



THE ANCIENT SOUTHWESTERN COMMUNITY

MODELS AND METHODS FOR THE STUDY OF
PREHISTORIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATION



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CLASS AND COMMUNITY IN THE PREHISTORIC SOUTHWEST*

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A MARXIST APPROACH TO COMMUNITY DYNAMICS examines the process of producing and distributing surplus labor in society, or what Marx called the class process. It addresses tensions in, and struggles over, the class process and the various nonclass social processes that support it. Marxist theory views these tensions and struggles as an important source of change in human locational behavior, technoeconomic practices, exchange relationships, and political organization.¹

In the first part of the chapter I outline a Marxist theory of social life and discuss its relevance for southwestern prehistory. This theory focuses on social differences created by the class process in society. Understanding these differences is critical to investigating the role of social tension and struggle in shaping organizational change.

In the second part I discuss the nature of specifically communal class processes and struggles. Communal relationships are presumed to characterize most prehistoric southwestern societies, and justification for this idea is drawn from Pueblo ethnography.

In the final part of the chapter I examine some specific community settings through the lens of Marxist theory, in an effort to identify loci of social tension and struggle. My goal is to frame new research directions in the study of community dynamics and organizational change in the prehistoric Southwest.

Surplus Labor and the Class Constitution of Society

The surplus labor process is the distinctive Marxist entry point to the study of human social life. By surplus labor, I mean time and energy expended beyond the amount required (termed *necessary labor*) to meet the subsistence needs of individuals. That all societies produce surplus labor was one of Marx's key insights, and this basic idea has been developed in anthropology by Harris (1959), Cook (1977), and Wolf (1982). Each of these authors sees surplus labor as critical to the integration and reproduction of human societies. Surplus labor or its fruits (surplus product) is required to replace tools and other items used up in the production process; provide insurance against productive shortfalls; care for the sick, infirm, and other nonproducers; fund administrative positions; and satisfy common social and cultural needs (Cook 1977:372).

How surplus labor is produced and distributed varies considerably across societies. A vast literature examines these variations (e.g., Marx 1964; Hindess and Hirst 1975; Wessman 1981; Wolf 1982; contributors to Seddon 1978 and Kahn and Llobera 1981). Minimally, three forms of surplus production can be defined—communal, tributary, and capitalist. Surplus production in each form is governed by different social relationships: by kinship relations in the communal form; by political domination in the tributary form; and by the marketing of human labor power in the capitalist form. In Marxist

*For tables to Chapter 3, see p. 43.

theory a single society, or social formation, can contain one or several forms of producing surplus labor.

For Marx, the process of producing and distributing surplus labor in society inevitably created differences between people. Specifically, it sorted them into producers, appropriators, distributors, and recipients of surplus labor. These differences defined positions in a set of class processes (Marx 1967). That is, Marx defined class as an individual's position in a relationship of surplus flow. This is in sharp contrast to non-Marxist definitions of class as the differential possession of wealth, property, or power (Resnick and Wolff 1986).

The Marxist economists Resnick and Wolff (1986, 1987) further clarify these class relationships by breaking the surplus labor process down into two different, but closely connected kinds of surplus flows. One kind of flow is the initial production and appropriation of surplus labor. This can be termed the fundamental class process. Using conventional Marxist categories, we can distinguish communal, tributary, and capitalist forms of the fundamental class process. Producers and appropriators of surplus within each form are thus the fundamental classes in society—they occupy fundamental class positions.

The second kind of surplus flow is the subsumed class process. This refers to the distribution of surplus labor by the appropriators to specific individuals who provide the political, economic, and cultural conditions that allow a particular fundamental class process to exist. Such individuals may include people who decide the allocation of labor to productive tasks; who regulate the distribution of necessary factors of production (e.g., tools and land); who distribute the surplus product to non-producers; and who help create forms of consciousness among producers that are compatible with particular productive relationships. Distributors and recipients of surplus labor are thus the subsumed classes in society, and occupy subsumed class positions. A variety of subsumed classes can exist in society, which in turn place a variety of drains on appropriated surplus.²

In Marxist theory fundamental and subsumed class processes provide the conditions of each other's existence. They are also influenced by a host of nonclass

social processes. These nonclass processes do not involve flows of surplus labor, but rather other kinds of interactions that affect class processes. Power relations can affect who is placed in what class position(s), and how they perform their roles. The nature and status of social exchange relationships (e.g., the existence of debt) can influence decisions about the conduct and intensity of labor appropriation. Traffic in cultural meanings—meanings that shape the self- and social consciousness of producers—can affect the willingness of people to participate in particular class processes. People not only confront each other in these nonclass relationships, but also the rules that govern access to, and control over, nonclass social positions and practices. Some of these rules and practices are, as mentioned, provided and reinforced by the activities of subsumed classes.³

Thus, for Marxist theory, individuals in any society participate in a variety of class and nonclass processes. The nature of their involvement in these processes constantly changes, as a function of constant change in historical circumstances. A change in any one process affects all the others, producing distinctive tensions and struggles in each. People differentially positioned within class processes can struggle over the kinds and amounts of surplus labor produced and distributed, and people differentially positioned in nonclass processes can struggle over the power relations and cultural meanings that sustain surplus flows. These struggles can change the way a given class process is supported or, where multiple class processes exist in society, bring a new one into prominence. I further specify these struggles with respect to communal class processes in the second part of this chapter.

Having briefly outlined a Marxist theory of social life, we may ask what its relevance is for the study of community dynamics in the prehistoric Southwest. One answer is that Marxist theory's focus on human labor goes to the core of what produces everyday integration in human societies. The nature of this integration, on both local and regional scales, is still a blind spot in the prehistoric Southwest (Cordell and Gumerman 1989), as it is in many other places. Another, more specific answer is that Marxist theory—because of the distinctions it

makes between two kinds of surplus flow (fundamental and subsumed) and two sets of social processes (class and nonclass)—highlights integrative dynamics that are not recognized by other theoretical approaches. A failure to confront these dynamics has some significant consequences for understanding social integration and organizational change.

An example illustrates my point. A theoretical model of "prestige-good system" is widely used (by both Marxist and non-Marxist scholars) to investigate social integration in several areas of the world evidencing long-distance exchange and leadership development in kin-based social contexts. The American Southwest is one of these areas (e.g., Gledhill 1978; Upham 1982; Lightfoot 1984; McGuire 1986). Social integration in prestige-good systems depends on the flow of exotic items deemed socially necessary for marriage transactions and other life events. Access to these foreign valuables is regulated by "elite" kinsmen (lineage elders) who control intersocietal exchange spheres. Elites provide valuables to dependent kinfolk and extract from them the resources and labor necessary for acquiring additional valuables and, by extension, political status. Control of valuables thus confers power and control over labor, and hence kin elites are viewed as politically and economically dominant. They are variously described as "usurping," "co-opting," "preempting," and "exploiting" the labor of dependent producers (Tilley 1984: 112–114; McGuire 1986: 252–253). Whatever the precise language used, the implicit message is that primary producers are removed from the appropriation of their own labor and excluded from any role in determining both the conditions of production and the amounts of surplus appropriated.

However, it is not certain that elite-producer relations in prestige-good contexts are always best understood in this way. There is no evidence in either the ethnographic source literature on prestige-good systems (e.g., Friedman 1975; Eckholm 1977 and references therein) or in the concrete facts of prehistory to unambiguously support the idea that elites directly appropriate the surplus labor of producers, or that they exclusively determine the conditions and amounts of surplus production. By

most accounts primary producers in kin-based societies have the ability to resist elite demands for labor should conditions warrant (Wolf 1982; Bender 1990), and in some accounts elites also perform surplus labor (e.g., Friedberg 1977). Given this, one could just as reasonably treat the producers of surplus labor in prestige-good systems as the appropriators of surplus, and see the flow of surplus labor from producers to elites as a subsumed class payment to the latter because of their role in procuring the valuables deemed requisite for the reproduction of social life. In this view, elites have a measure of power that derives from their role in exchange (and, presumably, their position as administrators of production), but this does not translate into direct control over labor. In other words, elites occupy different positions in power and class relationships.⁴

This difference in interpretation turns on the social distinctions recognized by a class-theoretical model and missed by the prestige-good model. The difference is not minor, because how one characterizes the surplus flows in a system of deploying labor influences conclusions about the dynamic producing social change. Because power and class are equated in prestige-good models (i.e., elites exercise power while they simultaneously appropriate surplus labor; producers lack power while they simultaneously perform surplus labor), the dynamic of these models is "one-sided"; that is, focused on the activities of kin elites. Elites push their dependent producers to generate surpluses and take advantage of any opportunity to expand their fund of political and economic power (i.e., their control of goods and labor). They are bound by few if any structural constraints beyond status rivalry with other elites and the ability of their kinfolk to resist extraction when technoenvironmental circumstances no longer permit the exploitation (e.g., they are unconstrained by the conceivable demands made on labor by other subsumed classes).

Of course, the main test of the prestige-good model of social change lies in how well it works in the real world. Shennan (1987) notes that, at least for prehistoric Europe, a uniquely good fit between prestige-good models and archaeological data has not been demonstrated. He suggests that other models of change could work just as

well but does not specify what these are. There are reasons for questioning the broad applicability of the model beyond empirical ones, however. Roseberry (1989: 134–137), for example, links the elite-producer dichotomy and expansionist logic stipulated by the model (and by kin-based models of change generally) to the historical conditions under which kin-based societies have been studied by anthropologists. Specifically, Roseberry sees these features as the result of contact with tributary states and mercantilist empires. He thus raises doubts that they characterized kin formations in other historical contexts. Finally, we can wonder whether the last-instance appeal to technoenvironmental constraints in many applications of the prestige-good model really distinguishes it as a social account of change, one which eliminates the reductionism and teleology in those traditional, ecodeterministic accounts it was intended to replace (Friedman 1974).

This example shows that how we understand labor relations in society affects our theories of organizational change. It suggests that without explicit attention to the surplus labor process—its complex character and its potentially variable structural articulations with relations of power and consciousness—any transfer of surplus between parties could be mistaken as exploitation or domination of one party by the other, with a corresponding, and perhaps misleading, effect on understandings of social change.

We need to recognize that social integration involves multiple flows of surplus and a plurality of active agents. Recent critical reviews of the ethnography of kin-based societies (e.g., Asad 1987; Flanagan 1989; see also contributors to McGlynn and Tuden 1991) show how social differences and instabilities in kin-based political economies are masked by theories emphasizing their organizational “simplicity” and “egalitarianism,” or the “embeddedness” of their institutional relationships in kinship. A class-theoretical approach, with its conceptual distinctions between fundamental and subsumed, class and nonclass processes presumes complexity at the outset. It understands that a plurality of roles and positions is what activates struggle and change, and that this is what allows accounts of change to avoid determinism and teleology.

Class Processes and the Communal Formation

A model of communal formation strikes me as a good one for organizing the study of social integration and struggle in the prehistoric Southwest. In communal social formations individuals fill class positions of fundamental producer and appropriator of surplus. That is, surplus appropriation is collective in form (Amariglio et al. 1988). This arrangement stands in marked contrast to those where the producers and appropriators of surplus form separate groupings, and where consequently a class division (i.e., a true relation of exploitation) can be said to exist. Individuals in communal formations also fill the position of subsumed distributor of surplus, since in these societies surpluses are not only collectively produced but also collectively distributed. Fewer people in communal formations hold subsumed class positions as recipients of surplus labor. Finally, individuals participate in a variety of nonclass processes that do not involve the production or subsumed distribution of surplus. People have different positions in social exchange processes, power relationships, kin-ceremonial processes, and so on.⁵

There is more to communal appropriation than this general characterization allows, however. Marxist theory expects that communal appropriation can involve significant variation in how class and nonclass processes are structured and articulated, and in the relative importance of kin and nonkin relationships in positioning people within these processes. For example, the communal fundamental class process can involve technical divisions of labor involving part-time to full-time specialization of productive tasks. Communal production can also involve extended divisions of labor in which entire households (or more-inclusive groupings) specialize in productive activities. These situations would involve socially regulated unequal access to specific means of production. Full equality of access to resources and power is not, however, necessary to communalism; what matters is guaranteed access to socially determined portions of necessary and surplus labor. Finally, communalism can involve complexity in the subsumed class structure that sustains surplus production. That is, it can admit a va-

riety of formal, specialized leadership roles (e.g., political functionaries, ritual specialists, warriors). Access to these positions can further vary from achieved to ascribed.⁶

I believe that variants of communal forms of surplus production, some quite complex, characterized the bulk of those prehistoric southwestern societies of which we have knowledge. Given that ethnographic support for the plausibility of any interpretative model is often required to justify its application to prehistory, a brief consideration of the ethnographically known Pueblos is in order. Ethnographic data, of course, do not speak unambiguously to the matter of Pueblo social integration. Some scholars see the Pueblo as fundamentally egalitarian; others recognize deep inequalities of access to power and resources, coercive control by elites, and, by implication, fundamental class divisions (Upham 1982, 1989; Reyman 1987; see also Chapter 2).¹

A Marxist reading of the ethnographic record creates space for a third view that makes this opposition disappear. This alternative view trades on ethnographic observations and inferences implicating communal forms of integration among the Pueblo. Specifically, while inequalities clearly exist in terms of possession of land and access to esoteric knowledge, there is little to contradict the notion of guaranteed access to key strategic resources, among them land and ritual space. This holds even in social contexts where social divisions have been seen as most pronounced, as at Hopi. In this case, Whiteley (1985) underscores a point made by Titiev (1944) that no producers at Hopi are left landless, no matter how inequitably land is distributed. Parsons (1933:49) makes roughly the same point with respect to ritual space. She reports the "puzzling fact" at Hopi that religious ceremonies (for which different clans have different responsibilities) may be held in a kiva that is not the clan kiva of the head of the ceremony. This suggests a situation where access to religious space is guaranteed, a key condition of communal socioceremonial existence.

Ethnographic data on leader-producer labor relations are also consistent with a model of communalism. The administrative activities of leaders and the benefits they receive have been nicely summarized (Upham 1982; Reyman 1987). These activities include the allocation of land and permits relating to use of land and water, sched-

uling of ceremonial activity, appointment of ceremonial and secular officials, and various utilizations of communal surpluses. Material benefits going to leaders include communal labor parties that plant, tend, and harvest their fields, maintain their houses, and prepare their food. Leaders can also receive larger shares of communally hunted food.

Again, for some authors this set of relationships suggests profound inequalities in access to power and, subsequently, class divisions. A Marxist reading of the ethnographic material suggests collective appropriation and a slightly more nuanced set of leader-producer relationships. In these relationships leaders function as communal subsumed classes. Titiev (1944:65) notes that contributing labor for the leader's benefit at Hopi is voluntary, given and withheld without prodding or penalty. Titiev (1944:63) also notes the lack of mechanisms compelling labor performance in other activities such as cleaning springs. Whiteley (1988:69) endorses conclusions about the broad equality of participation in labor activities at Hopi, regardless of an individual's political or religious status. Ellis (1981:414) hints at the same situation in the Río Grande area where she notes that "caciques" were not exempt from performing communal labor. Several other accounts implicate the ability of Puebloan villagers to routinely resist elite demands for labor in the absence of a communal consensus (Bolton 1908; Titiev 1944:65). Still others indicate that leadership positions—the associated material benefits notwithstanding—were not sought after and were even refused, ostensibly because they involved the holder in unwelcome heavy obligations (Goldman 1937; Brandt 1954:24–25; Ellis 1981:426).⁷

Taken together, these observations and inferences suggest the absence of a fundamental class division in Pueblo societies; "elite" occupancy of both fundamental and subsumed class positions; and the problematic position of "empowered" subsumed classes within the Puebloan social order. They suggest that labor allocations to leaders were a subsumed class's shares of communally extracted labor (given as compensation for the performance of those administrative, nonclass processes described above), with the size and timed distribution controlled by the commune. Such relationships are

missed where political power is equated with a dominant or exploitative position in relations of surplus flow.

Of course, whether a given set of relationships is communal or noncommunal, exploitative or nonexploitative can be determined only through analysis of the entire set of circumstances under which surplus production occurs. This involves reconstruction of population sizes, land availability and productivity, production and distribution patterns, exchange relationships, and existing ideologies. The precise form of the surplus labor process and its social conditions of existence likely varied widely in Puebloan history and prehistory and, indeed, could have involved noncommunal, tributary relations of production (Wilcox 1981).

The tensions and struggles created by the dynamics of communal surplus flow were likely similarly variable. There is little in Pueblo ethnography that informs on struggles over surplus flow (M. Clemmer-Smith, personal communication), precisely because surplus labor has not been an analytical entry point for Pueblo ethnographers. However, a diversity of communal class and nonclass struggles might be expected, depending on their precise structure and historical circumstances. Producers can engage in fundamental class struggles over the socially determined division between necessary and surplus labor, and over the form surplus labor takes (goods or services). Subsumed classes can struggle with producers and also among themselves over the size and allocation of subsumed shares of appropriated surplus. Additional subsumed class struggles can be imagined where these individuals must secure the conditions to support both communal and tributary relationships, as may have been the case at Chaco Canyon and Casas Grandes.⁸

A variety of nonclass struggles can take shape over the various social conditions that sustain surplus production, including how land is allocated, labor divided, work organized, social products distributed, production planned, and ceremonies timed and conducted. For communal societies, I can image class struggles dividing people with similar nonclass positions, as where the producing members of a given kin group are faced with claims on their labor by other kin (Sacks 1979:117). I can imagine nonclass struggles dividing people with

similar class positions, as where subsumed ritual specialists take different sides of a dispute over ceremonial life. Finally, I can imagine particular individuals being squeezed by their occupancy of contradictory positions within social relations of production. Consider the subsumed political or ritual specialists, or the specialized craft producers, who, depending on circumstances, could find themselves allied with other specialists against members of their own lineage, clan, secret society, or some other associational grouping.

In all these scenarios individuals struggle with competing class and nonclass identities and consciousnesses. These dynamics contribute to the factionalism widely identified as the bane of "tribal" social life (Sahlins 1968; Kintigh 1985). However, we need to better specify the sources of internal tension in prehistoric settings—whether focused on class, power, ideology, or some combination. We also need to think through how struggles over each might be manifested archaeologically.

The final question to be considered is that of causality—of what activates the diverse struggles imaginable in a Marxist theory of society. I expect the potential causes of change to be many and varied, certainly encompassing all of those factors currently being discussed by southwesternists (e.g., environmental fluctuations; the expansion or contraction of exchange opportunities). The challenge is to figure out how such factors might affect individuals and groups having different positions and interests within a complex web of class and nonclass relationships, and with what results.

For example, the changing structure of trade networks has been highlighted as an important causal variable in the Southwest (e.g., Lightfoot 1984; Neirzel 1989). Depending on other circumstances, I can imagine an expansion of trade opportunities strengthening alliances between subsumed political functionaries charged with, say, the procurement of exotic "prestige goods" and local producers of whatever moves against such goods. This situation in turn could activate social struggles between such alliances and alliances of other communal producers and subsumed classes by upsetting existing balances in the way communal labor needs are determined, and communal labor allocated. If this notion is plausible, then the collapse of exchange networks in some areas of

the prehistoric Southwest may have had as much to do with specific class and nonclass struggles over labor flows as with the loss of commodities resulting from disruption of trade routes (e.g., Lightfoot 1984) or the inability of political leaders to manage an increasing volume of exchanges (e.g., Graves 1983).

The social differences created by relations of surplus flow thus produce, for Marxist theory, the dynamics of community life. The Marxist theory of communal formations discussed here is not intended to explain a specific empirical case or episode of change. Rather, it is a general framework for organizing thought about available empirical patterns in order to define variation in class and nonclass processes and, from this, to generate new questions and lines of research (e.g., about the specific relationships between power and class in a given instance, or about potential loci of tension and struggle). In the final part of this chapter I examine some specific community settings through the lens of class analysis. The aim is to present plausible reconstructions of social life at these communities and indicate new research directions.

Communal Formations and Struggles in the Prehistoric Southwest

West-Central New Mexico

My primary example deals with community dynamics in west-central New Mexico during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries A.D. This has been identified as a time of significant social instability in the area, and across the Southwest generally (Cordell and Gumerman 1989: 11). The period in west-central New Mexico has been described as "calamitous" (Stuart and Gauthier 1984: 131), marked by the fragmentation of Chaco-San Juan Basin social networks, substantial population movements, and the realignment of regional exchange relationships. LeBlanc (1989: 352) identifies a "major restructuring" of area communities, while Anyon and Ferguson (1983) speak of local populations "experimenting" with different organizational forms as a re-

sponse to the changing conditions of life. If these characterizations are on target, then we might expect that on a community level tensions and struggles developed that related to such matters as the reformulation of boundaries between social groups, and the rules regulating the production and distribution of surplus labor.

My window into this prehistoric world is the Pettit site, a 150 room community in Toogey Canyon (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). As understood through a Marxist approach, material patterns at the Pettit site reflect the operation of a complex set of communal class and nonclass processes.⁹ The architectural plan of the community, when considered in the broader context of Puebloan settlement for this period, meets minimal expectations for what the built environment of a communal society should look like. Room types of relatively uniform size (Table 3.1) and comparable levels of labor investment are regularly distributed across the settlement. There is no hint of any differential association of habitation rooms with a disproportionate share of storage facilities, wealth items, or ritual space. If the Pettit site is in fact a viable community and not a specialized part of some yet undiscovered and radically different settlement pattern, then this evidence can reasonably be taken as broadly indicating local surplus production on a communal model.

Other material patterns, however, suggest that communal appropriation at the Pettit site may have been secured in a rather complex way. Some rooms contain artifact types and debris densities indicative of manufacturing activities related to the production of stone and bone tools and ceramic containers. These rooms are differentially distributed across the settlement's constituent roomblocks, identified as construction units in Figure 3.2.¹⁰ This may suggest that a communitywide technical division of labor in the production of strategic use-values existed at the settlement, with people differentially positioned as producers within the communal fundamental class process.

Such an arrangement may have involved a political or ceremonial hierarchy for regulating the distribution of use-values between residential groupings and for ritually reaffirming ties of mutual dependence. Establishing the existence of social hierarchy with archaeological data is

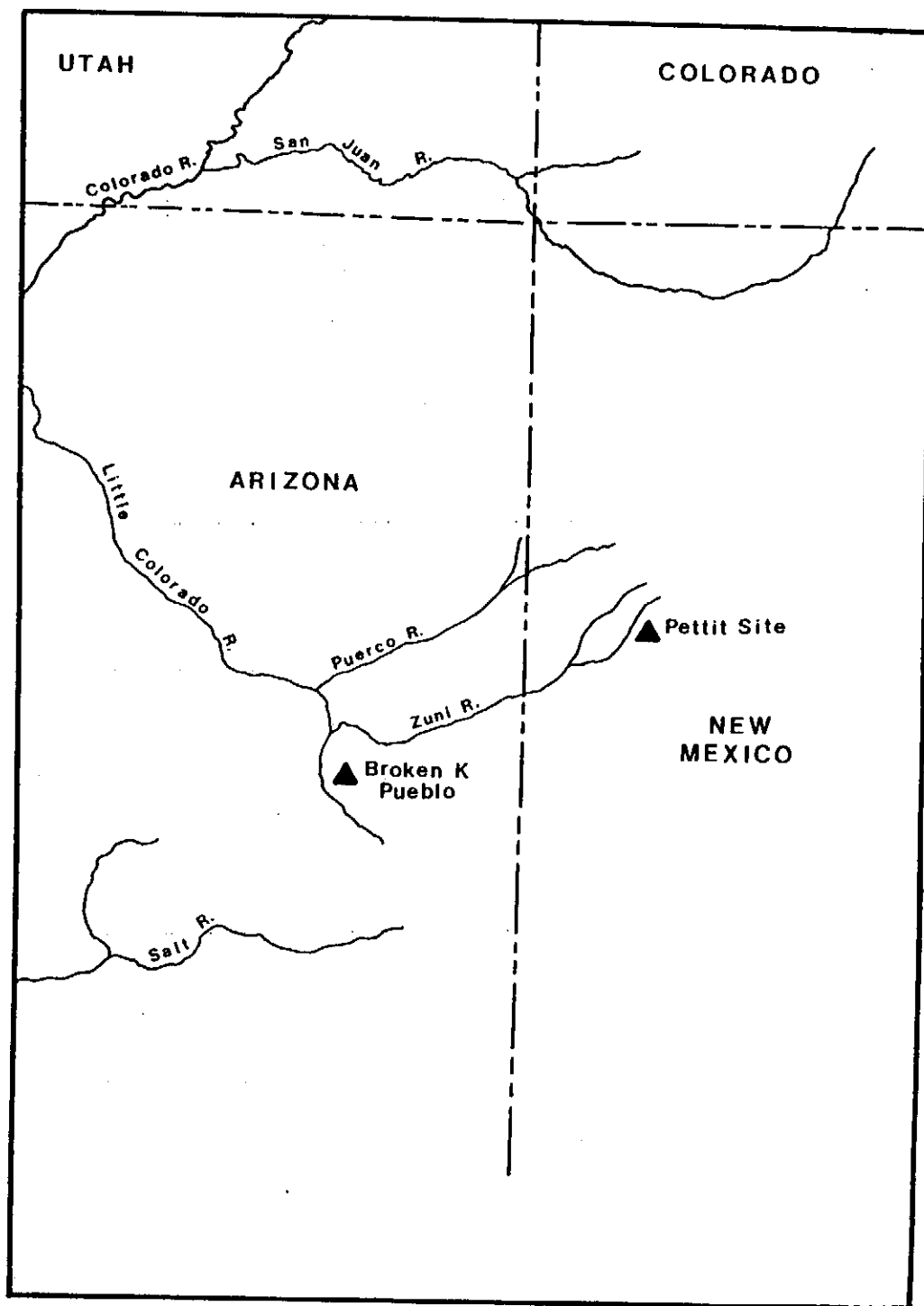


Figure 3.1
Location of
Pueblo
Communities
in West-Central
New Mexico
and East-
Central Arizona

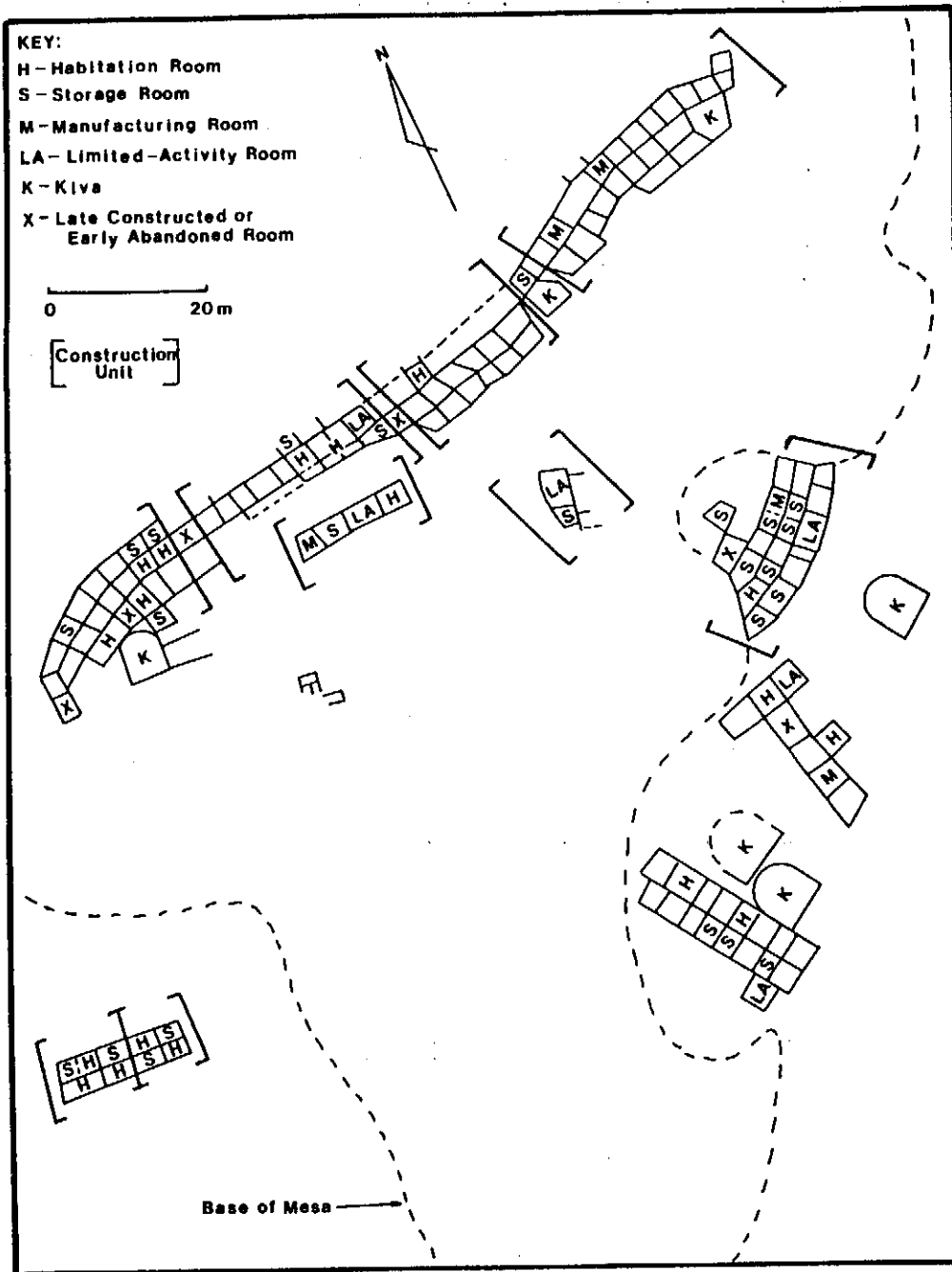


Figure 3.2
Room Use at
the Pettit Site

not easy, as there is no straightforward relationship between hierarchy and material patterning (Reid and Whittlesey 1990). The documentation of hierarchy is further complicated where differential social power turns more on the control of esoteric ritual knowledge than on the control of material wealth, as in the historical pueblos (see Chapter 2).

Examining per capita storage capacity at a settlement provides one way to break into the problem. The operative assumption is that storage behavior in part reflects purely social, administrative demands on communal labor. The relevant arguments for this approach are detailed by Hantman (1989). Effective storage volume at pueblo communities is estimated at 1.5 m height per storage room, six square meters of habitation floor space is allotted per person, and allowance is made for the storage of subsistence reserves to offset productive shortfalls.

Judged against comparably dated sites from the Little Colorado area where data on per capita storage volume have been generated (Hantman 1989), the figure for the Petrit site is relatively high (Table 3.2). I take this figure to indicate the existence of a community-supported set of subsumed classes charged with regulating economic exchanges and other political and ceremonial activities. The existence of such a subsumed hierarchy is further suggested by the discovery of an adult male burial with an associated St. Johns Black-on-Red bowl in the ventilator shaft of the largest kiva at the settlement (Room 77). Although "messages from the grave are equivocal" (Bender 1985:57), this is a unique burial context, and it may be communicating something significant about local social differences. I assume that kivas represent the spatial loci of subsumed class activities and struggles; that is, social arenas for coordinating communal production, negotiating claims on the products of communal labor, and mediating tensions that arise in these relations.

If the existence of a subsumed social hierarchy can be substantiated, then the surplus indicated by the high per capita storage volume would, in the view taken here, represent a communal fund from which the subsumed class was paid, rather than a fund for building personal power, as in alternative models (for a discussion of these

alternative models, see Hantman 1989). It must also be understood that surplus labor can be allocated to subsumed classes in less directly measurable ways, as for example through those labor flows summarized by Reymann (1987) and discussed above. This is not a comforting notion for archaeologists, but I suspect it is a social reality that we will have to learn to deal with. Finally, I do not believe that political coercion, economic exploitation, class divisions, or anything of the sort was a feature of this particular community landscape. Rather, the relationships I am positing between surplus flow, social hierarchy, and community life are much subtler and fundamentally communal in character.

While the preceding evidence may be taken as reflecting a well-integrated set of communal class relations at the Petrit site, other material patterns indicate the existence of social tension and struggle in the nonclass processes supporting communalism. There is evidence that resident social groups strove to preserve some kind of autonomy in community affairs. This is reflected by the presence within roomblocks of a distinct room type intermediate in size between habitation rooms and kivas (see Table 3.1), and containing centrally placed hearths. I have referred to these as limited-activity rooms (see Figure 3.2), but they strike me as exemplary of the "clanhouses" reported in Puebloan ethnography (Eggan 1950; see also Watson et al. 1980:207). The construction and maintenance of such rooms might be expected for this period, given the presumably different traditions and beliefs of groups moving through an unsettled post-Chaco landscape.

Further, some of these limited-activity rooms are expanded and remodeled habitation rooms. While architectural remodeling is a complex phenomenon having many potential causes (Reynolds 1981), it may reflect tension in the realm of village political or ceremonial life that resulted in the establishment of new social alignments or associations. The fact that rooms with abundant trash in their fills precisely bracket several roomblocks at the settlement (indicated by X on Figure 3.2) may suggest active efforts to maintain some kinds of intrasettlement social boundaries, and perhaps reinforces the inference that social tension punctuated community affairs. Moreover, the general impression gained

from looking at the placement of visible doorways at the site (both open and sealed) is one of strictly regulated access between rooms, access that was achieved internally rather than through shared external spaces (Saitta 1988). This situation conceivably reflects the centrifugal forces always at work in kin-communal societies, and perhaps even conscious attempts by resident social groups to maintain, through architectural design, close social control over labor power (Hodder 1984). However, the lack of shared external spaces on top of Pettit Mesa is undoubtedly a function of limited available space, and we have not yet ruled out the existence of a "courtyard" surrounding the Unit 77 kiva. Nonetheless, if labor is indeed a limiting factor in village agricultural societies (Price 1984), and if land was not limiting in the Ramah area at this time (Kintigh 1984:232), then the hypothesis connecting remodeling to struggles over labor remains credible.

In short, these observations and inferences, considered together, conceivably point to intracommunity struggles over the precise form of communal class and nonclass processes. Inferences about the integrative processes and disintegrating tendencies at work in this community need strengthening. The broader regional context of social life, specifically the larger-scale dynamics posited by prestige-good system and "peer polity" models (see Chapter 11), also requires analysis. This expanded scope is necessary in order to explore factors that could have set local class and nonclass struggles in motion.

East-Central Arizona

A Marxist approach opens up new research directions in east-central Arizona. In the Hay Hollow Valley late prehistoric populations experienced social and environmental changes broadly similar to those experienced in Toge Canyon. The famous site of Broken K Pueblo (Figures 3.1 and 3.3) serves as a window into community dynamics here.

Recent middle-range research on Broken K has revealed several problems with Hill's (1970) original stud-

ies. Analyses of ceramic patterns (Plog 1978), formation processes (Schiffer 1987:323–338, 1989), and building abandonment sequences (Wilcox 1988) severely undermine Hill's inferences about local residence patterns and social organization. Wilcox (1988) argues that we need new models to help us visualize what social processes in this time and place might have been like. It is in this spirit of suggesting alternative organizational possibilities that the following is offered.

Broken K strikes me as another community where class and nonclass processes took a communal form, albeit in a slightly different mix than at Pettit. Like Pettit, and indeed most other Puebloan communities in prehistory, the Broken K architectural plan is strikingly modular (Johnson 1989). Wilcox (1988), considering the growth of this modularity over time, reconstructs an original occupation by four social groups. These are represented by four core structures of three to four rooms each, with one structure located in each of the four wings of the settlement. Wilcox argues for the incremental addition of new rooms—and presumably new households—to each core structure, creating suprahousehold groupings. He associates each original core structure with its own kiva and infers that each unit was distinguished by its own socioceremonial identity.

I take the architectural form of Broken K, and Wilcox's observations about its evolution, as a warrant for envisioning a communal social and economic structure that integrated distinct coresident ethnic groups. The nature of this integration is suggested by several inferences about productive activity at the settlement, which in turn implicate complexity in communal fundamental class relations. Wilcox (1988) discusses evidence for a technical division of labor where he identifies, in the southwestern corner of the settlement, two rooms (numbers 69 and 92 on Figure 3.3) with multiple meal-ing bins. As he suggests, these may have served to functionally integrate the suprahousehold unit existing in this part of the settlement. It is unclear to what extent a more extensive technical division of labor linked this unit to other suprahousehold groupings and smaller, unaffiliated households at the community. Longacre (1966), however, addresses this issue where he notes the

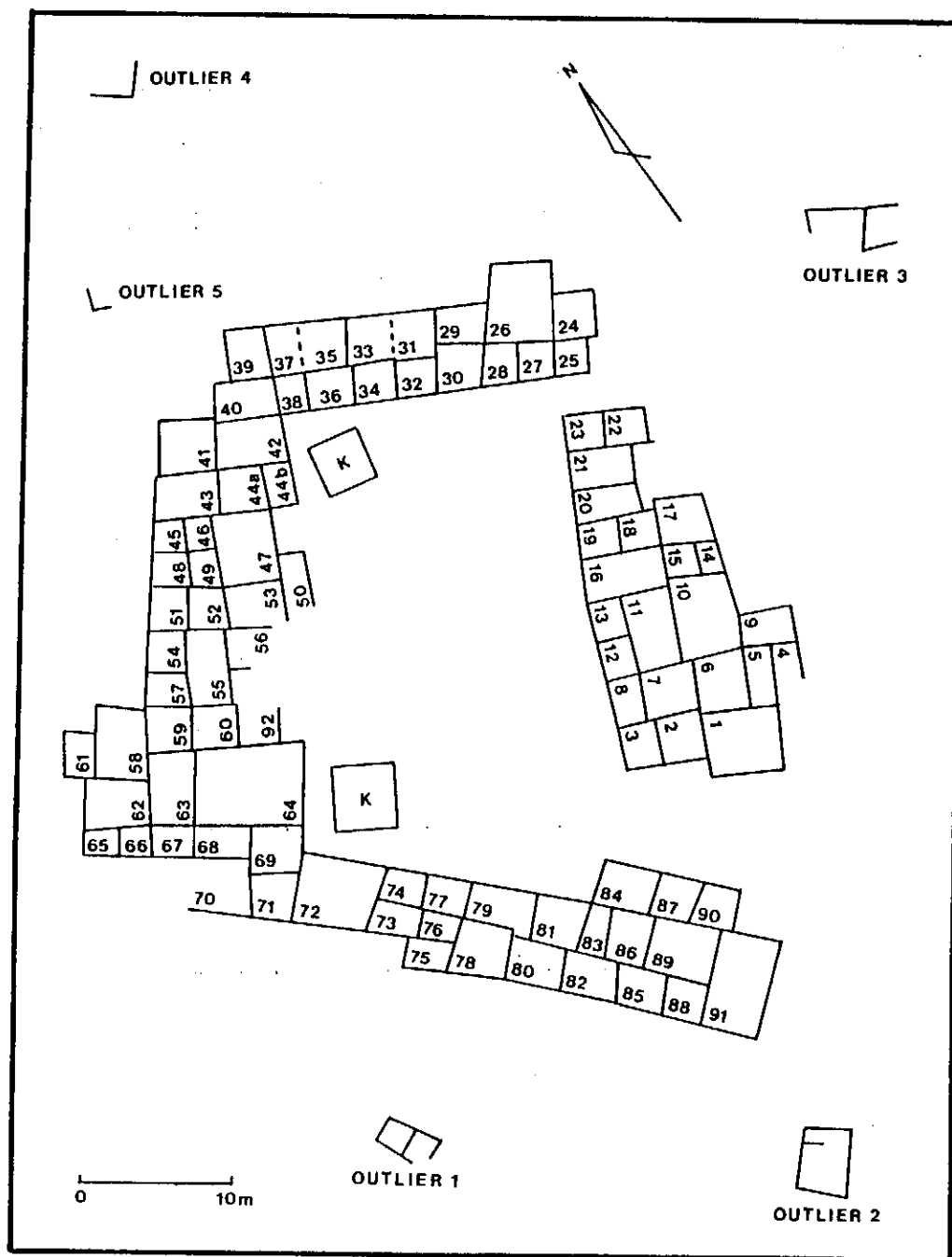


Figure 3.3
Ground Plan of
Broken K
Pueblo

differential distribution of tools used to make other tools across the settlement. Specifically, he notes that engraving tools (e.g., antler flakes, wrenches, saws, and blades) have a relatively circumscribed distribution in the southwest and northwest corners, whereas engraved items are distributed communitywide. If Longacre's pattern is a real one, then it may suggest a technical division of labor and the functional integration of household groups on a much wider, pancommunity scale. This would mean that people with different nonclass positions in kin-ceremonial processes shared similar positions in the communal fundamental class process.

For Longacre, these distributions imply the reciprocal exchange of goods and services across the community. However, recall that communal distributions of necessary and surplus labor can be secured in a variety of other ways. Specifically, one cannot rule out more-formal political and economic processes for distributing use-values across the settlement, which involved centralized decision making by one or more subsumed classes. The existence of a central plaza at the site is one piece of evidence that indicates the relatively greater formality of subsumed class processes at Broken K as compared to Pettit. Another is the discovery of what Hill (1970: 78–81) and Lightfoot (1984:92) infer to be the high-status burial of an adult male in an early plaza context just south of Room 27 (see Figure 3.3). The relatively lower per capita storage index generated for the site compared to Pettit (see Table 3.2), however, may indicate that allocations of communal surplus labor to subsumed classes here took alternative forms not materially evident. Substantiating the existence of a formal, subsumed political hierarchy at Broken K, its regulative functions and its media of support, is clearly a problem for future research.

Documenting the tensions and conflicts created by communal relations of production at Broken K poses additional research challenges. Wilcox (1988) suggests that Broken K was founded in a context of labor scarcity, and that aggregation allowed households to pool resources and create a new social exchange system. We can view the technical divisions of labor at Broken K as strategies ("experiments") for meeting new labor

demands and reinforcing interhousehold integration. However, conditions of ethnic coresidence and socially regulated economic interdependency provide fertile ground for tensions and conflicts over economic and cultural life.

Struggles of both a class and nonclass nature indirectly suggest themselves at Broken K. One archaeological correlate of class struggle would be evidence for alliances formed between individuals and groups having similar positions in the technical division of labor. It is of interest that the coefficient of similarity in ceramic design between the two areas of the settlement having engraving tools is as high or higher than the coefficients between any other areas (Plog 1978:176–177). Allowing certain assumptions about the role of style in signaling social group affiliation (Wobst 1977), this pattern possibly indicates an alliance between individuals or groups with similar class positions in the communal fundamental class process. This idea can be tested through further analysis of ceramic distributions, and tool production and distribution patterns.

Struggles over the nonclass conditions of existence of communal life may be indicated by changing patterns in the location and use of kivas and plaza space. Wilcox (1988) recognizes a shift from subterranean kivas to room kivas in the 1200s. We might inquire into this change from the standpoint of communal struggles over ideology in a social context of ethnic coresidence. The kiva shift may indicate efforts to more closely control ceremonial life by more fully enclosing the spatial locus of ritual. Alternatively, it could reflect resistance to, or a breakdown of, the integrative activities occurring in the plaza (but cf. Hill 1970:90). Again, these ideas are researchable in part through comparative study of the uses of subterranean kivas, room kivas, and plaza.

A discussion of the specific factors triggering conflict and change at Broken K takes us even further into the realm of theoretical possibility. Broken K was abandoned in the late 1200s. Differences of opinion exist as to whether this happened quickly while the settlement was still a robust community (Schiffer 1989) or gradually over a period of several years (Wilcox 1988). Either pattern could be produced by internal conflicts and

struggles. Wilcox (1988) and Lightfoot (1984) both situate Broken K in a context of changing regional exchange dynamics. In keeping with an idea discussed above, we might consider in more detail the differential effects of expanding and contracting exchange on local patterns of specifically communal forms of surplus labor allocation and distribution.

Conclusion

A Marxist approach to community dynamics is distinguished by its focus on the social differences and conflicts created by flows of surplus labor in society. The role of conflict and competing interest groups in social change has recently been identified as an issue in need of greater theoretical attention (Schiffer 1988). Marxist theory provides a way to define these contending groups and the sorts of things they can struggle over. It uses the touchstone of surplus labor to define class and nonclass alliances and struggles, and recognizes that the objects of struggle (e.g., the kinds and amounts of surplus produced; power relations; forms of consciousness) can vary depending on historical circumstances. The challenge is to sort these dynamics out, both in theory and on the ground.

A Marxist approach has achieved only glimpses of the class and nonclass processes structuring social life at the communities considered here. It remains to more fully substantiate the relationships and struggles hypothesized, and the factors that set social struggles in motion. This requires not only a specific theoretical focus on labor, but also attention to the entire set of local and regional circumstances affecting surplus flow, as discussed above.

Further progress on the issues raised here requires more attention to the class structure of ethnographically known kin-based societies, and middle-range theories that can tie class and nonclass dynamics to archaeological patterns. It will also require a good bit of imaginative theory building about the possibilities for variation in human social life. Following Binford (1986), I believe that imagination is our most important asset in a post-

empiricist world. Imagination is critical to transcending the limitations of ethnographic analogy, developing "homegrown" theories of social life (Schiffer 1988: 466), and penetrating the irreducibly different dynamics of past societies. By developing theory and method to penetrate the community dynamics imagined here, I think we can expand our understanding of, and learn new things about, the diverse organizational forms that likely characterized the prehistoric Southwest.

Notes

I am grateful to Charlie Piot, Tom Patterson, Barbara Bender, and Randall McGuire for conversations that helped shape this chapter. I especially thank my colleagues Richard Clemmer and Terry Reynolds for answering questions about Pueblo ethnography, and for their insightful comments. They are not responsible for my use of their answers and comments, however. Students and colleagues in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Denver patiently listened and constructively reacted to my ideas in a number of contexts, and Martha Rooney lent intellectual and moral support. Finally, I thank the volume editors for their friendly counsel and encouragement.

1. These theoretical commitments to tension and struggle do not rule out social cooperation or impulses to change not rooted in social struggle. Marxism simply focuses on that which is conflictual and contradictory in the complex web of relationships that makes up an "organized social plurality" (Wolf 1982:74). Ideas about social tension and struggle are not exclusively Marxist. What broadly distinguishes Marxism is its explicit focus on the surplus labor process as a touchstone for considering these dynamics.

2. Terray (1975) and de Ste. Croix (1981) offer useful discussions of the status of the concept of class in Marxist theory. This status is widely contested (Resnick and Wolff 1986; Saitta 1989). Terray adopts an analytical perspective and terminology broadly similar to those advocated here. Terray's fundamental classes, like mine, are the direct producers of necessary and surplus labor in society. What Terray terms secondary classes are nonproducing, "unproductive" classes. Terray's notion of secondary classes bears some similarity to my notion of subsumed classes, but I prefer the latter term because there is nothing secondary about the role subsumed classes play in social life. While subsumed classes do not have to produce necessary or surplus labor, their activities are crucial to reproducing a given fundamental class process.

3. Whether a given social process is a class process (involving the appropriation or subsumed distribution of surplus) or a nonclass process (involving neither of these) depends on its precise social context. For example, in kin-based societies ceremonial occasions often define contexts in which surplus labor is either appropriated by the community, distributed to subsumed classes (e.g., to ritual specialists as compensation for symbolic labor performed on behalf of the community), or both. However, ceremony and ritual can simply provide contexts in which portions of necessary and surplus labor are distributed, through nonclass relationships, to various nonproducers (the old and infirm) and producers in various states of need. Moreover, these ceremonial occasions do not have to involve any distributions of surplus labor or its products. The argument here is simply for distinguishing the constitutive processes of social life, and for clarifying the nature of the surplus labor flow, if any, that takes place within them. Such analysis is critical for identifying alternative loci of social tension and struggle.

4. Resnick and Wolff (1986) show how the conflation of economic and political positions in class analyses of capitalist societies masks interesting social relationships and dynamics. As they point out, there is no need in capitalism for power holders to appropriate surplus labor, appropriators of surplus labor to own property, or property owners to hold power. They note that significant changes in power and property relations can still leave capitalist forms of surplus production—and economic exploitation—intact. We might expect a similar relative autonomy of social processes to hold in the fluid social matrices that characterize kin-based societies, classic arguments for kinship embeddedness notwithstanding. Anthropologists have already disassociated power and the control of material wealth in these cultural contexts (see Chapter 2). Something new can be learned about social integration by disaggregating power and surplus flows, and by unpacking (in class terms) the whole notion of elite (Marcus 1983; see note 8, below).

5. Implicit here is the notion that kinship—along with age, gender, and residence—differentially places individuals in systems of deploying labor. For Marxist theory, this results in their occupancy of different class (fundamental and subsumed) and nonclass positions. We cannot predict, however, what social positions individuals will fill as a function of their kin, age, gender, or residence status. By making such distinctions, we can hope to examine the actual relations of embeddedness in kin-organized societies (Clammer 1978:3), while still preserving their status as a qualitatively different kind of organizational form.

6. Marx (1964) was the first to theoretically explore the possibilities for variation in communal relations of production. Others have updated and refined his views (Amariglio 1984; Gailey and Patterson 1988). Still others have explored concrete

historical and prehistoric patterns of variation in communal relations of production (Jensen 1982; Amariglio et al. 1988; Patterson 1990). Thinking about the ways that communal (and noncommunal) political economies can be variously structured is critically important if we want to develop alternative models for exploring the past. I believe such models would come in handy in the Southwest, where some archaeological patterns (e.g., Chaco Canyon) are proving very difficult to square with traditional interpretive constructs (e.g., tribe, chiefdom) as well as proposed alternatives (e.g., middle-range society).

7. Elizabeth Brandt (Chapter 2) views these refusals as the product of an ideology nurtured by elites so as to limit interest in leadership and thereby preserve differential access to resources and power. However, this analysis attributes to producers a false consciousness that is hard to square with other observations about the reality of Pueblo political and economic life. At least at Hopi, issues concerning political practices and motivating ideologies are far from resolved (Clemmer 1988). It is thus an open question whether popular reluctance to accept leadership stems from a false consciousness or a measured evaluation of the demands and pressures of political life.

8. Struggles between subsumed classes are a particularly important locus of change in a Marxist theory of society, as these individuals sit at the confluence of class and nonclass processes. Marxist theories invoking an elite-nonelite opposition and non-Marxist theories casting political relationships in terms of a leader-follower dyad (see Lightfoot 1984 and Sebastian 1991 for southwestern examples) rarely allow for the dynamic of subsumed class struggles. Keesing (1991:83) notes that anthropologists tend to focus on only one kind of leader in their studies of kin-based societies and, in so doing, mask the variations and complexities of leadership. Whiteley (1988:64–70) notes a similar tendency as concerns ethnographic studies of the Hopi. We need to allow a multiplicity of leaders for kin-based societies, who vary with respect to how they gain power, how they function to reproduce fundamental class relationships, how they draw support through subsumed labor flows, and how their position is problematized by the existence of other subsumed classes (see also Paynter 1989). In so doing, we can establish the social plurality necessary for thinking about subsumed class struggles over surplus flow and the nonclass processes that sustain it.

9. These material patterns are reported in Saitta 1991. The formation processes of the Pettit assemblage have not been thoroughly investigated, and thus one could challenge the integrity of the inferences upon which the following reconstruction is based. However, progress in our discipline should not be linked so closely with middle-range work (be it on formation processes or the statics-dynamics problem) that brain-

storming about the social meaning of archaeological patterns is stigmatized as unscientific (Wobser 1989; Redman 1991). The intent in both examples discussed here is to fashion, using multiple lines of evidence, plausible models of social organization that can structure future research.

10. These construction units have been identified by Linthicum (1980), using wall bonding and abutment patterns, ceramic associations, and a factor analysis of masonry attributes.

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Table 3.1 Mean room size at the Pettit site

Room type	Number	Size (m ²)	SD
Storage	24	5.72	1.80
Manufacturing	5	5.72	0.03
Habitation	20	7.40	2.40
Limited activity	6	9.50	1.30
Kiva	6	19.23	4.99

Table 3.2 Storage capacities for puebloan sites

Site	Number of rooms	Excavated storage volume (m ³)	Excavated habitation area (m ²)	Per capita storage volume (m ³)
Rim Valley	20	20.55	83.71	1.4
Coyote Creek	30	63.00	166.00	2.3
Broken K	99	174.40	264.51	4.0
Joint Site	36	105.00	138.37	4.6
Pettit Site	154	205.92	148.00	8.4*

Notes: Figures are derived from Hantman 1989:439.

*This figure is likely inflated by the disproportionate sampling of ground-floor storage rooms in a suspected two-story roomblock at the site. A preponderance of storage rooms appears to characterize the ground floors of multistory pueblos (Adams 1983). The revised per capita storage volume figure when this likelihood is taken into account is 6.70 m³.