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Women, Men, and the Organization of Space

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Our assigned task in this effort to engender Southwestern archae-
ology was to examine gender relations from the perspective of archi-
tecture and the use of space. Both feminist theorists and scholars
concerned with the social dimensions of architecture have struggled to
understand the relationship between what people actually do and the
larger forces (societal or architectural) that structure their lives.[1] And
scholars in both fields have found some solutions to these problems in
practice theory—that is, in understanding social relations as part of the
flow of history and in emphasizing the duality of human practice and
the structure that is both created by and creative of those practices
(Connell 1987; Ferguson 1995; Moore 1986; Ortner 1996). Practice
theory, however, is not a panacea for all the interpretive difficulties
involved in studying gender. Indeed, in many ways practice theory is
not really a theory at all, in that it lacks an underlying narrative and an
underlying norm of the social order (Ortner 1996:2). Rather, it is a per-
spective that directs our archaeological and analytical attention to vari-
ous realms and their interaction.

First, practice theory reminds us that people are not automatons,

mindlessly filling their assigned roles (see Connell 1987:chapter 3). Instead, people often do things for specific reasons, and their actions have intended as well as unintended consequences. The archaeological record is formed as a result of what people did in the past (Shennan 1993), and archaeologists have well-developed methods for making sense of this record (Schiffer 1987). At the same time, even when we are able to reconstruct past behavior and determine what women and men actually did, the implications for gender relations and the lives of women and men are far from straightforward (Conkey and Gero 1991). Such implications require insights from social and feminist theory, including concern with structure, its reproduction, and its transformation.

"Agency" refers to the capability people have for doing things (Giddens 1984:9), and agency is a process by which people affect (reproduce, reinforce, change) structure. Thus change is not always caused by outside forces; the impetus for change often comes from within. This is a bit trickier to discern archaeologically, but we do often have good data on change, such as the remodeling of a room indicated by the presence of a filled-in doorway or an abutting interior wall. The key is to focus on variability in the archaeological record; were some people doing things differently from "the norm," and what might the effects of those differences have been?

Structure is not an immutable entity, but it is also something more than a sum of people's day-to-day activities. Archaeologically, we can get at structure by focusing on how people represented and organized their lives—for example, through mortuary practices (see Neitzel, this volume), material symbolism (Hays-Gilpin, this volume), and the arrangement and construction of architecture (this chapter).

Architecture is itself a structure: it physically structures social interactions (Hillier and Hanson 1984) and metaphorically reinforces social relationships (Goffman 1976). Architecture is also created by people, and in the prehispanic Southwest it was mostly created by the people who lived in and used it, or by their immediate ancestors (Hegmon 1989; Swentzell 1990). Analytically, this perspective directs our attention to the boundaries and passages created by architecture as well as to the actual use of architecturally defined spaces, the symbolism of architecture,[2] and the processes and scale of construction. We focus on the

use of space primarily at an intrasite level; later chapters by Fish and Spielmann discuss issues regarding land use and regional interaction.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES AND ANALYTICAL APPROACHES

Much discussion during the SAR seminar dealt with the issue of women's status: what do we mean by status, how can we explain variability in women's status, and what does status mean for women's lives? For example, some Classic-period Hohokam women apparently received high-status burial treatment and lived in high-status walled compounds on platform mounds. How did this status affect their lives? Did they perhaps have less autonomy than "commoner" women living in other kinds of residences? Did elite or commoner Hohokam women have "better" lives (by our standards or theirs)?

These kinds of questions regarding women's status have become increasingly complex in recent literature (see Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988; Quinn 1977). Following the welcome suggestion of Louise Lamphere, we rely on a recent formulation by Sherry Ortner (1996:chapter 6). Ortner distinguished three often separable dimensions of gender status: (1) culturally affirmed relative prestige or value—this is what is commonly considered to be status; (2) women's autonomy, or (the obverse) the extent of men's control over women's behavior; and (3) women's power "to control some spheres of their own and others' existences" (1996:140). In most societies there exists a pervasive relationship such as male dominance or gender equality that is reproduced in cultural practices and appears "natural" to members of that society; this is what Ortner called gender hegemony (following Williams 1977). But there are also usually some aspects of gender relations that are contrary to the hegemony, and sometimes these contrary aspects are subversive and challenging and thus may be the key to change. Therefore, we should consider multiple lines of evidence and expect that not all of them will point to a unitary or consistent conclusion.

We focus on three components of architecture that have implications for gender as well as for other social relationships. These are (1) the locations of gendered workplaces and evidence for task groups; (2) residential architecture and the delineation of households; and (3) the accessibility or restrictedness of architectural spaces. In general, our

data give us few direct insights into gender prestige; we have more to say about autonomy and power. Of the three components, the first (the locations of gendered workplaces) is most directly implicated in determining what women and men did in the past and where they did it. The other two inform us more about general social relations, including gender relations, than they do about particular activities.

Households

The rapidly expanding field of household archaeology has a great deal to offer to the study of gender. Although gender relations and women's roles were ignored in some of the earlier studies of households, a spate of recent work (e.g., Brumfiel 1991; Hastorf 1991; see summary in Hendon 1996) is beginning to correct the imbalance. We hope this chapter and our analyses of residential architecture can make an important contribution to household archaeology. At the same time, we use the term "household" somewhat sparingly, because of the difficulty of defining exactly what a household is or does (see Bender 1967; Hendon 1996; Verdon 1980; Wilk 1989, 1991; Wilk and Netting 1984; Yanagisako 1979). That is, households may be units of residence, production, consumption, and reproduction, but to extremely variable degrees. Specifically, although households (variously defined) are often important units of analysis, we should be careful not to conflate our analytical unit (often a room with a hearth and other adjacent rooms [e.g., Ciolek-Torrello 1989; Lowell 1991a]) with a social unit. Various lines of evidence are important in this regard (see Lightfoot 1994), including access between rooms and/or boundaries between households, evidence for various activities within households, the scale of construction and abandonment, redundancy or variability in household units, and possible symbolic references to the significance of household units.

The complexity of the household concept is made clear in a consideration of ethnographically known Pueblo Indians. Households are socially recognized and important units in the pueblos, but the extent to which an individual is a member of one particular household varies depending on gender and residence rules. Classic ethnographies disagree over the definition of a Hopi household (Eggan 1950; Titiev 1944),[3] but generally in matrilocal western Pueblo societies, men vari-

ously participate in their wives', sisters' and mothers' households. Thus, the grandmother's house may be a symbolic locus for a key conceptual unit (the matrilineage), but not all individuals who are part of that unit consistently reside in, eat in, or produce for that household. A more extreme example is found in the international development literature, where the term "hearthholds" is used to describe groups of people who share a residence and hearth at any one time but have few enduring ties (e.g., Ekejiuba 1995).

A consideration of households is relevant to gender relations in several respects. When households are basic social, economic, and decision-making units, they provide an important context for women's participation and thus may contribute to women's power in at least some realms (Rogers 1975). Household organization can also affect women and gender relations negatively, in at least three ways. First, households are often arenas of contestation between women and men (Wolf 1991). Second, households sometimes subsume women (and possibly also men) as individuals such that, in some contexts, women may lose their individual autonomy. Furthermore, although Marilyn Strathern (1984) argued that domesticity does not "denigrate" or limit the autonomy of Mount Hagen women (in the New Guinea Highlands), she also found that women's labor, in the domestic realm, is less valued than are the prestige exchanges pursued by men. Third, households may be contexts of abuse, particularly when women are isolated (Ward 1999:236–37).

One possible key to making sense of the link between household organization and gender is the domestic-public distinction. Michelle Rosaldo (1974) defined the domestic realm as the "minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized immediately around one or more mothers and their children" (p. 23) and the public realm as activities and institutions that transcend, organize, or subsume these basic units. Using these definitions, she suggested that women's status is lower when the domestic-public distinction is clear and the association of women with the domestic realm is strong. In later work Rosaldo (1980) and others (Lamphere 1993) problematized this formulation for several reasons, including a lack of clear distinction between domestic and public realms and bias introduced by the importance of public activities in our own Western history. However, even more recent work

has revived the distinction to a limited extent. Micaela di Leonardo (1991:16) suggested that the distinction is useful analytically, although not as a sweeping explanatory framework, and Ortner (1996:chapter 5) found the public participation of some Sherpa women and men to be a useful aspect of analysis (see also Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:481). These more recent considerations assume fairly general definitions that link the domestic realm with the "household level" (rather than simply with child care and mothering) and the public realm with the extrahousehold level. In this chapter, we consider this general domestic (household)–public distinction to some extent; specifically, we attempt to discern what kinds of activities took place in various contexts and at various scales and involved various categories of people.

We consider household-scale architectural units but do not assume that households were always well-defined, symbolically important social units. Our analysis rests on the following interpretive principles: (1) Residential mobility contributes to social flexibility and thus to individual and household autonomy, as is the case in many forager societies. (2) Well-defined, redundant, relatively invariant household architecture is indicative of the importance of the household as a social unit. In such cases, households can have considerable autonomy, but individuals may be subsumed by the households. (3) Extrahousehold facilities indicate a public realm of activity. If women are excluded from public activities, their power and prestige will decline.

Gendered Workplaces

Over the course of time in the prehispanic Southwest, women and men had to work increasingly hard as agriculture was intensified and resources were depleted (Crown, this volume; Fish, this volume). We use information on the locations of archaeological features—including mealing bins, hearths, and loom holes—and of movable but not easily transportable metates in order to investigate the location and organization of this labor. Following arguments made by Crown (this volume) and Mills (this volume), we assume that the hearths and grinding equipment were used primarily by women, and looms were used primarily by men. The result is a bias toward women's activities, because hearths and grinding equipment were used throughout much of prehistory but loom holes are identified only in later (primarily Pueblo IV) sites.

We assume that there was a gendered division of labor, and the locations and organization of this labor provide insights into gender relations. Our analysis rests upon the following interpretive principles: (1) The spatial separation of gendered labor serves to reinforce and even naturalize gender differences. (2) The locations of features convey symbolic information regarding gender status. For example, the positioning of cooking areas (used by women) at the margins of a Berber house is linked to the relatively low position of women in that society (Bourdieu 1973). (3) Variability or uniformity in the distribution of features is indicative of flexibility or rigidity in the organization of labor and thus provides information on autonomy. (4) The positioning of features is relevant to both autonomy and power because it determines the degree to which a laboring person can be part of ongoing activities and the degree to which that person's labor can be monitored. For example, the activities of someone working in a ramada or plaza area are open to public scrutiny, but that person can also watch and participate in the general flow of social life. Labor in a special-purpose and enclosed space is less subject to public scrutiny, although it could certainly be monitored. Finally, labor within an enclosed residential or household context may be isolating and subject to monitoring (Brumfiel 1996b). (5) Task groups, particularly if they are culturally recognized with architecturally defined spaces, may be an important source of power.[4] At the same time, some women within task groups may be subject to the supervision of other women (Lamphere 1974); thus, although task groups may be sources of power, they may also impose limits on individuals' autonomy.

Access

Differences in status/prestige and power are often created or reinforced when some people are denied access to certain resources (including space or information). Ethnographically in the Southwest, differences in ritual participation are often key to differences between the genders as well as differences between elites and others (Brandt 1977). Unfortunately for archaeologists, differences in ritual participation are seldom manifested materially. However, we can gain insights into differential ritual participation by considering architectural accessibility. Space syntax analysis (Hillier and Hanson 1984) provides an

important, although complex, methodology for describing and quanti-fying architectural boundaries and openings. We do not attempt our own space syntax analysis but rather draw on others' conclusions (e.g., Bustard 1996; Potter 1998).

In considering access, we focus on the locations and distribution of public or ritual spaces, the extent to which activities in them would have been hidden from view, and evidence (based on the distribution of features) for which gender(s) used those spaces. Our analysis of access is based on the following interpretive principles: (1) The secre-tive aspects of hidden public or ritual spaces impart a special degree of power and prestige to activities that take place in such spaces. Such activities are a special case of the public activities discussed earlier (principle 3 under households). (2) Restricted access is indicative of asymmetries in power and prestige. (3) Such asymmetries are relevant to gender relations even if we cannot determine precisely who (or which gender) participated in hidden activities.

THE MOGOLLON CULTURE AREA

Within the larger Mogollon culture area, we focus on the Mimbres region of southwestern New Mexico from the Late Pithouse through the Postclassic periods. Late Pithouse (A.D. 550–1000) data are drawn primarily from Anyon and LeBlanc's (1984) summary and from Mogollon Village and the Harris Site (Haury 1936). Mimbres Classic (A.D. 1000–1130/50) data are primarily from the Galaz (Anyon and LeBlanc 1984), Swarts (LeBlanc 1983), and NAN Ranch (Shafer 1982, 1991) ruins. Data on Classic field houses and the Mimbres Postclassic (A.D. 1150–1200) are from the eastern Mimbres area (Hegmon, Nelson, and Ruth 1998; M. C. Nelson 1993, 1999; Nelson and Hegmon 1995). Large-scale construction projects or obviously preplanned lay-outs are rare throughout the sequence, and there is no evidence of architectural restrictions on access. Thus we emphasize the location of work and the organization of residential architecture. Because of sev-eral parallels in Late Pithouse and Postclassic patterns, we first describe the archaeological evidence and then discuss the interpretations for gender for all three periods.

Late Pithouse period architectural sites are typically clusters of pit-houses (ca. 14–16 m² [Anyon and LeBlanc 1984:94]) located on water-

course terraces. Few pithouses were occupied year-round, although residential mobility decreased and dependence on food production increased over time (Brady 1996b; Diehl 1996; Gilman 1987). Although many sites have 50 or more pithouses, it is unlikely that many more than 10 houses on a site were occupied simultaneously.[5] Almost all sites have large ceremonial structures (Anyon and LeBlanc 1980).

Pithouses vary in size and form, but they generally became deeper and more elaborate over time. Almost all pithouses have hearths located between the entrance and center. Early hearths are often just ash lenses; later ones are more formalized, although variable. No formal grinding features are known from any Mogollon pithouse site, although most pithouses have one (sometimes two) metates and one or a few manos in floor and roof assemblages. Grinding tools were also recovered in front of houses, set up so that grinders would face the entrance (Haury 1936). Thus cooking and grinding appear to have been organized at the level of the pithouse unit. In contrast, storage in external cysts (Anyon and LeBlanc 1984:87–89) was organized at a larger scale and may indicate more communal production.[6]

Classic-period pueblos often overlie pithouse sites and show evidence of more occupational permanence. In the Mimbres Valley about 15 large sites (50–100+ rooms) are located along a 55-kilometer stretch of river. Subsistence included agriculture with some water control (Herrington 1982), and environmental degradation combined with climate change contributed to subsistence stress (Minnis 1985). Field houses were established near small patches of land along smaller drainages (Nelson 1999). Most Classic sites have irregular central plaza areas, although usually the only built ritual structures are small kivas that seem to be associated with particular clusters of rooms. By the mid-twelfth century many large Classic villages were depopulated (although see Creel 1999).

The basic Classic residential unit is difficult to define. In some cases (e.g., NAN Ranch and possibly Swarts), there are clear-cut suites of interconnected rooms that were built at the same time. These suites comprise one (sometimes two) habitation rooms, each with a formal hearth and a roof entry, and one or more smaller storage rooms (Shafer 1982). In other cases (e.g., Galaz), no regular organization is apparent (the contrast between these two layouts is illustrated in figs. 2.1 and 2.2). In general, Classic habitation rooms are 8–26 m² (Anyon and LeBlanc 1984:98).
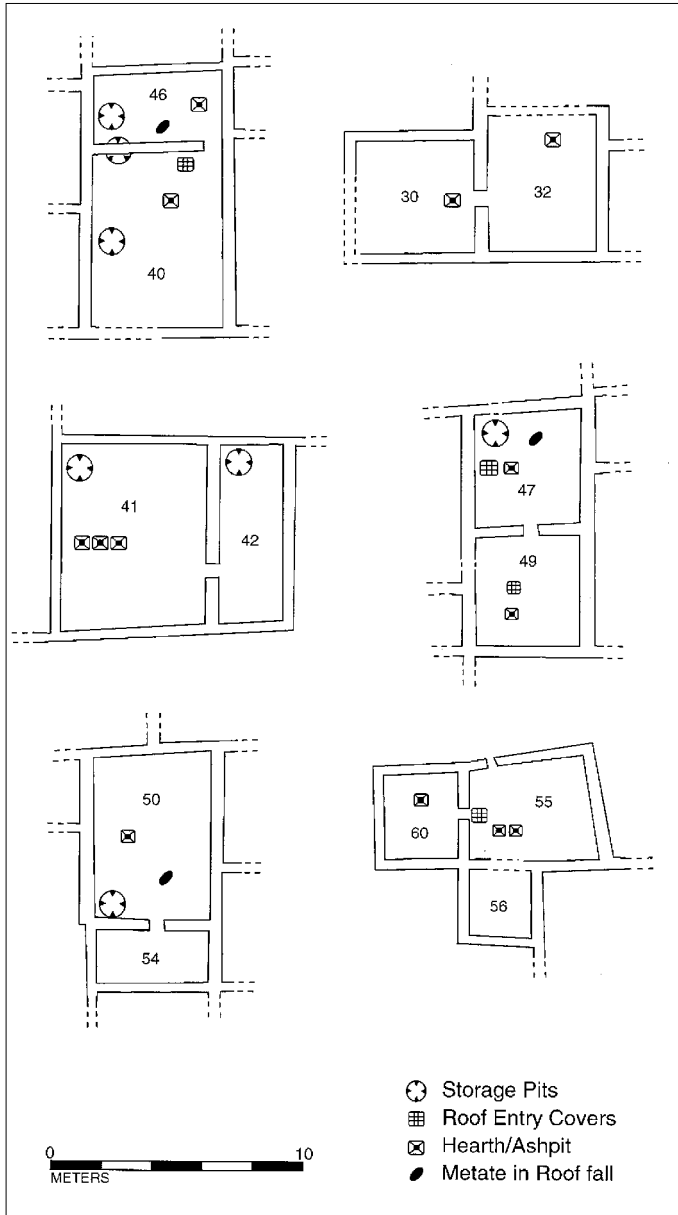
FIGURE 2.1.

Classic Mimbres residential organization at NAN Ranch Ruin, southwestern New Mexico. Habitation rooms (which are generally larger and have hearths) are organized in pairs or are connected to smaller storage rooms, which usually lack features. (After Shafer 1982: fig. 3.)
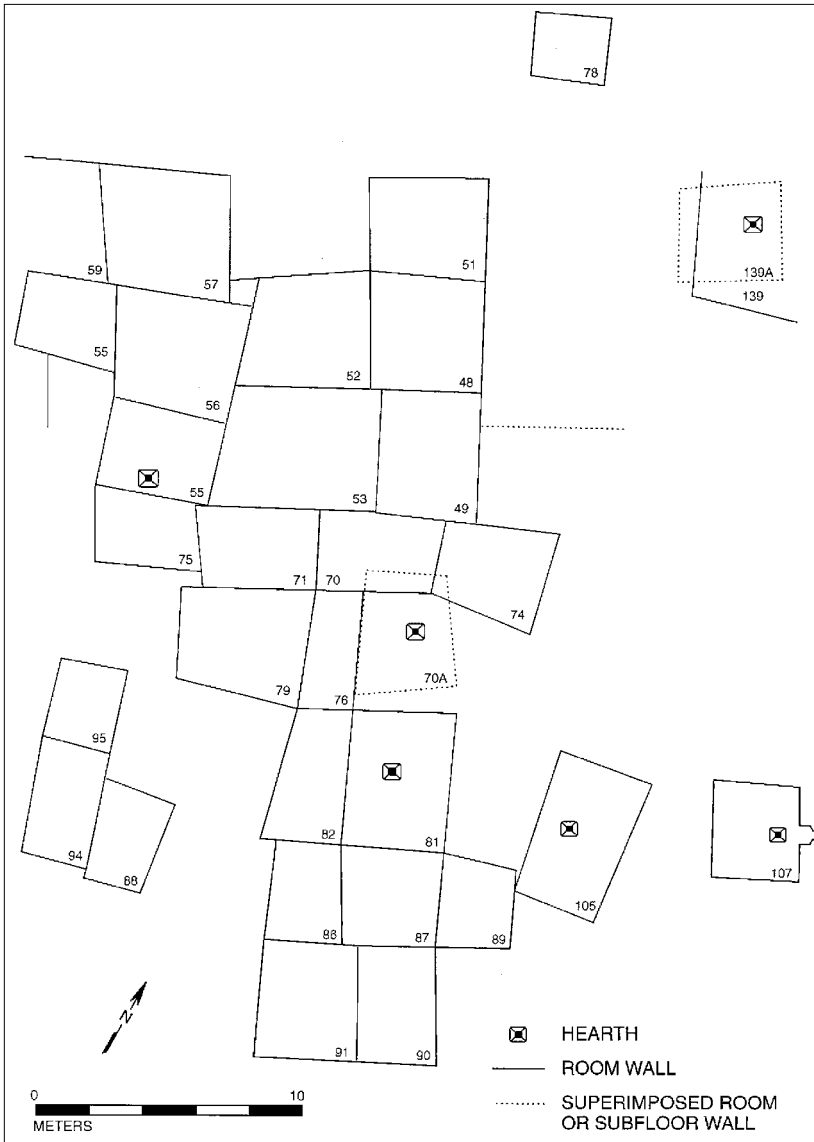
FIGURE 2.2.

Classic Mimbres residential organization at the south room cluster of Galaz Ruin, southwestern New Mexico. No suitelike organization is apparent, in contrast to NAN Ranch Ruin. Room 107 is a kiva. (After Anyon and LeBlanc 1984:fig. 6.1.)

Classic room clusters (groups of adjacent but not necessarily contiguous rooms) grew by accretion, and in some cases (e.g., NAN Ranch and the Mattocks site [Patricia Gilman, personal communication]), founding core rooms are identifiable. These core rooms began as regular habitation rooms and were extensively repaired and maintained throughout the life of a cluster; some (e.g., NAN Ranch room 29) have many burials under the floor. It may be that some core rooms were residences, perhaps of the founders, and some were later converted into ceremonial or mortuary areas. As agriculture became more intensive and more labor was needed, established residents may have attempted to entice people to join their group (a scenario proposed for the Hohokam [McGuire 1992]; see also Wilk's discussion of the Kekchi Maya [1984]). New construction at the sites is associated with relatively dry periods (Shafer 1996), suggesting that the relatively lush Mimbres Valley was particularly enticing at these times.

No mealing features are present in the Classic rooms; corn grinding was done primarily on single trough metates set on floors or roofs. In many cases (e.g., NAN Ranch and possibly Swarts), food preparation, consumption, and storage appear to have been organized at the scale of the room suite, although considerable variability is present (e.g., Galaz). Shafer (1995) has argued that the form of the hearths (rectangular and slab lined) symbolizes links with the underworld and with earlier architecture (i.e., rectangular pithouses), and the regular placement of hearths (just off center) provides some support for this interpretation. Although Classic architectural organization is quite variable, architectural details such as feature form and location and the arrangement of roof support posts are quite homogeneous (as is the pottery). This homogeneity, in the context of aggregated settlement and fairly intensive food production, is interpreted as indicating a high degree of social conformity (Hegmon, Nelson, and Ruth 1998).

Although some people may have left the Mimbres region just prior to A.D. 1150, others stayed and established new residences at the large sites (Creel 1999) or moved to other drainages (Nelson and Anyon 1996). Particularly in the eastern Mimbres area, many people established small (ca. 5–15 room) dispersed residential Postclassic hamlets along the smaller drainages (Nelson 1999). Many of these hamlets were built by adding to the field houses (M. C. Nelson 1993). The residents

of these hamlets continued to rely heavily on plant cultivation, and they were residentially mobile (Nelson 1999). No public or ceremonial architecture is known.

Postclasssic hamlets in the eastern Mimbres area consist of an amalgam of habitation rooms (generally the size of larger Classic rooms) in one or two roomblocks. Almost all of the known excavated rooms (19 of 22) have hearths, about half have built-in mealing features, and items were stored in the rooms in large pits or hung from roof beams. Some of the mealing features (5 of 11) included places for two or three metates, and two rooms had two different and apparently contemporaneous mealing features. Thus food preparation, consumption, and storage were organized at the scale of the room, although it is possible that the residents of several rooms shared grinding features. Hearths are still consistently located just off center, and mealing features tend to be in corners or off to one side, positioned so that the grinder would face toward the room. Entry was usually through the roof, but entry locations are mostly unknown. Some slab-lined rectangular hearths are present, in conjunction with a variety of other forms. In general, feature form is extremely variable across and between sites, the variability cannot be explained in terms of differences in function, and there is no evidence for sitewide organization, suggesting that residents of each room were relatively independent of one another

The existence of a basic unit of residence, consumption, and to some degree storage in the Late Pithouse and then Postclassic periods probably facilitated household-level decision making and participation by all individuals. The Postclassic strategy of intensive cultivation linked with residential mobility has been compared (Hegmon, Nelson, and Ruth 1998; Nelson 1999) to that of the Tarahumara in northern Mexico (Graham 1994). Tarahumara residential units change during the course of a year as individuals or small groups move between residences.[7] This analogy suggests that Late Pithouse and Postclassic residential mobility might have contributed to individual (including women's) autonomy in that it would have allowed some choice of residence. Though some aspects of ritual and storage were apparently organized at the suprahousehold level in the Late Pithouse period, there is no evidence that these activities were exclusionary or that they were the source of gender-based differences in power or prestige.

The spatial context of labor also suggests a relatively large degree of social participation and autonomy for women in the Late Pithouse and Postclassic periods. There is no evidence for women's task groups (with the exception of a few small multiple grinding bins in the Postclassic) or for an intrasite spatial division of labor. Instead, women working at hearths or mealing features would have been in the middle of things, able to monitor and participate in various household activities. Late Pithouse women would have had considerable flexibility in deciding where they placed their metates, whereas Postclassic women would have had considerable flexibility in deciding how to construct a grinding feature. In general, tasks could have been organized to fit particular needs and situations. Overall, there is no evidence to suggest that the spatial organization of labor contributed to gender differentiation.

Throughout the course of the Late Pithouse period there seems to have been a growing emphasis on community at a larger scale, culminating with the Classic period. In comparison with redundant pithouses and Postclassic residential rooms, the basic organizational units are less regular in Classic pueblos. In some cases room suites appear to have constituted the basic unit; in other cases the basic unit may have been the larger room cluster, and small ritual structures were often associated with particular room clusters. To the extent that decisions were made at a scale larger than that of the room suite, participation by most or all adults was probably not possible, and some people must have been excluded. We lack evidence regarding who was excluded; it is possible that exclusion was gender based, but it might also have been based on other criteria such as length of residence and ancestral ties.

The central locations of hearths and movable metates in Classic Mimbres sites suggest a relatively large degree of social participation and autonomy for women, as in the preceding and subsequent periods. However, several other lines of evidence suggest that Mimbres Classic gender relations differed from those of other times. Classic material culture, including architecture, is quite homogeneous, in contrast to that of the Pithouse period and, especially, the Postclassic. Women apparently had little choice with regard to the form of the hearths they could build (rectangular and slab lined) or their mealing features (movable trough metates). However, if the hearths were symbolically significant, as Shafer (1995) suggested, then their use might have con-

tributed to women's prestige and power. In general, life in Classic Mimbres times probably involved increasing amounts of hard work, such as irrigation and corn grinding, and increasing pressure for social control and conformity. Although the new labor demands might have fallen more heavily on women than men, we see no evidence for a marked increase in gender differentiation, spatially or otherwise. If ancestral ties were an important component of Classic Mimbres society, then women's role in reproduction might have been especially valued; such value might have translated into a certain kind of prestige but not necessarily into power or autonomy.

THE HOHOKAM AND SALADO CULTURE AREAS

Hohokam remains, in welcome contrast to Mimbres, evidence a multitude of spatial patterns, some with fairly specific implications for gender relations. Crown and Fish (1996) recently discussed the gender implications of the Hohokam pre-Classic to Classic transition, and here we draw on some of their conclusions, focusing specifically on issues regarding architecture and the use of space. We consider overall Pioneer-Sedentary (A.D. 300–1150) developments, drawing primarily on general summaries and of course on Snaketown (Haury 1976; Wilcox, McGuire, and Sternberg 1981). We then consider the Sedentary period (A.D. 975–1150) and the transition to the Classic period in more detail, focusing on the Phoenix Basin, particularly the detailed data from La Ciudad (Rice 1987; Henderson 1987b). Finally, we expand our spatial coverage and consider the Classic (A.D. 1150–1450) both in the Phoenix Basin (Pueblo Grande [Mitchell, ed., 1994a], and Los Muertos [Brunson 1989]) and at Marana near Tucson (Fish, Fish, and Madsen 1992). We also compare the Hohokam Classic with the Tonto Basin Salado sites (Elson, Stark, and Gregory 1995; Rice 1998). Much of our analysis focuses on the better known large sites, although we recognize that many people probably lived in small dispersed rancherías (P. Fish and S. Fish 1991). Also, we recognize that much living in southern Arizona was probably done out-of-doors and may have involved little permanent architecture; certainly many important Pima–Tohono O'odham social practices have few material correlates. For example, local groups had great longevity as social units, but the only material symbols of these groups were baskets of relics kept in the desert (Bahr 1983).

Pre-Classic Periods

The pre-Classic sequence is a time of Hohokam expansion and intensification, including the construction of more elaborate canal systems, which are equated with irrigation communities (Gregory 1991). Many sites, particularly the larger ones, were used throughout much of the sequence. Although there are major differences between sites, such as in the number and presence of ball courts and mounds, these differences are not reflected in the residential architecture, and there is little indication of marked social differentiation within or between sites. The biggest sites with the most public architecture appear to have had an instrumental role in community organization, indicated by their positions at important nodes on canal systems (Nicholas and Neitzel 1984).

Pre-Classic houses are typically shallow pit structures or houses in pits (hereafter called pithouses). Sedentary-period houses are typically elliptical, about 14–15 m² (but larger at Snaketown) (Crown 1991a:149; Mitchell, ed., 1994a:35; Wilcox, McGuire, and Sternberg 1981), with entrances on one long side. At any one time, there is little variation in house form or size; the sizes of subrectangular houses at La Ciudad exhibit a roughly normal distribution (Henderson 1987b:21). One of the key developments in Hohokam archaeology was the recognition by Wilcox, McGuire, and Sternberg (1981) that apparently scattered pre-Classic houses actually were arranged in courtyard groups, with the entrances of several (usually three to four) similar pithouses facing an open courtyard. Some courtyard groups (particularly in nonriverine areas) had their own cemeteries, but more often several courtyard groups (called suprahousehold groups or village clusters) shared a cemetery, midden, horno (oven), and occasionally other features (Wilcox 1991b:257, but see Sires 1984:138–39). The cemeteries are interpreted as symbolizing corporate groups (P. Fish and S. Fish 1991). Although there are some houses and groupings that do not fit this basic pattern (P. Fish and S. Fish 1991), in general the groupings and the cemeteries became more formalized over time.

Many researchers have suggested that courtyard groups strove to retain people and recruit new members (particularly young adults) because of the heavy labor demands associated with irrigation agriculture (Doelle, Huntington, and Wallace 1987; Henderson 1987a; McGuire 1992). At least two lines of evidence support this interpreta-

tion. First, the general expansion of pre-Classic (particularly Colonial-period) settlement suggests that people had the option of establishing new residences. Second, where detailed data are available, it appears that courtyard groups often began as a single house (often the largest house) and grew by accretion (fig. 2.3; Henderson 1987a), although such growth patterns might also have resulted from simple domestic cycling (J. Howard 1985).

Assuming that labor recruitment was an important aspect of pre-Classic courtyard group longevity, the composition of groups would have been fairly flexible, and at least some people would have had a choice of residence. This interpretation is supported by several lines of ethnographic evidence. Short-term movements (although not permanent changes in residence) are common among the Pima (Bahr 1983:182), and the Tohono O'odham had considerable flexibility in postmarital residence (see Bahr's [1983:182] summary of Underhill's [1939] data). Randall McGuire's (1992) interpretation of the Sedentary occupation at La Ciudad (which was based primarily on analogies with the Yuma but is not incompatible with Pima and Tohono O'odham practices) suggested that young people of all genders were recruited as household members and had considerable choice of residence. Although it is likely that residents of a courtyard group were linked by kinship, kin ties would not have determined residence. Rather, kinship is better interpreted as one of the resources people used to work out their strategies; for example, a mature leader could recruit his (or possibly her) offspring, and a young person could chose to live with parents or with other relatives. This situation might have benefited women in various ways. Some degree of residential choice would contribute to women's autonomy, and the recruitment of young women for household membership might contribute to their prestige and power. Furthermore, it is likely that women gained some prestige for contributing to the success of a household.

Most pre-Classic pithouses have one hearth (rarely two), positioned between the center of the house and the entrance, and small roasting pits are often adjacent to the houses (Henderson 1987b:34). Thus, some cooking appears to have been done by the residents of each house. In addition, large hornos, often on the periphery of a residential area and/or associated with multiple courtyard groups, indicate that
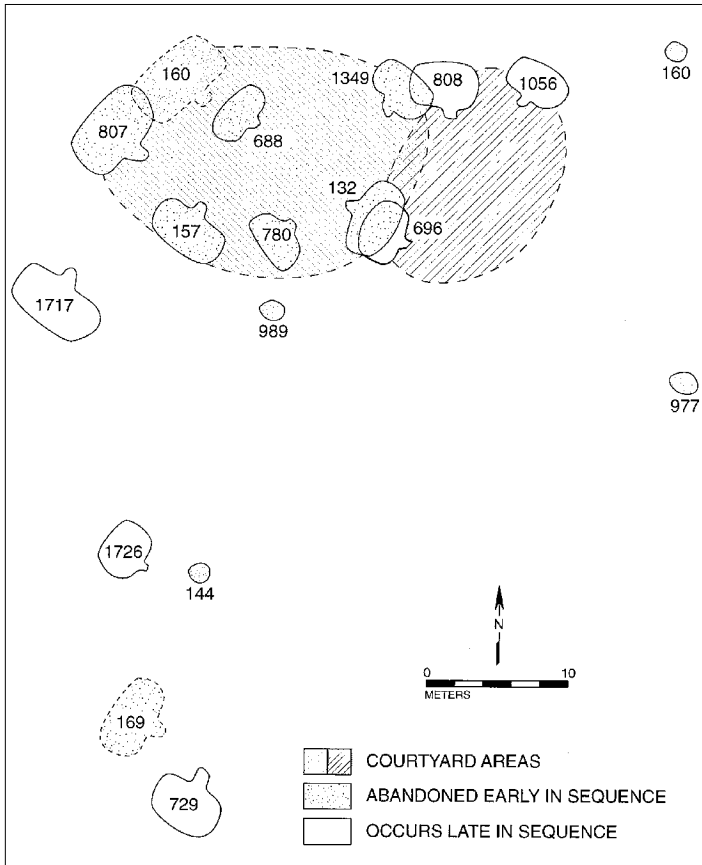
FIGURE 2.3.

The development of Sedentary-period Hohokam courtyard groups in the Moreland locus, La Ciudad, in Phoenix, Arizona. The upper left courtyard group was occupied between A.D. 950 and 1040; it began with the construction of pithouses 132 and 688, followed by 807 and then 157, 780, and 1349. Late in the sequence this courtyard was reoriented and a second group was constructed; it included pithouses 696, 808, and 1056 and was occupied from A.D. 1005 to 1060. Pithouse 1717 was also built at this time and may represent the founding of a new cluster. (After Henderson 1987a:112–15, figs. 5 and 6.)

some cooking was done on a more communal scale. Little information is available about the location of corn grinding (only seven whole metates were recovered at Snaketown [Haury 1976:280]), but it is likely

that many food-processing and craft activities were conducted out-
side of the houses (Crown and Fish 1996:806; Kisselburg 1987).
Information on food storage is also elusive. Many trash-filled pits are
scattered across Hohokam sites, including inside houses, but the loca-
tions of areas specifically used to store food are unknown.

The distribution of pre-Classic architecture and features suggests
considerable flexibility in the organization of labor. Residences were
organized at the level of the pithouse dwelling, the courtyard group,
and multiple courtyard groups. Cooking was done in pithouses, in
extramural areas, and in communal hornos; storage may have been
organized at similarly variable scales, and many activities were probably
undertaken in the plazas and courtyards. Thus chores could have been
done individually or at various communal levels. This kind of flexibility
would have contributed to women's autonomy, would have facilitated
the establishment of women's networks—a source of power—and
might have eased women's labor burden because work could have been
shared (e.g., child care) or at least done with company (e.g., grinding).

Although most pre-Classic structures were residences, there are
also some special purpose structures including meeting houses (with
schist risers), crematoria, and small huts with hearths but few other fea-
tures that are interpreted as possible menstrual huts (Crown 1985a;
Haury 1976:62, 68; Henderson 1987b:28). A late Sedentary–Early
Classic possible menstrual hut was also identified at Pueblo Grande
(Mitchell, ed., 1994a:79). These nonresidential structures usually are
associated with multiple courtyard groups. Menstrual huts are known
among the Tohono O'odham (Underhill 1939). Although the organi-
zation of households and labor suggests that pre-Classic women had
fairly high status—including prestige, power, and autonomy—the pres-
ence of possible menstrual huts suggests that women's status was lower
than men's in at least some respects. Menstrual huts are generally asso-
ciated with beliefs in female pollution, and such beliefs are particularly
prevalent in societies in which male prestige is dependent on female
productive labor (Crown and Fish 1996:804 and references therein).

The Classic Period

Evidence for a social hierarchy is well established for the Hohokam
Classic period and for the Salado phenomenon. Hierarchical relations

are evidenced in residential architecture (discussed later) as well as in mortuary remains and other aspects of material culture (Neitzel, this volume; Wilcox 1991b). Many of the areas occupied during the pre-Classic continued to be occupied, but the integration or filling in of the canal systems (Nicholas and Feinman 1989), as well as the spacing of mounds (Crown 1987), suggests closure and intensification. Furthermore, primary sites (large sites with platform mounds) are commonly located near the ends of canal systems (e.g., Marana [Fish, Fish, and Madsen 1992], Casa Grande [Crown 1987], Las Colinas [Gregory 1991]), suggesting that their importance was based more on power than on instrumental position.

Variability in residential architecture increased markedly in the Classic period. Residence in single shallow pithouses continued in the early Classic, but a greater variety of house forms was built and used (six different types were identified at Pueblo Grande [Mitchell, ed., 1994a]). Some people continued to reside in these kinds of houses throughout the Classic, although by the later part of the period the most common residence was the compound, an above-ground adobe pueblo with associated open spaces. Most compounds included suites of habitation and storage rooms as well as other special-purpose rooms possibly used for craft production and ceremonies.[8] The spacing of houses within compounds was roughly the same as the spacing within a courtyard cluster (Sires 1987). Thus the basic organization indicated by courtyard groups seems to have continued into the Classic; the difference is that compounds were typically surrounded by substantial adobe walls. In addition, distances between compounds (100–300 m) were much greater than distances between courtyard groups (50 m) (Gregory 1991:181). Some compounds included only a few rooms, others had more than 50 (Brunson 1989:286), and groups of houses sometimes had separate walled plazas within the larger compound (Sires 1987).

The organization of activities established in the pre-Classic continued in the compounds. That is, most residences (single dwellings or suites of rooms) had hearths and small roasting pits (Mitchell, ed., 1994a:90–92), but there was often only one horno per compound (although one compound at Los Muertos had four hornos [Brunson 1989:286]). Basic food storage (in contrast to storage of prestige goods

in or on the mounds [Jacobs 1992]) was done in small rooms attached to habitation rooms and in centrally located granaries (Brunson 1989:180); thus storage was organized at both the individual dwelling and the compound levels. Many productive and craft activities were carried out in the courtyards, as during the pre-Classic, the difference being that many courtyards were enclosed behind walls during the Classic period. A few pieces of ground stone were also found set up for use in the rooms (Jacobs 1994:158–59; Mitchell, ed., 1994a), indicating that some grinding was done indoors.

The flexible organization of labor noted for the pre-Classic, and its positive effects on women's lives, probably continued in the Classic, and compound organization might have promoted intragroup cooperation and eased burdens such as child care. For several reasons, however, we see an overall decrease in status for women in the Classic.

The increased interhousehold distance and of course the compound walls indicate a formalization of residential arrangements. That is, in contrast to pre-Classic courtyard groups, compound leaders might not have needed to worry about recruiting or maintaining members, and there would have been less flexibility in residential arrangements. Violence, for which there is growing evidence of during the Classic period (Rice 1998), would also have limited residential flexibility. Thus, whereas we interpreted pre-Classic household and residential organization as contributing to women's autonomy (and possibly also power and prestige), the formalization of that organization would have had the opposite effect.

Classic-period compound walls are an important example of restricted access. In addition, compound architecture represents a fairly dramatic increase in architectural differentiation, both within and between residences, which can be interpreted as an indication of increased social differentiation (Kent 1990b). Walls would have restricted access into the compounds and might also have limited the degree to which residents of the compounds could have interacted with others outside. "Women living in compounds could no longer see or communicate with the entire village community while working, effectively limiting their daily interactions" (Crown and Fish 1996:806). We have no evidence to suggest that Classic-period women never left their compounds or that they were subject to anything equivalent to

purdah. However, it is likely that the walls limited both women's prestige—relative to men—and their autonomy.

The organization of Classic Hohokam architecture provides other evidence of vertical social differentiation and restricted access. David Wilcox (1991b:262) identified a four-tier intersite hierarchy topped by large sites with platform mounds and other ceremonial architecture. At an intrasite or intracommunity scale, differentiation and wealth differences are indicated by the forms and locations of residences. In general, the elites lived in compounds on or immediately surrounding platform mounds, and access to these areas was restricted by the mounds themselves and by surrounding walls. Higher-status people lived in walled compounds (those closer to the mounds may have been relatively higher), and lower-status people in pithouses.

Though there may be a general association between social hierarchies and gender hierarchies (Ortner 1981), it is likely that these forms of social differentiation crosscut gender differences. That is, women who lived on mounds apparently had more prestige than both women and men in other residences, and elite women might have had power over nonelites (Crown and Fish 1996). However, elite women might also have been in a worse position relative to elite men. That is, assuming the compound walls restricted their movements and interactions to some extent, elite women would have had limited autonomy and would have been cut off from the kind of power that derives from being part of a wide-ranging network and part of the ebb and flow of village life (a situation well portrayed by French [1977] for modern America). The complex dimensions of status (involving elites and commoners as well as men and women) bring to the fore the complexity of interpreting the meaning of social hierarchy and autonomy in women's lives. Who is better off, an elite woman who may have considerable social prestige but who spends most of her time behind compound walls, or a commoner woman who has personal autonomy and wide-ranging social interactions but must struggle for survival?

PUEBLO BEGINNINGS: BASKETMAKER III AND PUEBLO I

Turning to the Ancestral Pueblo culture area, we emphasize the northern San Juan region, particularly southwestern Colorado and

northernmost New Mexico, including data from the Navajo Reservoir district (Eddy 1966), the Durango area (Carlson 1965), the Dolores River valley (Breternitz, Robinson, and Gross 1986; Kane and Robinson 1988; Schlanger 1988; Wilshusen 1991), the Yellow Jacket area (Mobley-Tanaka 1997b; Wheat 1984), the Duckfoot site (Lightfoot 1994), Badger House on Mesa Verde (Hayes and Lancaster 1975), and the La Plata district (Morris 1939; Toll 1992). We also draw information from Alkali Ridge in southeastern Utah (Brew 1946), from northeastern Arizona (Morris 1980; Nichols and Smiley 1985) and from Shabik'eschee Village in Chaco Canyon (Roberts 1929; Wills and Windes 1989).

Basketmaker III (A.D. 500–700) residences are typically pithouses with an antechamber to the south or southeast, a central hearth, and four roof support posts. Most pithouses are associated with external pits, cists, and shallow pit structures that were probably used for food storage. At large sites it is unclear whether these features are associated with particular pithouses, but at some smaller sites the arrangement of storage units to the north of the pithouse is clear (Carlson 1965; Mobley-Tanaka 1997b). Cooking was done in the central hearths and in exterior hearths, ovens, and roasting pits not obviously associated with any particular structure. Formal grinding features are rare, but metates (usually one, sometimes two or three) are common and—as in Mogollon pithouses—are typically located between the hearth and the entryway.

Most Basketmaker III sites comprise one or two pithouses and are widely dispersed across the landscape. A few sites with 14–20 pithouses are known (Eddy 1966; Morris 1980; Wills and Windes 1989), but these larger sites were probably not large permanent residences; they are better interpreted as important places and the loci of periodic aggregations (Wills and Windes 1989). Great kivas, usually located on the peripheries of larger sites, occur in the Basketmaker III and early Pueblo I periods and would have served as central places for dispersed communities.

Basketmaker III organization was probably fairly similar to that in the Mogollon Late Pithouse period. Some degree of residential mobility combined with the existence of a basic unit of residence, consumption, and to some degree storage would have facilitated household-level

decision making and participation by many individuals, including women. The great kivas were probably used for suprahousehold activities, but there is no evidence that these were exclusionary. Women working at hearths or mealing features in or in front of pithouses would have been able to observe and participate in ongoing activities. Furthermore, the presence of communal as well as household-level storage and food preparation facilities indicates a flexible labor organization, and there is no evidence of gendered task groups. Thus Basketmaker III women probably had considerable power and autonomy, and there is no architectural evidence of a gender-based difference in prestige. However, Basketmaker III autonomy—for individuals as well as households—may have been limited as a result of the violence or threat of violence that characterized this period (LeBlanc 1999).

The unit pueblo (Lipe 1989; Prudden 1903) was the basic unit of residence, food preparation, construction, and trash disposal across much of the northern Southwest prior to A.D. 1300. Unit pueblo construction appeared in many areas by late Basketmaker III times (occasionally earlier [Dohm 1994]) and was ubiquitous by the Pueblo I period (A.D. 700–900). Its defining characteristics include a small (ca. 16 m²) pit structure,[9] surface structures to the north or west of the pit structure and midden area to the south or east, and evidence (in the form of wall abutments) of accretional growth (B. Bradley 1993; Brew 1946; Leh 1942; Lightfoot 1994; Morley 1914; Rohn 1971). Pueblo I pit structures are generally deeper and more rectangular than their Basketmaker III predecessors; they lack antechambers but instead have vent-tunnel complexes and wing walls delineating separate areas. Pit structures have centrally located hearths, and many also have identifiable ritual features known as sipapus (Wilshusen 1986). At most Pueblo I sites in the northern San Juan region, pit structures and sets of surface rooms are clearly associated, although the arrangement is less consistent in other regions (see Hegmon 1994). The roomblocks often include two rows of rooms. The front multipurpose habitation rooms are larger, contain hearths, and usually provided access to one or more smaller, featureless storage rooms behind (Lightfoot 1994). Ramada and small plaza areas in front of the surface rooms often contain hearths. Formal mealing features are rare, but metates are found in various locations, including in pit structures, surface rooms, and ramada-plaza areas.
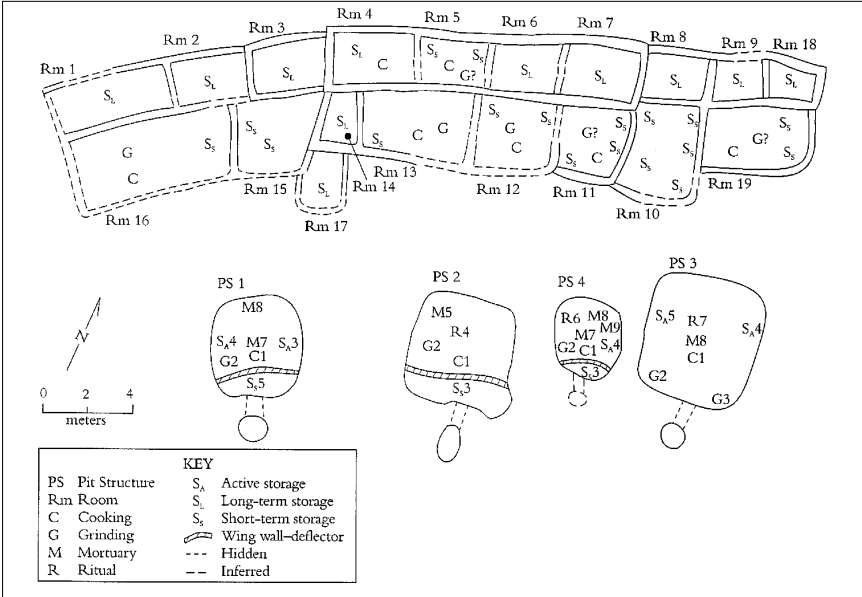
FIGURE 2.4.

The distribution of activity areas across and within households at the Pueblo I Duckfoot site in southwestern Colorado. The three household units are (1) rooms 1, 2, 3, 15, and 16 and pit structure 1; (2) rooms 4–7 and 11–14 and pit structure 2, possibly replaced by pit structure 4; (3) rooms 8–10, 18, and 19 and pit structure 3. (Reproduced from Lightfoot 1994: fig. 5.1, with permission of Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.)

Pueblo I household organization is fairly well understood, thanks to Ricky Lightfoot's (1994) detailed analysis of construction sequences, access, and artifacts at the Duckfoot site (fig. 2.4). Based on his finding that most domestic activities are redundant only at the scale of the entire unit pueblo, Lightfoot argued that the social correlate of the unit pueblo is a single large household and that various activities were organized at different social scales within the household. Storage was organized at the level of the household segment, which occupied an individual habitation room linked to the storage rooms (also see Gilman 1987; Hegmon 1996). In contrast, grinding and cooking were done in both the surface habitation rooms and pit structures, indicating organization at both the segment and entire household levels. Pit structure-based ritual would also have been organized at the level of the entire household. The

well-established and redundant unit pueblo construction probably represents an increasingly formalized expression household organization, possibly symbolized by a shared ritual space.

The development of more restricted or private storage and a more robust expression of structured household organization in most Pueblo I contexts suggests a reduction in organizational flexibility—and concomitantly in individual (including women's) autonomy—in comparison with Basketmaker III patterns. At the same time, the presence of multiple cooking, storage, and grinding facilities within Pueblo I unit pueblos suggests an uncentralized and flexible domestic economy in which household segments could store and prepare their food separately or communally. Individuals and households would still have maintained considerable autonomy, and women probably had considerable power in the household-based organization. There is no evidence that either gender was restricted from access to ritual or other activities in the unit pueblo pit structures.

Large aggregated sites, possibly the earliest sedentary villages in the northern Southwest (Wilshusen 1991), developed by the A.D. 800s. Many of these villages were short-lived (ca. 40 years in the Dolores River valley) and appear to represent large-scale movements of preexisting communities (Schlanger 1988; Schlanger and Wilshusen 1993). Mid-800s villages typically consist of clusters of small roomblocks with unit pueblo architecture along with one or two large, U-shaped roomblocks. Some pit structures in these U-shaped roomblocks are oversized (ca. 66 m^2), contain elaborate ritual features, and are associated with relatively high frequencies of serving bowls and fauna used in rituals and feasting (Blinman 1989; Potter 1997). These oversized pit structure complexes appear to have replaced the much larger (180–400 m^2) great kivas—associated with earlier dispersed Pueblo I communities— as settings for large-scale ceremonialism (Wilshusen 1986). Similarities between these U-shaped roomblocks and the earliest (late A.D. 800s) construction at Pueblo Bonito (Windes and Ford 1992, 1996) suggest that these Pueblo I structures may represent early great houses (Schachner 1999).

The large Pueblo I villages represent one of the earliest examples of architecturally restricted access in the Ancestral Pueblo area (Schachner 1999). The oversized pit structures—in contrast to earlier great kivas—could have held only a fraction of the population of a

village, and some U-shaped roomblocks also had walls restricting access into the plazas, indicating that some people were excluded from important activities. Furthermore, although surface rooms in these roomblocks are fairly typical, they are not consistently associated with individual pit structures in a unit pueblo arrangement (Brew 1946; Kane and Robinson 1988; Morris 1939:75–85; Wilshusen and Blinman 1992), suggesting that Duckfoot-style household organization was not ubiquitous. As was the case in our interpretation of the Hohokam Classic, we do not know whose access was restricted and whether restrictions were based on gender. Assuming that the oversized pit structures were used for feasting, women were probably involved in the preparation and serving of this food;[10] thus the gender-based division of ritual labor seen in the ethnographically known pueblos may have been established by this period. In general, though Pueblo I women probably maintained considerable power as important members of relatively autonomous households, that power may not have extended into all realms of society.

In the late 800s, large areas of southwestern Colorado were depopulated, and more dispersed communities with great kivas and early great houses developed in northern New Mexico, including the Cedar Hill area (Wilshusen 1995), Chaco Canyon (Windes 1993:337–339), and the eastern Chuska slope (Marshall et al. 1979). Wilshusen and Wilson (1995) argued that these settlement shifts represent a large-scale migration from the northern San Juan region, and the return to great kivas and dispersed settlement signals the reestablishment of more egalitarian, horizontally linked groups and household autonomy. These developments would have meant a return to earlier, more egalitarian gender relations as well.

THE CHACOAN ERA

Beginning by A.D. 900 and continuing into the 1100s, much of the northern Southwest was linked (ritually, economically, and/or stylistically) to developments in Chaco Canyon. On the north side of Chaco Canyon, nine elaborate great houses were constructed; most are multistoried, and the largest has more than 650 rooms. Less than a kilometer away, on the south side of Chaco Wash, are contemporary, apparently ordinary residences known as the Chaco small sites. Beyond Chaco

Canyon, extending across an area of more than 67,000 km², are a series of approximately 70 Chacoan outliers, that is, larger sites with great kivas that share some of the characteristics of the Chaco Canyon great houses. In some cases smaller residential sites are clearly clustered around the outliers; in other cases small sites are widely dispersed but are thought to be part of outlier communities (Kantner and Mahoney 2000).

There are enormous quantities of architectural data for this period. We focus primarily on residential architecture in relation to household organization, drawing data from the Chacoan small sites (Truell 1992; Windes 1993) and from several syntheses of the northern San Juan region (Lipe 1989; Mobley-Tanaka 1997a; Varien 1999; Varien, ed., 1999). We consider only a fraction of the great house and outlier data, specifically aspects of the architecture relevant to restrictions on access and the organization of labor, drawing primarily on the detailed Pueblo Alto report (Windes 1987) and Stephen Lekson's (1986) study of great house architecture.

Mortuary and biological data (Akins 1986; Martin, this volume; Neitzel, this volume), as well as the enormous differences in architectural elaboration, are indicative of some form of social inequality in Chaco Canyon, and it is likely that some women, as well as some men, enjoyed a privileged status. Many components of great house architecture would have placed severe restrictions on access. For example, plaza areas in most great houses are completely enclosed, series of storage rooms are hidden deep in Pueblo Bonito, and suites of rooms at Pueblo Alto are accessible only from the road (Lekson 1986:61–64; Windes 1987:fig. 10.3). However, the nature of Chacoan organization is not well understood. Several lines of evidence (including the distribution of hearths [Windes 1984] and the organization of room suites [Bernardini 1999]) indicate that there may have been only a small resident population in the great houses, and James Judge (1989) has suggested that Chaco Canyon was the locus of periodic pilgrimages. Thus the inequality evidenced in Chaco Canyon may not have been a pervasive aspect of most people's everyday lives across the northern Southwest (in contrast to the inequality signaled by Hohokam and Salado platform mounds). Researchers have only just begun to investigate the organization of outlier communities (Kantner and Mahoney
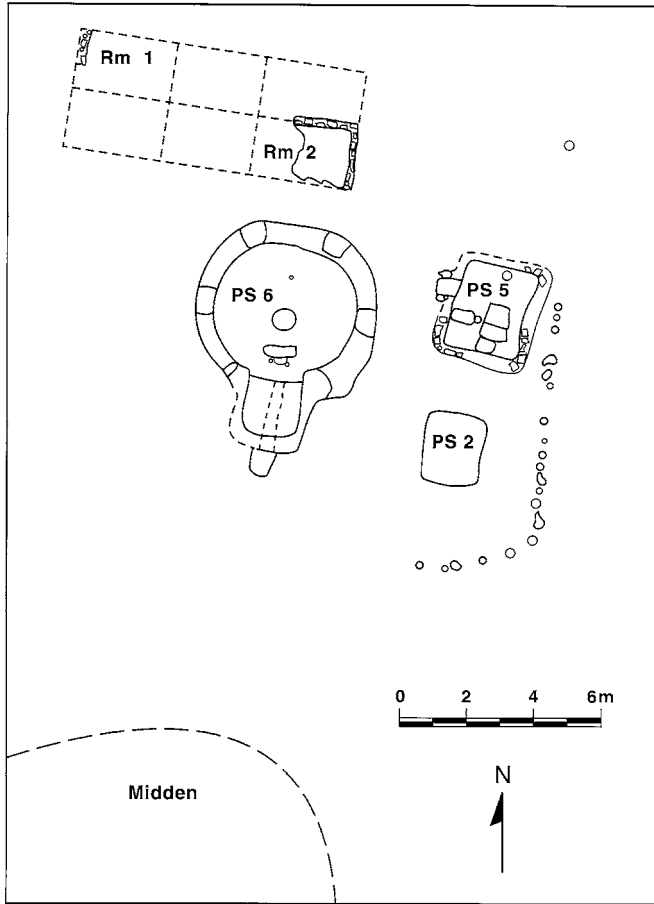
FIGURE 2.5.

Unit pueblo at Knobby Knee Stockade (ca. A.D. 1200) in southwestern Colorado (Morris 1991), showing surface roomblock (rooms 1 and 2), keyhole-shaped kiva (PS 6), and subterranean mealing room (PS 5).

2000; though see Breternitz, Doyel, and Marshall 1982).

Residential sites on the south side of Chaco Canyon and across the northern Southwest are characterized by unit pueblo construction: suites of surface rooms associated with well-constructed kivas and midden areas (fig. 2.5). Kiva form is standardized, although there are regional differences (e.g., Chacoan kivas are circular and have benches, in contrast to keyhole-shaped kivas with pilasters in the north-

ern San Juan region). Kivas were sometimes accessed via tunnels that opened into surface rooms (Wheat 1984).

Substantial cooking hearths are present in kivas as well as in front surface rooms, indicating that the flexible organization of labor seen in earlier times continued to some extent. Other domestic activities became more centrally and formally organized, however. The most salient example of this centralization is the grouping of metates in clusters of fixed mealing bins (Mobley-Tanaka 1997a; Schlanger 1994, 1995).

The distribution of mealing bins is best understood in the non-Chacoan residential unit pueblos. At these sites, grinding complexes most often contained between two and six bins set in various locations including on kiva roofs, in subterranean mealing rooms adjacent to kivas (see fig. 2.5), in surface mealing rooms, and sometimes—when only one or two bins were needed—in kivas (Ortman 1998). Despite the variability, the common denominator is a single grinding complex that could be accessed directly from the kiva; thus mealing units were clearly isomorphic with kiva units.

The organization of grinding in the Chacoan small sites is more difficult to discern, since several specialized mealing rooms were constructed and dismantled during the course of each lengthy occupation. Space syntax analysis indicates that these mealing rooms were highly integrated spaces accessible from a number of adjacent surface rooms, pit structures, and extramural areas; thus Bustard (1996) argued that the mealing group was the fundamental social unit of Chacoan small sites. Because of the extensive remodeling, it is difficult to assess the relationship between mealing rooms and kivas, but we suspect they were linked.

Similar grinding complexes are present in the residential areas of Chacoan great houses such as Pueblo Alto (Lekson 1986:49; Windes 1987:386–91). In addition, Pueblo Bonito as well as some outlier great house sites (e.g., Aztec and Salmon [James 1994:258; Shelley and Irwin-Williams 1980] and Chimney Rock [Mobley-Tanaka 1990)]) have much larger communal grinding rooms, with 10 to 12 mealing bins, suggesting that at least some food preparation was done on a supra-household scale.

Unit pueblo architecture indicates that household organization—

already well established by Basketmaker III–Pueblo I times—continued to be important throughout the Chacoan era. Furthermore, the redundant unit pueblo organization and the elaborate and formalized nature of kivas suggest important symbolic associations that may signal the cultural importance of the resident household unit. These developments could have had various, and somewhat contradictory, effects on gender relations and the lives of women. Households probably maintained considerable autonomy (varying with mobility, as we discuss later), yet the pervasiveness of the organization may have limited individuals' autonomy to choose a style of residence.

The specialized mealing bins and grinding rooms are best interpreted from the perspective of these contradictory trends. On one hand, women would have had no choice regarding the location of their work, would sometimes have been separated from ongoing activities, and would have been subject to monitoring and supervision, often from other women. Thus these new features would have reduced women's autonomy and might be associated with an increase in women's labor burden. On the other hand, the construction of special facilities for women's work—facilities that were sometimes attached to kivas and were also found in great houses—suggests the importance of corn grinding and the power of women over this increasingly separate realm. Furthermore, the communal nature of grinding might have contributed to women's prestige. Ortman (1998) argued that the redundant and often elaborate unit pueblo form symbolized the cultural ideal of large, multigenerational extended family households and that the clustering of mealing bins in a single location expressed the ideal of economic solidarity among women from various segments of the household.

Although grinding facilities are sometimes found in Chaco-era kivas, they were much more common in earlier Pueblo I pit structures. This shift led William Gillespie (1976) to argue that the development of kivas represented the development of ritual spaces used primarily by men (although see Cater and Chenault 1988). We think a more reasonable interpretation has to do with variability in extended family households; that is, smaller families sometimes built their grinding facility in the kiva itself, whereas most larger families set aside a separate room in order to allow all of the grinders in the household to

work together. The diverse features indicate that the kivas were used for various purposes, probably by all genders. We see no evidence that either gender was denied access to unit pueblo kivas.

In the northern San Juan region, and probably across much of the northern Southwest, household residential mobility was fairly high during the Chacoan era; many unit pueblo sites were occupied for only a generation (Varien 1999), although community centers show considerable longevity. In contrast, most Chaco Canyon small sites were occupied for more than a century and remodeled multiple times. Given this lack of mobility, as well as the small sites' proximity to the great houses, we expect that the households resident in the Chaco Canyon small sites enjoyed less autonomy than their contemporaries elsewhere. Thus it is interesting that our spatial data (i.e., unit pueblo construction, organization of grinding) indicate no differences in gender relations associated with these differences in household autonomy. A similar comparison is developed later.

Finally, although the great houses are much larger and more elaborate than the contemporary unit pueblo residences, the two types display a number of parallels in spatial organization that have important implications. The communal grinding facilities in great houses suggest mass preparation of food for rituals and appear to duplicate on the community level the more humble mealing bin complexes found in most unit pueblos. A second example is the existence in some great houses of what Thomas Windes (1987) calls "big room suites," which lack domestic features but otherwise appear to be large versions of unit pueblo room suites. In addition, kivas found in great houses parallel the small pit structures and kivas of contemporaneous small houses. Ortman (1998) suggested that the unit pueblo household concept was used metaphorically to structure community organization. If this was the case, and if our foregoing interpretations regarding women's power and prestige in unit pueblo households are correct, then women may have had considerable power and prestige in the large communities as well.

PUEBLO III, A.D. 1150–1300

Following the dissolution of the Chaco regional system, various areas of the northern Southwest evidence increasingly different patterns, culminating with the depopulation of much of the Colorado

Plateau. We focus here on the thirteenth century and develop comparisons between the northern San Juan region and the Kayenta region in northeastern Arizona, drawing on syntheses presented by Adler (ed., 1996), Lipe (1989, 1995), Ortman (1998), Rohn (1989), and Varien (1999; ed., 1999) and on detailed descriptions of sites such as Sand Canyon Pueblo (Lipe 1992; B. Bradley 1993), Mug House (Rohn 1971), Cannonball (Morley 1914), the Hovenweep Group (Winter 1977), and Betatakin and Kiet Siel (Dean 1969).

The Northern San Juan

Unit pueblo organization became increasingly formalized after A.D. 1200. Kivas were made with carefully shaped stone masonry (in contrast to the cruder masonry used in surface rooms). Kiva murals, niches with special pottery vessels, and carved kiva floors are found at some sites (B. Bradley 1992, 1993; Morris 1991), and tunnels between kivas and other rooms are fairly common (e.g., B. Bradley 1993:fig. 7; Luebben 1985). The construction of mealing bins and specialized mealing rooms also continued. And whereas cooking hearths were found in various locations in earlier periods, extramural cooking features were much less common in Pueblo III times; in most sites the only substantial cooking hearths are located in kivas.

Unit pueblo occupation length increased over time, and some later Pueblo III unit pueblos were used for more than a century (Varien 1999). Regional settlement data also show an increasingly crowded landscape over time, with indications of formalized land tenure (Adler 1996; Varien 1999) and violence (Lightfoot and Kuckelman 1994). As this social landscape developed, isolated unit pueblos began to cluster into multiple units and then into villages with as many as 100 households. Unit pueblo architecture remained strongly expressed in these large villages, and wall abutment data routinely reveal patterns of accretional growth (B. Bradley 1993; Leh 1942; Morley 1914; Rohn 1971).

The continuity and increased elaboration of unit pueblo organization in the context of village formation and decreases in mobility provide more data on the association of household mobility/autonomy and gender relations. The comparison already developed between more and less mobile Chaco-era unit pueblo households revealed no obvious differences in intrahousehold gender relations. Similarly, the

decrease in unit pueblo household mobility seen in Pueblo III times might have reduced household autonomy but had little apparent effect on gender relations, at least as expressed in the architectural data. The only exception is that cooking hearth locations indicate less flexibility in the organization of labor associated with the later, less mobile period.

Thirteenth-century villages were typically built around the heads of canyons or in alcoves, often enclosed a natural spring, and were almost always bisected by a drainage or wall (Rohn 1971; Varien et al. 1996). Many had impressive rimrock architectural complexes, including ceremonial, residential, and storage architecture (B. Bradley 1996:246–47; Fewkes 1919), along with low masonry walls that defined village spaces (Kenzle 1993), great kivas, multistoried towers (Winter 1977), and in some cases suprahousehold storage structures (Bloomer 1989; Cattanach 1980; Lipe 1992). Much of this architecture seems to have restricted the access of outsiders, an important consideration during increasingly violent times, but there is little evidence of intrasite restrictions on access. It is possible that household-level social differentiation and competition was advertised in this impressive and creative architecture. Although some women might have gained prestige as members of important families, we expect that overall such competition would have increased women's labor burden and negatively affected most women's lives.

The Kayenta Region

Prior to the thirteenth century, the basic architectural unit in the Kayenta region was a local version of the unit pueblo, complete with kiva, midden, surface roomblock, and grinding room (Beals, Brainerd, and Smith 1945:15, 44; Dean 1996:34, 1970:149; Powell 1983:24). As villages began to form during the Tsegi phase (A.D. 1250–1300), the basic architectural unit changed into what Jeffrey Dean (1969:34) called the room cluster. This was essentially a unit pueblo that lacked a kiva and contained one or two habitation rooms with entry box-hearth complexes, several storage rooms or granaries, and in some cases a specialized mealing room. Central courtyards linked several of these room clusters into courtyard complexes. Differences between Betatakin and Kiet Siel also indicate that settlement and mobility were sometimes

organized at the household level and sometimes at a more inclusive scale (Dean 1970). Tsegi Phase villages were short-lived, lasting only a few decades.

The effect of village formation on households and gender organization was quite different in the Kayenta and northern San Juan regions. In contrast to the persistent unit pueblo organization to the northeast, Kayenta household architecture became smaller, more variable, and less formally delineated (Dean 1969:36–37). Furthermore, the disappearance of unit pueblo kivas in favor of kivas shared by several room clusters suggests a decline in the importance of the household as a basic social unit.

These differences have several important implications for gender relations. On one hand, the variable organization and lack of residential permanence suggest that individuals, including women, might have had a relatively high degree of autonomy. On the other, the decline in the importance of unit pueblo organization signals a decrease in household autonomy. Women at different stages of life might have been differently affected by these changes in household and individual autonomy. Most women, however, would have been negatively affected by the decline or absence of well-defined grinding task groups and the minimal symbolic importance of households, trends that we interpret as indicating a decline in women's power and prestige.

The distribution of features in relation to kivas also indicates a decline in the power and prestige of women. Specifically, kivas lack mealing bins and occasionally have loom holes (Dean 1969:29–33; Smith 1952a), suggesting that they were increasingly becoming the purview of men, and possibly that the access of women to kivas was restricted, culturally if not materially. This possible change in kiva use, as well as the plaza orientation of some Tsegi phase villages, suggests that some of the important transformations in Ancestral Pueblo built environments that spread throughout the Pueblo world in the fourteenth century were already under way in the Kayenta region.

PUEBLO IV, A.D. 1300–1540

Several important changes occurred in the organization of Pueblo built environments coincident with the large-scale migrations of Ancestral Pueblo populations in the A.D. 1280s. The changes were so

basic and widespread that it is possible to consider most of the Pueblo area (including the Mogollon Rim) in a single discussion. The first and perhaps most important change was the development of integrated villages that housed entire communities and enclosed central plazas with terraced, multistoried residential architecture. Some of the earliest fourteenth-century villages, including Pueblo de los Muertos (Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1980), Arroyo Hondo (Creamer 1993), and Homol'ovi II (Adams and Hays 1991) were highly formalized and carefully planned (fig. 2.6). Bonding and abutment data illustrate that, unlike their predecessors, early Pueblo IV villages were built in massive construction episodes that raised apartment-like houses for large segments of the community at the same time that central public spaces were created (Brown 1990; Creamer 1993; Hayes, Young, and Warren 1981; Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1980). Later, fifteenth-century villages tended to be less formally arranged, thus enabling more organic, long-term accretional growth (Potter 1998), but the plaza orientation has been maintained until the present.

The second change was the disappearance of unit pueblo kivas. Pueblo IV kivas have larger floor areas and occur much less frequently than their unit pueblo predecessors (Lipe 1989), never contain grinding features (Ortman 1998), often contain sets of loom holes (looms were used exclusively by male weavers in historic pueblos), and were usually located in the central plazas (Creamer 1993; Kidder 1958; Smith 1972). Judging from similarities with historic and modern pueblos, it seems likely that the social units using Pueblo IV kivas were not households but rather moieties, religious societies, clans, and/or sodalities. This shift away from household-based ritual represents a profound change in Pueblo organization and culture. Although access to some ritual areas (e.g., Pueblo I oversized pit structures) had been restricted in the past, in the Pueblo IV period it appears that access to all kivas was, or could be, routinely restricted.

The third change was the increased size and permanence of Pueblo IV villages. Most earlier villages were used for only a generation or so, but many villages first built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were still occupied at the time of the European invasion (e.g., Hawikku [Smith, Woodbury, and Woodbury 1966], Awatovi [Brew 1979], Gran Quivira [Hayes, Young, and Warren 1981], Nambe [Ellis
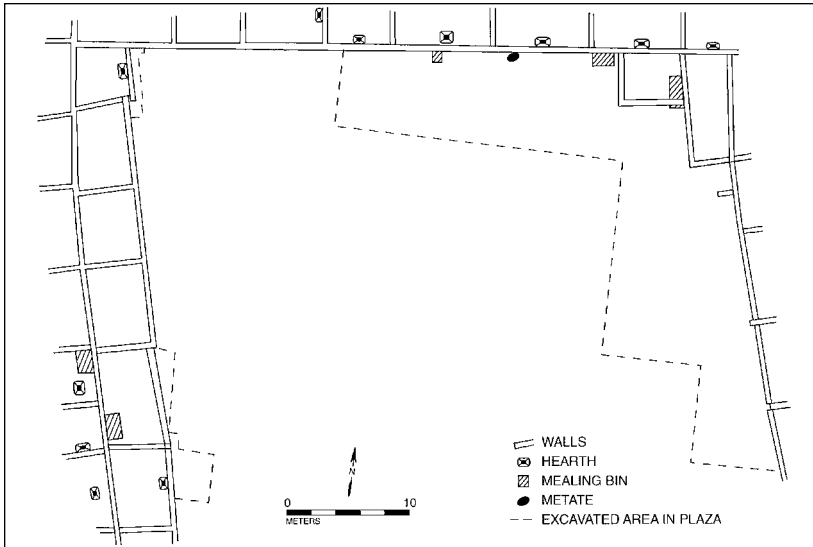
FIGURE 2.6.

Plaza C at the Pueblo IV site of Arroyo Hondo, northern New Mexico. The plaza is defined by regular rows of rooms. Grinding areas (mealing bins and metates) are found in rooms and in the plaza. (After Creamer 1993:79, fig. 4.16.)

1964], and Pecos [Kidder 1958]). Likewise, early Pueblo IV villages were often two, three, or even four times as large as the largest Pueblo III villages (Adler and Johnson 1996; Kintigh 1985).

The fourth important difference between Pueblo III and Pueblo IV communities has to do with the composition and cultural salience of households. Basic architectural units that probably represent households can sometimes be identified in formal, highly planned fourteenth-century villages. They usually consist of a front living room that opens onto a plaza, and one to five additional living and storage rooms. These basic units often encompass more than one story and are accessed through a combination of doorways and roof hatches (Ciolek-Torrello 1985:61; Creamer 1993:130–33; Kidder 1958:122–24). Grinding complexes in these residences, or at least ground-story facilities in the eastern Pueblo area, almost always contain a single mealing bin, suggesting that households were generally smaller and their composition less variable than was the case in unit pueblo households. Unfortunately, very few data on grinding facilities are available from

fourteenth-century western Pueblo sites. An additional notable aspect of Pueblo IV "apartments" is their uniform nondescriptness, in contrast to earlier unit pueblos with their elaborate kivas. This is probably due in part to the large scale of construction episodes in fourteenth-century villages, but it also suggests that individual households were not considered to be as important as the overall community in which they were embedded.

The final change that is important for our purposes is a dramatic increase in the amount of food preparation that occurred outdoors, under open ramadas, in plazas, and on rooftops. Pueblo III outdoor grinding facilities are uncommon, but they are present in many Pueblo IV sites. Excavations at Pindi (Stubbs and Stallings 1953) and Arroyo Hondo (Creamer 1993; see fig. 2.6) have revealed that the central plazas of Pueblo IV villages contained roasting pits and turkey pens in addition to mealing bins. Outdoor bread ovens seem to continue this tradition of outdoor food preparation in most modern pueblos.

Two central points emerge from this summary. First, many basic organizational patterns of modern Pueblo communities date to the early fourteenth century. Second, Pueblo IV communities are organized quite differently from their predecessors. The disappearance of unit pueblo architecture in favor of integrated community architecture, the dissociation of kivas from households and their extension to larger organizations, the reduced social scale of households, and the increased visibility of food preparation all suggest that the household was a less important organizing principle in Pueblo IV society than it was in earlier times. In Pueblo mythology, it is the clan or moiety—not the household—that is the unit of emergence through the sipapu or earth navel of Pueblo cosmology. The long-term stability of Pueblo IV villages may have been enabled by the communal emphasis of this emergent ideology. In addition, there is a great deal of practical interdependence, particularly in the realm of agricultural production, among Pueblo households.

The significance of these changes for gender relations is not straightforward. We could argue that women's autonomy and prestige were reduced with the formation of plaza-oriented villages. In contrast to earlier times, in which large households were autonomous and culturally valued, Pueblo IV households were more seamlessly incorpo-

rated into a community in which important decisions were made by men in structures to which women did not have access on a daily basis. The disappearance of unit pueblos and their mealing rooms probably indicates a decrease in household–extended kin solidarity and thus in women's political influence. Finally, even if women entered and used the kivas on some occasions, it is likely that their access to kivas was, or could be, restricted at other times.

On the other hand, we do not suggest that the quality of women's lives deteriorated in all respects. The increasingly public and variable nature of food preparation, combined with the central role of prepared food redistributions in modern Pueblo ceremonialism (Ford 1972a), would have given Pueblo IV women prominent roles in community life and possibly new sources of ritual power. In addition, Pueblo III women spent much of their time in small kivas or mealing rooms, with no one to talk to other than their mothers, sisters, and in-laws. Although Pueblo IV households might have experienced an overall decrease in autonomy, some individual women might have gained some autonomy with regard to the organization and location of their labor, and at least they were able to observe and comment on village activities while doing their daily chores.

CONCLUSION

We began by emphasizing the importance of understanding (1) the practice of gender relations, that is, the structure as well as the agency of both women and men, and (2) the multidimensionality of women's status—as individuals and in relation to men—conceived in terms of prestige, power, and autonomy. In our analysis of the Mogollon, Hohokam, and Pueblo sequences, we focused on three components of architecture and the use of space: the location of gendered labor, household organization, and restrictions on access. These components are relevant to the various dimensions of women's status and to gender relations in general. Now, in order to bring some closure to the myriad information, we focus specifically on evidence of women's status in the three areas, relying on summary tables 2.1–2.3.

In the Mogollon-Mimbres sequence we see relatively little evidence for gender differentiation. There are suggestions of some social differentiation in the Classic period, but such differentiation

TABLE 2.1
Dimensions of Women's Status in the Mogollon-Mimbres Sequence

Period	Prestige	Autonomy	Power
Early Late Pithouse, A.D. 500–750	Little evidence; probably not much difference between women and men.	Residential mobility contributed to individual and household autonomy. Flexible labor organization.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically.
Later Late Pithouse, 750–1000	Little evidence; probably not much difference between women and men.	Residential mobility contributed to individual and household autonomy; possibly less by end of period. Flexible labor organization.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically.
Classic, 1000–1150	Little clear evidence; probably were differences, though not necessarily gender based. Importance of founders and ancestors suggests value placed on reproduction. Use of symbolically important hearths.	Less household and individual autonomy; emphasis on conformity.	Absence of household organization in some cases suggests less inclusive decision making. Probably not everyone had access to kivas; difference may not have been gender based.
Postclassic, 1150–1250	Little evidence; probably not much difference between women and men.	Residential mobility contributed to individual and household autonomy. Variable features suggest much freedom of choice.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically.

apparently concerned ancestral ties and land tenure; it distinguished families and households, not genders. Both men and women may have worked to establish, symbolize, and perpetuate the important social and kin ties through mortuary practices and maintenance of core rooms. The homogeneous material culture suggests that Classic society was highly structured ideologically, although this structure is not evident in the architectural organization and probably did not involve highly redundant social units. The depopulation of villages at the end of the Classic period may represent an escape from this structure, and the diversity of the Postclassic, a resultant expression of individual autonomy.

The household organization suggested by Ancestral Pueblo unit pueblos and Hohokam courtyard groups would have facilitated important economic and decision-making roles for women and men; women probably had considerable power in both settings. The variable arrangements of courtyard groups and the possibility that group members were recruited suggest that individuals—again women as well as men—would have had considerable autonomy to choose where and how they wanted to live. The menstrual huts, however, suggest that Hohokam women were believed to be polluting and thus had less prestige than men. The dramatic increase in social differentiation in the Hohokam Classic seems to have crossed gender lines. Architectural variability and frequent rebuilding, as well as hoarding of valuables, suggest that the Hohokam power structure was never entrenched or routinely reproduced. The elites—possibly both women and men— had constantly to assert and maintain their power, and the trappings of power (mounds, compound walls, massive stores) were physical and possibly coercive as well as symbolic. This kind of power structure had repercussions at the household level, particularly in elite households in compounds. The organization of compound households was not much different from that in contemporary and earlier courtyard groups, with the exception of the surrounding walls. The walls may have served as markers of elite status, but they would also have limited the autonomy and power of women and others behind the walls.

Ancestral Pueblo peoples created an increasingly redundant and structured environment for themselves until the migrations of the late thirteenth century. The basic architectural form, the unit pueblo,

TABLE 2.2
Dimensions of Women's Status in the Hohokam Sequence

Period	Prestige	Autonomy	Power
Early Pre-Classic, A.D. 300–975	Little evidence; probably not much difference between women and men, though menstrual huts suggest belief in female pollution.	Courtyard group variability and need for recruitment suggest flexibility and residential choice. Flexible labor organization with work outside.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically. Possibly both were recruited as courtyard group members. No restrictions on access.
Sedentary, 975–1150	Little evidence; probably not much difference between women and men, though menstrual huts suggest belief in female pollution.	Some decrease resulting from increased settlement packing, intensive irrigation, and violence. Flexible labor organization with work outside.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically. Possibly both were recruited as courtyard group members.
Classic, 1150–1450	Social hierarchy cross-cuts gender lines. Architectural differentiation suggests multiple dimensions of social differentiation, though there is little direct evidence for gender-based differences in prestige.	Walled compounds restricted autonomy of those inside (women?), though organization within compounds was probably flexible. Non-elite women probably had more autonomy.	Lots of differentiation, restricted access to mounds and elite residences. Differences seem to cross gender lines. Elite women may have had power over non-elite but lacked other kinds of power because of their isolation.

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delineated the basic social unit, the household. The unit pueblo also represented an important structuring principle in a larger social sense; people would have had little choice in residential organization. In contrast to the Hohokam courtyard groups, the redundancy and apparent symbolic importance of unit pueblo organization limited individual—although not necessarily household—autonomy. For the most part, we see little evidence of variable agency in the redundant architecture, although the evidence for competition and architectural ostentation that has been perceived in the aggregated Pueblo III sites and is obvious in Chaco Canyon probably represents a different kind of social strategy. Overall, the unit pueblo—as architectural unit, metaphor, and structuring principle—may be a good example of what Raymond Williams (1977) and Sherry Ortner (1996) meant by cultural hegemony. In this case, however, it is not a gender hegemony but rather a hegemony of organizational form that limited individual autonomy. At the same time, parallels between the organization of women's labor in mealing rooms and the unit pueblo kivas suggest that women had considerable prestige. This organizational hegemony broke down by the beginning of the Pueblo IV period, and the larger-scale community organization seems to have been linked to a decrease in women's prestige and power, although women may have had autonomy in some realms.

We realize that we have made a number of interpretive steps—perhaps leaps—in moving between architecture and gender relations. Assuming for the moment that these tentative steps are correct, we can assess relationships among the three dimensions of women's status. In the earlier periods, for which there are few indications of social differentiation, we see little evidence for gender differentiation. This conclusion is not surprising; many researchers have found links between social and gender hierarchies (e.g., Ortner 1981). Second, in the prehispanic Southwest, we see no case in which women had low prestige, little power, and little autonomy. Men probably had greater status in some times and places, but there is little evidence of a male-dominated gender hegemony. Third, two of the most dramatic transformations in the prehispanic Southwest—the beginnings of the Pueblo IV and Hohokam Classic periods—had major but different effects on gender relations. The Pueblo III–IV transition involved an end of unit pueblo

TABLE 2.3

Dimensions of Women's Status in the Pueblo Sequence

Time Period	Prestige
Basketmaker III, A.D. 500–700	Little evidence; probably not much difference between women and men.
Pueblo I, 700–900	Little evidence; probably not much difference between women and men.
Chaco era small sites, 900–1150	Symbolic importance of unit pueblo and association of kivas and grinding rooms indicate cultural recognition of women's value.
Chacoan great houses and outliers, 900–1150	Enlarged unit pueblo as concept in great houses probably indicates some at least symbolic recognition of women's value.
Late Pueblo III, northern San Juan region, 1200–1300	Symbolic importance of unit pueblo and link of kivas and grinding rooms probably indicate cultural recognition of women's value.
Tsegi phase, 1250–1300	Fewer indications of the recognition/ symbolism of women's value.
Pueblo IV, 1300–1540	Declines with end of elaborated household organization and unit pueblo kivas.

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Autonomy	*Power*
Residential mobility contributed to individual and household autonomy. Threat of violence decreased autonomy.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically.
Reduced mobility reduced individual autonomy, though flexible labor organization suggests autonomy in that realm. Unit pueblos → household autonomy.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically. Some people may have been excluded from oversized pit structures.
Highly redundant unit pueblos limit individual autonomy, contribute to household autonomy. Grinding rooms → highly organized → less individual autonomy.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically. Grinding work groups → source of women's power.
Residents of great houses probably had freedom linked to power, but within the context of a highly structured system.	Varies with status, not necessarily with gender. Some people (residents of great houses?) had much more power than others.
Highly redundant unit pueblos limit individual autonomy. Aggregation and violence reduce household autonomy. Highly organized labor → less individual autonomy.	Both genders contributed to household decision making and contributed economically. Grinding work groups → women's power. Some households may have become especially powerful.
Probably more individual autonomy though less household autonomy than in northern San Juan. Different in different communities.	Women's power probably less well defined than in northern San Juan as result of deemphasis of household and grinding room and possible exclusion from kivas.
Reduced household autonomy, more integrated communities. Variable and exterior grinding possibly indicates more individual autonomy for women at a certain (intracommunity) level.	Women lost power as a result of decline of household symbolism, exclusion from kiva, end of special grinding rooms; retained power as contributors of ritual food.

organization and women's important (prestigious and powerful) role in that organization, although individual women may have gained some autonomy. In contrast, there is little apparent change in household organization at the beginning of the Hohokam Classic, although the construction of compound walls around households and groups of households would have decreased the autonomy of the women who lived in those structures. Fourth, there seems to be something of a negative correlation between women's prestige and autonomy, both within a given society (e.g., the elite Hohokam) and over time (e.g., the Pueblo III to IV transition).

Several issues, both empirical and theoretical, should be pursued in future research. More detailed analyses of access and restrictions on access, possibly involving space syntax methods, would be useful. Such analyses could elucidate variation in the organization of Hohokam and Salado compounds in various contexts (on and off the mounds, walled and unwalled). Similarly, although architectural information is ubiquitous, detailed data on the distribution of rooms and features are often difficult to assemble. Many of the patterns we suggest could be examined in greater detail with more data from more sites, particularly in the Hohokam and Mogollon regions.

In considering the three components of our research—gendered workplaces, household organization, and restricted access—we are least satisfied with our interpretations regarding the third. That is, we were often able to identify what we thought to be architectural restrictions, but we were able to say little about whose access was restricted and what effects such restrictions had on women or gender relations. These issues could be considered theoretically and cross-culturally and by correlating the restrictions we identify in this chapter with trends identified elsewhere in this volume.

Finally, we came to realize (thanks to comments by Elizabeth Brumfiel) that our interpretive principles set up expectations that created negative correlations between autonomy, on the one hand, and power and prestige, on the other. For example, we interpreted unit pueblo household organization as contributing to women's power and prestige but limiting their autonomy. We need to reconsider this relationship and investigate (theoretically and empirically) cases in which women have autonomy as well as power and prestige.

Notes

1. For example, Connell (1987:chapter 3) concluded that neither sex role nor categorical theory provides a satisfactory account of gender asymmetry. See also Kent (1990a) regarding the extent to which culture "determines" architecture or vice versa.

2. The symbolic and conceptual importance of space in gender relations has been well documented in a number of ethnographic analyses—for example, the idea that women and men have different perceptual maps (Ardener 1981:27; see also Moore 1986; Spain 1992). Unfortunately, except in a general sense of providing ideas, the archaeological applicability of this work is limited.

3. According to Eggan (1950) the household is a matrilineal residential unit (including the husbands) that occupied a set of adjoining rooms. Titiev (1944), in contrast, considered a household to be a co-residential group of consanguineal kin (not including in-married men) that occupied a single room.

4. A number of influential early studies in feminist anthropology concluded that women universally have lower status than men (e.g., Ortner 1974; Rosaldo 1974), and many of the subsequent objections to these universalist conclusions emphasized the economic power of women working together and controlling important resources (e.g., Sacks 1979; Sanday 1981; Weiner 1976).

5. The large Galaz Ruin has approximately 135 pithouses and a maximum of about 38 per 100 years during the latest part of the Late Pithouse period (the Three Circle Phase [Anyon and LeBlanc 1984:91–92]). Assuming a pithouse use life of 21–28 years (which may be generous; see Cameron 1990), only about 10 would have been occupied at any one time.

6. A different pattern is evident farther to the north in the Pine Lawn Valley, where, in the early part of the Late Pithouse period, storage pits appear

to have been common inside pit houses and the pit houses tend to be larger than those in other areas and in later periods (Wills 1991).

7. Among the Tarahumara, individual houses are owned (or at least built and occupied) by fairly large extended family groups, but the units of residential mobility that move between those houses are generally nuclear families or sometimes individuals (Graham 1994).

8. These various room types are quite clear at some Phoenix Basin sites (e.g., Los Muertos [Brunson 1989]) and on Salado sites (Rice 1998). At Pueblo Grande, however, most structures, including the adobe-walled Classic rooms, appear to be simple dwellings [Mitchell, ed., 1994a:77]). We are not certain whether this apparent difference is chronological (i.e., Pueblo Grande is earlier), is due to different sampling or excavation strategies, or represents real differences in organization.

9. We use the term "pit structure" to refer to any semisubterranean structure in which the walls of the pit (lined or not) are the walls of the structure. Where it is clear that a pit structure was a residence, we use the term pithouse. Where pit structures may have had various uses (i.e., as a residence and/or as an early kiva), we retain the more general term "pit structure."

10. Data on food preparation in the oversized pit structures are scanty. Of the two excavated at McPhee Village (Kane and Robinson 1988), one had a broken mano fragment possibly associated with the floor, and the other had a broken trough metate probably associated with the roof fall.