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Review of Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest

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Reviewed by Jane D. Peterson, Marquette University.

This 13-chapter volume provides ample evidence that gender can add a new, revitalizing perspective to archaeological household studies. Papers incorporate many of the methodological developments that have strengthened and broadened the applicability of gender studies over the past three decades. The case studies document the dynamic links between engendered households and other broad categories of archaeological interest including economy, social identity, cultural transmission, and diachronic sequences of change. Roth’s introduction (Chapter 1) and Hendon’s overview (Chapter 13) bookend chapters that extend temporally from AD 200 to the late 18th century. Seymour’s contribution (Chapter 12), in which she investigates diachronic change in O’odham households from late prehistoric to post-contact time periods, is the only one that deals with the historical era, so the “prehistoric” reference in the title is, generally, an accurate reflection of content. Of the remaining papers, four are studies of Hohokam households, four of Mogollon, and two of Ancient Puebloan. Multi-year research programs, large horizontal exposures, well-preserved architectural remains, and robust artifact inventories provide the requisite data sets for many fine-grained analyses. Overall, the production quality is good. The text contained few errors and the graphics were, generally, legible and complete.

Many of the authors excel at developing frameworks for locating women and men in the past. Foremost, we learn that women are highly visible in domestic contexts, not only in sedentary villages, but also in more temporary, seasonally occupied sites (Henderson, Chapter 6; Schreiver, Chapter 9). Whittlesey (Chapter 4) explores some of the difficulties in locating men at several Pre-Classic Hohokam sites in the Tucson Basin. The current evidence points to an over-representation of women’s activities, but she cautions that more extensive extramural excavations and attention to formation processes are needed. Harry and Huntington (Chapter 5) make the case that surplus pottery production at the Tucson Basin’s West Branch site was possible because women were located in courtyard groups where strong, cooperative bonds were forged between female kin-folk. Corporate efforts among women and female children were originally developed to accomplish a range of labor-intensive, seasonally-scheduled subsistence tasks. During the Pre-Classic, this strategy was effectively extended into the realm of household craft production. These papers represent real progress in representing the variability inherent in gender categories as they are inclusive, jointly considering women and men, and sensitive to the role age plays in defining gendered experiences.

Another set of chapters identifies distinctive sets of technological and design choices indicative of re-location of gendered groups through marriage, migration, and resettlement. Duff and Nauman (Chapter 2) define two distinctive traditions among locally-produced brown- and gray-wares at Cox Ranch Pueblo. Here in the southern reaches of the Chacoan regional system, we see evidence for women potters maintaining elements of individual and lineage identity in a context of multidirectional population movements. The relocation of refugee groups from the Colorado Plateau to the Grasshopper region is the subject of Chapter 10 by Lowell. She argues that immigrant groups, disproportionately comprised of women and children, practiced a range of strategies which involved manipulating gendered activity and identity in order to carve out niches for themselves in their new environs. The intermingling of immigrant and local communities is also the subject of Adams’ paper (Chapter 11) in which she argues that technological design histories can be used to build maps of gendered population movements across the Southwest. Lastly, Seymour (Chapter 12) explores the gendered transformations that Sobaipuri-O’odham households underwent during early colonial contact and colonization in southeastern Arizona. Conservatism
in house form and the organization of domestic space suggest that the pace and character of colonial impacts may have been substantially different for indigenous women and men. Seymour’s paper stands out because it problematizes the uncritical use of ethnographic and ethnohistorical data to a greater extent than any of the other contributions. There is certainly room for continued, critical engagement with this issue as examples of conflicting, ethnographically-based gender attributions among several chapters attest.

Two of the remaining papers avoid the potential pitfalls of gendered attribution by ‘engendering’ more broadly, without assigning particular tasks, tools, or spaces to either men or women. Mobley-Tanaka (Chapter 3) argues that households at late Pueblo III Yellow Jacket were involved in extensive, supra-household networks to obtain their Gray-Ware vessels. For the author, these new ceramic exchanges are but one example of a range of new socio-economic connections forged under conditions of settlement aggregation that would have provided opportunities for men and women to create elements of identity less firmly tied to individual households. She views the resulting groups as likely reinforcing gender difference. Roth’s approach in Chapter 8 is to examine changes in domestic and communal architecture over the course of the Late Pithouse period in the Mimbres Mogollon region in light of changing labor and social organizational needs associated with agricultural intensification. She identifies a trend in which individual dwellings and courtyard groups become more discrete, inward-looking entities and links this pattern to increasing pressures on households to solve the labor and land challenges presented by a newly emerging irrigation infrastructure. Interestingly, Roth proposes that the changes she notes do not appear to be associated with either (1) the development of spatial circumscription of gendered tasks/activities or (2) the emergence of a gendered status hierarchy.

Only Stinson (Chapter 7) looks to representational art to discuss gendered households. She considers the context, usewear, and production of anthropomorphic ceramic figurines found at Snaketown and Grewe in southern Arizona and concludes that these objects most likely played a role in household rituals related to ancestor veneration. It is significant to the interpretation of Pre-Classic gender ideology to observe that most figurines lack identifiable sexual attributes, although examples with female and, more rarely, male characteristics do occur. The Gordian knot of identifying who produced the figurines is cleverly unraveled by examining biometric data to calculate ridge-count indices of preserved fingerprints. It appears that the majority were made by women, although men contributed to the assemblage as well. Elsewhere in this volume, references to biological data sets are surprisingly rare. Only Lowell (Chapter 10) makes significant use of bioarchaeological data integrating osteological evidence for migration (cranioantries), traumatic injury, and dietary stress in her discussion of refugee movements into the Grasshopper region which, overall, strengthens her argument considerably.

These chapters recapitulate household diversity, particularly with reference to economic activities. We read that households were composed of sets of people who sometimes worked individually, sometimes in groups that differed in size and composition. These case studies provide ample evidence that elements of gendered identity and performance were not static, but were actively negotiated to suit particular challenges and new situations. Hendon’s synthetic comments in Chapter 13 suggest that conceptualizing households as multiple, co-resident communities of practice captures some of this diversity. Gender archaeology has developed over three decades, in parallel with the multiple waves of feminist theorizing. This volume demonstrates the value of applying these developments to intra-site analysis in order to derive more socially grounded reconstructions of the past. Students and scholars with research interests in the prehistoric Southwest and other early agricultural settings will find these case studies valuable and thought-provoking.


**Reviewed by Gregory G. Monks, University of Manitoba.**

This volume has its origins in a thematic session at the 73rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Vancouver, B.C. in 2008. As the title indicates, the organizing parameters of the volume are spatial (the west coast of North America from Bering Strait to southern California), topical (eared and earless seals and sea otters) and conceptual (historical ecological). The editors wish to bring archaeological, historical, ethnographic and ecological datasets that fall within these parameters forward in combination so as to provide deep time baselines for human interactions with these taxa, to document the mutual effects that all participants in these relationships have on each other, and to participate meaningfully in the wildlife and environmental management within the emerging area of conservation zooarchaeology.

The editors provide two bookend chapters (1 and 13) in which they first introduce the book, provide an