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Modeling Gender: A Carolina Perspective

ABSTRACT

It is proving difficult to tie gender theory and gender studies to historical archaeological evidence: documents, primary and secondary deposits, artifact scatters, and data from whole or truncated features. To clarify the application of gender theory to historical archaeological investigations, a systematic connection between material culture data, methods, and theory must be formulated. A sample matrix is offered to illustrate possible pathways between specific strands of gender research and material culture studies. This discussion of gender approaches, diverse methods, and corresponding material culture draws, in part, on North Carolina examples.

Introduction

At the North Carolina logging-town site of Ravensford, occupied ca. 1918–1927, archaeologists uncovered a tin, illustrated in Figure 1, that reads: "3 Merry Widows," referring to the three early-20th-century condoms sold therein (Webb et al. 2002; Gibson and VanderVeen 2012). One can presume that the user was a heterosexual male purchasing the condoms for intercourse with a heterosexual female (the tin predates the 1980s AIDS epidemic), although at this time women also purchased prophylactics for protection against disease and pregnancy (Gibson and VanderVeen 2012). This artifact is more than a functional object. The tin's presence also raises issues of sexually transmitted disease, management of reproduction, control of sexual intercourse, and the economics of sexuality at the social and individual level in the North Carolina mountains. The presence of a breast pump from the same project raises relevant questions about infant mortality, the physical effects of breastfeeding, and the challenges of nursing mothers who labored in this small logging community. These artifacts represent the physical existence of presumably heterosexual men and women; they also are encoded with clues to gender behavior, relations, and ideology (Yentsch 1991b, 1991c; Sørensen 2000), although these clues are sometimes difficult to discern (Barile and Brandon 2004).

Gender is a major structuring principle in society. Traditionally, gender is defined as the social construction of appropriate masculine and feminine personal identities, roles, social relationships, and ideology (Conkey and Spector 1984). Historical archaeologists can offer case studies and theoretical insights on transforming gender systems and relationships at multiple scales of analysis and from a myriad of perspectives. In 1991 *Historical Archaeology* published a issue devoted to gender (Seifert 1991). Other volumes detailing related issues of gender, class, and race followed (Scott 1994; Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998; Barile and Brandon 2004; Galle and Young 2004; Seifert 2005). Historical archaeologists are still debating how best to define, explore, and discuss gender issues, past and present. Finding a ready means of recognizing the effects of the structuring power of gender relations in the archaeological record has proven elusive, but not impossible, and gender research projects are found, for example, in feminist, landscape, neo-Marxist, contextual, and structuralist approaches (Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero and Conkey 1991; Hodder 1991; Spencer-Wood 1991, 2004a, 2004b, 2010; Walde and Willows 1991; Wylie 1991; Yentsch 1991b; Claassen 1992b, 2001; Paynter 2000a, 2000b; Sørensen 2000; Levy 2001; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Wurst 2003; Barile and Brandon 2004:7; Galle and Young 2004; Seifert 2005; Spude 2005; Spencer-Wood 2006, 2010; Robin and Brumfiel 2008; Casella 2010; Delle and Levine 2010).

In a review of gender issues in historical archaeology, Paynter (2000b:197) called for additional theoretical debate and empirical studies of gender, a call not fully heeded to date. One reason is the difficulty in bridging gender theory with material culture analysis. Connecting historical archaeological evidence to perceptions of personhood (identity), social interactions (relations), behaviors (roles), and symbolic meaning (ideology) takes careful theoretical framing, modeling, data collection, and interpretation. A guide to gender-related research is offered here, modeling selected gender dimensions and their

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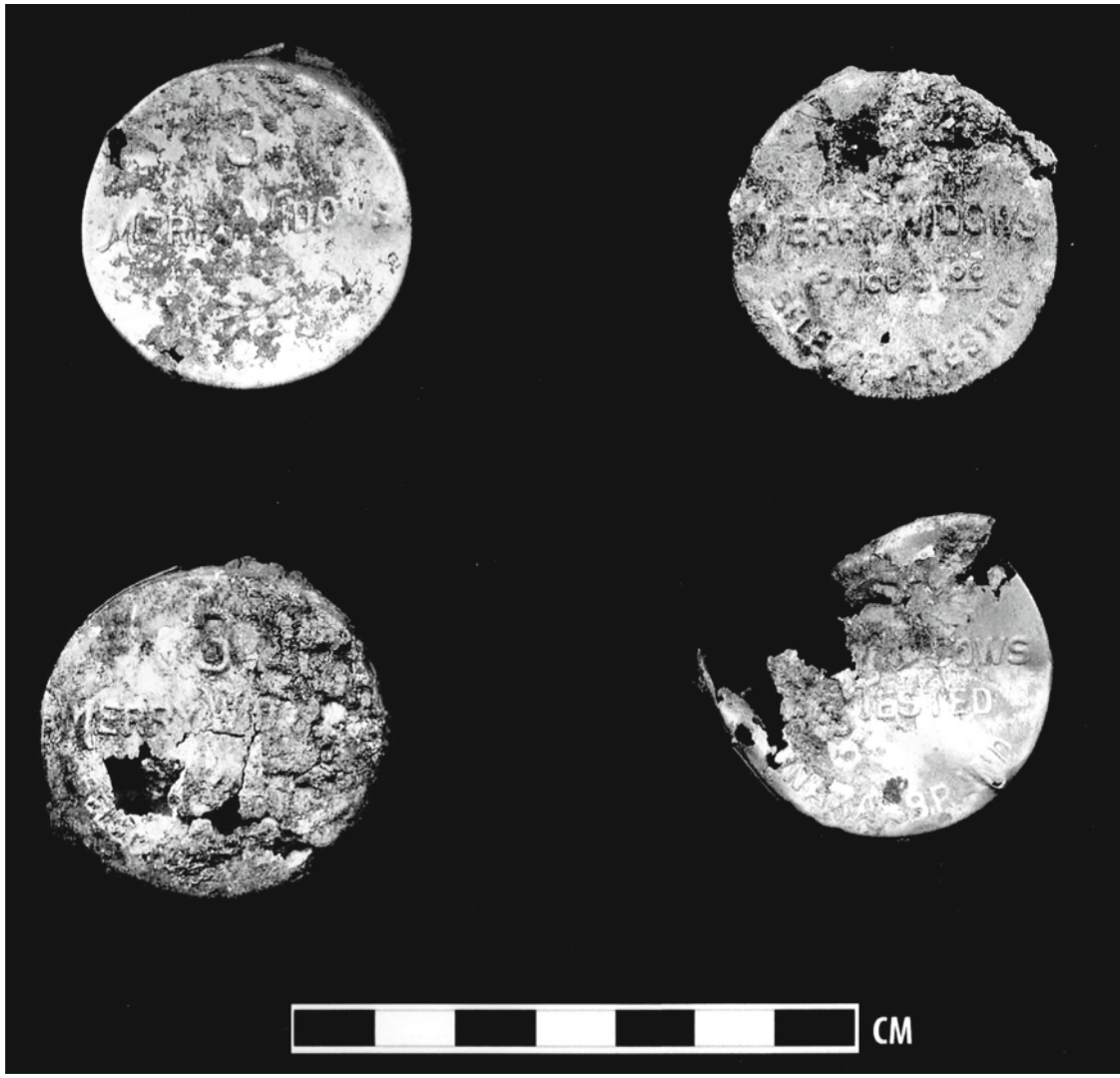

FIGURE 1. Four Merry Widow tin examples (Ravensfords 2002). (Courtesy TRC, Chapel Hill/Asheville.)

relationship to historical archaeological analysis. Examples of gender approaches, data sources, and methods are first discussed, drawing in part upon pertinent North Carolina examples.

Approaches to Gender

Although early anthropologists recorded family formulations and marital and residency rules in cross-cultural perspective, the relevance of the organizing principle of gender within a particular society was not fully recognized until forward-thinking scholars incorporated gender in their anthropological and archaeological studies in the 1980s (Dahlberg 1983; Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero and Conkey 1991; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Nelson 2004). There have been numerous feminist critiques of some of the assumptions behind processual and post-processual theories and methods (Spencer-Wood 1991, 2004b, 2006, 2010; Walde and Willows 1991; Sørensen 2000; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Wurst 2003; Nelson 2004). Feminist theories in the post-modern age center on the nexus of identity: age, class, ethnicity, gender, and race and its ramifications for discrimination or opportunity (Spencer-Wood 2004b:243, 2010).

Gender identity does not stand alone. It is a construct that transforms over time through interaction with others and through self-reflection

(Scott 2004). Processes of socialization and cultural history, as well as social interactions, inform an individual's perception of gender identity, ideals, roles, and relations. Cultural and individual perceptions, and construction of gender—or what constitutes socially prescribed ranges of gender identity, behavior, beliefs, attire, and social relationships—vary in the classic archaeological dimensions of time and space. What were deemed acceptable behaviors or roles for young women and men in rural England in the 16th century, for example, were transformed and mitigated by colonial circumstances in the early-17th-century Virginia colony (Brown 1996).

Gender, as an aspect of culture, is articulated through material culture at various levels by the individual and group. It is seen in everyday artifacts, such as the Merry Widows prophylactic tin, or in special religious statues or other symbolic items (Hendon 2006:178–179; Sørensen 2006; Fennell 2007:36–41; Brumfiel and Robin 2008). Archaeologists studying anthropogenic landscapes must determine the "effective scale" of gender analysis (Marquardt and Crumley 1987:2; Orser 1996:137–139) or point to where interpretation is possible based on patterned transformations (Stine 1992; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Sørensen 2006; Brumfiel and Robin 2008; Casella 2010; Spencer-Wood 2010).

Gender studies in historical archaeology vary in effective scale and purpose. They are often sorted into three major trends (Paynter 2000b:186–197; Rotman and Savulis 2003:8–9; Wurst 2003). First are those that focus on identifying women in the archaeological record, their gender roles, and the social relations between men and women within particular gender systems (Paynter 2000b:187). These are the types of investigations that compare gender relations, structures or processes at one place through time, or portion of space. They occur at the level of social group or culture. A good example is Samford's (2004) discussion of the engendering of enslaved African Americans in northeastern North Carolina and eastern Virginia. She demonstrates a strong articulation between the West African Igbo culture and elements of plantation culture in the region (Samford 2004). She finds that African American gender roles, relations, and ideologies, in addition to modifying personal identities, were not built anew, but upon a common West African foundation. Samford's arguments connecting West African yam-centered festivals to Virginia and Carolina sweet-potato festivals are cautious but convincing.

Second are those approaches that problematize the universality of the female/male dichotomy in gender research. These researchers theorize and seek evidence for cultures or social groups celebrating or at least recognizing the existence of more than two genders (Stine 1991; Claassen 1992a, 1992b; Howlett 2001–2002; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Wurst 2003; Brumfiel and Robin 2008:3). Not all people contribute to their societies through their reproductive roles. This demonstrates an opportunity for archaeologists to seek a more flexible reading of gender in material culture. There are studies taking a dialectical approach as opposed to viewing gender as a simple male/female dichotomy. Females who cannot conceive or are not interested in becoming mothers, "spinsters" bringing up siblings or foundlings, or celibate men—let alone the often "genderless" old or young—are taken into account in the research as individuals expressing possible alternate genders or reinterpreting gender roles (Gibb and King 1991; Bolen 1992; Buchli and Lucas 2000; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Wurst 2003). Epistemological concerns about the theoretical relationship of sexing skeletons to cultural gender categories are other examples of questioning the use of binary oppositions (Claassen 1992a, 2001; Schmidt and Voss 2000; Sørensen 2000:46–59).

The third major type of study examines institutions, such as households, labor, and economic and governing systems (Paynter 2000b; Rotman and Savulis 2003). These explorations focus on material culture, documentary evidence, and spatial differentiation evidencing developing political and economic controls, and the consequences of differential labor (Galle and Young 2004; Robin and Brumfiel 2008).

A broad challenge to gendering a research project, at any level of analysis, includes discovering source materials and consideration of innovative methodologies. Scholars also must consider the appropriateness of applying gender analysis to pre-existing data sets that were generated without gender questions in mind.

Methods and Sources

Nelson (2004:42–47) lists visual depictions of men and women, written documents, burials and

human remains, artifacts, spatial arrangements, and households as major sources for prehistoric gender studies. Conkey and Spector (1984) add ethnohistorical sources to that list. Howlett (2001–2002:183) recognizes that most archaeological data stems from domestic or work sites "with a less conscious (re)presentation of these identities." Historical archaeologists can add rich resources such as oral history, a more intensive array of historical documents, a greater number of comparative sites, and a higher frequency of sites to their resource repertoire. Stine, for example, collected multiple types of data when comparing two early- to mid-20th-century North Carolina farmsteads. Information on individual and communal tasks within the home, yards, and outbuildings, as well as across the landscape, was gathered through interviews, historical research, and archaeology (Stine 1989, 1990, 1992). Extant material culture within the structures, curated in descendants' homes, noted in the cemetery, or discovered archaeologically, was recorded. Work life was mostly differentiated by gender and age for members of those two specific households. Census materials, plats, and other historical documents were an important contribution to the analysis.

Documents

Documents can provide useful names, dates, maps, or personal information that help one theorize about the relationship of gender to production, differential access to resources, and status. For Ravensford, North Carolina, Paul Webb, using federal census statistics, illuminated town labor relations during the 1920s (Webb et al. 2002). The European American immigrants first entered Cherokee lands in the 1790s, and numerous cultural adjustments were made through the 1790s–1920s period (Keel 2007). These two ethnic groups dominated the Ravensford census records from the 1920s. By comparing task allocation along the lines of gender and ethnicity, differential levels of community authority and economic access, informed by the intersection of gender and ethnicity, were uncovered (Webb et al. 2002:107–114). Results were placed within a community context detailing family relationships, allocation of jobs, and economics. Logging-related jobs were exclusively held by males (n=146). Females comprised 30% (n=7) of laborers in ancillary jobs directly related to logging.

The federal census category of "Farm Laborer" comprised 91% "White" and "Indian" men; the rest were Native American women. Three farms were managed by two Native American men and one by a presumably Cherokee woman. The discrepancy between European American and Native American women's labor categories and its relationship to cultural values and beliefs is striking. Were different gender beliefs sanctioned by these Cherokee, as opposed to non-Cherokee, in terms of possible division of labor, its artifact and spatial correlates, and supporting ideology? How was space allocated and used in the farmsteads and their households?

Ravensford was carved from original Cherokee holdings, wrested from the Cherokee in the 19th century through political maneuvering and only recently returned to the Eastern Band (Webb et al. 2002). About 1,000 Cherokee women, men, and children managed to subvert the removal process and remain in parts of the Great Smoky Mountains. Some historical Cherokee archaeological sites have been identified (Greene 2009). Greene questioned how the Cherokee, once a clan-based matrilineal society, could function within the post-removal culture of western North Carolina.

One family enclave, known as Welch's Town, was the focus of Greene's (2009) investigation of the intersection of gender and race through a study of three archaeological sites and the families that inhabited them. Information from archaeology, ethnohistory, and documentary history illustrated that the Welch family repurposed its cultural traditions in the liminal time of the removal to permit the survival of their families and other Cherokee refugees (Greene 2009). Multiple homesteads were maintained on or around the Welch 1,200 ac. holding (Greene 2009:72,79). Greene surmises that in 1839 Betty Welch was the legal, social, moral, and public face of Welch's Town. Through an 1840 census he identified that the Welch family, their 3 or possibly more African American slaves, and 55 refugee Cherokee (comprising 27 families), occupied Welch's Town (Greene 2009:72,81). Betty Welch's legal and moral command of the families' combined resources is quite unusual for the era (Greene 2009:81–82). Greene's study, based on archaeological and documentary

research, illustrates the fluidity of gender and racial roles, tasks, and identity before and after Cherokee removal.

Cemeteries

Archaeological projects such as the two Cherokee investigations described above, with rich written and oral documentation, good artifact deposits, and feature clarity, are uncommon. Archaeological projects lacking paper documents can turn to other types of material culture studies. Cemeteries are an obvious additional source of information for gender research, with data pertaining to names, dates, and family relationships; plus, they provide iconographic images and are rich in spatial data. The available information is quickly gathered in the field, and many graveyards already have maps of headstone locations, copied inscriptions, and burial-ground histories.

Cemetery landscapes vary across time and space, and perceptions of appropriate treatment of the dead and the corresponding landscape treatments are mutable. Howlett (2001–2002:183) writes that scholars who study gender often focus on burials and iconographic images because they view these material culture expressions as straightforward symbols of social identity. This is not necessarily the case—burial mounds, graves, and their material correlates can be constructed as a preordered statement by the dead to the living or, contrariwise, as a symbolic statement concerning the extant social group (Sassaman 2005). North Carolina's 18th-century Moravian community buried its dead in "God's Acre" using simple white stones. These early Moravians separated men and women spatially into female-only and male-only burial sections, or "choirs," spatially reflecting the Moravian ideology of age and gender divisions that pervaded their lives.

Artifact Typologies and Distributions

Although the actual field collection and initial laboratory methods used in gender research follow some standard techniques, archaeologists find they have to modify those traditional practices. North Carolina archaeologists, for example, often arrange artifacts into South's (1977) classes and functional groups, and compare results to his Carolina Artifact Pattern. This method may or may not make sense for gender studies. As South (1977, 1978) has said, his famous pattern-recognition work is a method for tying micro-scaled site particulars to macro-scaled cultural processes. Archaeologists not interested in South's goal of illuminating cultural evolutionary processes should adapt his methods for their own purposes (Joseph 1989; Yentsch 1991b; Spude 2005; McMurry 2011). By dividing artifacts and their attributes into thoughtful typologies, archaeologists can garner multiple lines of evidence to help investigate gender (Yentsch 1991b). These typologies can be framed to connect evidence of human behavior to a society's transforming gender structures and processes through methods such as distributional analysis or artifact-specific research. For example, particular types of religious medals can shed light on ideology, toy tools on roles, headstones on social relations, and jewelry on identity.

In her gendered study of western brothels (viewed as female dominated) and saloons (viewed as male dominated), Spude's (2005:93) initial step was to revise two artifact-classification schemes traditionally employed in historical archaeology, those developed by South and Sprague in the late 1970s and early 1980s, respectively. In her research Spude emphasized that she was seeking to determine who was selecting the material culture at these sites—men or women, or both. Brothels served multiple purposes with diverse results depending upon the capitalization of the establishment and the economic status of the customers (Spude 2005:90). Establishments were owned or managed by women or men. Spude knew that there were women in saloons and men in brothels, and vice versa, and thus there would be an overlap in artifact types making gender attribution of artifacts and associated behavioral patterns less clear. Spude did determine through historical research that some behaviors at the two types of establishments were dissimilar. As a result, she placed the glass bottles and other containers into groupings based on historically defined functions related to specific behaviors, such as those containing liquor or pharmaceuticals or perfumes (Spude 2005). Brothels proved to have a significantly higher percentage of pharmaceutical bottles than saloons, a percentage

she correlates with two factors: western women often imbibed discreetly through their "medicinals," and prostitutes were occasionally pregnant, sick, or fighting sexually transmitted diseases (Spude 2005:99). She removed "Construction" and other "Architectural Group" remains from the percentages, believing that counts of these artifacts inhibit discovery of patterns of human activities that occurred within and outside buildings (Spude 2005:93). Her methods remain promising, especially in enhancing understanding of classes that typically contain few items, such as those usually placed within the "Personal" or "Clothing" groups. Much of the recent work on brothels begins with these sorts of intergroup refinements (Seifert 2005).

Anne Yentsch (1991a:254) writes that archaeologists should take care to consider brothels not as entertainment facilities, but as "buildings where unskilled women can procure cash incomes." A reexamination of households at port sites, such as the Brunswick Town Tailor Shop and Public House site, with their relatively high percentage of sewing materials and general merchandise (South 1977), might uncover multiple uses for the facilities—even as brothels. Yentsch (1991a:260, n. 5) interprets the Brunswick Town site as a store or simply a household with women, as women often made and mended their own clothing and purchased a lot of sewing equipment. To test whether the Tailor Shop and Public House site is shop, brothel, or simple household, researchers should reexamine the collections and distribution maps, seeking pharmaceuticals and evidence of personal items, such as combs, earrings, cosmetic containers, hairpins, and more (Spude 2005:94).

Obviously brothels existed in the many port cities, county seats, and byways of North Carolina, but none have been excavated. At the small seaport town of Swansboro the National Register of Historic Places historic district includes one standing example, the "Buckmaster Store-Capt Charlies Restaurant" (31ON889), which served as a brothel from 1925 to 1945 (National Register of Historic Places 1990). One wonders whether this bordello had higher-priced and more diverse goods or more personal items compared to other domestic sites, such as those found by Seifert (2005) in her three-brothel comparison. A region-specific modification of Seifert's (2005) adjusted typology would be a useful tool for answering these sorts of queries at the site.

These kinds of projects use topic-oriented, refined typologies to locate children-, men-, and women-specific artifacts, whose usage stemmed from exclusive age- and gender-related behavior within a particular historical context (Wurst 2003:226–227). Many archaeologists follow a classic "task system" approach to assess and uncover these gender roles and seek corresponding evidence in the distribution of their cataloged materials (Conkey and Spector 1984; Gibb and King 1991; Paynter 2000b:190; Sørensen 2000:185–187).

Task-System Approach

Anthropologists and archaeologists examining labor and the political economy at the household, community, or regional level often start with the task system. Gero and Conkey (1991:8–9) assumed that gender is the primary variable in the division of labor, and that the basic dichotomies of masculine/feminine and male/female are maintained in terms of production and consumption. Depending upon the era, culture, and social group, gender is most often differentiated in ideas and practice, and distinctive gendered roles are viewed as complementary, or they are unequally valued (Sørensen 2000; Wurst 2003). Site-activity areas are located through identification of specific artifact attributes, classes, and types. Using ethnohistorical or historical sources, assumptions about gender assignments are then made about specific tasks. It is possible that spatial divisions will emerge.

The task system is not a new approach, but one that can deliberately locate men, women, and children within the archaeological record through discussion of the possible implications of task divisions, such as social relations among women and among men, as well as between the two. Hypotheses concerning the ideational aspects of gender could follow, such as examination of how material culture (architecture, portable objects, mortuary symbolism) may or may not parallel social relations and gender roles (Sørensen 2000:185–187, 2006). The feminist critique has illuminated the importance of bias in all archaeological interpretation, warning that modern gender perceptions should not be

applied to archaeological data (Beaudry 2004; Spencer-Wood 2006). Other scholars have been justifiably critical when historical archaeologists simply assume a two-part gender system resulting in a table of female- and male-oriented tasks with corresponding artifact types, without any in-depth historical research and interpretation (Yentsch 1991b; Beaudry 2004:260–261; Spencer-Wood 2004b; Spude 2005; McMurry 2011).

Basing their work on intensive inter- and intra-regional historical and archaeological research, Gibb and King have used the task-oriented technique to good effect in their early Chesapeake house-lot studies (Gibb and King 1991), as has Yentsch in her study of colonial Tidewater dairying practices (Yentsch 1991b, 1991c). In both of these cases it was important to think about tasks that occurred in the "toft" or inner-yard household areas, as opposed to the "croft" or outer-yard areas, as well as figuring the extent to which men and women were engaged in the market (Gibb and King 1991:111–113; Yentsch 1991b). They were able to highlight those tasks that were common in each area, based on documentary research, including those that overlapped, and were able to attribute the typical gender of the individual assigned to specific farmstead tasks. They also identified the tools that were most likely used in those tasks. Yentsch (1991b) applied her task and attribute identification and subsequent cataloging modifications to an effective diachronic study of the feminization of cheese making.

In one recent study McMurry (2011) specifically modeled foodways and gender in 20th-century Sulphur, Nevada. She predicted the food-related behaviors that might be present at her sites based on an historical analysis of the region. She constructed a model of foodways and related behaviors, and considered which behaviors would be cross-cut by gender. Clues to gendered foodways were sought in the archaeological record via a precise artifact-classification system entailing categories of production, distribution, preparation, consumption, and disposal. Each category was, in turn, divided by more specific actions with corresponding potential material culture and possible gendered behavior (McMurry 2011:145). Her examples of associated artifacts and features include bullets, human waste, faunal remains, and a feedlot. The material remains were related, in turn, to proposed behaviors and ultimately back to the initially proposed foodway categories.

Providing an example from the first half of the 20th century, Stine (1989, 1992) analyzed farmstead tasks, comparing two African American and European American households, looking at the intersection of perceived race, age, and gender. She surveyed and tested the archaeological sites and collected extensive census, oral history, photographic, and extant-building data to construct a comparative interpretation of agrarian life. Artifact and feature evidence was discovered corresponding to soap making, canning, sewing, gardening, plowing, and various other activities. Residents of these later-period North Carolina farms were also burdened by tasks that were allotted by age, gender, and spatial factors. Like the early Chesapeake agrarians, women tended nearby gardens and small livestock, while men labored farther afield. The 20th-century couples did not, however, have an available market fair as did the earlier settlers, but instead traded goods at local stores and sold their cash crops to cotton or tobacco buyers. Figure 2 shows a farm woman making soap in her side yard during the Depression years. She is a self-described Cherokee and African American woman who often shared tasks, such as shelling vegetables or quilting, with her European American farm neighbor (Stine 1989, 1992).

Gender Trespass

Archaeologists researching gender-based tasks in households, communities, or institutions often find cross-over, or examples of what Wurst (2003:229) terms "trespass." Cross-over is when a task or object primarily associated with one particular gender is occasionally co-opted by someone of another gender. These instances of trespass do not necessarily stigmatize an individual or group, although most social groups do have notions of acceptable and unacceptable cross-over behaviors. Individuals, often through their cultural institutions, can implement rigid or informal maintenance of gender roles and gender-based boundaries. Gender, as a social construct, is fluid in time, place, and space. In actual practice these roles and behaviors are blurred, sometimes leading to perceived trespass, but other times not. The perceived dichotomy of appropriate masculine and feminine behavior and appearance is occasionally shrouded by liminal behavior.

FIGURE 2. Soap making on a Depression-era farm (Stine 1989:269).

Brown (1996:75–80) cites court documents detailing the 1629 case of an individual accused of dressing and laboring as a woman in some Virginia towns and as a man in others. Thomas/Thomasine Hall readily changed hair and clothes to perform tasks viewed as exclusively masculine or feminine without discovery until accused of a sexual escapade and, thus, "found out." Hall's propensity for shifting gender identity and clothing, and ability to enlist both male and female sexual interest, disturbed the locals. Some called upon the legal system to sort out conflicting evidence and judge whether a crime had been committed. This incident and others (Brown 1996) illustrate that gender identity, roles, and relations were recognized and legislated in colonial society. Thomas/Thomasine moved fluidly between two genders in a 1620s

society that apparently disagreed with such ready transfer/trespass between masculine and feminine roles and behaviors.

Trespass is also visible in Olsen's (2005:26, figure 5.4) early-20th-century western North Carolina mining village study. She revealed that a woman at the Ruby City complex also preferred to wear what informants considered men's clothes. They thought it was odd of her, but did not condemn her for her attire. Another example is the Piedmont farm woman, who in the mid-20th-century wore bib overalls while occasionally helping her husband in the fields. She considered herself "ugly" when wearing men's clothing (Stine 1989, 1992). Some trespass cases are less about gender identity than they are about task preferences. Research on early- to mid-20th-century North Carolina Piedmont farm families revealed some women who preferred field labor (the ideologically sanctioned male domain) to household chores (the typical female domain) without social sanction (Stine 1989, 1991, 1992). These kinds of perceived trespass in dress, or task cross-over, signify that gendered self-identity, behavior, social relations, and ideology are fluid. Ranges of accepted practice are negotiated between and among men, women, girls, and boys through social interactions. Paralleling changes in an individual's material and social life circumstances, gender roles shift. Primary and secondary historical sources and oral histories can help the researcher reveal those ranges and suggest why they are transformed through time or space. Archaeological data are used to test ideas about these micro-scaled transformations. Thus, the consideration of only "proper" behaviors or artifact use disregards the full range of tasks and behaviors considered acceptable, if uncommon, in a given society at a particular point in time. The same fluidity must be acknowledged in the actual implementation of the "Separate Spheres" ideology that originated in the Victorian period.

Separate Spheres and the Cult of True Womanhood

Historical archaeologists are testing models of the 19th- through early-20th-century notions of separate spheres, based on the ideal of the "Cult of True Womanhood," which, in a patriarchal society, placed women squarely in the home and men out in the public workspaces (Stine 1989; 1992; Yentsch 1991c; Wurst 2003; Barile and Brandon 2004; Spencer-Wood 2004a; 2004b; Rotman 2006; Casella 2010). Studies often reveal trespass or examples of individuals moving between the spheres, gaining access to prestige and power (Wurst 2003). For example, in the early 1920s Hattie Morehead Berry was instrumental in the creation of the North Carolina State Highway Commission through her adroit political maneuvering (Crowe 1984; Powell 1989:471–472; H. M. Berry Papers 2013). Nicknamed the "Mother of Good Roads," Berry ironically had a powerful impact on Carolina's idealized "Public Sphere," typically considered a masculine domain during that time period (Stine 1991, 1992; Paynter 2000b; Beaudry 2004). Her work, a clear example of "cross-over," transformed Carolina landscapes on a vast scale. Berry received her degree from North Carolina's Normal College (Women's College, now the University of North Carolina Greensboro) in the late 19th century. She became the stenographer for the head of the geological survey. She eventually worked as his intellectual partner, and during World War I held his position. She was instrumental in encouraging politicians to allocate public road funding on an equable footing. As a consequence, rural areas received the paved roads that agrarian communities could not afford on their own (Crowe 1984; Powell 1989:471–472; H. M. Berry Papers 2013).

Separate-spheres, domesticity, household, and landscape analyses are often intertwined in gender research (Yentsch 1991c; Beaudry 1993; Barile and Brandon 2004; Hendon 2006; Delle and Levine 2010). Spencer-Wood (2003, 2004a, 2006, 2010) illustrates how women traversed such boundaries at a macro level of analysis through reforming work in education, health, and public spaces such as gardens. Rotman (2006) demonstrates, in one case study, how Deerfield, Massachusetts, women were differentially active in the community and their homes, both economically and socially. Class and nativity appeared to have been important variables. North Carolina archaeologists have yet to examine the physical evidence for similar reform movements, although some female politicians and educators, such as Charlotte Hawkins Brown, have been involved in these

kinds of activities (Powell 1989; Wadelington and Knapp 1999). Reform movements pertaining to enhanced health care and education sprang up in North Carolina. Recent research at one of the Keeley Institutes, now Blandwood Mansion Historic Site (31GF199), revealed medicine bottles and personal items pertaining to the genteel men and women hoping for a cure for their various health problems (Stine 2011a). Men and women had separate dorms, but shared dining and grounds facilities. Blandwood lends itself to a gendered landscape analysis at the scale of building foundations and their spatial characteristics, although gendered artifact-activity patterns are difficult to discern at this urban site due to repeated destruction, construction, and infilling (Stine 2011a).

In the town of Harmony, North Carolina, institutionalized gender differences in the 1930s school curriculum supported the notion of separate spheres (Stine 1992). These differences were manifest through some of the different facilities available for young men and women in the decades immediately before World War II. Students were not allowed to cross perceived gender lines, such as girls taking agricultural classes as opposed to home economics (Stine 1989, 1991, 1992).

Households and Gender

Large-scaled institutional places provide or limit access to power, prestige, and privilege, and can mirror perceived gender inequities at the household level (Stine 1989, 1991, 1992, 2011a). "Household" is a term frequently applied to a social group, often related, sharing physical space, social reproduction, and economic production (Hendon 2006; King 2006). Historical households might include resident family members, the enslaved, or other workers and boarders (Stine 1989, 2011b; Gibb and King 1991; Anderson 2004; Hendon 2006; King 2006). At industrial archaeological sites, such as North Carolina's early-20th-century Ravensford and Ruby City, households usually entailed nuclear or extended families, sometimes with ties of fictive kinship. Other households were formed by boardinghouse residents; in regard to Ravensford and Ruby City, boardinghouses were inhabited by men (Webb et al. 2002; Olsen 2005). It is important to note that members of census households should not be treated as living together within a particular structure without additional documentation (Stine 1989; Barile and Brandon 2004). Boarders could live in an outbuilding, as could enslaved individuals, indentured servants, or apprentices (Anderson 2004; Stine 2011a). Some households were separated places with individual members sharing the same compound or yards, while other households consisted of one shared living space.

As economic and social units households are impacted by gender, race, age, and ethnicity. In Virginia, Heath (2004) researched late-18th- through early-19th-century account books, ledgers, and a daybook to reveal data on the production, trading, marketing, sale, and consumption of consumer goods by engendered, enslaved Africans and African Americans outside the traditional plantation economy. Enslaved men and women with items to trade or some money often found material objects that would accentuate self-identity, notions of beauty, protection, and spirituality (Stine et al.1996; Galle and Young 2004). Heath (2004) found that household composition and lifecycle affected a mother's economic role or ability to produce supplemental poultry, eggs, and garden produce.

Households have life cycles, with real consequences for gender interpretation (Anderson 2004:110). A Turnsburg Township, North Carolina, farmstead and domestic site was occupied from around 1900 to the 1940s, but was used solely for farming after World War II (Stine 1989). The family lived in town but farmed the lands and maintained the house and associated structures for farm use and storage. From about 1980 to 2005, the third-generation owners, who lived farther away, visited the farm on weekends, with the man working in the fields and the woman "keeping" house in a trailer placed across the street from the original house. The husband died, and his widow, following the established gender customs of her generation, for long-distance management placed the farm in the hands of her eldest consanguineal nephew. Ultimately the farmstead and its inheritance were moved from her husband's lineage to her own.

Household gender relations are fluid, in part, due to life-cycle changes. They are also transformed as social relations are renegotiated over time. These changes are discernible in the historical archaeological record. Wood (2001) writes that plantation-era widows often

remained in the "Big House." Her analysis of primary and secondary documents suggests that certain widows continued to be involved in plantation affairs even after their sons or overseers took over some plantation responsibilities. This practice implies a tension between the idealized role of widow as dependent and with actual negotiated practice. North Carolina examples of successful manager-widows can be found at Eden House (Lautzenheiser et al. 1998) and the Alston-DeGraffenreid Plantation (Novick 1993).

The physical structure of the household has public and private dimensions with corresponding use tied to life-cycle changes (Stine 1989; Yentsch 1991b, 1991c). Individuals do transform homes, change their use of space, and alter landscapes (but see Barile and Brandon [2004:5]). The Cromley and Hudgins (1995) edited volume on vernacular architecture treats gender as a dynamic social category affecting construction, use, and reuse of buildings and associated spaces. It discusses the interplay of gender, class, and ethnicity, and the impact these factors have on vernacular spaces. Regional contractors or farm builders created local interpretations of house-pattern catalogs, which were published, in part, to provide picturesque rural homes (Cromley and Hudgins 1995; Stine 2011a). Inhabitants supplemented basic styles with decorative motifs, flourishes, and room additions.

Rural families often moved into familiar, vernacular forms, for example, going from one I-house to another, bringing their negotiated perceptions of the best use of space, correct behaviors, and belief systems with them (Stine 1989). Structural forms like the I-house are interesting because of their simplicity and their great abundance across a large swath of the United States. An I-house is typically one room wide and two stories tall, often with a center hall containing the staircase. The living room serves as the day room for family and friends' use. The parlor maintains its function for receiving visitors or for an elder's bedroom. Upstairs the landing serves to hold extras, such as a small bookcase or clothes shelf. The two top rooms are adult and children's bedrooms. I-houses were built with an "ell" addition on back forming a dining, kitchen, pantry, and porch ensemble. Women most often worked in the ell, with the young children helping when needed. Complementary tasks occurred in the hall (living room) and ell at night or during rough weather (Stine 1989). Not all families conformed to the typical gendered uses of interior rooms, as some could not afford more than single-pen cabins (Stine 1989; M. Williams 1991; Cromley and Hudgins 1995).

Household members' perceptions of spaces as feminine, masculine, liminal, or neutral were fluid with changing household circumstances. In one study, children, viewed as nonsexual but gendered, shared a room until parents deemed the eldest was reaching puberty. The children were then separated into different rooms by gender, forcing rearrangement of space throughout the house (Stine 1989; 1991, 1992, 2011b). Consideration of the Piedmont's engendered—and perhaps engendering—spaces reveals traditional and nontraditional use of rooms based on individual preferences and the family's life cycle. Michael Ann Williams's (1991) parallel work on North Carolina mountain architecture uncovered supporting results.

A Gender Matrix

Finding interior and exterior areas of human interaction and activity through their material culture correlates ultimately leads to inferences about gendered behavior and the roles, personal preferences, and ideas behind those behaviors. Gender research can be overwhelming—one can ask multiscalar questions about social roles, behaviors, ideas, iconographic imagery, and identity concerning one or more social groups in particular times and places. Each of these larger variables also has diverse possible alternative factors to consider during historical archaeological investigations. Choosing a theoretical perspective and relevant research questions is a primary step. Determining the correct methodology is just as important to a successful outcome. Modeling potential connections between the dimensions of gender and material culture prior to beginning a project is necessary to identify data needs, data sources, and appropriate archaeological methods.

Table 1 is an hypothetical model or matrix to apply to any historical archaeology gender study. Some of the ideas expressed are drawn from reviewing the gender literature (Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero and Conkey 1991; Gibb and King 1991; Yentsch 1991a, 1991b; Hill 1998; Rotman and Savulis 2003; Nelson 2004;

TABLE 1
MATRIX FOR GENDER RESEARCH

VARIABLES	GENDER A	GENDER B	EXAMPLE DATA
Gender ideology			
Generalized	Feminine	Masculine	Art, magazines, books
Separate spheres			
		Widower	Artifact distributions
	Housewife	Husband	Activity spatial studies
	Daughter	Son	Oral history, artifacts
	Daughter	Son	Bible, photos, toys
Protestant ideology			
		Patriarch	Church rolls, grave marker
	Obedient	Respectful	Bible, family pew, clothing
	Modest	Obedient	Oral history, Bible, photos
	Modest	Obedient	Oral history, cross necklace
Roles			
Social			
		Grandfather	Books, Bible
	Mother	Father	Grave markers, photographs
	Daughter	Son	Toys, census, clothes
	Daughter	Son	Magazines, Sears catalog
Tasks			
Food production			
		Planting	Mule shoes, harness
	Garden plot	Plowing	Plow blades, landforms
	Chickens	Weeding	Hoes, feeders, pens
	Orchard	Stacking potatoes	Baskets, shovels, root cellar
Cash production			
		Running allotment	Agricultural records, oral
	Canning	Harvesting tobacco	Baskets, barn, tools, jars
	Churning	Curing tobacco	Tobacco knife, flue, churn
	Poultry production	Cutting tobacco	Tobacco knife, basket
Other production			
		N/a	
	Quilts	N/a	Sewing kit, bolts, heirlooms
	N/a	N/a	
	N/a	N/a	
Trespass			
		Prefers sewing	Oral history, sewing kit
	Plowing	N/a	Photos, overalls snap
	Prefers outdoors	N/a	"Tommy" (tomboy)
	N/a	N/a	
Social interactions			
Household	(Family, neighbors, preacher, visitors)		Census, oral history Photographs, artifacts, Spatial organization
Community			
		Store	Mass produced items
	Church circle	Mill	Pin, ledger
	School	Travel laborer	Pencil, valise, aglet
	School	School	School workbooks
Identity			(Personal items+)
		Farmer	Respectable farm
	Wife	Farmer	Flowers, yard, clothes
	Daughter	Young man	Clothes, workbook
	Daughter	Son	Toys, bank, games

McMurry 2011) and reevaluating previously published and unpublished data from Stine's Carolina Piedmont work (Stine 1989, 1991, 1992, 2011b). The matrix was created as a visual and intellectual aid to demonstrate clearly the broad dimensions of gender inquiry, including ideology, roles, social interaction, and identity, and to illustrate the types of material culture evidence that could be collected. A matrix helps researchers see what other categories might hold meaning in their analyses and, most importantly, how those categories and variables are interrelated. For example, under the category "Roles" one finds possible fields of inquiry, such as "Social," "Tasks," or "Trespass" (Table 1). The matrix can be applied to a sample of households or to a community, communities, or regions, depending upon the level of research and the amount of data on hand. The matrix should be applicable to any gender topic.

To use the matrix, each variable is examined in light of gender and intertwined variables (life cycle, socioeconomics, ethnicity) of interest and the kinds of evidence available or needed to investigate related material culture, behaviors, and beliefs. Lack of space precludes including all subcategories or possible sources for archaeological data in Table 1. The matrix is time and space dependent, but investigators may shift these scales as needed when reevaluating matrix variables. The columnar terms are grounded in a scholar's theoretical training and might include role descriptors drawn from the literature of the day, such as census records or newspaper accounts, or, if preferred, standard anthropological terminology, as long as potential biases are discussed. The matrix also highlights possible weaknesses in the data, which is often material culture evidence within a specific category. Artifact attributes, types, features, and landscape elements must be examined, as in the following abbreviated Piedmont example, for clues to activity areas for possible assignment to human behaviors, and then correlated with gender categories.

Early-20th-century Piedmont agrarians typically divided tasks and workspace by age and gender, not unlike their 18th-century predecessors, but under an overarching 20th-century ideology (Stine 1989; Gibb and King 1991). Individuals and their societies prescribe ranges of acceptable gender behaviors, relationships, identities, and ideologies. Cultural groups often hold conflicting gender ideologies, although one or two dominant, hegemonic gender discourses usually prevail (B. Williams 2008). Specific ideologies framed notions of proper 20th-century gender relationships, identities, and roles within farm families and between households and communities.

The question asked is whether separate-spheres ideology was a primary factor in 20th-century farm life. This particular research example (Table 1) asks whether one hegemonic discourse in the Victorian period, the ideology of separate spheres, affected the study-family members' behaviors, social relations, and personal identities, as seen through the eyes of an historical archaeologist. Examination of their work duties, tool use, spatial arrangements, artifact patterns, and types of corresponding material evidence should reveal how gender influenced life on this Carolina farm.

Specifically, in this particular application (Table 1), the notion of separate spheres is tested at a relatively poor, owner-operated Upland South farmstead dating to the first four decades of the 20th century. These data are based primarily on past research (Stine 1989, 1991, 1992), with the matrix serving as a tool to assess past investigations and to clarify avenues for ongoing gender research in Upland South farmstead communities. At this point in time during the household life cycle the family consisted of a widowed grandfather, his son, his daughter-in-law, plus his two older grandsons and two younger granddaughters. The terms used to describe these family roles are drawn from oral history. Table 1 contains a single-word descriptor for each family member, as relevant, within matrix categories. The grandfather's position is emphasized in bold text in Table 1 to guide the reader through the headings, with the family order maintained as a block throughout as one moves down the listings. Under the initial category, or Gender A, the daughter-in-law or wife is first followed by her two daughters. The grandfather has primacy under Gender B in Table 1, as he is still considered the patriarch, followed by his son and grandsons. The son is the day-to-day head of the household during the time of this matrix, the 1930s, based on the unilateral decision of the grandfather, in his grandson's words, to cede his "place at the head of the table" (Stine 1989). It should be noted that the grandfather did literally

move his plate to a side seat and motioned his son to the head chair.

While investigating this family, artifact typology, patterning, and sourcing studies were undertaken to uncover activity areas, building remnants, and landscape features. Additional research focused on written and oral history, interviewing family members and neighbors with historical photographs, historical maps, and generated sketch maps. Those interviewed either drew their own sketches or used a family member's to illustrate how house interiors, farmstead yards, and fields were used (Stine 1989). Construction of the matrix (Table 1) incorporates data drawn from these oral-history interviews.

When creating the category of ideology in the matrix it was clear that Christian ideology, a cornerstone of Victorian constructions of separate-spheres ideas, continued to play a significant role in the gendered behavior of this family. The matrix (Table 1) illustrates that separate-spheres ideology, as reinforced through the local Methodist interpretation of the Bible, did impact life on the farm. The family Bible held a place of honor. It was used as a record of family rites of passage, and its cherished teachings were followed. Families were the focal point of social reproduction during this era, although institutions, such as the church, schools, and other government agencies, controlled much of the gender discourse. In the rural Piedmont, Protestant attitudes tended to emphasize separate but supporting family socialization roles. Their ideas were similar to the idealized virtues of domesticity, submission, purity, and piety of the Victorian separate spheres (Wurst 2003; Spencer-Wood 2004a, 2004b; Rotman 2006; Casella 2010). For example, wives were obedient to their husbands, and children to both of their parents. Wives socialized the children as moral beings, which was underlined through weekly Sunday school and church attendance. In this particular case study the wife and mother was noted for her moral authority upholding Christian doctrine. She would reprimand any child who used racial slurs or who disrespected an elder, regardless of religion or perceived race. The wife's and daughters' roles were also as homemakers: cooking, cleaning, and sewing. This focus on household work suggests the family upheld the notion of a women's place being in the private sphere, as part of separate-spheres ideology. Mothers in this community, including this particular case-study mother, passed down family knowledge including cooking techniques, soap making, and recipes for canning and drying foods. The women of the house concentrated on maintaining high standards in the home's interiors, the liminal porch spaces, and their kitchen gardens.

The family's older males, the grandfather and father, were also important providers. This fits the ideology of separate spheres and was underlined by their reading of the biblical scriptures. They participated more often in public-sphere activities than the family's females, such as traveling to the mills and the larger towns. The father-in-law and his son emphasized the importance of neat plant rows, a tidy yard, good crops, and healthy animals in order to prosper and be viewed as respectable farmers in the community. Their view of middle-class agrarian values centered on the appearance and health of their outer domain. These notions were evident in family interviews and were shared by two interviewed neighboring agrarian families (Stine 1989, 1990).

Family-member identities and roles were formulated by social negotiation and the construction of appropriate masculine and feminine activities with concomitant spaces. The family's grandfather and father, wife, and children were engaged in food production (growing, preparing, serving, storing), as well as seeing that their cash crop, either cotton or tobacco, was well planted, tended, harvested, processed, stored, and sold. Men and boys worked in the fields and tended large animals, while the wife, daughters, and young children labored in the house, the vegetable garden, and the orchard (Stine 1989). Archaeologically many of these tasks were readily associated with particular tools, activity areas, landscapes, and architectural remains. Turning to the matrix (Table 1), a few examples are illustrated under the selected categories of food-crop and cash-crop production.

All the gendered family members had their mental lists of their own complementary duties, usually taking place in gendered spaces. Nonetheless, when needed, the wife and daughters worked in the fields, and, if necessary, the men and boys labored in the home (repairing doors, lifting over-large pots). There were also non-gendered tasks on the farm typified

by community corn huskings, where everyone cleaned the corn, although women also cooked a shared meal and men carried heavy loads (Stine 1989).

At this farm there were definite liminal areas because of dual-purpose rooms, buildings, and work areas. The nearby granary, as an example, also served as a smokehouse, and mule pens were attached to it. There were chicken boxes in the granary. Men and boys killed pigs beyond the yard area, but brought the hams to the granary yard for the women to process. Men hung the hams in the rafters after salting. The wife and her daughters sought eggs in the same building. The men and boys filled the grain holders from the field's harvests. Artifacts related to these activities were found in the extant granary and its yard, and a few examples are listed in Table 1. Artifacts such as a knife, chicken watering dish, mule shoe, and plow were observed. Food preparation, serving, and storage were also discerned through comparison of artifact types and spatial distributions of features and artifacts (living quarters, animal pens, outbuildings, yards, privy) and landscape features (roads, trails, ponds, creeks, woods, fields) (Stine 1989).

Some family activities occurred for dual reasons of pleasure and practicality. One example is quilting, where the wife invited neighbors over to visit and work on quilts for their families or for the ill or poor. This quilt production ties to the matrix category of social relations and interactions. This quilting helped address roles as mothers, providers, nurturers, and good Methodist women. It also allowed them needed social interaction and a chance to explore some of the creative aspects of their identities. The material culture related to this quilting includes several in situ quilt-frame bolts in the I-house's living-room ceiling, a pile of quilts abandoned after moving (in the closet), and quilts saved as heirlooms. The woman of the house created a space in her house for female members of the community to communicate creatively (Stine 1989; Rotman 2006). Southern porches were also liminal places of household, neighborhood, and community interaction.

The matrix information (Table 1) demonstrates that trespass seems to have occurred on this Piedmont farmstead, either within the household (grandfather enjoying sewing), or outside (wife helps plow to get crops in under weather threat). These and other examples pique the investigator's interest to seek explanations for this possible trespass. The family and community adhered to a variant of the dominant, hegemonic ideal of separate spheres (and local Methodism). There were times, especially in the Great Depression, when family members ignored idealized strictures. Economic necessity outweighed notions of acceptable gender behavior in occasional practice (Stine 1989). The cult of domesticity and separate-spheres ideology was framed for middle- to upper-class urban women, not these farm mothers and daughters who experienced periods of hard physical labor. These family and community residents upheld an idealized but filtered notion of what their roles, social relations, and their own personal identities should be. This is clearly shown in the matrix, a tool that connects theorized perceptions and actions to material culture evidence. The matrix points to the human element of gender construction hidden within the hegemonic ideals. Ideas of proper masculine and feminine roles, identities, social interactions, and tasks are mitigated by economic forces, social negotiations, and personal introspection. These ideas are given material expression in documents, in the shaping of words, in archaeological assemblages, and in the gendered use of space.

Discussion and Conclusion

Using the matrix to facilitate gender research at a particular point in time and place such as the Carolina Piedmont is a small, highly detailed scale of investigation. Using the matrix as a vehicle for data organization and contemplation will enhance any scale of gender studies that seeks to incorporate numerous variables. The matrix is also useful for testing generalized or broad-scaled issues of gender, clearly maintaining, for the analysis, the relationships between specific variables and their possible subfactors. Constructing the matrix clarifies the theoretical framing of the research question and its relationship to the chosen methods and collected data. This is accomplished by discerning which elements fall under particular categories of study. For a large-scale example, the matrix would prove useful in an expansion of Greene's (2009) investigation of gender, class, and ethnicity in

the historical Cherokee community of Welch's Town. That matrix could highlight traditional Cherokee gender beliefs and compare them to antebellum Cherokee and European American ideologies. An increase in primary variables could readily occur as a different list of factors could be generated through initial census and archaeological research. A comparative analysis of site "footprints," artifact distributions, and attribute analysis might reveal evidence for gendered behavior at a broader interpretive scale if placed within a recalibrated matrix. Cultural transformations of ideas, roles, social relations, and identities should be visible in the material culture data at the homestead and the village site on the farmstead.

In other pertinent cases archaeologists will find that adding a potential third gender to a dual-gendered matrix will intensify their inquiries into human interrelationships. As the United States was colonized by persons of multiple backgrounds, there should be some immigrants who held notions and practices surrounding a third gender that were derived from beliefs in their home countries. Anthropologists have noted the existence of third-gendered societies. Societies with a third gender often mark it with special terminology, dress, ritual duties, and daily tasks (Hill 1998:101). The matrix categories in Table 1, with the addition of an hypothetical third-gender column, would enable a robust analysis by directing the researcher to note the interrelationship of ideology, roles, social life, and personal identity in the society under study. In an historical, third-gendered society there should be material culture evidence of the presence of three genders, expressed in iconographic images and texts, observed through spatial and artifact patterning and types, and seen through evidence of special practices. One could question the viability of the notion of trespass in that society. Perhaps gender roles were fluid, or fluid within certain age groups. This fluidity might be evidenced in material evidence, such as different art forms or types of personal items found in graves.

Applying the matrix method to explore various ideologies and their full, partial, or transformed expressions through time and space would enhance a researcher's ability to tie behavior to ideas and ultimately to material culture. As the matrix unfolds, one can redirect attribute clusters into classes or add analytical procedures. For example, researchers could seek chemical-residue analysis on their potsherds to search for specific types of drink- or food-related behavioral expressions of ideology. Historical archaeology's strength is in its theories and in the judicious analysis of its arsenal of material remains (artifacts, features, landscapes) and documentary evidence. These multiple venues of material culture are placed into the matrix as support for assumptions, as guides to evidential connections, and to stimulate new questions.

Gender has emerged as an acceptable line of inquiry in most historical archaeological research programs and can center on gender identity, relationships, roles, ideology, or the physical consequences thereof (Lambert 2001). Historical archaeologists will find that using the matrix reveals new questions about their data and uncovers areas of weakness or strength in their theoretical and methodological formulations. The process stimulates thinking about possible new factors within the different variable categories and alternative sources of data. Scholars can discern patterns, find obvious holes in the database, or perhaps learn where a scalar shift might be mandated in the analysis. Visual aids that clarify the relationship between research variables are difficult to design (Murray 2011). Various other visuals were attempted to illustrate the relationship of material culture data to gender variables and their sub-elements, but 3-D cubes, neuron-like diagrams, and other images proved more unwieldy than a straightforward matrix. A matrix is by nature expandable and lends itself well to multiscalar and, thus, comparative analyses.

A number of projects discussed here illustrate that gender does affect the daily lives of individuals, with long-term material culture consequences. Gender theory has a rich history, while gender methods tying material culture to gender are evolving. Similar studies to those presented will provide the building blocks necessary to enhance myriad types of gender research at multiple scales of analysis.

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