# Lost Childhood: The Neglected Archaeology of Children in Iran

By

Shaghayegh Ghasemi

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Anthropology

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Copyright © 2024 by Shaghayegh Ghasemi

## Contents

**Abstract:** 4

**Acknowledgment:** 5

**Dedication:** 6

**List of Tables and Appendixes:** 7

**Chapter I: Introduction** 8

**Background:** 8

**Introduction:** 9

**Research Questions** 14

**Structure of the Thesis** 14

**Chapter II: Literature Review** 16

**Development of the Archaeology of Children** 17

**Children's Roles in Society and Culture** 18

**Bioarchaeological Views on Childhood** 19

**Children in SWANA Archaeological Studies** 21

**Cross-Cultural and Theoretical Contributions** 24

**Chapter III: Materials and Methods** 32

**Research Design** 32

**Phase 1: Iranian Literature Search** 34

**Phase 2: Pilot Study English Language Literature Search** 37

**Phase 3: Main Study Scoping Review Selection Process** 38

**Search Strategy** 42

**Numerical and Qualitative Analysis** 43

**Synthesizing and Reporting the Findings of the Scoping Review** 44

**Study Limitations** 44

**Chapter IV: Results** 47

**Concept** 49

**Similarities Across the Articles** 49

**Different Approach** 50

**Concepts Missed/Neglected** 50

**Additional Parameters: Interdisciplinary Approaches** 51

**Context** 52

**Similarities Across the Articles** ..... 52
**Geography** ..... **54**
**Historical Area** ..... **56**
**Authors' Specific Attention to Children** ..... **58**
**Chapter V: Discussion** ..... 61
**Overview of the Discussion** ..... **61**
**Historical Context and Engagement by North American Archaeologists** ..... **61**
**Factors Contributing to Underrepresentation** ..... **70**
**Potential Contributions** ..... **72**
**Chapter VI: Conclusion** ..... 74
**Literature Cited:** ..... **79**
**Appendix** ..... **95**

## Abstract:

This thesis explores the underrepresentation of children in Iranian archaeology, particularly within the framework of North American scholarship. It aims to shed light on the reasons behind the neglect of children's contributions in ancient societies and examines the cultural, social, and academic biases that have contributed to this oversight. Through a comprehensive scoping review of both Iranian and North American archaeological literature, the research identifies key gaps in the study of children, highlighting the dominant focus on monumental architecture and male-centric narratives. This neglect not only limits our understanding of ancient societies but also perpetuates a biased view of the past.

By integrating feminist and decolonizing methodologies, this thesis advocates for a more inclusive approach that recognizes the significant roles children played in shaping ancient Iranian societies. The study further discusses how incorporating child-centered perspectives can enrich archaeological narratives, leading to a deeper and more nuanced interpretation of Iran's cultural heritage. Furthermore, it emphasizes how children, as active agents, contributed to the transmission of knowledge, innovation, and social structures within their communities.

This research emphasizes the need for greater engagement by both Iranian and North American archaeologists in the study of children, arguing that such efforts will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of historical and prehistorical communities. By addressing these gaps and biases, the research underscores the potential of child-focused archaeology to reveal new insights into the social, cultural, and economic dynamics of past societies in Iran and beyond.

## Acknowledgment:

I want to extend my heartfelt gratitude to several individuals who have been instrumental in the completion of this thesis.

Thank you, **Laura**, for your unique insights into profound matters like feminism, colonialism, indigenous knowledge, and ethics. I always learned a lot from you; I was lucky to know you, as your perspective on ethical subjects opened a new window in my life. Your perspectives have greatly enriched my understanding and analysis.

Thank you, **Ben**! Your guidance on methodology was invaluable, especially when I was confused about where to start. You showed me the right path and helped clarify my approach.

Thank you, **Lara**! First, for choosing Laura and Ben as my committee members. I couldn't have had a better match with my topic than with them. Your meticulous planning and time management kept me on track. Your detailed comments were essential for refining my work. More than just a supervisor, you were a constant source of support, always there to listen to my concerns and disappointments. I truly felt that I had someone backing me up throughout this journey.

Thanks to **Dr. Arab** for all the support during the past eleven years. It is comforting to know that you are always there to help me.

A special thank you to **Yalda**, my furry friend, for our long walks. These moments gave me the chance to think, organize my thoughts, and find inspiration.

Lastly, thanks to **Komitas**, whose beautiful compositions inspired and calmed me during this process.

## Dedication:

This thesis is dedicated to all Iranian children—those who journeyed thousands of years ago from this planet and those who are living today. They inspire the quest for knowledge and understanding of the past, guiding toward a more enlightened future, in the hope that no child in the world will be neglected. Additionally, this dedication extends to all Iranian archaeologists, students, and professors who persevere through numerous challenges, from accessing essential resources to downloading scholarly articles.

# List of Tables and Appendixes:

Table 1 ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
Table 2 ..... 48
Table 3 ..... 52
Table 4 ..... 54
Table 5 ..... 56
Table 6 ..... 58
Table 7 ..... 60

# Chapter I: Introduction

## Background:

While I was a bachelor's student in Iran, I had the opportunity to study two disciplines simultaneously. My first major was in Museum Studies, and alongside that, I began studying archaeology, although I never completed my final degree in it. My participation in an archaeological excavation in Shiraz, a city with a history stretching back 7,000 years, at Tepe Poustchi, did however, prove pivotal. There, we discovered the remains of about 13 children. That moment was forever etched in my memory because, after finding them, I began questioning why no one else seemed curious about their age, why archaeologists treated them the same way as adult skeletons, or why there was no effort to figure out how they died. These questions highlighted a significant gap in archaeological narratives and sparked my interest in exploring the overlooked lives of children in past societies.

After immigrating to Canada in 2021, I found myself in a respectful academic environment that afforded me the freedom to express and explore my concerns in anthropology and archaeology. Driven by curiosity, I later realized the lack of studies focused on children and women in Iran, within the field of archaeology. During an assessment in one course, I decided to mention those 13 children. My instructor appreciated the idea and suggested that it would be an excellent topic for my thesis. Seizing this chance allowed me to address one of my most significant concerns: children. It provided me with the opportunity to be a voice for those alive or no longer living.

A year later, I found myself working at the Manitoba Children's Museum and subsequently at Contemporary Calgary, both as an educational facilitator. These positions offered me the precious opportunity to engage with children from the other side of the world, enriching my perspective and dedication to this cause.

**Introduction:**

Beyond Iran, researchers like Langley and Litster (2018) emphasize the significant historical roles of children in society. Their insights are vital for addressing the current challenges regarding an exclusion of children in Iranian archaeology. These scholars stress the need for more research that includes children's perspectives, which can deepen our understanding of historical dynamics. Shifting focus from merely objects to a more detailed appreciation of human elements in the archaeological record is crucial, recognizing the varied experiences and contributions of all society members, especially women and children.

When discussing children in archaeology, it is essential to also consider women, as their lives and experiences are often intertwined (Lamb et al., 2019). Women and children frequently share social, economic, and cultural spaces, and understanding one group often provides insights into the other (Gowland, 2014). Feminism has played a transformative role in archaeology, particularly in bringing attention to previously neglected groups such as women and children.

As demonstrated in Table 1, archaeological research in Iran has predominantly been object centric. When gender is considered, the focus is mostly male-centric, primarily highlighting kings and emperors in ancient Iran, who were predominantly men (Nazif et al., 2022).

Consequently, the contributions and experiences of women and children in past societies have often been overlooked. Feminist archaeology challenges these traditional narratives by emphasizing the importance of gender as a critical analytical category and by advocating for the inclusion of diverse perspectives (Conkey & Gero, 1997). This shift has led to more comprehensive and nuanced interpretations of archaeological data, highlighting the active roles that women and children played in historical and prehistorical communities.

Studies on children have revealed unique insights into daily life, social structures, and cultural practices. For instance, discoveries of toys show patterns of play and socialization, burial sites provide insights into childhood mortality and societal responses, and educational artifacts help us understand how knowledge and skills were passed on to younger generations. Often overlooked, these activities could drastically change how we interpret archaeological sites, sometimes confusing children's play with adult ritual actions. While children were undoubtedly significant in past societies, their contributions and interactions with their environment are still underexplored, particularly in Iranian contexts. This research delves into the underexplored aspect of archaeology of children in Iran, drawing on insights from both Iranian and North American[1] archaeologists. It aims to uncover the reasons for this neglect and its wider implications, advocating for the integration of children's perspectives into mainstream archaeological investigations in Southwest Asia and North Africa (SWANA), with a specific focus on Iran.

[1] In this article, "North American archaeologists" or "North American archaeology articles" refers to those originating from or affiliated with Canada and the United States, excluding Mexico. This includes works from archaeologists who have collaborated with institutions or researchers in these countries.

In addressing the overlooked aspects of the archaeology of children in Iran, this thesis examines the extent to which North American archaeologists and those affiliated with North American institutions have engaged with the study of children within this region. It explores the reasons behind the historical neglect and its broader consequences for the field of archaeology. The thesis includes a comprehensive literature review that highlights the importance of examining children's roles in archaeological narratives, emphasizing the purpose and impact of such studies. This approach aims to point to a significant gap in the archaeological study of children, particularly in the context of Iran, where such investigations have been notably scarce. By bringing attention to these neglected areas, the research seeks to contribute to a more inclusive understanding of past societies and encourage future scholarly inquiry into the lives of children.

The focus on North American archaeologists in this research is both strategic and substantive. North America, with its rich tradition of archaeological scholarship, plays a pivotal role in shaping global archaeological practices and theories (Hegmon, 2003). However, this influence has not been uniformly distributed across all research areas, particularly in the archaeology of non-Western regions such as Iran. The involvement of North American archaeologists in Iran dates to the early 20th century, where they significantly contributed to major excavations and the development of archaeological methods in the region (Darabi et al., 2018). This historical engagement has significantly influenced the current state of archaeological research in Iran, making it essential to understand their formative contributions, and significant gaps in the context of an archaeology of children.

Moreover, the limited time and financial resources in specific geographic areas like SWANA impose constraints on archaeological surveys, particularly in emerging market regions. This

situation highlights geographical bias, which means that some regions receive more attention and resources for archaeological research than others. As a result, areas with less funding and fewer resources, like SWANA, are often underexplored and overlooked in archaeological studies (Miranda-Gómez et al., 2022). By critically examining the contributions and gaps in the work of North American archaeologists concerning the archaeology of children in Iran, this thesis aims to highlight these imbalances and advocate for a more inclusive approach that enriches our understanding of past societies. This focus also aligns with the broader objectives of decolonizing archaeological practice, encouraging scholars to engage with diverse perspectives and challenging the field to move beyond its traditional Eurocentric boundaries (Atalay, 2006). Such examination draws on the discussions by Gosden (2005) in their analysis of the global impacts of archaeological methodologies and the need for integrating diverse cultural narratives into the archaeological discourse.

Iran, situated within the complex and historically rich landscape of SWANA, presents unique challenges and opportunities for archaeological study. The region's ongoing conflicts and political turmoil have posed significant obstacles to the preservation and exploration of cultural heritage, also inadvertently sidelining the study of children's experiences in archaeological discourse (Casana & Laugier, 2017). The stark impact of these conflicts on aspects of child mortality and survival underscores a pressing need for archaeological inquiries that contextualize the lives of children within the broader historical and cultural narratives of SWANA (Burstein et al., 2019); by examining the archaeological evidence, such as burial practices, nutritional deficiencies evidenced in bone analyses, and the distribution of child-related artifacts, researchers can uncover patterns of child health, disease, and care in ancient societies.

This historical perspective enriches our understanding of the resilience and vulnerability of childhood in the face of current environmental and social challenges. Despite the crucial role of projects like Endangered Archaeology in SWANA and North Africa (EAMENA) in documenting the archaeological and cultural heritage of the region, a focused exploration of children's material culture and experiences remains limited. This gap highlights a critical area for scholarly attention (Zerbini, 2018).

Neglecting children in archaeological narratives diminishes our understanding of historical family dynamics, social hierarchies, and cultural exchanges, limiting research within intersecting disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and gender studies. An inclusive archaeological approach that embraces children's experiences and viewpoints can enrich interpretations of the past, revealing the multifaceted roles children played in economic, religious, and social contexts (Lillehammer & Olsen, 2016; Fouts & Pfeiffer, 2018; Meyers, 2017).

Therefore, the study of children in archaeology is vital for advancing knowledge not only in archaeology but also across humanities and social sciences, contributing to a more integrated and comprehensive understanding of past societies that promotes a broader perspective on human history that enhances our appreciation of the complex web of human life and culture (Moore, 2005; Coşkunsu, 2015).

To complement the discussion on the archaeology of children, it is essential to consider the impact of ageism, a form of discrimination that affects individuals based on their age. Ageism can distort archaeological narratives, leading to the underrepresentation of certain age groups, particularly children and the elderly. In Ageism in Archaeology, Chris Fowler (2017) explores how age-based biases influence the interpretation of archaeological data, often overlooking the roles

and contributions of non-adult and older populations. Fowler argues that this bias results in a limited understanding of societal dynamics, as it disregards the ways in which different age groups, including children, actively shaped and interacted with their environments. His analysis supports the need for a more inclusive archaeological approach that fully acknowledges the contributions of all age groups to historical societies.

## Research Questions

I focused on three primary research questions:

1. What has been the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran?
2. What factors have contributed to the underrepresentation of the archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists?
3. What potential contributions could arise from a deeper engagement by North American archaeologists with the archaeology of children in Iran?

## Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into six chapters.

1. Chapter I: Introduction provides the background and sets the stage for the study, discussing the significance, scope, and rationale behind focusing on the archaeology of children in Iran. It also introduces the research questions that guide the study.
2. Chapter II: Literature Review explores existing research on the archaeology of children, with a particular emphasis on Iranian contexts. It identifies significant gaps in the literature

and areas for further study, comparing North American and Iranian approaches to this subfield.

3. Chapter III: Materials and Methods outlines the research design, including the scoping review methodology, the rationale for selecting specific sources, and the process of analyzing the literature. It also details the phases of the research, including the pilot study and the main study.
4. Chapter IV: Results presents the findings of the scoping review, highlighting key themes, trends, and gaps in the existing literature on the archaeology of children, particularly in Iran.
5. Chapter V: Discussion interprets the results of this study, addressing the broader implications for understanding children's roles in ancient Iranian societies. It also discusses the study's limitations and suggests how the findings contribute to decolonizing Iranian archaeology and integrating children's perspectives more fully into the field.
6. Chapter VI: Conclusion summarizes the key findings, reinforces the importance of including children in archaeological narratives, and suggests directions for future research in the archaeology of children in Iran. It also discusses the potential impact of greater engagement by North American archaeologists in this field.

## Chapter II: Literature Review

In this literature review, I explore five main areas, each illuminating different facets of children in archaeology. While my own questions center on the underrepresentation of children in Iran by North American archaeologists, there have been significant developments in the archaeology of children outside my home country. I begin with an overview of existing literature that provides a comprehensive foundation for understanding these developments. The first area, "Development of an Archaeology of Children," traces the evolution of the field and recognizes children as significant cultural participants. Next, "Children's Roles in Society and Culture" examines their societal contributions and interactions with material culture. In "Bioarchaeological Views on Childhood," I focus on what the remains of children reveal about their health and social roles. The section "Children in SWANA Archaeological Studies" provides insights specific to the region, emphasizing the importance of considering regional contexts in understanding children's experiences. The review concludes with "Cross-Cultural and Theoretical Contributions," which present global perspectives and theoretical considerations. Together, these sections enhance our understanding of children's roles across various cultures and time periods, highlighting the unique challenges and opportunities in studying children within the Iranian context. By exploring these themes, this literature review provides the necessary background to contextualize and address my research question, which seeks to understand the underrepresentation of children in Iranian archaeology by North American scholars.

## Development of the Archaeology of Children

The development of the archaeology of children over the past thirty years marks a significant expansion in the literature on the role of children in archaeological studies and related fields. Seminal articles such as "Where Are the Children?" (Sofaer Derevenski, 1994) and "Where Have All the Children Gone?" (Kamp, 2001) have highlighted the absence of children in archaeological studies, prompting broader questions in anthropology such as “Why Don't Anthropologists Like Children?” (Hirschfeld, 2002). This has led to a shift in perspective, emphasizing the need to recognize children as active participants in cultural and archaeological contexts, and emphasizing that a strong anthropological assumption is that culture is learned rather than inherited (Riede, et al., 2018). This makes archaeological studies of children and childhood a particularly vital area of interest. However, while this emerging focus on children is gaining traction globally, there remains a significant gap in the study of children's archaeology in regions like SWANA and Iran, which this thesis specifically addresses.

Baxter (2008) delves into key issues surrounding the archaeological study of childhood, illustrating how archaeologists have integrated childhood studies within the discipline and effectively identified children through the archaeological record. She outlines this by focusing on three main approaches: situating childhood studies within archaeology, identifying children through the archaeological record, and fostering interdisciplinary conversations to enrich our understanding of children's historical roles. For instance, her research on children's use of space in 19th-century domestic settings demonstrates how artifact distributions, particularly toys and child-specific items, can reveal patterns of children's play and household activities in the archaeological record.

## Children's Roles in Society and Culture

Reflecting on children's roles in society and culture, recent research has underscored the societal significance of children in historical civilizations and the necessity of acknowledging them as dynamic social participants capable of making substantial contributions. This shift in viewpoint has led to investigations into children's roles in learning processes, gender role acquisition, and their interaction with material culture. Works by Rahm (2021), Hernández Álvarez (2022), and Barton (2020) contribute to this understanding. Riede et al. (2018) explore the profound role of play objects and object play in the evolutionary development of human cognition and innovation, demonstrating how these elements contribute to cognitive growth and creative problem-solving skills. They propose that the provision of play objects to children, such as functional miniatures of adult tools, coupled with the encouragement of playful interactions with these objects, significantly contributes to the evolutionary advancement of material culture. This is underpinned by the assertion that during late childhood and adolescence, individuals exhibit a unique cognitive and physical aptitude for experimentation and innovation, prior to the constraints imposed by adult responsibilities and reproduction. The article evaluates this model through archaeological examples and advocates for a deeper investigation into the interplay between children's interactions with material culture and the genesis of innovation in human societies.

Recent scholarship, particularly Milks et al. (2021), highlights the significant roles of hunter-gatherer children in their communities, shifting the narrative from seeing children merely as passive inheritors to active participants in cultural traditions. By examining archaeological evidence of children's use of tools and participation in cultural practices, such as flintknapping

and the creation of marks and art, this study contributes to a broader understanding of socialization processes and the transmission of skills across generations. Furthermore, it highlights the necessity of recognizing children's contributions to archaeological narratives, enriching our comprehension of ancient societies and their approaches to education and skill development. This perspective underlines the importance of including children's activities and experiences in the archaeological record, offering a completer and more nuanced picture of past human life.

## Bioarchaeological Views on Childhood

Expanding upon bioarchaeological perspectives on childhood, this segment of the literature review delves into additional sources that enrich the conversation around the roles, status, and experiences of children in specific historical contexts, such as the Baltic region. For instance, Morrone (2020) provides insights into the bioarchaeology of children, focusing on mortality, growth patterns, and paleopathology, and offers a perspective on the underrepresentation of the roles, status, and experiences of children in specific historical contexts. For example, her review highlights how children in the Baltics were often marginalized in bioarchaeological research despite their potential to reveal critical insights into the health, survival, and adaptability of ancient populations. She also provides insights into the association between parasitic infections, child nutrition status, and markets, particularly focusing on Indigenous health.

Bourbou (1970) highlights the often-overlooked subject of children and adolescents' remains in bioarchaeology, with a particular focus on children's mummies. Studies in this area, including

those discussing mountain sacrifice mummies in regions like the Andes, have enriched the literature by offering diverse perspectives on the health and cultural practices of children. These bioarchaeological investigations provide a more nuanced understanding of their roles in ancient societies. Such research contributes significantly to the broader field of archaeology by shedding light on aspects such as mortality patterns, diet, social status, and the cultural significance of children across different historical periods and regions. The emphasis on mummified remains underscores the need to consider both biological and cultural dimensions, revealing the varied ways societies have historically perceived and treated children.

Haughton's (2021) analysis deepens our understanding of children's underrepresented roles, status, and experiences in historical Irish contexts. Halcrow and Tayles (2008) discuss the growing acknowledgment of childhood studies within archaeological frameworks, emphasizing the need for a holistic approach that merges bioarchaeological and social archaeological perspectives. This integration aims to bridge the gap between the biological and social analyses of young individual remains, advocating for a unified framework that enhances our comprehension of childhood in past societies. Langley (2017) further explores child-related material culture in Europe during the Magdalenian period, highlighting the significant yet often overlooked presence of children's activities, such as play, in these ancient communities. Additionally, Halcrow et al. (2020) delve into the evolution of care for infants and children, integrating evolutionary anthropology and bioarchaeology to better understand the social and health implications of these practices, ultimately contributing to our broader knowledge of human developmental history. They detail how the study of children’s remains offers a lens into cultural constructions of play and cross-cultural behavior, highlighting the vital role of play and

imitation in the archaeological record. Their review not only spans multiple geographic areas but also connects to broader discussions on the interplay between biology and social identity in shaping our comprehension of past childhood experiences.

Dozier (2016) examines the Shabbona Grove, Illinois, archaeological study of childhood, highlighting the need to empower kids as subjects in archaeological studies, and not just passive figures. This collective body of work emphasizes the necessity of integrating children's perspectives to enrich and diversify archaeological interpretations, bringing attention to their active roles in past societies.

## Children in SWANA Archaeological Studies

Exploring the theme of children in SWANA archaeological studies, this section delves into the nuanced understanding of children's roles, representations, and experiences within specific historical and cultural contexts of SWANA. Taxel's (2012) in-depth analysis of Early Islamic ceramic rattles from Mishmar David (Israel) sheds light on the technological processes involved in their creation and the broader implications of Egyptian influence in Early Islamic Palestine. By exploring the petrographic and X-ray analysis of these artifacts, Taxel reveals their Egyptian Nile Valley clay composition and internal structure, offering insights into the technological sophistication of mundane objects and the cultural interactions between Egypt and Palestine. However, it's important to note that while this work significantly contributes to understanding the technological aspects and cultural exchange, its primary focus leans more towards the technological study of these artifacts rather than a comprehensive examination of children's roles in the broader archaeological context of SWANA.

Miri's (2017) study delves into the visual representation of children in Sasanian rock reliefs, a dynasty that ruled Iran from 224 to 651 CE, known as the 2nd Persian Empire. The Sasanian Empire is notable for its sophisticated art, architecture, and the formalization of Zoroastrianism as the state religion, which deeply influenced societal values and cultural practices. The study uncovers depictions of children primarily in scenes of royal significance, highlighting their high social status within Sasanian society. Children, often of royal lineage, are portrayed in various ceremonial contexts, such as investitures and parades, indicating their prominent roles and the importance of lineage. Specifically, the research discusses children depicted alongside figures like Ardashir I, Shapur I, and Narseh, identifying them as either royal children or individuals with significant societal standing, based on their positioning and symbolism in the reliefs. This exploration into the iconography of children provides insights into their perceived roles and the importance of lineage and status in Sasanian art, contributing to a broader understanding of societal structures and cultural valuations of youth in historical contexts. However, it is important to note that Miri does not address the depiction or roles of ordinary children in her study, focusing instead on those of notable social or royal status.

Wheeler et al.'s (2018) study on the Kellis 2 cemetery in Egypt is particularly relevant and valuable because it offers a rare glimpse into the health, social status, and burial practices of children in ancient Egypt. The bioarchaeological analysis of children's remains at this site illuminates the complex ways in which early Christian communities in Egypt valued their young, reflecting broader cultural and social perceptions of childhood. By examining aspects such as burial treatment and health-related care, the study highlights the nuanced attention given to children within the Kellis community, regardless of their age or health status. This detailed focus

on children enriches our understanding of ancient Egyptian society by revealing how children were integrated and valued within their communities, offering insights into their daily lives, health, and the social and cultural factors that influenced their treatment in life and death.

Sivan's (2022) examination of the history of childhood in antiquity, incorporating perspectives from biblical and ancient Near Eastern sources, provides a thorough insight into the cultural perceptions, societal roles, and developmental experiences of children in these ancient contexts. However, it's noteworthy that this work does not specifically delve into children in archaeology in SWANA.

Henriksen Garroway's (2012) analysis offers a groundbreaking look at how ancient Israelite society began the gendering process of infants and children during the Middle Bronze II and Second Temple periods. This work highlights the nuanced way in which society differentiated between infants, viewed as genderless or "other," and children aged 3-12 years, who were in the process of being gendered.  Henriksen Garroway (2012) uses mortuary contexts to illustrate these distinctions, revealing a societal tension in the representation of children's gender. Such insights contribute to the broader discourse on the understanding of childhood and gender in ancient societies, illustrating how archaeological evidence can shed light on complex social processes like gendering from an early age. This contribution is particularly valuable in illuminating the societal and cultural constructs surrounding gender and childhood in the ancient Near East, offering a richer, more nuanced understanding of these concepts in historical contexts.

Kharobi's (2014) study provides an in-depth analysis of child burials in ancient Urkesh (Tell Mozan, Northeastern Syria) during the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1600 BC), offering insights into the social status of children through their mortuary practices. By examining burial types—jar burials, earth pits, and built chamber tombs—Kharobi illustrates how children were given distinct funerary treatments from adults, reflecting their unique roles within society. This differentiation in burial practices, from the exclusive use of jar burials for children under seven to the construction of complex earth pits and elaborate tombs for older children, underscores the cultural significance attached to children in Urkesh. The study's findings highlight the societal recognition of children's special status, providing a clearer understanding of the ancient society's structure and values. This contextual framework, revealing how ancient communities valued their young and integrated them into their mortuary traditions, directly feeds into the broader discourse on children in archaeology by illustrating the importance of considering children's specific roles and treatments in archaeological investigations.

## Cross-Cultural and Theoretical Contributions

The following paragraphs highlight the significant cross-cultural and theoretical insights into understanding children in archaeology. Baldwin's (1998) review of "Children in the Muslim Middle East" by Elizabeth Warnock Fernea provides a broad yet insightful perspective into the lives of children in the Muslim Middle East, focusing on their experiences within the context of changing societal dynamics in post-colonial contexts. The review appreciates Fernea's exploration into how demographic shifts, urbanization, industrialization, mass communications, and formal education shape the lives of children in these regions. Baldwin highlights the book's contribution to understanding the rate and quality of societal change through the lens of

children's lives, emphasizing gender and family relations' significance in cultural and academic discourse. Despite its broad scope, Baldwin notes the review does not delve into children's archaeological aspects across the wider Middle East. This omission leaves room for further exploration into how these societal changes are reflected in the archaeological record of children's lives and cultural practices in these rapidly evolving societies.

Perry's (2008) study sheds light on the bioarchaeology of childhood in the Byzantine Near East, providing insights into the lives of children through a case study from this region. The research emphasizes the importance of understanding the biological and social stages of childhood that can be linked to socially defined age grades, such as weaning and puberty. By examining mortuary contexts and employing bioarchaeological data, Perry highlights the diverse ways children were viewed and treated within ancient societies. This approach not only enhances our understanding of childhood in antiquity but also underscores the significance of integrating biological evidence with social interpretations in archaeological studies of children. The insights from Perry’s work are valuable for broadening our comprehension of childhood's complex roles and meanings in past cultures, making it relevant to the study of children in archaeology beyond just the SWANA.

April Nowell (2021) emphasizes in her book that children, like adults, are not merely passive inheritors of biological and cultural legacies but actively shape what is learned through changes in their cognitive development and their proactive pursuit of knowledge. This perspective is elaborated within the framework of Niche Construction Theory, which regards organisms, including humans, as active agents in their own evolution. By modifying their environments and, consequently, the selection pressures acting on them and others, children contribute

significantly to the evolutionary processes that define human development and cultural transmission. For example, she points to fossilized footprints of children near riverbeds, suggesting that children were actively involved in hunting or gathering activities, learning survival skills through direct participation in these tasks, and modifying their environment in ways that influenced social dynamics and food acquisition strategies.

While Lillehammer's (2010) paper does not directly address children in archaeology within SWANA, its global perspective provides valuable insights into the broader cultural and social factors influencing childhood experiences. For instance, Lillehammer's examination of childhood from a global standpoint may shed light on universal themes such as the development of social structures, familial relationships, and educational practices that could be relevant to understanding children's archaeological contexts in SWANA.

Building on these perspectives, North American archaeology has undergone a significant shift from a focus on material culture and typological classification to more socially conscious and human-centered approaches. Theoretical frameworks such as processual archaeology, which emphasized scientific methods and objectivity in the mid-20th century, gradually gave way to post-processual archaeology in the 1980s (Verhagen & Whitley, 2011). This shift highlighted the importance of understanding cultural context, individual agency, and the social meanings ascribed to artifacts (Witmore, 2021). Additionally, movements like Indigenous archaeology have brought more inclusive methodologies, prioritizing underrepresented groups such as women and children (Nicholas, 2008). However, these approaches remain limited in regions like Iran, where the study of children in archaeology has been relatively underdeveloped (Baxter, 2005).

Despite the emergence of child-centered archaeological studies in other regions, there remains a substantial gap in the archaeology of children in Iran. This gap is particularly evident in the work of North American archaeologists, who have largely overlooked children's perspectives in Iranian contexts. This underscores the importance of my research questions, which seek to understand to what extent children have been underrepresented in Iranian archaeology and how a deeper engagement with their material culture could contribute to more comprehensive archaeological narratives. The integration of child-focused archaeology not only enriches our understanding of the past but also aligns with broader global trends toward more inclusive and representative historical narratives.

## Feminist and Decolonizing Archaeology

Feminist archaeology has made significant contributions to making women and children in the past more visible. Feminist scholars have worked to address the erasure of women’s and children’s roles in historical narratives, critiquing the male-dominated perspectives that have shaped the discipline. For example, Heitman (2016) discusses how feminist science has influenced archaeological interpretations in Chacoan archaeology, critically examining how women’s and, indirectly, children's roles have been overlooked in the archaeological record. This highlights the importance of recognizing gender and age dynamics in archaeological narratives and reflects the broader influence of feminist thought on the field.

Additionally, feminist archaeology has reshaped how knowledge is produced within the discipline. Blackmore (2015) argues that feminist perspectives encourage a critical engagement with claims to objectivity, advocating for reflexivity in archaeological practice. This reflexive

approach is crucial in acknowledging the biases that shape archaeological interpretations and in fostering a more nuanced understanding of the past. Feminist critiques also extend to the authorship and representation in archaeology, as Bardolph's (2014) intersectional study reveals. While men still dominate authorship in archaeological journals, the representation of women has improved, showing a gradual shift towards inclusivity. However, studies on children in archaeological literature remain limited, which mirrors similar gaps in gender research.

In the article "Gender in Archaeology and Gender Archaeology," Nazif, Vahdati Nasab, and Mohammadhani (2022) emphasize how gender archaeology critically examines the construction and representation of gender roles and identities in archaeological contexts. Their study highlights how the subfield seeks to uncover the historical roles of various genders in past societies, moving beyond traditional male-centric narratives. The authors also discuss the challenges faced by gender archaeology in Iran, particularly the persistence of patriarchal frameworks in archaeological interpretation and the need for greater collaboration between gender studies and archaeology, particularly in recognizing the roles of children alongside women.

Feminist scholars have also focused on intersectionality, recognizing that gender cannot be understood in isolation. Voss (2000) explores how feminist archaeology intersects with queer theory, broadening the scope of inquiry into human sexuality and challenging traditional narratives that often overlook diverse experiences, including those of children.

In the context of Iranian archaeology, feminist critiques are particularly relevant as they highlight the underdeveloped study of women and children, reflecting broader challenges in

applying feminist theories in non-Western contexts. The intersection of feminist archaeology with local cultural narratives is crucial for addressing these gaps. For instance, the work of Çakici and Meriç (2023) discusses how the representation of women in Iranian cinema has evolved, illustrating the societal constructs that influence perceptions of femininity. While their focus is on cinematic portrayals, these representations offer insight into broader cultural narratives and societal values, which are important when interpreting the past. These same constructs that shape the depiction of women in media may also reflect how women and children were perceived and represented in historical contexts. Understanding these societal frameworks in modern media can provide archaeologists with a cultural lens through which to analyze gender and age roles in historical archaeological records, informing interpretations of how women and children contributed to ancient Iranian societies.

Moreover, feminist archaeology emphasizes the need to investigate the roles of children, who are often underrepresented in archaeological research. The lack of focus on children's experiences in past societies reflects broader gaps in archaeological methodologies, which have traditionally centered on adults, particularly male figures. Feminist scholars argue that children were not merely passive recipients of culture but active participants in social and economic life. By analyzing material culture, burial practices, and even children's toys, archaeologists can uncover the significant roles that children played in shaping their communities and transmitting cultural knowledge. Studies like those of Diamantopoulou and Christidou (2018) offer insight into how children's perspectives can be integrated into archaeological research, revealing a more complex and inclusive view of ancient societies.

The concept of decolonizing archaeology is also crucial in this discourse, as it re-examines how knowledge is produced and advocates for research that includes the perspectives of local communities. This approach aligns with the findings of Menaker (2023), which emphasize the importance of building trust with descendant communities and engaging in the co-production of knowledge. Such collaborative efforts can lead to a more socially just and equitable representation of history, particularly regarding the roles of women and children in Iranian archaeological narratives. Decolonizing archaeology helps challenge the traditional focus on monumental and adult-centered archaeology, instead pushing for a more inclusive narrative that fully incorporates the lives and contributions of children. By recognizing children as agents, this approach reshapes how archaeologists interpret social structures and everyday life in ancient Iran.

Additionally, feminist critiques have pointed out that while there has been some progress in recognizing women's contributions in various fields, including archaeology, the representation of children remains limited. The work of Diamantopoulou and Christidou (2018) explores children's perspectives in archaeological contexts, highlighting a significant gap in understanding their roles and experiences in historical narratives. Children's interactions with their environment, as seen through their tools, toys, and spatial movement within settlements, offer a unique perspective on social organization and cultural transmission. Integrating these aspects into Iranian archaeology will not only fill a scholarly gap but also offer a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural and social fabric of ancient societies.

The integration of feminist and decolonizing principles in Iranian archaeology would not only address the underrepresentation of women and children but also foster a more inclusive

approach to the study of Iran's cultural heritage. These frameworks encourage archaeologists to critically examine their own biases and assumptions, ensuring that their work reflects the diverse experiences of all members of ancient societies. By incorporating these perspectives, Iranian archaeology can move towards a more comprehensive understanding of the past, one that is equitable and representative of the rich cultural and social landscapes of ancient Iran.

# Chapter III: Materials and Methods

## Research Design

In this study, I employ a scoping review to thoroughly investigate the existing literature on children in archaeological contexts, with a specific focus on SWANA and particularly Iran. I chose this methodological approach due to its capability to explore the breadth of research available, crucial for understanding the complex nature of archaeological studies involving children. Scoping reviews are particularly beneficial as they help to systematically map out the current research landscape, assess the coverage of the topic, and identify any significant gaps in the literature (Tricco et al., 2018). This method is well-suited for my research questions, as it allows for a comprehensive analysis of the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran, the factors contributing to the underrepresentation of the archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists, and the potential contributions that could arise from a deeper engagement. By utilizing a scoping review, I can effectively answer these questions and highlight areas for further study. Furthermore, scoping reviews are instrumental in guiding subsequent research endeavors by providing a clear outline of underexplored areas (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). This method involves defining precise research questions, conducting extensive searches for relevant studies, selecting pertinent articles, and organizing data meticulously. This comprehensive approach is especially pertinent given that publications on children in Iranian archaeological studies are exceedingly rare, especially in English, with only two articles identified thus far. Through this scoping review

methodology used, I provide a thorough overview, identify critical knowledge gaps, and suggest potential directions for future research in this underrepresented area.

The PCC framework, which stands for population, concept, and context, is suggested as a tool to develop precise and meaningful goals and criteria for eligibility in a scoping review (Pollock et al., 2023). To explore the neglect of children in Iranian archaeology by both Iranian and North American archaeologists, the refined research questions using the PCC (Population/Concept/Context) framework are as follows:

Population (P):

What has been the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran?

This question targets North American archaeologists, who have historically been significant contributors to Iranian archaeology, especially in the mid-20th century. While European archaeologists were pioneers in the field, American practices have crucially shaped its theories and methodologies (Meltzer, 1985). Despite the localized nature of Iranian archaeology, American methods have heavily influenced its scientific approaches (Meltzer, 1985).

Context (C):

What factors have contributed to the underrepresentation of the archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists?

This question addresses the context or circumstances surrounding the study, specifically the situational, systemic, or environmental factors that lead to the underrepresentation of a specific

area in archaeology. It aims to uncover contextual barriers or challenges, which aligns it with the "Context" component of the PCC framework.

Concept (C):

What potential contributions could arise from a deeper engagement by North American archaeologists with the archaeology of children in Iran?

This question examines the concept or theoretical implications of North American archaeologists engaging more deeply with an archaeology of children in Iran. It explores the potential intellectual or practical contributions that such engagement could bring to the field.

**Phase 1: Iranian Literature Search**

To begin my research (phase 1), I closely examined recent Iranian archaeological literature to explore the extent to which North American archaeologists have engaged with children's archaeology in Iran. Since Iranian scholars produce the bulk of research on local archaeology, understanding the regional context is critical for assessing gaps that North American archaeologists might be contributing to or neglecting. By analyzing the local scholarship, I aimed to identify areas where North American perspectives are missing or underrepresented. This comparison between local and foreign approaches helps reveal whether North American archaeologists are addressing or overlooking the archaeology of children in Iran. This led me to review key publications in a prominent Farsi archaeological journal, highlighting current trends and significant gaps in research.

I chose 'Archaeological Research of Iran,'[2] a well-regarded Farsi-language journal based in Iran and examined four consecutive volumes published from 2018 to 2020. Each volume contained twelve articles, totaling 48 papers. I reviewed the abstracts of these articles and organized their contents using Excel, classifying them by different subjects as displayed in Table 1. This process helped identify prevalent research themes and gaps within the literature.

*Table 1*

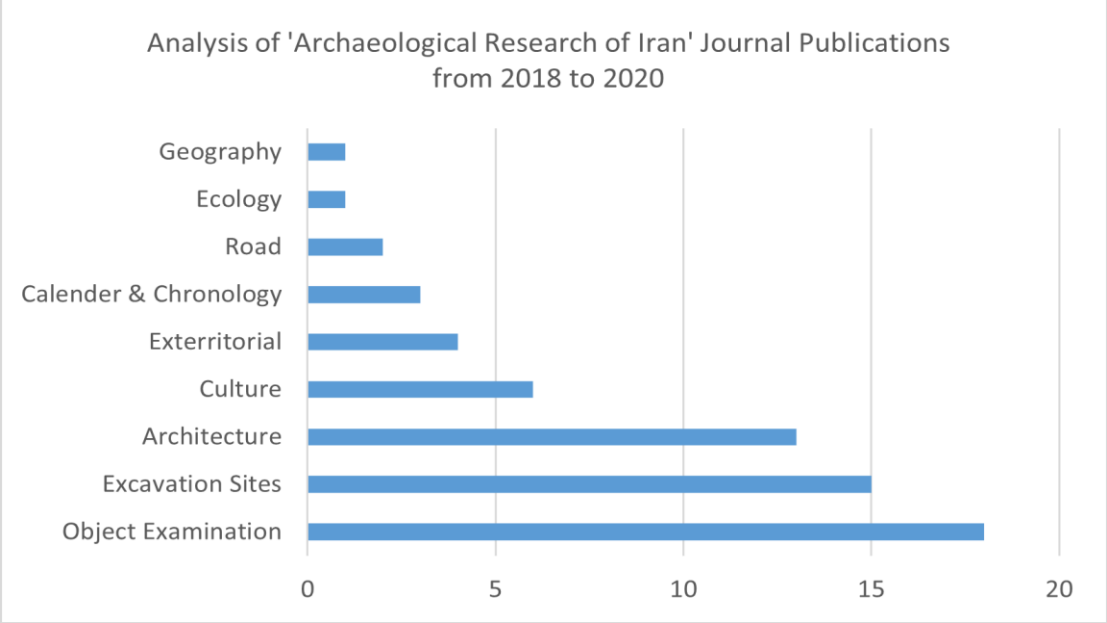



**Table 1.** Analysis of 'Archaeological Research of Iran' Journal Publications from 2018 to 2020

The analysis of the categorized data from the selected articles indicates that Iranian archaeologists predominantly focus on tangible artifacts like pottery and coins, as well as on excavation sites and architecture. In contrast, areas like human-environment interactions, chronological studies, and sociocultural-economic relationships receive less attention. The

[2] پژوهش‌های باستان شناسی ایران
https://nbsh.basu.ac.ir

subjects of the articles often overlap, with some covering multiple themes. For instance, out of the forty-eight articles reviewed, sixty-three instances of these varied topics emerged. Notably, only nine articles touched on eleven human-related subjects, as previously defined, while a substantial fifty-two instances related to "objects" were discussed across thirty-nine articles. The examination reveals a significant omission of topics related to gender, feminism, and the study of children. Despite reviewing four consecutive volumes, none of the articles explicitly addressed these critical areas, highlighting a substantial gap in the scholarly focus within Iranian archaeology. This absence indicates a broader systemic reluctance or oversight in integrating gender studies and child-centric research into the archaeological discourse in Iran. In other words, archaeology in Iran leans toward studying objects rather than exploring human aspects. Iranian archaeologists traditionally prefer tangible and visible things like pottery, architecture, and site explorations. There seems to be less emphasis on revealing the nuanced human relationships that these objects might indicate. Notably, the articles examined do not specifically reference women and children. This trend is somewhat different from what I have observed during my three years living and studying in Canada.

In Canadian academic circles, there is a notable shift in archaeology towards a greater emphasis on social aspects, particularly focusing on the human narratives and relationships that artifacts represent. This evolving perspective highlights the roles and experiences of marginalized groups, including women and children, which have historically been overlooked in archaeological discourse. The emergence of Indigenous archaeology, which advocates for practices conducted "by, with, and for" Indigenous communities, has been a significant factor in this transformation, challenging traditional Western methodologies that often neglect social

dimensions in archaeological findings (Kelvin & Hodgetts, 2020). This broader perspective aims to provide a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of past societies. Such an approach is particularly relevant in the context of Iranian archaeology, where similar colonial legacies exist and where the study of marginalized groups like women and children remains underdeveloped. By adopting this more inclusive framework, archaeologists in Iran could ensure that their work benefits the communities they study and reflects a more holistic view of the past.

The evident gap in scholarly focus within Iranian archaeology, particularly concerning gender, feminism, and the study of children, prompted the need for a more comprehensive exploration. After examining Iranian archaeological literature, I realized I needed to better understand the state of North American archaeological literature on Iran to fully grasp the extent of the issue, considering the outsized influence of North American scholars. This realization led to the pilot study described next, which served as phase 2 of my research and laid the groundwork for the subsequent scoping review.

### Phase 2: Pilot Study English Language Literature Search

In the pilot study for the scoping review, I selected 100 articles from a diverse range of sources, including academic libraries, Google Scholar, and grey literature repositories, with a particular focus on North American literature. These sources spanned books, reviews, chapters, and theses, selected *without regard to publication year*. My selection criteria extended beyond mere keywords like "children" and "archaeology" to include the relevance of the articles' concepts. For example, Bob Dawe's article "Tiny Arrowheads: Toys in the Toolkit" (1997), which

posits that small arrowheads found at archaeological sites might be children's toys, was chosen for its conceptual relevance, despite not featuring the specific keywords. This illustrates the importance of content and concept over titles in my primary selection process.

In this phase, I included all relevant authors and works, regardless of whether they fully aligned with the specific criteria later defined for North American authors (detailed on next phase). This approach ensured a comprehensive exploration of the field and allowed for a broad understanding of the various contributions to the archaeology of children. By casting a wide net in the pilot study, I aimed to identify a diverse range of perspectives and methodologies, which were then further refined in subsequent phases of the review.

The pilot study demonstrated the feasibility of the scoping review's methodology and allowed me to refine the inclusion criteria and search strategy, ensuring they were effectively tailored to capture the most relevant and insightful studies. By focusing on abstracts, I could quickly assess the relevance of each article, which helped streamline the selection process. This preliminary exploration was crucial in confirming that the methodology I planned to employ was suitable for a comprehensive review focused on children's roles in archaeology, thereby setting a solid foundation for the broader scoping review on North American archaeologists' writing about children in Iran.

### Phase 3: Main Study Scoping Review Selection Process

After the pilot study, I established four primary filters for further article selection to align with the objectives of the scoping review. These filters include authors' conditions, keywords,

publication year, and information sources. My objectives, as stated earlier, were to investigate the following research questions:

1. What has been the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran?
2. What factors have contributed to the underrepresentation of the archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists?
3. What potential contributions could arise from a deeper engagement by North American archaeologists with the archaeology of children in Iran?

To comprehensively address the disengagement of North American archaeologists in the study of children in Iranian archaeology, specific inclusion criteria were established to identify relevant literature. The criteria are as follows:

*Author Affiliation*: The first, second, or multiple authors should either be born or residing in North America, and/or have collaborated with North American archaeologists in a group article during their academic career. The collaborating North American archaeologist should meet at least one of the following criteria: having an academic background that includes studying or teaching in North America, or having published in American journals, including books, hardcopy, e-books, and online formats.

*Academic Background*: The author must have studied or taught in North America at any point in their academic career.

*Publications in American Journals*: The author should have published in American journals, including books, hardcopy, e-books, and online formats, even if they had no other connection to North America.

To ensure these criteria were met, I thoroughly reviewed the academic resumes and biographies of each author. This meticulous approach guaranteed that the selected articles accurately reflected the contributions and perspectives of North American archaeologists. By examining each author's background, I captured the breadth of North American influence and provided a framework for understanding how their methodologies and theoretical approaches have shaped Iranian archaeology, particularly in the study – or lack of study – of children. This analysis offers deeper insight into the engagement and impact of North American archaeologists in this field.

My keyword refinement began with an initial screening based on titles and abstracts, using "children" and "archaeology" as key search terms. To achieve more precise results, additional keywords such as "archaeologist(s)," "child," "childhood," "infant(s)," and "kid(s)" were included. Articles were sourced from the University of Manitoba Libraries and Google Scholar, ensuring a wide-ranging and comprehensive initial pool. The subsequent full-text review assessed each article's methodology and its direct relevance to the theme of children's roles within archaeological studies. This approach aimed to establish a solid research foundation built on insightful and pertinent scholarly works, highlighting the unique contributions and perspectives within the emerging field of an archaeology of children.

Articles from the period 2000-2023 were selected to maintain the research's relevance and timeliness. This period captures the most recent advancements in methodologies, theoretical frameworks, and archaeological findings concerning children. The search was primarily conducted in English, as it is the predominant language for academic publications in this field and aligns with my language proficiency, ensuring a thorough analysis of the literature.

Information sources for the review included academic journals, conference proceedings, doctoral theses, and archaeological reports specifically from North America and Iran. These regions were focal points of the search criteria to provide a comparative analysis of methodologies and focus areas. Efforts were also made to access grey literature to avoid potential publication bias, ensuring a comprehensive review of the available data.

The content focus was on children’s roles and representation in archaeology, with a geographical scope covering Iran and, for comparative purposes, North America. This comparison is crucial because North American archaeological practices often emphasize inclusive approaches, providing a contrast to the relatively underexplored domain of children's archaeology in Iran. It helps highlight gaps and potential areas for development in Iranian archaeological studies.

Initially, the search yielded 100 articles during the pilot study, encompassing a broad range of topics within children's archaeology. Through a thorough screening process, which included evaluating the relevance of each article's focus and methodology, the list was narrowed down to 26 articles. These selected articles were those most pertinent to the study's objectives,

specifically addressing the roles and representation of children in archaeological contexts within the defined geographical scope.

### Exclusion Criteria

To maintain focus and relevance, the selection process excluded literature based on the following criteria: authors' conditions, scope of content, relevance to archaeology, publication date, database accessibility, and keyword relevance. Articles that did not meet the author conditions, such as those not connected to North American archaeologists by birth, residency, or academic collaboration, were excluded. Articles that primarily focused on adults or women alongside children, without a specific emphasis on children in archaeology, were excluded. This allowed for a clearer focus on the archaeology of children. Publications not directly related to archaeological studies, such as those solely addressing modern child education, were omitted to maintain the focus on an archaeology of children. Articles published before the year 2000 were excluded to ensure the research's timeliness and to gauge the emergence of the archaeology of children as a distinct field. Only articles accessible through the specified databases were included to guarantee the reproducibility and accessibility of the research process. Additionally, articles that did not meet the author conditions were also excluded. Finally, articles whose titles did not contain the relevant keywords were not considered.

### Search Strategy

A comprehensive search strategy deployed a combination of keywords and controlled vocabulary specific to the research domain. Utilizing Google Scholar and the University of Manitoba Libraries, access was gained to a broad array of databases including JSTOR, Academic

Search Premier (EBSCOhost), AnthroSource, and CRKN Elsevier Additional Journals, ensuring a wide-ranging review of literature. This multifaceted approach facilitated the thorough exploration of both global and specialized research relevant to children in archaeology, particularly focusing on SWANA and Iran, thereby maximizing the potential for discovering pertinent studies across diverse academic fields.

### Numerical and Qualitative Analysis

To analyze the collected data, I employed both Basic Numerical Analysis and Qualitative Analysis techniques.

A Numerical Analysis provided a detailed examination of the distribution and frequency of topics, geographical locations, and historical periods in the selected articles. This analysis informed prevailing trends, major themes, and potential research gaps in the field of an archaeology of children. It was instrumental in visualizing the scope of existing research and pinpointing areas that require more thorough investigation.

A Qualitative Analysis delved deep into the content of the articles, evaluating the approaches to children's roles in past societies, the theoretical frameworks used, and the interpretations of archaeological findings. This analysis scrutinized the methodologies applied across studies, the narrative on children's contributions to their communities, and the contextualization of these contributions within broader archaeological and historical narratives. Through a critical examination of underlying assumptions and biases, as well as the diversity of perspectives in the literature, this qualitative approach enhanced the understanding of the complexities and multifaceted nature of an archaeology of children.

## Synthesizing and Reporting the Findings of the Scoping Review

In the discussion in Chapter IV, I synthesize findings from the detailed analysis of what became my 26 selected articles. This stage crucially integrates insights drawn from the Basic Numerical Analysis and Qualitative Analysis, focusing on the representation and roles of children in archaeological studies. This step condenses a comprehensive scoping review into a cohesive and focused overview and discussion, highlighting key themes, methodologies, and frameworks from diverse contexts. It maps out current research trends and identifies gaps, advocating for broader perspectives in archaeology that enrich our understanding of children's historical roles. This sets the groundwork for advocating the study of children's roles in past and contemporary societies. Appendix 1 offers a detailed breakdown of the 26 selected articles, providing an organized overview of their content and key findings.

## Study Limitations

This study, while comprehensive in its approach, is subject to several limitations that warrant careful consideration. Firstly, language barriers present a notable challenge. The focus on English-language articles may have inadvertently excluded significant research published in other languages, particularly Farsi, potentially overlooking valuable insights into children's archaeological studies in Iran and beyond. This linguistic limitation underscores the need for broader linguistic inclusivity in future research endeavors to ensure a more comprehensive global perspective.

Additionally, the selection of specific keywords, such as "children" and "archaeology," aimed to manage the scope of research effectively. However, this decision also posed a limitation, as it

may have excluded relevant studies that did not explicitly use these terms. Identifying a single English-language article by Negin Miri in 2017, which focuses on "children" but not explicitly on "archaeology," highlights a key methodological challenge. This classification decision illuminates the potential limitations of using narrowly defined keywords for literature search and selection. It demonstrates the importance of a more inclusive search strategy that can capture relevant studies even if they do not directly mention all the predefined keywords. Future research should consider using both single and multiple keyword searches to create more exhaustive lists of relevant studies.

The decision to focus on articles published from 2000 onwards also introduces a limitation by potentially omitting foundational studies or seminal works in the archaeology of children that predate this period. This temporal boundary was chosen to align the study with the most recent two decades of research, reflecting the aim to capture contemporary trends and discussions in the field. However, it's important to recognize that this approach may exclude early influential works that laid the groundwork for current understandings and methodologies in the archaeology of children. This decision is further justified by the observation that the surge in studies on children in archaeology began around 2005, making articles before 2000 relatively rare. This supports the rationale behind excluding these earlier works.

Furthermore, while the focus on North American archaeologists was not explicitly included as a separate keyword in the search criteria, the selection of English-language publications inherently emphasized research produced within this academic context. North American archaeologists were highlighted in the research questions due to their significant contributions to the field and the prevalence of English-language publications. This focus was reflected in the

selection of sources and the literature reviewed, which predominantly included works from North American authors and institutions. Clarifying this aspect is essential, as it links the emphasis on North American archaeologists in the research questions to the practical aspects of the literature search and selection process.

While this study has made strides in highlighting the neglect of children's archaeological studies in Iran, acknowledging these challenges lays the groundwork for future research that is more inclusive, comprehensive, and reflective of the global and historical breadth of children's roles in archaeological contexts. Future studies with less constraints than the current one should aim to address these limitations by including a wider range of languages, broader search terms, and a more extended temporal scope to provide a more thorough understanding of the field.

# Chapter IV: Results

Before delving into the discussion of the 26 specific articles, it is important to note that a comprehensive list of the articles reviewed in this chapter is provided in the appendix. This appendix includes detailed bibliographic information of each article, allowing for easy reference and further reading. Throughout this chapter, these articles will be referred to in numerical order to provide clearer context and enhance the readability of the discussion. For instance, instead of using the full article name and some other details, I will reference the articles by a numbered hyperlink, such as "article 1." This method not only acknowledges the contributions of the researchers but also situates each study within its specific academic and historical context, facilitating a more nuanced analysis.

As mentioned in Chapter III, the initial collection of 100 articles in my Phase 3, Main Study Scoping Review Selection Process, using the inclusion and exclusion criteria, was narrowed down to 26 articles closely aligned with the study's focus on children in archaeological contexts. This extensive search strategy provided a solid basis for investigating the landscape of an archaeology of children in SWANA and more specifically Iran. It also allowed for a detailed analysis of North American archaeologists' involvement in this field. In exploring the outcomes of this strategy, I address the core questions of this thesis: the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists, the factors contributing to the underrepresentation of an archaeology of children in Iran, and their potential contributions if further explored.

The pilot study gathered articles and publications without initial consideration for their publication year. However, subsequent organization by year (Table 2) revealed a marked

increase in focus on children's archaeological studies beginning in 2005. This surge aligns with the establishment of the 'Society for the Study of Children in the Past' (SSCIP)3 in 2005, a significant milestone for the field that has fostered and expanded research in child studies within archaeology (Cardoso, 2006).

Considering the findings from the pilot study regarding publication years, it is evident that a significant volume of studies pertaining to children in archaeology were published after the year 2000. Therefore, this scoping review study selects the span from 2000 to 2023 (23 years) to focus on the availability of publications concerning children in archaeology in North America. This timeframe corresponds with the notable increase in scholarly attention towards the subject (Table 2).

*Table 2*

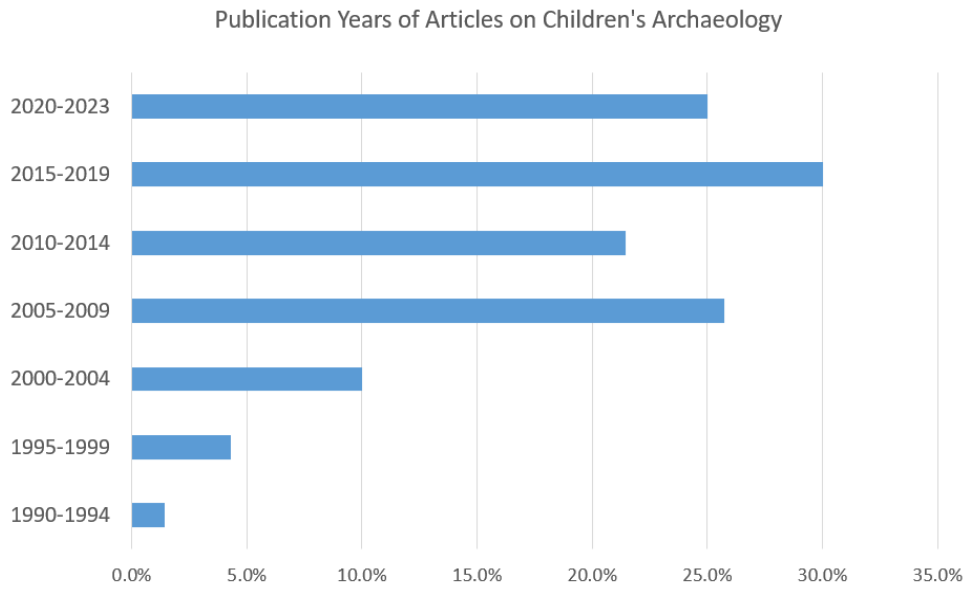



**Table 2.** Publication Years of Articles on the Archaeology of Children Identified in the Pilot Study

[3] http: //www.sscip.org.uk

In the following sections, I will discuss the core themes identified across the selected articles, which include concepts, context, geography, historical area, and the specific attention given to children by the authors. By outlining the similarities and differences among these studies, I will highlight unique approaches, such as the application of archaeology to contemporary issues, and pinpoint gaps in the current research. These articles were introduced in Appendix 1, which outlines each study's key aspects. This synthesis aims to consolidate knowledge about children's roles in archaeology and suggest future research avenues, thereby enriching the field's narrative.

## Concept

### Similarities Across the Articles

The core similarities across the articles, as detailed in Table 3, focus on understanding children's lives, roles, and experiences in historical contexts through archaeology. Many articles emphasize the bioarchaeology of childhood, particularly through the study of children's skeletal remains to infer their health, diet, and social status (Articles 1, 2). Additionally, there is a consistent integration of both biological and social perspectives in interpreting children's lives in antiquity (Articles 2, 3). Some articles apply archaeological methods to contemporary issues involving children, such as migration, demonstrating the relevance of these studies beyond historical contexts (Article 4). Another key similarity is the emphasis on education, highlighting how archaeology can benefit children and the broader public through its incorporation into educational programs (Articles 5, 6, 12, 14, 16). Finally, a few articles focus on children's agency and contributions within their communities, particularly in cultural transmission and innovation, showcasing their active roles in shaping their societies (Articles 11, 15, 17, 24).

**Different Approach**

Article 4 stands out as it discusses Nicole Smith's (2019) involvement in the Undocumented Migration Project, focusing on child migrants. This article emphasizes the use of archaeology to study contemporary social processes, diverging from the more common historical or prehistorical focus of the other articles. This approach is interesting because it showcases the potential of archaeology to contribute to understanding modern societal issues, offering a unique intersection between the past and present.

**Concepts Missed/Neglected**

While the articles cover a broad spectrum of themes related to children in archaeology, a few gaps or less emphasized areas can be identified. One area is the detailed examination of children's psychological development and its reflection in the archaeological record. For instance, the complexity of toys or the inclusion of specific items in children's burials could provide insights into ancient societies' understanding and support of developmental stages. While Article 19 touches on Freud's notion of play, a more comprehensive exploration of psychological and cognitive aspects of childhood in historical contexts seems underrepresented. Another gap is the issue of child slavery, including both sexual and labor slavery, and its impact on children's lives in historical contexts. Understanding the roles and treatment of enslaved children in different cultures could provide critical insights into the darker aspects of childhood in history, including how societies justified and managed child labor, sexual exploitation, and slavery.

Additionally, the impact of environmental changes and their direct effects on children's lives and survival strategies, as exemplified in the Donner Party tragedy beyond the specific case in Article 8, is underexplored. The children in the Donner Party were integral to the group's survival efforts, assisting in gathering firewood, maintaining camps, and foraging for food. As supplies dwindled, the children, like the adults, faced extreme starvation, and many succumbed to malnutrition and cold. Comparative studies across different geographical regions also appear underrepresented. While some articles focus on specific cultures or regions, such as prehistoric Huron society in Article 11, a broader comparative approach could reveal universal versus culturally specific aspects of childhood. Finally, in-depth analysis of the impact of childhood diseases and their treatments in antiquity is limited. Beyond the general discussion of paleopathological indicators, conditions like scurvy and rickets in children could provide crucial insights into the socio-economic conditions and dietary practices of past populations, as well as the long-term effects of early-life stress on population health, as discussed in Article 1.

**Additional Parameters: Interdisciplinary Approaches**

The integration of interdisciplinary methods in studying the archaeology of children appears to be a strong underlying theme. Combining archaeological evidence with insights from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and education (Articles 5, 6, 12, 14, 16, 25) enriches the understanding of children's roles in past societies. However, further exploration of interdisciplinary approaches, particularly incorporating modern technological advances in archaeology and related fields such as employing bioinformatics for genetic studies or virtual reality for reconstructing ancient environments, could offer new insights into the lives of children in antiquity and enhance the visibility of children in archaeological narratives.

*Table 3*

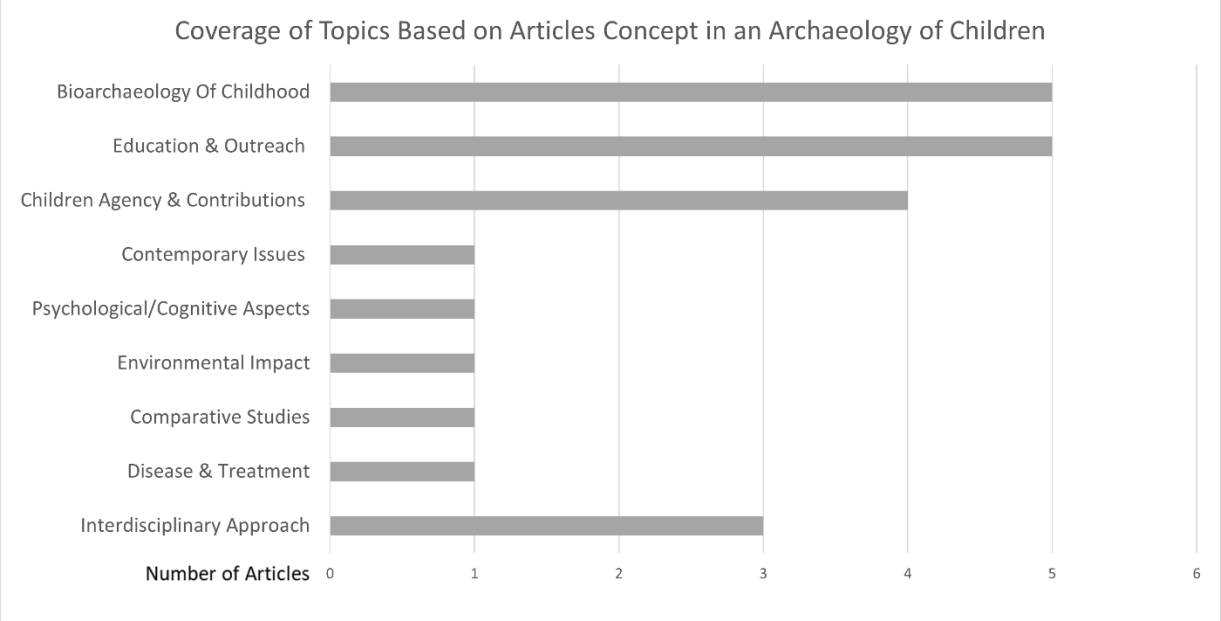



**Table 3.** Coverage of topics based on articles' concepts in an archaeology of children.

## Context

### Similarities Across the Articles

A common thread across several articles, as outlined in Table 4, is the emphasis on methodological and theoretical advancements in the study of children through archaeology (Articles 1, 3, 20, 21, 24). These advancements facilitate a deeper understanding of children's roles in past societies, highlighting the importance of both bioarchaeological analysis and the interpretation of material culture.

Many articles highlight children's active participation in their societies, from creating archaeological records (Article 2) to their involvement in cultural practices such as ceramic production (Article 11) and their roles in innovation and adaptation (Article 17).

A significant number of articles also discuss the integration of archaeology into educational settings and public outreach (Articles 5, 6, 12, 14, 16), indicating a growing recognition of the value of archaeology in education and the development of children's understanding of history and culture.

There is also a different approach (Article 4) that ties archaeology to contemporary social issues, which focuses on child migrants crossing the Mexico-U.S. border. This real-world application of archaeological methods to understand modern challenges stands out as an innovative and impactful area of research.

While the articles cover a wide range of topics, certain areas appear to be less emphasized or potentially overlooked. One of these is the in-depth analysis of environmental impacts, specifically how direct environmental changes affected children's lives and how these effects are reflected archaeologically, which seems underexplored. Additionally, there is a gap in exploring children's psychological and cognitive development through archaeological evidence. Beyond Article 19's discussion of Freud's notion of play, this aspect remains relatively underexamined. Lastly, while some articles address specific geographic or cultural contexts, broader comparative and cross-cultural studies are limited. A more extensive comparative approach could help highlight universal versus culturally specific aspects of childhood across different regions and cultures.

The visibility of children in archaeological narratives and the challenge of overcoming their historical marginalization is a recurrent theme (Articles 22, 23, 26). This underscores the need for a more inclusive archaeology that recognizes children's contributions and experiences.

*Table 4*

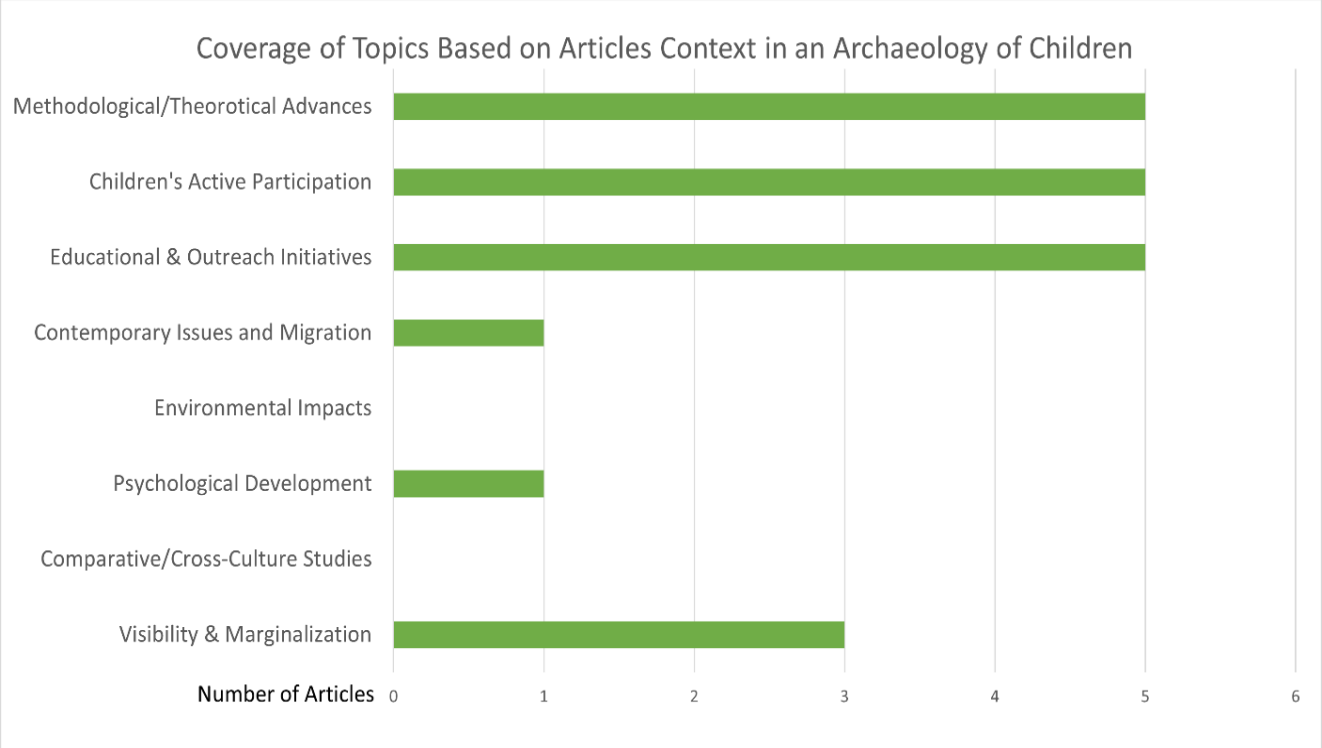



**Table 4.** Coverage of topics based on articles' contexts in an archaeology of children.

## Geography

The geographical analysis of the selected articles, as detailed in Table 5, reveals diverse perspectives and regional focuses, highlighting various trends and biases in the archaeology of children. Several articles adopt a global perspective, emphasizing the universality of childhood in archaeological studies without confining their analysis to a specific region (Articles 1, 7, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25). This approach underlines the recognition of children's roles across different cultures and time periods. There is also a notable focus on Western European contexts, particularly highlighted by bibliometric analyses of publications (Article 1), suggesting a strong

research tradition in these areas but also hinting at potential biases or gaps in the representation of other regions. North American studies, including those in the United States (Articles 8, 10, 15, 24) and Canada (Articles 11, 14), showcase a variety of themes, ranging from urban environments and indigenous societies to specific historical events like the Donner Party tragedy. Additionally, articles provide insights into regions such as the Byzantine Near East (Article 2) and African populations (Article 18), enriching the field with diverse cultural and historical contexts. Research in specific countries or regions like Norway (Article 6), Slovenia (Article 16), and Australia (Article 14) further illustrates the local application of archaeological methods to understand children's lives and contributions. The emphasis on expanding geographic research within the field of the archaeology of children highlights the need to address regional biases, as Western Europe and North America dominate research, often excluding other regions. This tendency limits the global understanding of ancient societies and underscores the critical need for diversifying research to include underrepresented areas. The articles collectively suggest a balance between local case studies and global overviews, advocating for research that can integrate findings from specific geographic areas into broader theoretical frameworks. The geographical diversity also reflects a variety of research focuses, from urban environments and contemporary issues to historical and prehistoric societies, indicating the field's wide-ranging interests and applications.

*Table 5*

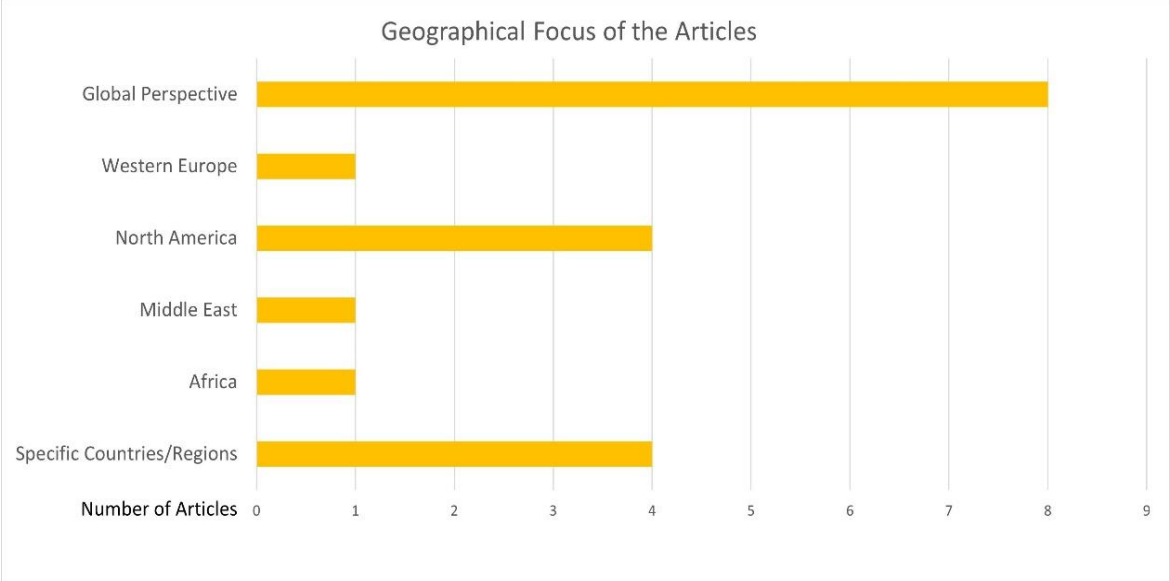



**Table 5.** Geographical focus of the articles.

## Historical Area

The historical scope of the reviewed articles, as detailed in Table 6, illustrates a wide-ranging exploration of childhood, spanning from prehistoric times to contemporary issues. This diversity showcases the field's versatility in addressing both ancient and modern contexts. Several articles take a broad, cross-temporal approach, examining the archaeology of children from a non-specific historical perspective. These studies emphasize the field's applicability across various time periods and cultures, reflecting an increasing interest in childhood as a universal aspect of human societies, transcending specific historical contexts (Articles 1, 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26). Some articles also address contemporary issues, such as undocumented migration (Article 4) and the evolving role of archaeology in education over recent decades (Articles 5, 12), demonstrating the relevance of archaeological insights to modern societal challenges and educational practices.

Focusing on prehistoric and ancient societies, articles about prehistoric Huron society (Article 11) and foraging societies (Article 18) delve into the roles and experiences of children in early human communities. These studies highlight how children's contributions were integral to the survival and cultural development of these groups. The medieval period (Article 6) and the 19th century (Articles 8, 24) are also explored, offering insights into children's lives during these eras through archaeological evidence, particularly focusing on how children's roles evolved alongside broader societal changes. Article 2 provides a unique exploration of childhood in the Byzantine Near East through the lens of bioarchaeology, shedding light on children's health, social status, and daily activities in this historical period.

Additionally, the development of psychoanalytic theory, especially Freud's work on play, is explored within its historical context (Article 19), bridging archaeology, psychology, and history. The inclusion of both modern and historical perspectives throughout these studies highlights the dynamic nature of the field, illustrating how archaeological methods can be applied to both past and present contexts to deepen our understanding of childhood.

The temporal diversity observed in the articles is influenced by several factors, including the preservation and accessibility of archaeological sites, contemporary scholarly interests, and funding availability. These elements often direct research toward certain eras, in line with prevailing academic trends. Recognizing and addressing these biases is essential for achieving a more comprehensive understanding of childhood throughout history. While a wide range of periods is covered in the literature, there is room for further exploration, particularly in underrepresented time periods and regions. Expanding research into these areas would provide a more nuanced and complete picture of childhood across different historical contexts.

*Table 6*

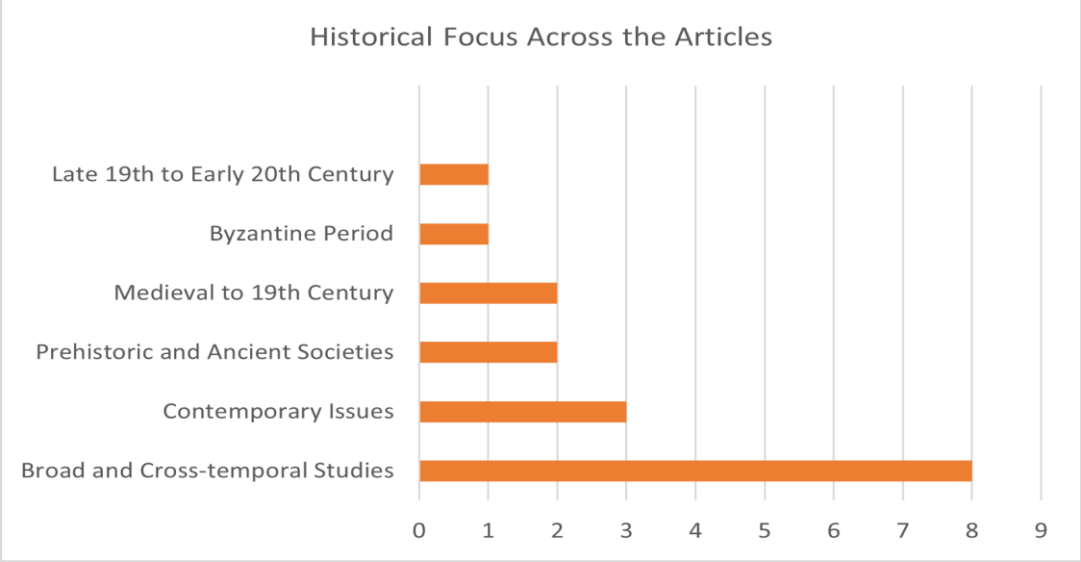



**Table 6.** Historical focus of the articles.

## Authors' Specific Attention to Children

Analyzing the authors' Specific Attention to Children across these articles reveals a multifaceted engagement with the topic, demonstrating the authors' commitment to integrating children into archaeological narratives and methodologies. The following is a synthesis of their approaches. For detailed numbers and a comprehensive summary of these findings, please refer to Table 7.

A dominant theme across many articles is the recognition of children as active participants in their societies. Authors advocate for acknowledging children's social, economic, and cultural agency, challenging traditional views of children as mere passive recipients of adult culture (Articles 1, 2, 3, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25). This includes emphasizing children's contributions to cultural practices, innovation, and societal change.

Authors critically engage with and contribute to methodological and theoretical advancements in the field of childhood archaeology. This includes advocating for a life course approach, integrating bioarchaeological data with cultural contexts, and emphasizing interdisciplinary approaches to understand children's roles in past societies (Articles 1, 2, 3, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23). The emphasis is on improving how archaeological research interprets children's remains and artifacts to offer a more comprehensive view of past societies.

Several articles focus on the importance of archaeology education for children, outlining various initiatives designed to engage young learners through interactive and hands-on activities. These efforts aim to make archaeology accessible and relevant to children, integrating it into school curricula and extracurricular activities, thereby fostering a deeper appreciation of heritage from an early age (Articles 5, 6, 12, 16).

Some authors explore the experiences of children in specific historical or contemporary contexts, such as child migrants (Article 4), Donner Party survivors (Article 8), and psychoanalytic interpretations of children's play (Article 19). These studies highlight the importance of including children's perspectives and experiences to fully understand societal dynamics and historical events.

The authors call for a re-evaluation of archaeological practices to include children more comprehensively in research narratives, moving beyond traditional adult-centric perspectives. This includes addressing methodological challenges, expanding theoretical frameworks, and advocating for the inclusion of children's perspectives and spaces in archaeological and heritage management (Articles 21, 22, 23, 26).

*Table 7*

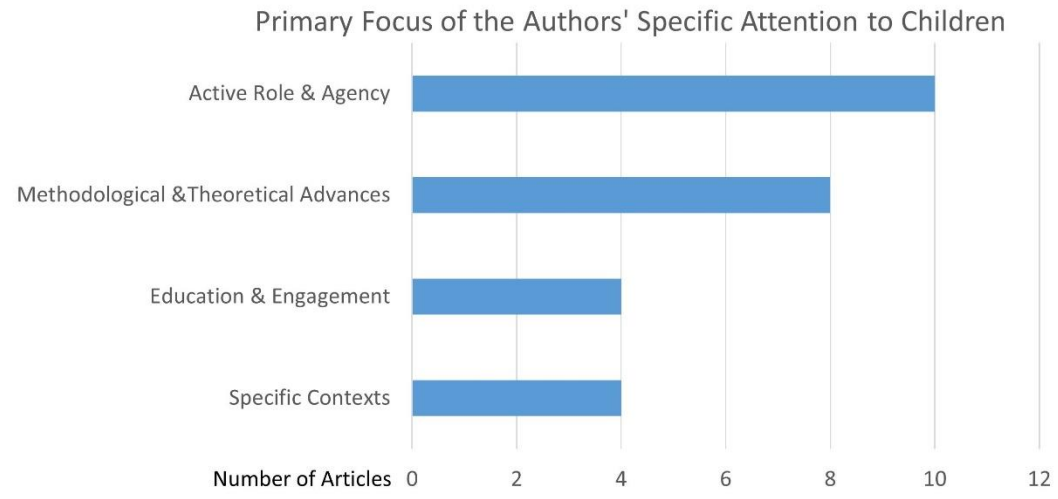



**Table 7.** Primary focus of the authors' specific attention to children.

# Chapter V: Discussion

## Overview of the Discussion

The primary aim of this chapter is to discuss the findings of this study in relation to the three central research questions. I will first present an overview of the historical context of archaeology in Iran, exploring the contributions of North American archaeologists. I will then examine the factors that have contributed to the underrepresentation of children in archaeology in Iran. Finally, I will explore the potential contributions of a more focused archaeology of children in Iran.

## Historical Context and Disengagement by North American Archaeologists

**Research Question:** What has been the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran?

To understand the current state of archaeological research in Iran, it is essential to explore its historical context. The evolution of archaeology in Iran, from its 19th-century beginnings to the present, has been shaped by various socio-political influences. This historical overview will help explain why certain groups, such as women and children, have been overlooked in archaeological studies, setting the stage for a more focused discussion on these neglected areas.

### History of Archaeology in Iran

The history of archaeological exploration in Iran took off in the 19th century with European efforts, notably French excavations at Susa by Marcel Dieulafoy in 1884. Initially fueled by the

quest for Persian treasures, these early digs were pivotal in unveiling Iran's ancient civilizations and laying the groundwork for future archaeological methods (Nasiri-Moghaddam, 2004).

By the early 20th century, archaeology in Iran advanced with the establishment of systematic practices and the 1930 Antiquities Law. This law regulated archaeological activities, protected antiquities, and prevented the export of cultural artifacts, ensuring the preservation of Iran's rich cultural heritage within the country. Influenced by Iran’s Constitutional Revolution, a movement that sought to establish a parliamentary system and modernize the country, this era saw significant discoveries by international archaeologists like Ernst Herzfeld, particularly at sites like Persepolis, placing Iran’s archaeological progress in a global context (Shahmirzadi, 2004). The Constitutional Revolution played a crucial role in fostering a sense of national identity and an appreciation for cultural heritage, which in turn influenced the development of archaeological practices.

Post-1979 Islamic Revolution, Iran's archaeological field saw major shifts, focusing on national control over cultural heritage amid political tensions. The Islamic Revolution led to the establishment of the Islamic Republic, which brought significant changes to Iran's political, social, and cultural landscape. The creation of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization in 1985 marked a commitment to archaeology despite challenges like the Iran-Iraq war, maintaining crucial research and conservation (Mousavi, 2013).

Recently, Iran's archaeology has seen a resurgence characterized by enhanced international cooperation and national support, which are essential for addressing modern challenges while preserving its rich historical tapestry (Lasaponara et al., 2017). These efforts aim to enrich the

understanding of Iran's cultural significance on a global scale, thereby enhancing both academic and public appreciation of its heritage. Modern challenges, such as balancing preservation efforts with urban development and mitigating the impact of climate change on vulnerable archaeological sites, require innovative solutions and collaborative approaches. For instance, remote sensing technologies have been applied to monitor risks and manage archaeological landscapes, helping to safeguard these invaluable sites for future generations (Lasaponara et al., 2017; Pourkerman et al., 2018).

Beneath the soil, in caves, and in the archaeological trenches of Iran, extraordinary finds have been made. One of the most notable discoveries is the golden cup of Hasanlu, dating back to approximately 1200 BC, which reflects the advanced craftsmanship of the Late Bronze Age (de Gruchy et al., 2021). Additionally, the excavation of six salt men from the Parthian and Sasanian Dynasties in the salt mines of Zanjan has provided remarkable insights into the burial practices and daily life of these ancient peoples (Karamian et al., 2018). More recently, the discovery of a Neanderthal child's tooth, aged 9 to 10 years and dating back approximately 170,000 years, in the Ghaleh Kord cave in Qazvin, central Iran, offers a significant contribution to the study of human evolution in the region (Niknami et al., 2013; Djamali et al., 2017).

These finds not only underscore Iran's vast potential for archaeological research but also highlight its pivotal role in the annals of human history. They provide invaluable insights into ancient civilizations and prehistoric life, demonstrating the complex layers of human evolution and cultural development preserved within the region.

In the realm of Iranian archaeology, despite significant achievements, notable structural weaknesses persist, as highlighted by several experts in the field. Saeedi & Chaychi Amirkhiz (2012) critically reflect on the discipline's history, noting that despite 150 years of archaeological activities and nearly eight decades of academic presence, the field has not achieved meaningful results or demonstrated efforts toward significant improvement. Similarly, Yadollahi & Yalvaee (2011) argue that Iranian archaeology has not yet developed a unique methodology, even after many years of practice.

Zare (1999) points out another shortfall, emphasizing the lack of interdisciplinary communication which is crucial for advancing research and integrating diverse scientific perspectives. Moreover, Garajian (2008) describes archaeology in Iran as an 'imported science' that struggles to connect with various social strata and cultural layers. Lastly, Afkhami and colleagues (2016) raise ethical concerns, criticizing the prevalent sense of ownership that many Iranian archaeologists feel over their sites. They advocate for a view of cultural heritage that recognizes it as belonging to all Iranians, across all epochs, urging that it be accessible for diverse scholarly analysis.

In this thesis, I do not delve into the theoretical structures of Iranian archaeology or discuss its strengths and weaknesses in detail. The issues mentioned are only to provide a general overview of current archaeological practice in Iran. However, what follows will explore aspects related to the topic of studying children in Iranian archaeology.

The historical context of Iranian archaeology, traditionally focused on monumental structures, object-oriented discoveries, and human remains and burial studies, contrasts sharply with the

sensitive and less explored domain of cultural archaeology, particularly in the study of children's remains. Exploring these remains highlights the ethical and communal challenges unique to archaeological practices in Iran, especially those involving children.

Given this context, I decided to look closely at recent archaeological literature to see if these broader issues around cultural and ethical practices, especially in the study of children, are being addressed in Iran's academic output. This led me to review key publications in a prominent archaeological journal, helping to spotlight the current trends and significant gaps in research. Through this review, I aimed to understand how Iranian archaeologists are engaging with topics such as the archaeology of children, gender, and ethical practices within their work.

In my Ethics in Archaeology course at the University of Manitoba, I was introduced to the concept of 'over-research,' an ethical issue in scientific inquiry. Over-research occurs when extensive research activities bring no benefit to the host community, a situation often linked to large-scale projects by foreign researchers (Marwick, 2020). This can lead to 'ethics dumping,' where research practices exploit local communities for the benefit of external researchers without providing reciprocal value or benefits. While Iran does not face this directly due to restrictions on foreign researchers operating independently within the country, the field of archaeology in Iran is still significantly impacted by its historical context.

Archaeology in Iran, initially influenced by foreign institutions, began with significant French and American contributions in the early 20th century. French archaeological missions, initiated in the 1930s, and concurrent efforts by the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, were driven by a quest for valuable artifacts, often prioritizing material wealth over ethnographic and

human insights. This approach not only established a Euro-American centric framework but also entrenched a methodological focus that largely overlooked the social dynamics and everyday lives of ancient populations, especially vulnerable groups like women and children. The legacy of these early interventions, predominantly shaped by colonial interests linked to the acquisition of artifacts for Western museums and collections, such as the Louvre's Persian antiquities, the Oriental Institute's Persepolis artifacts, and the Pergamon Museum's collection of ancient Iranian objects, continues to influence Iranian archaeology, raising substantial ethical and scholarly concerns.

Today, many Iranian researchers continue to follow the trajectory set by these Western influences, leading to the neglect of human-focused studies in their work. This persistence of object-centric research means that critical areas, such as the archaeology of women and children, remain underexplored. Such a narrow focus, initially shaped by external Euro-American influences, fails to address the full spectrum of Iran's rich cultural heritage and diverse historical experiences. This situation can be considered a continuation of colonial practices, as it perpetuates a framework that marginalizes local perspectives and needs.

To effectively decolonize Iranian archaeology while involving North American archaeologists, a collaborative approach must be established, balancing both internal and external contributions. The process of decolonization should primarily be driven by Iranian scholars, who possess the cultural and historical insights necessary to redefine the field's narrative. This involves prioritizing the study of underrepresented groups, such as Iranian women and children, and shifting away from the traditional focus on monumental and material culture. North American archaeologists, who have historically played a significant role in shaping Iranian archaeology, can

support this process by providing access to new theoretical frameworks and methodologies that emphasize inclusivity and the importance of diverse perspectives (Meltzer, 1985). Their involvement reflects a broader trend in international archaeological collaborations, which have historically enriched the field by introducing refined research approaches and fostering new directions in archaeological studies (Hicks, 2005; Rubertone, 2000). However, it is crucial that these collaborations are conducted with sensitivity to the local context and are guided by the needs and priorities set by Iranian scholars. By drawing on the strengths of both North American and Iranian archaeological knowledge, this partnership can facilitate a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of Iran's rich cultural heritage, ensuring that all societal members are represented in archaeological narratives. This dual approach not only enhances the field's academic rigor but also contributes to a more inclusive and representative portrayal of Iran's historical and prehistorical communities.

The issue of neglecting an archaeology of children in Iran, along with the question of whether repatriation of Iranian artifacts from Euro-American collections could assist, underscores the need for a more inclusive and representative approach in Iranian archaeology. Shifting the research focus to include a more comprehensive understanding of the past, particularly by incorporating the contributions and experiences of Iranian women and children, would provide a fuller picture of historical and prehistorical communities. By embracing this broader perspective, Iranian archaeology can offer a richer and more accurate narrative of the country’s cultural heritage, ultimately benefiting Iran and its people through a deeper and more holistic understanding of their history.

The development of Iranian archaeology has been significantly influenced by early Euro-American expeditions and the Western perspectives they introduced. These influences prioritized monumental and object-centric discoveries, often at the expense of understanding everyday life, including the roles of women and children. The early focus on collecting valuable artifacts shaped contemporary Iranian archaeological practices, which continue to reflect these biases. To address these imbalances, there is a growing need for decolonization within the field. This involves re-evaluating research priorities, incorporating Iranian perspectives and researchers, and emphasizing the importance of studying all societal members, particularly historically neglected groups such as women and children. Decolonizing Iranian archaeology can lead to more inclusive and comprehensive interpretations of Iran's rich cultural heritage. Notably, there are no specific references or citations on this topic, highlighting a significant gap in the literature. As noted by Dezhamkhooy & Papoli-Yazdi (2020), the archaeology of the contemporary past in Iran, particularly concerning politically sensitive events, requires careful consideration and methodological adaptation. This underscores the urgent need for archaeologists to engage with the socio-political context of their work, ensuring that their research is not only academically rigorous but also socially responsible. This observation is based on my personal experiences as a student in Iran and my participation in two excavation seasons in Shiraz, underscoring the need for further research and scholarly attention in this area.

Ultimately, a deeper engagement by North American archaeologists could significantly enrich the field by filling these gaps and fostering a more comprehensive understanding of Iranian archaeology. However, the process of decolonization must be led by Iranian scholars, as it

involves reclaiming and redefining our own cultural heritage and narratives. While North American archaeologists can contribute by sharing decolonizing approaches and methodologies, it is essential that the initiative comes from within Iran to truly reflect the perspectives and experiences of those who have been historically marginalized in the field. Addressing these historical and methodological biases is essential for the progression of the field and the inclusion of all societal members, particularly Iranian women and children, in archaeological narratives.

Here I have addressed my research question concerning the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran. Through a detailed historical overview and analysis, I conclude that while there have been notable contributions, there is significant disengagement, and thus a significant need for a more focused approach on children within this field.

The examination of the historical context reveals a complex interplay of influences that have shaped archaeological practices in Iran, from early European interventions to modern ethical and methodological shifts. Despite progress, the engagement by North American archaeologists has often overlooked the nuanced needs of child-related studies in Iran, underscoring the necessity for a decolonized and culturally sensitive approach.

As we move forward, it is crucial for Iranian scholars to lead efforts in redefining archaeological narratives to include all societal members, particularly children. North American archaeologists can contribute valuable perspectives and methods, provided these collaborations are conducted equitably and align with Iran’s local research priorities.

By addressing these challenges and focusing more comprehensively on children's roles in archaeological narratives, we can enhance the inclusivity and depth of Iranian archaeology, contributing not only to national but also to global scholarly discussions on cultural heritage and archaeology.

## Factors Contributing to Underrepresentation

**Research Question:** What factors have contributed to the underrepresentation of the archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists?

Several factors have contributed to the underrepresentation of an archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists. For the most part, traditional archaeological narratives have prioritized adult-centric and elite-focused studies, often neglecting the contributions of children. These theoretical biases stem from historical perspectives that valued monumental and material culture over social and familial structures. Another challenge is the significant methodological challenges around the identification and interpretation of children's remains and artifacts. Children's bones are more fragile and less likely to endure, and their artifacts are often misclassified or overlooked. Additionally, excavation methods may not be sufficiently refined to detect smaller, child-related items.

Political tensions and restrictions on foreign research in Iran have also limited the opportunities for collaboration and the exchange of knowledge and methodologies. This has resulted in fewer international projects focused on the archaeology of children and less exposure to innovative approaches that could be applied in Iran. Furthermore, the limited funding and resources for archaeological research in Iran have further restricted the focus on underrepresented groups,

including children. Financial constraints often prioritize projects with immediate and tangible outcomes, such as the excavation of monumental sites, over those that may require more nuanced and long-term investigation.

To address these gaps, it is essential to re-evaluate research priorities and methodologies. Emphasizing the importance of an archaeology of children can lead to a more balanced and comprehensive understanding of past societies. Collaborative efforts between Iranian and North American archaeologists can help overcome geopolitical and economic barriers, fostering a more inclusive approach to archaeological research in Iran. The underrepresentation of the archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists presents both challenges and opportunities. By addressing these theoretical, methodological, geopolitical, and economic factors, the archaeological community can achieve a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of past societies, including the vital roles played by children. This approach not only enriches the field of archaeology but also contributes to a more inclusive historical narrative.

The insights gained from this study underscore the importance of including children in archaeological research. Interdisciplinary collaboration, methodological innovations, and a re-evaluation of research priorities are essential to bridge the existing gaps and advance the field of the archaeology of children in Iran. By doing so, North American archaeologists can significantly contribute to a more inclusive and representative understanding of Iran's rich cultural heritage.

## Potential Contributions

**Research Question:** What potential contributions could arise from a deeper engagement by North American archaeologists with the archaeology of children in Iran?

Deeper engagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran could lead to several significant contributions. Including children in archaeological studies can provide insights into family structures, socialization processes, and the daily lives of past communities, revealing the social dynamics and cultural practices that shaped ancient Iranian societies. Studying children's artifacts, such as toys and educational tools, can offer a more nuanced understanding of cultural transmission and intergenerational learning. These perspectives can enrich our understanding of how knowledge, skills, and cultural values were passed down through generations.

Focusing on the archaeology of children can also drive the development of new methodologies for identifying and interpreting children's remains and artifacts. This includes advanced bioarchaeological techniques, improved excavation methods, and innovative analytical frameworks that can be applied to other archaeological contexts as well. Engaging with the archaeology of children encourages interdisciplinary collaboration, drawing on insights from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and education to enrich archaeological interpretations. This multidisciplinary approach can lead to more comprehensive and holistic understandings of past societies.

The literature review highlighted the importance of the archaeology of children in understanding socialization processes in prehistoric Huron society (Milks et al., 2021) and the

contributions of children to cultural practices in various historical contexts. These examples underscore the potential for similar contributions in the context of Iranian archaeology.

By incorporating these perspectives, North American archaeologists can contribute to a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of Iranian history and culture. This deeper engagement can also foster stronger international collaborations and promote the sharing of knowledge and expertise between Iranian and North American researchers. Ultimately, this approach can lead to a richer and more nuanced interpretation of the archaeological record, benefiting both academic scholarship and public understanding of Iran's cultural heritage. While international collaboration plays an important role, such efforts must be driven internally by Iranian scholars to ensure that the research reflects the local context and the diverse experiences of all members of ancient societies. Empowering Iranian researchers to take the lead in these initiatives can help bridge existing research gaps and ensure that archaeological narratives represent an authentic understanding of Iran's past. This internal leadership, coupled with external support, can further enhance the global appreciation of Iran's cultural and historical legacy.

# Chapter VI: Conclusion

The neglect of the archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists presents both a challenge and an opportunity. Addressing this gap necessitates a concerted effort to broaden the scope of archaeological inquiry, integrate diverse perspectives, and foster international and interdisciplinary collaborations. By doing so, the archaeological community can achieve a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of past societies, including the vital roles played by children. This approach not only enriches the field of archaeology but also contributes to a more inclusive historical narrative that acknowledges the significance of all societal members (Johansson, 2019).

**Research Question 1: What has been the extent of disengagement by North American archaeologists in the archaeology of children in Iran?**

In addressing the disengagement of North American archaeologists with the archaeology of children in Iran, it becomes evident that while contributions have been significant, they have often fallen short in specifically addressing the complexities of childhood in the archaeological record. The historical narrative, influenced by both colonial legacies and modern methodologies, has shaped a field where significant gaps in child-focused research persist. These gaps highlight the ongoing need for approaches that prioritize the nuanced experiences of children within Iran's rich archaeological context.

To effectively bridge these gaps, it is imperative that future endeavors not only continue but actively expand upon the collaborative efforts between Iranian scholars and their North American counterparts. Such collaborations should strive for a balance of perspectives, ensuring

that they are driven by local needs and insights to foster a more inclusive understanding of Iran's archaeological heritage.

By deepening the focus on children, these partnerships can contribute to a more comprehensive and representative narrative, enriching the global archaeological community and enhancing our understanding of historical human societies. In North America, the increase in studies on children has largely been driven by the growing presence of women in archaeology, who have introduced new perspectives and prioritized underrepresented groups, such as children, in their research. In contrast, while Iran has a significant number of women archaeologists, very few have focused on studies related to gender and children by today. Increasing the involvement of women in Iranian archaeology, particularly in these areas, could similarly drive a more inclusive approach to studying marginalized groups, such as children, within the country's rich archaeological record.

**Research Question 2: What factors have contributed to the underrepresentation of archaeology of children in Iran by North American archaeologists?**

Several factors have contributed to the underrepresentation of archaeology of children in Iran. These factors include theoretical biases, methodological challenges, geopolitical constraints, and economic factors. Addressing these factors requires re-evaluating research priorities, refining excavation methods, fostering international collaborations, and securing funding for more inclusive research projects. The historical and methodological biases that have shaped the field of Iranian archaeology necessitate a decolonized approach, emphasizing the inclusion of children's perspectives to achieve a more balanced and inclusive narrative.

**Research Question 3: What potential contributions could arise from a deeper engagement by North American archaeologists with an archaeology of children in Iran?**

Deeper engagement by North American archaeologists could lead to several significant contributions. North American archaeology often emphasizes theoretical approaches that focus on social aspects, such as the roles and experiences of marginalized groups, including children. In contrast, traditional Iranian archaeology has historically concentrated more on monumental and material culture, often overlooking these social dimensions. These include enhanced understanding of social structures, broader cultural perspectives, methodological innovations, and interdisciplinary collaboration. By studying children's artifacts and remains, archaeologists can gain insights into family dynamics, socialization processes, and cultural transmission in ancient Iranian societies. This can enrich the archaeological narrative and provide a more inclusive understanding of Iran's rich cultural heritage.

The comprehensive analysis of the "concept," "contexts," "geography," "historic," and "authors' attention to children" across a diverse range of articles highlights the multifaceted nature of the possibilities within archaeology of children. This field, while rich in methodological and theoretical advancements, reveals significant gaps in geographical and historical coverage, particularly in the context of Iran. The review underscores the pivotal role of children in understanding the socio-cultural dynamics of past societies and emphasizes the need for their inclusion in archaeological narratives. The emphasis on children as active agents in their societies challenges traditional archaeological narratives and opens new avenues for understanding human societies' complexity (Lew-Levy et al., 2017).

In the case of Iran, the potential for expanding the archaeology of children is vast and largely untapped by North American, or any, archaeologists. The insights gained from the reviewed articles strongly suggest that incorporating the study of children can provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of Iranian past societies, from family life and socialization processes to economic and cultural practices. However, the observed lack of focused attention on children in the archaeological record of Iran, like the broader global context, indicates a significant area where improvement is needed. Interdisciplinary efforts, methodological innovations, and a re-evaluation of research priorities are essential to bridge this gap. North American archaeologists can significantly contribute by integrating global advancements in an archaeology of children to reveal the lives of children in Iran's past, thus enriching both the field of Iranian archaeology and the inclusivity of historical narratives.

The field of archaeology of children in Iran remains an untapped reservoir that, if explored, could revolutionize our understanding of historical and prehistorical societies. Emphasizing the inclusion of children in archaeological narratives will unveil richer and more nuanced insights into past human experiences. By addressing the theoretical biases, methodological challenges, geopolitical constraints, and economic factors identified in this study, researchers can pave the way for more comprehensive and inclusive archaeological practices.

Ultimately, it is imperative for both North American and Iranian archaeologists, along with their international colleagues, to ensure that children are recognized within archaeological research. While Iranian scholars are uniquely positioned to lead these efforts due to their cultural and historical insights, the collaboration and support of North American archaeologists can bring new theoretical frameworks and methodologies that have been developed globally. This joint

effort can advance a broader and more inclusive archaeological record that acknowledges children's roles in shaping the cultural and social landscapes of ancient Iran. The integration of the archaeology of children into mainstream archaeological research not only enriches our understanding of the past but also fosters a more equitable approach to historical narratives, ensuring that the contributions of all societal members are acknowledged and valued.

**Literature Cited:**

Afkhami, B., Hariri, N., & Farokhi Eisvand, S. (2016). Ethics in archaeology: determination, discussion, and review of the theory and practice of ethics in archaeology of Iran. *Journal of Archaeological Studies*. https://doi.org/10.22059/jarcs.2016.59488

Arab, H., & Sardari Zarchi, A. (2022). *Tepe Poustchi*. Farhang Pars. (1st ed.).

Ardren, T. (2006). *The social experience of childhood in ancient Mesoamerica. University Press of Colorado*. ISBN: 0870818279.

Arksey, H., & O'Malley, L. (2005). Scoping studies: Towards a methodological framework. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory and Practice*, *8*(1), 19–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/1364557032000119616

Atalay, S. (2006). Indigenous archaeology as decolonizing practice. *The American Indian Quarterly*, *30*(3), 280-310. https://doi.org/10.1353/aiq.2006.0015

Baldwin, E. (1998). [Review of Children in the Muslim Middle East., by E. W. Fernea]. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *4*(1), 145–146. https://doi.org/10.2307/3034449

Bardolph, D. N. (2014). A critical evaluation of recent gendered publishing trends in American archaeology. *American Antiquity, 79*(3), 522-540. https://doi.org/10.7183/0002-7316.79.3.522

Barton, C. (2020). The archaeology of American childhood and adolescence. *Childhood in the Past*, *13*(1), 82-83. https://doi.org/10.1080/17585716.2020.1738631

Baxter, J. (2005). The archaeology of childhood: A global perspective. *World Archaeology, 37*(4), 495-510. https://doi.org/10.1080/00438240500302856

Baxter, J. E. (2008). Making space for children in archaeological interpretations. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, *15*(1), 77-88. https://doi.org/10.1525/ap3a.2005.15.77

Baxter, J. E. (2008). Introduction: The archaeology of childhood in context. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, *15*(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1525/ap3a.2005.15.1

Baxter, J. E. (2008). The archaeology of childhood. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *37*, 159-175. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.37.081407.085129

Blackmore, C. (2015). Feminist archaeology. *The International Encyclopedia of Human Sexuality*, 369-426. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118896877.wbiehs152

Bourbou, C. (1970). Too small to be noticed? Children mummies reveal their stories. *Journal of Biological Research - Bollettino Della Società Italiana Di Biologia Sperimentale*, *80*(1). https://doi.org/10.4081/jbr.2005.10186

Bugarin, F. T. (2008). Constructing an archaeology of children: Studying children and child material culture from the African past. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, *15*(1), 13–26. https://doi.org/10.1525/ap3a.2006.15.13

Burstein, R., Henry, N. J., Collison, M., Marczak, L. B., Sligar, A., Watson, S., … & Hay, S. I. (2019). Mapping 123 million neonatal, infant, and child deaths between 2000 and 2017. *Nature*, *574*(7778), 353-358. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-019-1545-0

Çakici, Z., & Meriç, E. (2023). Color, class, and gender: the social construction of women and beyond in Asghar Farhadi cinema. *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Elektronik Dergisi (e-Gifder)*, *11*(2), 23-45. https://doi.org/10.19145/e-gifder.1190696

Carbone, F. (2018). The highest purpose of archaeology - towards a future worthy of our children. *Global Journal of Archaeology & Anthropology*, *6*(4). https://dx.doi.org/10.19080/gjaa.2018.06.555693

Cardoso, H. (2006). Environmental effects on skeletal versus dental development: using a documented subadult skeletal sample to test a basic assumption in human osteological research. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *132*(2), 223-233. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.20482

Casana, J., & Laugier, E. J. (2017). Satellite imagery-based monitoring of archaeological site damage in the Syrian civil war. *PLOS ONE*, *12*(11), e0188589. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0188589

Close, A. E. (2010). Inherited social difference at the edges of flakes. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, *20*(3), 291-322. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0959774310000430

Conkey, M. and Gero, J. (1997). Programme to practice: gender and feminism in archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *26*(1), 411-437. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.26.1.411

Coşkunsu, G. (2015). Archaeology of children. In C. Smith (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (pp. 226-231). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-0465-2_288

Coward, F., & Howard-Jones, P. (2021). Exploring environmental influences on infant development and their potential role in processes of cultural transmission and long-term technological change. *Childhood in the Past*, *14*(2), 80-101. https://doi.org/10.1080/17585716.2021.1956057

Darabi, H., Richter, T., & Mortensen, P. (2018). New excavations at Tappeh Asiab, Kermanshah province, Iran. *Antiquity*, *92*(361). https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2018.3

Dawe, B. (1997). Tiny arrowheads: toys in the toolkit. *Plains Anthropologist*, *42*(161), 303–318. https://doi.org/10.1080/2052546.1997.11931825

Dezhamkhooy, M., & Papoli-Yazdi, L. (2020). Unfinished narratives: some remarks on the archaeology of the contemporary past in Iran. *Archaeological Dialogues*, *27*(1), 95-109. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1380203820000112

Diamantopoulou, S., & Christidou, D. (2018). Children's 'eye views' of an archaeological site: A multimodal social semiotic approach to children's drawings. *Museum and Society, 16*(3), 334-351. https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.v16i3.2793

Dixon, K. J., Novak, S. A., Robbins, G., Schablitsky, J. M., Scott, G. R., & Tasa, G. L. (2010). Men, women, and children starving: Archaeology of the Donner Family Camp. *American Antiquity*, *75*(3), 627–656. https://doi.org/10.7183/0002-7316.75.3.627

Djamali, M., Chaverdi, A. A., Balatti, S., Guibal, F., & Santelli, C. (2017). On the chronology and use of timber in the palaces and palace-like structures of the Sasanian Empire in 'Persis' (SW

Iran). *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, *12*, 134-141. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2017.01.030

Dozier, C. A. (2016). Finding children without toys: The archaeology of children at Shabbona grove, Illinois. *Childhood in the Past*, *9*(1), 58–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/17585716.2016.1161914

Ember, C. R., & Cunnar, C. M. (2015). Children's play and work: The relevance of cross-cultural ethnographic research for archaeologists. *Childhood in the Past*, *8*(2), 87-103. https://doi.org/10.1179/1758571615Z.00000000031

Fabjan, L., & Stipančić, P. (2019). Small steps into the past: Archaeology for young children at Dolenjska Museum, Novo Mesto, Slovenia. *Archaeologies*, *15*(1), 24–41. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11759-019-09360-z

Fernea, E. W. (1995). Childhood in the muslim Middle East. In E. W. FERNEA (Ed.), Children in the muslim Middle East (pp. 3–16). *University of Texas Press*. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7560/711334.6

Fouts, H. N., & Pfeiffer, J. (2018). Children in archaeology: Theoretical perspectives and future directions. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, *52*, 240-249.

Fowler, C. (2017). Ageism in archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, *27*(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959774317000610

Garajian, O. (2008). Less claims, more substance: a note on the first note of archaeology. *Archaeology*, *10*(16), 89-91.

Gosden, C. (2005). What do objects want? *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, *12*(3), 193-211. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-005-6928-x

Gowland, R., & Redfern, R. (2010). Childhood health in the roman world: Perspectives from the centre and margin of the empire. *Childhood in the Past*, *3*(1), 15-42. https://doi.org/10.1179/cip.2010.3.1.15

Gowland, R. L. (2014). Ideas of childhood in Roman Britain. *Oxford Handbooks Online*. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199697731.013.019

Gruchy, M., Jotheri, J., Alqaragholi, H., Al-Janabi, J., Alabdan, R., Al-Talaqani, H., Almamouri, G., & Al-Rubaye, H. (2021). The Khandaq Shapur: Defense, irrigation, boundary, frontier. *Land*, *10*(10), 1017. https://doi.org/10.3390/land10101017

Halcrow, S. E., & Tayles, N. (2008). The bioarchaeological investigation of childhood and social age: Problems and prospects. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, *15*(2), 190–215. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-008-9052-x

Halcrow, S. E., Warren, R., Kushnick, G., & Nowell, A. (2020). Care of infants in the past: Bridging evolutionary anthropological and bioarchaeological approaches. *Evolutionary Human Sciences*, 2. https://doi.org/10.1017/ehs.2020.46

Haughton, M. (2021). Seeing children in prehistory: A view from Bronze Age Ireland. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, *31*(3), 363-378. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0959774321000032

Hegmon, M. (2003). Setting theoretical egos aside: Issues and theory in North American archaeology. *American Antiquity*, *68*(2), 213-243. https://doi.org/10.2307/3557078

Heitman, C. (2016). “A mother for all the people”: Feminist science and Chacoan archaeology. *American Antiquity, 81*(3), 471-489. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0002731600003954

Henriksen Garroway, K. (2012). Gendered or ungendered? The perception of children in ancient Israel. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *71*(1), 95–114. https://doi.org/10.1086/664454

Hernández Álvarez, H. (2022). Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica childhoods. *Oxford Bibliographies in Childhood Studies*. https://doi: 10.1093/obo/9780199791231-0247

Hirschfeld, L. A. (2002). Why don't anthropologists like children? *American Anthropologist*, *104*(2), 611-627. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2002.104.2.611

Johansson, P. (2019). Historical enquiry in primary school: Teaching interpretation of archaeological artefacts from an intercultural perspective. *History Education Research Journal*, *16*(2). https://doi.org/10.18546/herj.16.2.07

Karamian, G., Farrokh, K., Kiapi, M. F., & Lojandi, H. N. (2018). Graves, crypts and Parthian weapons excavated from the gravesites of Vestemin. Historia I Świat, 7, 35-70. https://doi.org/10.34739/his.2018.07.03

Kamp, K. A. (2001). Where have all the children gone? The archaeology of childhood. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, *8*(1), 1–34. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1009562531188

Kamp, K. A. (2005). Dominant Discourses; Lived experiences: Studying the archaeology of children and childhood. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, *15*(1), 115–122. https://doi.org/10.1525/ap3a.2005.15.115

Kelvin, L. and Hodgetts, L. (2020). Unsettling archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, *44*(1), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.51270/44.1.1

Kharobi, A. (2014). The place of children in the ancient society of Urkesh (Tell Mozan, Northeastern Syria) in the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1600 BC): *An Anthropological Approach*.

Lamb, L., David, B., Barker, B., Pivoru, R., & Alex, C. (2019). Female weir fishers of the Southern lowlands of Papua New Guinea: Implications for an archaeology of gendered activities. *Australian Archaeology*, *85*(1), 48-56. https://doi.org/10.1080/03122417.2019.1613869

Lancy, D. F. (2015). *The anthropology of childhood: Cherubs, chattel, changelings*. Cambridge University Press.

Langley, M. C. (2017). Magdalenian children: Projectile points, portable art, and playthings. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, *37*(1), 3-24. https://doi.org/10.1111/ojoa.12128

Langley, M. C., & Litster, M. (2018). Is it ritual? Or is it children? Distinguishing consequences of play from ritual actions in the prehistoric archaeological record. *Current Anthropology*, *59*(5), 616–643. https://doi.org/10.1086/699837

Lasaponara, R., Murgante, B., Elfadaly, A., Qelichi, M. M., Shahraki, S. Z., Wafa, O., & Attia, W. (2017). Spatial open data for monitoring risks and preserving archaeological areas and landscape: Case studies at Kom el Shoqafa, Egypt and Shush, Iran. *Sustainability, 9*(4), 572. https://doi.org/10.3390/su9040572

Lenormand, M. (2019). The importance of not being Ernest: An archaeology of child's play in Freud's writings (and some implications for psychoanalytic theory and practice). *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, *100*(1), 52–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/00207578.2018.1489708

Lew-Levy, S., Reckin, R., Lavi, N., Cristóbal-Azkarate, J., & Ellis-Davies, K. (2017). How do hunter-gatherer children learn subsistence skills? *Human Nature*, *28*(4), 367-394. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12110-017-9302-2

Lillehammer, G. (2010). Archaeology of children. https://doi.org/10.5209/CMPL.29961

Lillehammer, G. (2013). Travels into third space: The archaeological heritage of children's spaces. A View from Beyond. *Childhood in the Past*, *5*(1), 7-19. https://doi.org/10.1179/cip.2012.5.1.7

Lillehammer, G. (2015). 25 years with the "child" and the archaeology of childhood. *Childhood in the Past*, *8*(2), 78–86. https://doi.org/10.1179/1758571615Z.00000000030

Lillehammer, G., & Olsen, B. (2016). Children and childhood in archaeological contexts. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, *16*(1), 3-21. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469605315616701

Marcus, M. I. (1993). Incorporating the body: Adornment, gender, and social identity in ancient Iran. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, *3*(2), 157-178. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0959774300000822

Marwick, B. (2020). Over-research and ethics dumping in international archaeology. *SPAFA Journal*, *4*. https://doi.org/10.26721/spafajournal.v4i0.625

Mather, K. (2015). Keeping CRM archaeology relevant: Presenting an archaeology of children and childhood in the past. *The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology*, *23*(1). https://doi.org/10.5206/uwoja.v23i1.8956

Mays, S., Gowland, R., Halcrow, S., & Murphy, E. (2017). Child bioarchaeology: Perspectives on the past 10 years. *Childhood in the Past*, *10*(1), 38–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/17585716.2017.1301066

Meltzer, D. (1985). North American archaeology and archaeologists, 1879-1934. *American Antiquity*, *50*(2), 249-260. https://doi.org/10.2307/280483

Menaker, A., Clark, W. H., Boyd, D. K., Franklin, M., Wright, H. C., & Hanselka, K. (2023). At the intersections of history. *Advances in Archaeological Practice, 11*(3), 328-340. https://doi.org/10.1017/aap.2023.15

Meriwether. M. (1999). A social history of women and gender in the modern Middle East. Boulder, Colo: Routledge.

Meskell, L. (2020). Imperialism, internationalism, and archaeology in the un/making of the Middle East. *American Anthropologist*, *122*(3), 554-567. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13413

Meyers, K. (2017). The archaeology of childhood: Children, material culture, and identity in the past. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *46*, 139-155. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.37.081407.085129

Milks, A., Lew-Levy, S., Lavi, N., Friesem, D. E., & Reckin, R. (2021). Hunter-gatherer children in the past: An archaeological review. https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/hz9a3

Miranda-Gómez, R., Báez, H. V. C., Némiga, X. A., & Dávila-Hernández, N. (2022). Geospatial integration in mapping pre-Hispanic settlements within Aztec empire limits. *Virtual Archaeology Review*, *13*(27), 49-65. https://doi.org/10.4995/var.2022.16106

Miri, N. (2017). Representation of children in Sasanian rock reliefs. *The International Journal of Humanities*, EIJH, *24*(3):67-80.

Moe, J. M. (2016). Archaeology education for children: Assessing effective learning. advances in archaeological practice. *A Journal of the Society of American Archaeology*, *4*(4), 441–453. https://doi.org/10.7183/2326-3768.4.4.441

Moore, A. M. T. (2005). The archaeology of plural and changing childhoods: Flexible identities in the past. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, *12*(2), 119-151. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-005-6928-7

Moreno Torres, S., & Márquez-Grant, N. (2016). Forty years of 'archaeology for children.' *AP Online Journal in Public Archaeology* (Madrid), *1*(2), 29–44. https://doi.org/10.23914/ap.v1i2.5

Morrone, A. (2020). Giving a voice to the little ones: The bioarchaeology of children in the Baltics. *Archaeologia Lituana*, *21*, 97-116. https://doi.org/10.15388/archlit.2019.21.6

Moshenska, G. (2012). Archaeologies of childhood: Theoretical approaches to childhood in the past. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology*, *1*(2), 209-227. https://doi.org/10.1558/jca.v1i2.209

Mousavi, A. (2013). The history of archaeological research in Iran: A brief survey. In The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran (D. T. Potts, Ed.). *Oxford University Press*. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199733309.013.0003

Nasiri-Moghaddam, N. (2004). L'archéologie française en Perse et les antiquités nationales (1884–1914). Paris: *Éditions Connaissances et Savoirs*.

Nazif, S., Vahdati Nasab, H., & Mohammadhani, K. (2022). Gender in archaeology and gender archaeology. *Iranian Journal of Anthropological Research*, *12*(1), 57-81. https://doi.org/10.22059/IJAR.2022.345891.459760

Nicholas, G. (2008). Indigenous archaeology: A matter of social justice. *American Antiquity, 73*(1), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0002731600040019

Niknami, K. A., Irandoust, H., & Tahmasebi, A. (2013). Environmental and cultural factors influencing Parthian archaeological site distribution in the Sarfirouzabad plain of Kermanshah, Northwest of Iran. *International Journal of Geosciences*, *04*(01), 69-77. https://doi.org/10.4236/ijg.2013.41008

Nowell, A. (2021). *Growing up in the ice age: fossil and archaeological evidence of the lived lives of plio-pleistocene children*. Oxbow Books.

Oldham, M. (2023). Introducing children to archaeology: On site and in the classroom. *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*, XL, 26–38. https://doi.org/10.61258/fa.130633

Perry, M. A. (2008). Redefining childhood through bioarchaeology: Toward an archaeological and biological understanding of children in antiquity. *Archeological Papers of The American Anthropological Association*. https://doi.org/10.1525/AP3A.2006.15.89

Pollock, D., Peters, M. D. J., Khalil, H., McInerney, P., Alexander, L., Tricco, A. C., Evans, C., de Moraes, É. B., Godfrey, C. M., Pieper, D., Saran, A., Stern, C., & Munn, Z. (2023).

Recommendations for the extraction, analysis, and presentation of results in scoping reviews. *JBI Evidence Synthesis*, *21*(3), 520–532. https://doi.org/10.11124/JBIES-22-00123

Pourkerman, M., Marriner, N., Morhange, C., Djamali, M., Amjadi, S., Lahijani, H., Naderi Beni, A., Vacchi, M., Tofighian, H., & Shah-Hoesseini, M. (2018). Tracking shoreline erosion of "at risk" coastal archaeology: The example of ancient Siraf (Iran, Persian Gulf). *Applied Geography, 101*, 45-55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2018.10.008

Rahm, J. (2021). Connecting with people, places and histories through archaeology: Youths' development of sustain' abilities. In M. Achiam, J. Dillon, & M. Glackin (Eds.), Addressing Wicked Problems through Science Education (Contributions from Science Education Research, vol. 8). *Springer*. https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74266-9_10

Rico, T. (2021). Heritage preservation in religious contexts: Disciplinary challenges for the MENA region. *Archaeological Dialogues*, *28*(2), 111-120. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1380203821000143

Riede, F., Johannsen, N. N., Högberg, A., Nowell, A., & Lombard, M. (2018). The role of play objects and object play in human cognitive evolution and innovation. *Evolutionary Anthropology*: Issues, News, and Reviews, *27*(1), 46-59. https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.21555

Saeedi, M. R., & Chaychi Amirkhiz, A. (2012). A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the educational content of archaeology courses in Iran. *Research and Writing of University Textbooks*, *26*, 60-80.

Shahmirzadi, S. M. (2004). A short history of archaeological research in Iran. *PAP*, 22-27.

Sivan, H. (2023). Review: Children in the Bible and the ancient world: Comparative and historical methods in reading ancient children. *Studies in Late Antiquity*, *7*(1), 155-159. https://doi.org/10.1525/sla.2023.7.1.155

Smith, J. (2013). The role of children in past societies: An archaeological perspective. *Archaeological Review*, *27*(2), 45-62.

Smith, N. (2019). My path to the archaeology of child migrants. *Anthropology News* (Arlington, Va.), *60*(2), e134–e137. https://doi.org/10.1111/AN.1143

Smith, P. E. (2005). Children and ceramic innovation: A study in the archaeology of children. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, *15*(1), 65–76. https://doi.org/10.1525/ap3a.2005.15.65

Sofaer Derevenski, J. (1994). Where are the children? Accessing children in the past. *World Archaeology*, *25*(1), 19-32. https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1993.9980226

Sterelny, K. (2021). Veiled Agency? Children, innovation, and the archaeological record. *Evolutionary Human Sciences*, *3*, e12–e12. https://doi.org/10.1017/ehs.2021.9

Taxel, I., Iserlis, M., & Yannai, E. (2012). The inside out of childhood archaeology: Petrographic and X-Ray analysis of early Islamic ceramic rattles from Mishmar David (Israel) and their cultural implications. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*, *1*(3), 219. https://doi.org/10.5325/jeasmedarcherstu.1.3.0219

Thomas, K. (2005). The “Nature” of Childhood: Ethnography as a tool in approaching children in archaeology. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, *15*(1), 41–50. https://doi.org/10.1525/ap3a.2005.15.41

Tricco, A. C., Lillie, E., Zarin, W., et al. (2018). PRISMA Extension for scoping reviews (PRISMA-ScR): Checklist and explanation. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, *169*(7), 467-473. https://doi.org/10.7326/M18-0850

Verhagen, P., & Whitley, T. G. (2011). Integrating archaeological theory and predictive modeling: A live report from the scene. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, 18*(2), 195-218. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-011-9102-7

Voss, B. L. (2000). Feminisms, queer theories, and the archaeological study of past sexualities. *World Archaeology, 32*(2), 180-192. https://doi.org/10.1080/00438240050131171

Wheeler, S. M., Williams, L. J., & Dupras, T. L. (2018). Bioarchaeological analyses of children and childhood from the Kellis 2 cemetery, Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt. In P. Beauchesne & S. C. Agarwal (Eds.), *Children and Childhood in Bioarchaeology* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press). https://doi.org/10.5744/florida/9780813056807.003.0011

Witmore, C. (2021). Finding symmetry? Archaeology, objects, and posthumanism. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal, 31*(1), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959774321000160

Yadollahi, S., & Yalvaee, A. (2011). An analytical look at archaeology and its status in Iran. *Archaeological Studies*, *3*, 177-194.

Zare, S. (1999). Iranian archaeology; necessity or hobby?! *Archaeology*, 5 & 6, 4-5.

Zerbini, A. (2018). Developing a heritage database for the Middle East and North Africa. *Journal of Field Archaeology*, *43*(sup1), S9-S18. https://doi.org/10.1080/00934690.2018.1514722

Appendix

| | Title | Author(s) | Year | Concept | Context | Geography | Historical area | Author's Attention to Children |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Child Bioarchaeology: Perspectives on the Past 10 Years (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Mays, S., Gowland, R., Halcrow, S., & Murphy, E. | 2017 | The article reviews significant developments in the bioarchaeology of childhood over the last decade, highlighting the increase in research papers on children's skeletal remains with a focus on dietary and palaeopathological studies. It discusses innovations in these areas alongside theoretical frameworks for interpreting skeletal evidence of children in past societies. | This study situates itself within the broader discourse on human bioarchaeology, emphasizing the growing recognition of children's roles in past communities and the methodological advancements that have enhanced our understanding of juvenile skeletons. | While the article encompasses a global perspective, it notes that research foci have been particularly predominant in western European countries, evidenced by bibliometric analysis of publications from major journals in the field. | The historical scope is broad, reflecting on the past decade's advancements without being confined to a specific time. The analysis suggests a temporal expansion of interest and research methodologies applied to the study of children's remains. | The authors critically engage with the methodological and theoretical advancements in studying children's bioarchaeology. They advocate for a life course approach, integrating studies of child skeletal remains with those of adults to provide a comprehensive view of past societies, emphasizing the importance of children as active social and economic agents. |
| | Redefining Childhood through Bioarchaeology: Toward an Archaeological and Biological Understanding of Children in Antiquity | Perry, M | 2008 | Criticism of disparate social and biological identifications of children.<br>Use of bioarchaeological information to understand the lives and meanings of childhood in antiquity.<br>Evaluation of techniques to illuminate relationships between biological evidence and social | Active participation of children in creating the archaeological record alongside adults.<br>Neglect of children in archaeological interpretations historically.<br>Importance of considering mortuary rituals, political, | Byzantine Near East, particularly the site of Rehovot-in-the-Negev in southern Israel. | Byzantine period, exemplified by the site of Rehovot-in-the-Negev.<br>Exploration of childhood in ancient societies through bioarchaeologi | Emphasis on the importance of bioarchaeological techniques in understanding childhood in antiquity.<br>Consideration of various factors affecting childhood, including weaning, puberty, trauma, violence, and migration. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | interpretations of children and childhood. | economic, and cultural variables influencing the final resting place of the deceased. | | cal investigations. | |
| 3 | The Bioarchaeological Investigation of Childhood and Social Age: Problems and Prospects (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Halcrow, S. E., & Tayles, N. | 2008 | Emphasizes the study of children and childhood from archaeological contexts.<br>Discusses the importance of considering both biological and social perspectives.<br>Critically examines terminology used for defining sub adulthood and age divisions.<br>Explores approaches to identify "social age" in past populations. | Addresses issues related to subadult bioarchaeological analysis, terminology, and age categories applicable to archaeological contexts globally. | Geographical area of study not explicitly mentioned. | Specific historical area not explicitly mentioned.<br>References past populations and various historical periods and civilizations in the discussion. | Highlights the importance of studying childhood from both biological and social perspectives.<br>Discusses the integration of social age categories into the analysis of skeletal populations.<br>Emphasizes implications for understanding mortality, fertility, and health indicators.<br>Mentions considering children's roles, activities, and social actions in society.<br>Advocates for interpreting bioarchaeological data within the cultural context of childhood. |
| 4 | My Path to the Archaeology of Child Migrants (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Smith, N | 2019 | Discusses Nicole Smith's journey into anthropology and archaeology.<br>Highlights her involvement in the Undocumented Migration Project (UMP) focusing on child migrants.<br>Emphasizes the use of archaeology to study contemporary social processes. | Takes place at the University of Michigan and involves fieldwork in southern Arizona.<br>Focuses on the experiences of child migrants crossing the Mexico-U.S. border. | Contemporary | Contemporary issues surrounding undocumented migration between Mexico and the United States. | Investigates the materiality and memory of child migrants.<br>Incorporates fieldwork experiences and interviews with child migrants.<br>Highlights the importance of amplifying the voices of child migrants in research.<br>Explores artifacts ranging from clothing to baby products associated with migration journeys. |
| 5 | Forty years of Archaeology for children | Moreno Torres, S., & Márquez-Grant, N. | 2016 | Archaeology's increasing integration into educational initiatives for children over the past four decades. | Involvement of museums, public institutions, private companies, and | Evolution of archaeology's role in educating | Evolution of archaeology's role in educating | Diverse teaching resources and activities aimed at engaging children, such as talks, exhibitions, |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (University of Manitoba Libraries) | | | Advantages of archaeology for child development: awareness of time and cultures, vocabulary expansion, and skill development.<br>Archaeology's alignment with national curricula due to its multidisciplinary nature. | research centers in promoting archaeology to children.<br>Focus on the United Kingdom and Spain, highlighting various resources and initiatives. | children over the past 40 years.<br>Transformation of heritage-public relationships through projects like reenactments, workshops, and multimedia resources. | children over the past 40 years.<br>Transformation of heritage-public relationships through projects like reenactments, workshops, and multimedia resources. | workshops, and hands-on activities.<br>Examples of archaeology-themed magazines, educational tours, and archaeological theme parks.<br>Integration of archaeology into school curricula and extracurricular activities like archaeology clubs and field visits.<br>Use of media and multimedia resources to increase public interest in archaeology among children.<br>Emphasis on making archaeology accessible to children from diverse backgrounds through traditional and modern teaching methods.<br>Future directions include incorporating more archaeology into national curricula and promoting hands-on learning experiences. |
| 6 | Introducing Children to Archaeology on site and in the classroom (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Oldham, M | 2023 | Educational outreach programs integrating archaeology and education. | Exploration of the medieval period in Oslo with fourth-grade children. | Oslo, Norway. | The medieval period. | The program was designed to engage fourth-grade children in discussions about the past, focusing on concepts such as cultural heritage, archaeology, and comparison with modern life. Activities included word searches, examination of archaeological artifacts, and creative drawing exercises. The program aimed to help children understand the importance of heritage and the role |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | of art in shaping their understanding of the past. |
| 7 | A Highest Purpose of Archaeology - Towards a Future Worthy of our Children (Google Scholar) | Carbone, F | 2018 | The document discusses archaeology's potential in promoting human development and peace, emphasizing its role beyond traditional historical and cultural exploration. | It explores how archaeology can contribute to modern societal challenges, including fostering intercultural dialogue and understanding. | The paper does not focus on a specific geographical area but suggests a global application of archaeology for peacebuilding and intercultural communication. | While specific historical periods are not detailed, the overarching idea is the utilization of archaeology across all historical contexts to support human development. | The document does not specifically address children's roles or perspectives within archaeology or its broader purpose. |
| 8 | Men, women, and children starving: Archaeology of the donner family camp | Dixon, Kelly J.; Novak, Shannon A.; Robbins, Gwen; Schablitsky, Julie M.; Scott, G. Richard; Tasa, Guy L. | 2010 | The paper investigates the archaeological evidence of the Donner Party's camp, focusing on the survival strategies amid starvation and the possibility of cannibalism. | It utilizes historical accounts, archaeological findings, and osteological analysis to understand the conditions faced by the Donner Party during their entrapment. | The study is set in the Alder Creek area, near Truckee, California, where one group of the Donner Party camped. | This research pertains to the winter of 1846-1847, during the westward migration of the Donner Party. | Although not explicitly detailed in the portion reviewed, the broader context of the Donner Party's struggle for survival inherently includes the experiences of children within the group, as they were among the survivors and victims of the tragic event. |
| 9 | 25 Years with the ‘Child’ and the | Lillehammer, G | 2015 | The evolution and significance of the archaeology of childhood. Sparking debate in | Defining the child's world in time, space, and structure, using child's play as an | The text does not specify a particular | The article does not focus on a specific | Children and the child's world as specific categories for scientific analyses. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Archaeology of Childhood (University of Manitoba Libraries) | | | archaeology about studying children in the past. | analytical tool. Shift in archaeology due to feminist critiques, leading to the exploration of children and childhood. | geographical area of study. | historical period. | Discovery of archaeological evidence of the child's world requires knowledge of the adult world.<br>Importance of natural and cultural environments in the health, care, and socialization of children.<br>Childhood as a shared experience linked with memory.<br>Child's play as a mediator of cultural transmission.<br>Importance of toys in reflecting aspects of learning and fun.<br>Study of technology central to understanding cultural transmission.<br>Stone technology as a promising research field for studying learning and imitation processes. |
| 10 | The "Nature" of Childhood: Ethnography as a Tool in Approaching Children in Archaeology (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Thomas, K | 2005 | The concept explored in the text revolves around the intersection of childhood, play, and cultural constructions of nature within urban environments. It delves into how children's behaviors and experiences are influenced by cultural ideals and adult input, particularly in relation to their interactions with the built and natural environment. | The research is situated within contemporary urban settings, primarily focusing on Chicago, United States. Specific locations within Chicago, such as parks, beaches, and nature preserves, serve as the context for observing children's activities and behaviors. | The primary geographical area of study is the United States, with a specific focus on urban environments such as Chicago. However, the text does not limit its observations to a single | While the primary focus is on contemporary times, the text also references historical shifts in cultural perceptions of childhood and nature, particularly during the Romantic | The author pays significant attention to children throughout the text, particularly in their role as active participants in shaping their own experiences and environments. Ethnographic research methods are used to understand children's perspectives and behaviors, positioning them not as passive subjects but as active agents within society. The text emphasizes the importance of considering children's perspectives and experiences in research, highlighting their unique agency |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | city or region within the country. | Movement in the nineteenth century. These historical insights provide context for understanding contemporary attitudes and behaviors regarding childhood and nature. | and contributions to shaping their own worlds. |
| 11 | Children and Ceramic Innovation: A Study in the Archaeology of Children (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Smith, P. E. | 2005 | The essay explores the role of children in prehistoric Huron society, particularly focusing on their involvement in ceramic production and decoration. It investigates how children were active participants in transmitting and innovating ceramic styles, challenging traditional notions of passive socialization. | The study is situated within prehistoric Huron society in southern Ontario, Canada, spanning from approximately A.D. 1400 to 1650. It examines seven archaeological sites in the Barrie region, providing insights into the relationship between ceramics and societal changes during this period. | Southern Ontario, Canada, specifically focusing on the Huron people and their villages in the Barrie region. | The essay delves into the prehistoric period of Huron society, spanning from the 13th to the late 16th centuries, covering phases of cultural development and change within this timeframe. | The author pays significant attention to children as active agents within prehistoric Huron society, challenging traditional archaeological assumptions about their role and agency. The essay highlights how children were not passive recipients of socialization but actively contributed to stylistic innovation in ceramic decoration. It emphasizes the importance of considering children's perspectives and actions in archaeological research, shedding light on their contributions to cultural practices and societal change. |
| 12 | Archaeology Education for Children: Assessing | Moe, J. M. | 2016 | The essay discusses the importance of assessment and evaluation in archaeology education over | The discussion is situated within the broader field of archaeology | While the essay does not specify a particular | The essay covers developments in archaeology | The author emphasizes the importance of archaeology education for children and youth, discussing efforts to develop |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Effective Learning | | | the past few decades. It highlights the efforts made by various programs, such as Project Archaeology, in developing educational materials and assessing learning outcomes to improve the effectiveness of archaeology education. | education, focusing on initiatives aimed at teaching children and youth about archaeological inquiry and research results. It addresses the challenges faced in assessing learning outcomes and the importance of evaluation for the long-term success and sustainability of archaeology education programs. | geographical area, it refers to national-level initiatives and surveys conducted in the United States, particularly highlighting the Project Archaeology program and its impact across various states. | education over the past 30 years, highlighting the emergence of various educational programs and the gradual incorporation of assessment and evaluation practices. It also mentions specific studies and initiatives from the late 1990s to the early 2000s. | curricula and educational materials tailored to different age groups. The essay highlights the significance of assessing student learning outcomes and understanding student perceptions and misconceptions about archaeology. It also discusses the implementation of formative assessment in classrooms to improve teaching effectiveness and student understanding of archaeological concepts. Overall, the author underscores the need for continuous monitoring and evaluation to enhance the quality and impact of archaeology education programs. |
| 13 | Where Have All the Children Gone? The Archaeology of Childhood (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Kamp, K. A. | | The text discusses the importance of childhood in archaeological studies, emphasizing the roles, perceptions, and treatment of children in various societies throughout history. It highlights the significance of understanding childhood in shaping cultural practices, social organization, and individual experiences. | The discussion is situated within the field of archaeology, focusing on the exploration of childhood as an analytical category in studying past societies. It draws upon archaeological evidence, historical records, and anthropological | N/A | N/A | Understanding childhood in archaeological contexts enriches our understanding of past societies, shedding light on social dynamics, cultural practices, and individual experiences. It underscores the importance of considering age as a significant factor in archaeological interpretation and the need for interdisciplinary approaches to studying childhood in diverse cultural contexts. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | perspectives to elucidate the roles and perceptions of children in diverse cultural contexts. | | | |
| 14 | Keeping CRM Archaeology Relevant Presenting an Archaeology of Children and Childhood in the Past (University of Manitoba Libraries) | Mather, K | 2015 | The paper discusses the concept of incorporating archaeology into school-based programs and educational settings to make cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology relevant to a wider audience. It emphasizes the importance of using archaeology as a tool for public education and participation, particularly focusing on local history and cultural contexts. | The geographical context primarily focuses on archaeology programs and initiatives in Ontario, Canada. It mentions specific organizations and programs such as the "Can You Dig It?" program, the Ontario Heritage Trust's summer camp, the Boyd Field School, and the Museum of Ontario Archaeology's educational and summer programs in London. Additionally, it discusses the importance of considering indigenous perspectives and incorporating the 50,000-year archaeological record into the national narrative in Australia. | Ontario, Canada, and Australia are mentioned as specific geographical areas where archaeological programs and initiatives have been implemented. | The paper addresses various historical contexts, including post-contact and pre-contact periods, particularly focusing on the material culture of children in archaeological sites. It discusses the significance of juvenile pots, miniature artifacts, and evidence of children's activities in past societies, such as pottery-making and | The authors emphasize the importance of understanding the lives of children and their cultural contexts through archaeology. They discuss how archaeologists can engage students by presenting the material culture of children and adolescents, including toys, crafts, and activities from archaeological sites. Additionally, the paper highlights the role of children in cultural transitions and economic activities, such as foraging, farming, and manufacturing. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | lithic tool production. | |
| 15 | Finding Children Without Toys: The Archaeology of Children at Shabbona Grove, Illinois | Dozier, C. A. | 2016 | The paper advocates for a nuanced interpretation of archaeological datasets that highlights children and their activities. It discusses the importance of considering children's agency in archaeological interpretations and challenges the traditional focus on child-specific material culture. The study conducted in Shabbona Grove, rural Illinois, USA, exemplifies this approach by revealing children's actions through the concentration of non-child-specific artifacts, suggesting deliberate collection or curation by children. | The geographical context of the archaeological research is Shabbona Grove, rural Illinois, USA. The study area encompasses an abandoned lot where diverse artifact concentrations were discovered, potentially indicating children's activities in the latter part of the twentieth century. | Shabbona Grove, rural Illinois, USA. | The paper focuses on the latter part of the twentieth century, specifically examining artifacts and artifact concentrations dating from before the First World War through the mid-twentieth century. | The study highlights children's actions and agency in archaeological contexts, challenging the traditional emphasis on child-specific material culture. It suggests that children's activities, such as artifact collection or curation, can be inferred from archaeological assemblages even in the absence of child-specific artifacts. The paper discusses the significance of play in child development and its implications for the archaeological record. |
| 16 | Small Steps into the Past: Archaeology for Young Children at Dolenjska Museum, Novo Mesto, Slovenia | Fabjan, L., & Stipančić, P. | 2019 | The paper describes educational programs for children aged 3-6 at Dolenjska Museum in Novo Mesto, Slovenia. It focuses on introducing young visitors to archaeology through interactive and age-appropriate workshops and projects, such as the | The geographical context of the educational programs is Novo Mesto, Slovenia, located in Central Europe. The Dolenjska region, where Novo Mesto is situated, has a rich archaeological | Novo Mesto, Slovenia, and the Dolenjska region. | The educational programs focus on Slovenia's prehistoric heritage, particularly the Early Iron Age or | The educational programs at Dolenjska Museum cater to the cognitive abilities and learning needs of young children aged 3-6. These programs utilize interactive and hands-on activities to engage children with archaeological concepts and artifacts, such as storytelling, puppetry, creative making, and visits to archaeological |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (University of Manitoba Libraries) | | | "Archaeological sandbox" and the "Pedenjresearcher" project. These programs aim to provide children with stimulating experiences that enrich their understanding of Slovenia's prehistoric heritage and create a positive foundation for future museum visits. | heritage dating back to the 6th and 5th millennia BCE, including evidence of the Early Iron Age or Hallstatt culture. | | Hallstatt culture. | sites. The museum aims to justify and enhance preschool-aged children's museum visits, making the experience enjoyable and educational. The programs also involve collaborations with local kindergartens and schools to extend learning opportunities beyond the museum setting. |
| 17 | Veiled agency? Children, innovation, and the archaeological record | Sterelny, K | 2021 | The role of children and subadults in ancient human communities and their distinctive activities. The role of children and subadults in innovation and adaptation. | Comparison between forager children and WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) children. Discussion of high-fidelity vertical social learning and the prevalence of variation. | Not explicitly mentioned, but likely global, considering the broad scope of the topic. | Not explicitly mentioned, but likely focused on ancient human communities. | Focus on the autonomy, experimental nature, and adventurous spirit of forager children, as well as their role in innovation and adaptation. Emphasis on the innovation and adaptive capabilities of children, with a focus on their willingness to experiment, play, and engage in emulation. |
| 18 | Constructing an Archaeology of Children: Studying Children and Child Material Culture from the African Past (University of | Bugarin, F. T. | 2005 | The importance of incorporating studies of children and their material environment into archaeology, focusing on examples from African populations. | Discussion of the neglect of children in archaeological studies and the feasibility and significance of constructing an archaeology of children. | Primarily focused on African populations, including Xhosa children in South Africa, Haitian children, Javanese | Various societies and time periods, but particularly emphasizing childhood in foraging societies. | Emphasis on the roles of children within different communities, their contributions to society, their material culture, and their behaviors, including play, work, and socialization. Also discusses the limitations of existing ethnographies in providing detailed information about children's material worlds and the importance of ethnoarchaeological |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Manitoba Libraries) | | | | | children, Hadza, San, Maasai, Ngoni, and Xhosa communities . | | approaches in understanding past child behavior. |
| 19 | The importance of not being Ernest: An archaeology of child's play in Freud's writings (and some implications for psychoanalytic theory and practice) | Lenormand , M | 2019 | The concept being explored is Freud's notion of play in psychoanalysis, specifically focusing on its significance, interpretation, and theoretical implications within Freudian theory. | The context revolves around the historical interest in the concept of play in psychoanalysis, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries, and Sigmund Freud's contributions to understanding play within this field. | There is no specific geographical area. The focus is primarily on Freud's theoretical work, which transcends geographical boundaries. | The historical area of interest is the development of psychoanalytic theory, particularly Freud's exploration of play within this framework from the late 19th to early 20th centuries. | The author pays attention to children within the context of psychoanalysis, particularly in how Freud interprets children's play as expressions of the unconscious mind, as seen in his analysis of specific cases such as little Hans and his grandson W. Ernest. Additionally, the author discusses Freud's interpretation of children's play as "symptomatic acts" and its relation to psychoanalytic theory. |
| 20 | Archaeology of children (Google Scholar) | Lillehamme r, G | 2010 | The article introduces the concept of children in archaeology, emphasizing the need to recognize and analyze the archaeological record from the perspective of children's lives and experiences. | It discusses the methodological and theoretical frameworks for studying children in archaeological contexts, including the interpretation of material culture and | While the article provides a broad overview, it doesn't focus on a specific geographical area but rather | It covers a wide range of historical periods, illustrating the universal importance of understanding children's roles across | The author advocates for increased attention to children in archaeological research, highlighting the significance of their inclusion for a more comprehensive understanding of past societies. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | spaces associated with children. | discusses children in archaeology globally. | different cultures and times. | |
| 21 | The archaeology of Childhood (Google Scholars) | Baxter, E | 2008 | The archaeology of childhood is explored as a growing field, emphasizing the importance of understanding children's roles and experiences in historical contexts. It critiques past archaeological approaches for excluding children and explores the relationship between childhood studies and gender identity. | The article discusses methodological and theoretical advances in studying children through archaeological records, including how cultural constructions of childhood and the lived experiences of children are identified. | No specific geography or historical period, it addresses the archaeology of childhood as a global and cross-temporal field of study, emphasizing diverse cultural constructions of childhood. | No specific geography or historical period, it addresses the archaeology of childhood as a global and cross-temporal field of study, emphasizing diverse cultural constructions of childhood. | She highlights the significance of including children in archaeological interpretations, advocating for a deeper understanding of children's roles in past societies and challenging the conventional exclusion of children from archaeological narratives. |
| 22 | Bodies and Encounters Seeing Invisible Children in Archaeology | Sofaer, J | 2015 | The document delves into the visibility and invisibility of children in archaeological studies, critiquing the reliance on physical remains to understand children's lives in the past. | It offers a critical examination of how children's roles are perceived and analyzed within archaeological contexts, advocating for broader methodological approaches to uncover children's experiences. | While specific geographical focus is not emphasized, the discussion applies broadly to archaeologic al practices | The text does not specify a particular historical period; instead, it addresses the general methodologica l and theoretical | She emphasizes the need to rethink archaeological approaches to include children more comprehensively, moving beyond traditional reliance on physical remains to understand their lives and contributions to past societies. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | and interpretations concerning children across various cultures and regions. | challenges in archaeology related to studying children across times. | |
| 23 | Dominant discourses; lived experiences: studying the archaeology of children and childhood | Kamp, K. A. | 2005 | The study emphasizes the archaeological investigation of children and childhood, addressing the need to consider children's impact on material culture and their visibility in archaeological records. | It discusses how archaeological interest in children has evolved alongside greater attention to identity, the individual, and agency, advocating for a nuanced understanding of children's roles in past societies. | The document does not specify a geographical focus, indicating a broader, possibly global perspective on the archaeology of children. | While it covers a broad scope, specific historical periods are not detailed, focusing instead on the methodological approach to studying children across various times. | Author calls for a re-evaluation of how children are perceived in archaeological studies, highlighting their significant but often overlooked contributions to the archaeological record and societal development. |
| 24 | Making Space for Children in Archaeological Interpretations | Baxter, E | 2008 | Focuses on recognizing children's contributions to archaeological sites, emphasizing their influence on artifact distribution and space utilization. | Examines the methodological and theoretical approaches for identifying and understanding children's activities through archaeological evidence. | Primarily examples from 19th-century America, demonstrating the methodology's broader applicability. | The study spans various 19th-century domestic sites, providing insights into children's socialization processes. | Baxter advocates for a nuanced approach to archaeological analysis that includes children as active participants in historical contexts, challenging traditional adult-centric perspectives. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | Children's Play and Work: The Relevance of Cross-Cultural Ethnographic Research for Archaeologists | Ember, C. R., & Cunnar, C. M. | 2015 | The study explores the significance of integrating cross-cultural ethnographic research into archaeological studies, focusing on children's play and work across different cultures. It emphasizes understanding children's roles in past societies through their daily activities and the artifacts associated with them. | The research underscores the often-overlooked aspect of children's contributions within archaeological narratives, advocating for a more inclusive approach that considers the material culture of children's play and work. | The study spans a wide range of cultures globally, utilizing cross-cultural samples and ethnographic data from the eHRAF World Cultures database, without focusing on a specific geographical area. | While not confined to a specific historical period, the study's reliance on ethnographic data provides insights applicable to various historical contexts, highlighting the universal aspects of children's activities across time. | Ember and Cunnar specifically concentrate on the roles and contributions of children in their respective societies, analyzing how these roles vary with subsistence types and societal structures. They aim to illuminate the diversity and significance of children's activities, emphasizing the potential archaeological implications. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | Travels into third space: The Archaeological Heritage of Children's Spaces. A View from Beyond | Lillehammer, G | 2013 | This paper investigates the relationship between children's spaces in the past and how these are represented in current archaeological heritage within landscapes and museums. It emphasizes the importance of acknowledging children's roles and spaces using third space epistemology to better understand their places in historical contexts. | The article explores the marginalization of children's archaeological heritage and advocates for the inclusion of children's perspectives in heritage programs and research. It discusses the challenges and potential biases in recognizing and preserving children's spaces within the archaeological record. | While specific geographical areas are mentioned as examples (e.g., the county of Rogaland in southwestern Norway), the paper's scope is broad, aiming to apply its findings and recommendations universally to archaeological heritage management. | The paper does not focus on a specific historical period but rather on the concept of children's spaces across various times, emphasizing the long-term historical impact of these spaces on our understanding of past societies. | Lillehammer focuses on the need to prioritize children's spaces in archaeological research and heritage management. She highlights the importance of integrating children's perspectives into the archaeological narrative to ensure a more inclusive representation of past societies. |

**Appendix 1.** List of 26 Relevant Articles Identified during Phase 3: Main Study Scoping Review Selection Process