gender and cultural-sensitivity orientation prior to the field school.

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