

BETWEEN ROCK CAIRNS AND CHARM STONES:  
AN EXAMINATION OF WOMEN'S ACCESS TO HEALING ROLES  
IN CALIFORNIA HUNTER-GATHERER GROUPS

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of  
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Master of Arts

Florida Atlantic University

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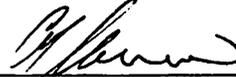
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This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's thesis advisor, Dr. Susan Love Brown, Department of Anthropology, and has been approved by the members of her supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts and Letters and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

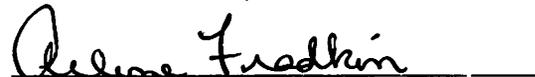
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## ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to evaluate the validity of previous theories concerning women's access to roles of power within hunter-gatherer societies. This study examines how accurately immanent social identity theory and bifurcated role circumstantiality predict women's access to the role of healer (*shaman*) within California hunter-gatherer groups. A sample of 27 California hunter-gatherer groups was analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Notably, chi-square tests of independence evinced a correlation between men's and women's circumstantial labor and observed healer gender. Through the statistical verification of such engendered ideas, this study tests notions concerning the strict binary division of labor and posits that gender may have operated as a role-based identity marker rather than one structured around innate characteristics. This research ultimately provides a better analytical framework from which archaeologists can interpret the past through the use of ethnographic analogies that are more inclusive of gender-enriched methodologies.

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Within California, studies of hunter-gatherer subsistence rely on both archaeological and ethnographic accounts to create an understanding of past lifeways. Such studies perpetuate the standard sexual division of labor model (Farris 1992; Jackson 1991) or focus on explaining foraging patterns with little reflection on labor distribution (Morgan 2008). However, explanations for why gender roles and the sexual division of labor occur in different configurations within California, and how this relates to other social roles, have not been extensively studied. Nona Christenson Willoughby (1963) came closest to addressing the issue of the sexual division of labor, through the creation of a dataset about the gendered performance of subsistence labor based on previous ethnographic works.

This study addresses the variability in the division of labor throughout California hunter-gatherer groups, in addition to highlighting how such divisions relate to differential gender access to shamanism. By utilizing the immanent social identity model and bifurcated role circumstantiality model as proposed by Kopytoff (1990) and Miller (1994), this study seeks to create a fuller understanding of the social realities of gender access to shamanism within California hunter-gatherer groups by relying on accounts of lifeways about the 1800s. Ultimately, this study examines whether or not shaman gender within the study area is (1) statistically correlated to a culture's overall distribution of gender-exclusive/gender circumstantial labor, and/or (2) statistically correlated to the

presence/absence of supernumerary genders, along with examining (3) if gender functions as an organizational category informing whether tasks are assigned to one group exclusively, or whether other circumstances determine which gender performs the task. While such questions are not readily examinable within the archaeological record, one way to find such evidence is to approach the past from a broader base of possibilities. By creating a more robust gendered backdrop from which archaeologists can interpret prehistoric California, it may be found that the division of labor was not so rigid after all. This study provides a new analytical framework from which archaeologists can approach potential variation in the division of labor and assess how such variability relates to individual access to other social roles.

### **Shamans and Shamanism**

*Shamanism* “is an indigenous Siberian term that has been applied by anthropologists to a series of religions...that share a number of fundamental characteristics and beliefs....a common [attribute] of shamanism is its close association with hunting-and-gathering peoples” (Whitley 2000:22). The term was first coined by scholars in the late 19th century (Flaherty 1992; Hoffman 1888; Matthews 1888) to refer to indigenous Siberian communities’ spiritual practices; however, the term was soon transformed to apply to a broader category of sociocultural phenomena. The definition and use of the term has shifted over time, with some using it to refer to “ecstatic experiences” (Lewis 1989) or experiences that include trance-like “journeys to nonordinary reality” (Harner 1996). An analysis of the historical use of the term by scholars in North American research was performed by Jones (2006) to determine if current definitions of “shamanism” were adequate for investigating shamanism

diachronically. Jones found that the term can be used only as a nominal definition “contingent upon emically understood notions of folk epistemology and folk ontology” (Jones 2006:7).

As used in the ethnographic literature of California, shamanism generally refers to a distinct form of healing that was different from herb-based cures and was performed by part-time practitioners. As used by ethnographers, the term typically referred to specialized individuals who, typically through the experience of dreams, were “chosen” to help cure people through the mediation and removal of “pains” (Kroeber 1976). Kroeber states that these individuals have “control of ‘pains’, small animate objects, nonanimal and nonhuman in shape, which on the one hand cause illness by entering the bodies of men, and on the other endow the shaman with power when [he/she] brings them to reside within [himself/herself]” (Kroeber 1976:3-4). These “pains” were typically removed from the body by a healer through a ritualized process involving sucking on the afflicted body-parts and then coughing back up the “pain”. This process transformed the pain from the nonphysical to the physical realm, where it would often manifest as wood, stone, or a manufactured object (Kroeber 1976:424). Only healers could see the pains and only they could remove them.

Other types of *shamanism* in California as described in the literature include soul-recovering shamans, grizzly-bear shamans, rattlesnake shamans, and weather shamans (Kroeber 1976:67; Willoughby 1963:57-61). In groups where “soul-loss” caused sickness, “soul-recovering shamans” referred to those individuals able to see “souls” and would return them to the sick person in order to cure them. The term “weather shaman” referred to individuals with the ability to manipulate the weather and were oftentimes

seen as capable of making it rain due to a spiritual connection or through the manipulation of spirits. The term “rattlesnake shaman” was used to denote those with the knowledge to cure snake-bites. Finally, the term “grizzly bear or bear shaman” generally referred to individuals with transformative powers who were seen as capable of transforming into a bear, disguising themselves as a bear, and/or capable of harnessing the abilities of a bear, depending on the culture (Kroeber 1976:427).

*Shamanism*, as understood today within various academic disciplines, is used as an umbrella term to connect vastly different hunter-gatherer beliefs and expressions of spiritual connection that vary cross-culturally (Buzekova 2010). As such, in order to hopefully highlight the California Native American perspective and remove unnecessary generalizations from this study, use of the term shaman has been avoided. Instead, use of more specific terms helps to avoid the conflation of supernatural control of phenomena with healing methodologies and disease conceptions. Additionally, due to the overall variety of healing practices and presence/absence of various types of shamanism depending on the culture, this study focuses only on the role of healers who cured through removal of pains by sucking. Since the sucking healer was consistently seen solely as a healer and was invariably paid, assessments of gender access to this role as an exemplar of power seemed more appropriate. Gender access to the role was also quite variable, and determined by cultural conceptions of who was capable of obtaining the type of power necessary to become a shaman. As such, analysis of shamanistic practices represents an analysis of underlying understandings of gender access to power. Table 1 showcases the terms that have been used to discuss the social role of shaman.

Table 1. Healer Role Terminology

<b>Literature Terminology</b>	<b>Project Terminology</b>
Sucking Shamans/Shamans	Healer or Sucking Healer
Soul-Recovering Shamans	Soul-based Healer
Grizzly-Bear Shaman/Bear Shamans	Bear-Power Wielder
Rattlesnake Shamans	Snakebite Healer
Weather Shamans	Weather-Power Wielder

***Berdaches* and Supernumerary Genders in North America**

Understanding California hunter-gatherer conceptions of what constitutes “sex” and/or “gender” is important to this study due to the fact that such understandings undoubtedly inform the division of labor. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between “biological sex” as perceived within the culture and “sex” as perceived within the culture, which is gender. This is especially vital considering the prevalence of genders beyond the man/woman dichotomy (supernumerary genders) within Native American groups which do not always align to the strict biological sex-binary proposed by American notions of “sex” and “gender.” These supernumerary genders are a key to understanding Native American concepts of gender more accurately. When attempting to recreate a past society’s conception of gender, it is necessary to take into consideration the possibility that how the society mapped gender onto a body’s biological “reality” might not align with the American male/female “biologically-based” configuration (Geller 2008).

Within historical documents, individuals that did not fit the European model of male/female were labeled as *berdaches*, which is a French adaptation of the Arabic

*bardaj* or *barah*, meaning “kept boy” or “male prostitute” (Lang 1998:6). The term was first used by eighteenth-century French travelers in North America to describe males who “fulfilled the culturally defined role of a woman” (Lang 1998:7). By the early twentieth century, the term was also extended to women who took on the culturally defined roles of men, as well as expanded to include Native American men who cross-dressed, were perceived as effeminate, or practiced homosexuality (Angelino and Shedd 1955:122ff).

What specific aspect of the individual influenced the writer to refer to them as *berdache* can only be gleaned from context-clues since it meant one or more of these attributes, although over time it came to be more closely associated with the presence of homosexuality. In any case, the term is offensive and inaccurate, as such, scholarship has shifted away from such use. Additionally, it is important to disentangle the idea of supernumerary gender identity from such European prescribed identities and contemporary gay/lesbian identities. While gender-expression and sexuality could (and sometimes did) overlap within the historical record, such gender identities did not always correlate one-to-one with sexuality (Woodsum 1995:528).

Angelino and Shedd (1955) have proposed more narrowly controlled definitions for the term *berdaches* within the literature, looking to align it more with a person whose social role differed from their biologically-implied social role according to the definitions of the society being described (or according to the preconceptions of the observer). Alternatively, Williams (1985) proposed *berdache* referred to persons of mixed gender and/or someone with androgynous qualities. Lang supports both interpretations by stating that scholars need to be aware that “beyond a purely masculine or feminine

socially defined gender membership, other, ‘supernumerary genders’ can also exist which can be characterized as gender mixing” (1998:8).

It is from this perspective that Lang proposes new terminology for those previously referred to as berdaches, using the term “woman-man” for so-called male berdaches and “man-woman” for so-called female berdaches. More clearly stated, individuals perceived as “biologically” male who occupied nonmasculine social roles and were called “berdaches” in previous literature are referred to as “women-men” and vice versa. Additionally the use of “ambivalent gender status” is applied to those who were seen as being “gender mixed” (Lang 1998:9). Ultimately, Lang concludes that “a woman-man or a man-woman is a person of usually physically unambiguous sex who voluntarily and permanently takes on the culturally defined activities and occupations of the [other] sex, and who has a special (ambivalent) gender status” (1998:10). Another alternative term for these individuals is that of “two-spirits” (Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang 1997; Roscoe 1998); however, this term is historically situated to more recent times and is currently in use by Native Americans to reflect an identity that includes both sexual orientation and heritage. Due to this lack of time depth, the term “two-spirit” is not used in this study to refer to supernumerary genders.

While Lang’s terminology comes closest to being as specific as possible, the terms “man-woman” and “woman-man” are oftentimes confusing. The use of the term “transgender” has often been avoided within scholarship as well because of the difficulty in removing modern-day connotations from the word. The problems in formulating useful, productive terminology for supernumerary gender roles is that current Western conceptions of gender are binary, and regardless of how gender was expressed in the past,

such terminology must be translated through this binary lens to make the terms accessible within scientific parlance. It is through this translation that gender variation is lost and the possibility of conceiving of gender beyond a binary perspective becomes difficult to discuss.

It is clear that such perspectives on gender went beyond a binary categorization system and encompassed alternative gender expressions. However, it is unknown if such perspectives conceived of supernumerary gendered individuals as being equivalent to the gender they expressed (i.e. a “biological male” who occupied women’s gender roles being seen as a woman and referred to as such) or if they were seen as different but similar to the gender being expressed (i.e. a “biological male” who occupied women’s gender roles being referred to as something other than woman or man). Various linguistically disparate terms were used by California Native Americans to describe such individuals, sometimes incorporating individuals with social distinctions besides the occupation of unconventional labor roles. For instance, one of the Mono terms for supernumerary gendered individuals (*tai’up*) also referred to individuals with mixed gender labor roles and to bachelors (Gayton 1948b:274).

Because this study focuses on understanding the connection between the division of labor by gender and access to healing roles, it becomes essential to use gender terms that best reflect the probable California hunter-gatherer gender system. As such, to provide concise terms that can be understood from a gender binary perspective while clearly denoting the fact that such individuals occupy supernumerary gender categories, this study utilizes the terms “third gender” and “fourth gender” when discussing supernumerary genders (Roscoe 1998). To clarify, the term “third gender” refers to

individuals who would typically be associated with men's social roles, but instead pursue roles designated for women and are referred to by a different gender term than "woman" or "man." The term "fourth gender" refers to individuals who would typically be associated with women's social roles who pursue men's social roles and are referred to by a different gender term than "man" or "woman."

### **Feminist Theory and Power Politics: Sex, Gender, Power, and Hierarchies**

This study assesses whether or not the role of healer was gendered throughout California hunter-gatherer groups during the 1800s and ascertains what labor-division circumstances correlated with such gendered healing. As proposed by Trocolli, Native American cultures had six spheres of "power-laden activities" (1999:52) which included economic/productive activities, religion, politics, reproduction, healing, and warfare activities. If such "power-laden" activities were gendered, this would reflect a culture's understanding of who was allowed access to certain power and would create gendered power dynamics. Additionally, it reflects the culture's understanding of existential identities and role-based identities. According to Kopytoff (1990), all cultures promote two types of identity for members within their culture. Existential identities are a state-of-being, or rather the innate qualities of a person's identity, that generally resists cultural change and are based on a group's understanding of what constitutes gender "difference" (Kopytoff 1990:84). Kopytoff uses the example of the Suku in Zaire who gave the reason that women bore children as a facet of "woman-ness" and marker of difference between men and women (Kopytoff 1990:81).

Role-based identities, by contrast, are derived from what a person does or what role they fulfill within the social group. These roles are more transient and negotiable

because they are not rooted in a fixed sense of individual selfhood. While role-based identity is perceived as a part of one's self, it is not intrinsic or vital to the self. It can and often does change as an individual ages. This can be seen in the roles of child-helper available to young individuals versus the role of hunter when older (Kopytoff 1990:79-80).

Important to this study is the fact that Kopytoff posits that the "nature of [women's] existential identity as defined by their society" (i.e. the culture's understanding of self-ness for individuals based on specific unchangeable characteristics) determines how easily women achieve positions of power within a culture (Kopytoff 1990:75). If a woman's identity has a wide range of traits and behaviors that are considered part of a woman's existential identity, then women are less able to move into positions of power. If women are bound by such "loaded expectations" that run counter to the qualities expected from people in positions of power, then it becomes difficult for women to hold such roles (Kopytoff 1990:75). Alternatively, societies where women's existential identities have fewer characteristics promote a wider-range of role possibilities for women and greater access to roles of power. Thus, if Kopytoff's assessment is true, it would follow that women's access to the role of healer in California hunter-gatherer groups was controlled by the culture's understanding of what constitutes women's, men's, and others immanent identities.

If it is true that women are more likely to have access to formal positions of power in societies that lack strong existential identities, then women's roles are more negotiable and based on specific circumstances rather than rigid expectations. In addition to understanding identity as either existential or role-based, Kopytoff argues that gender

roles themselves are either “immanent” or “circumstantial” (1990:82-84). A culture’s understanding of a gender’s existential identity is equivalent to what immanent roles are available to that gender. As such, a gender’s immanent roles are difficult to change because such roles express qualities considered innate or biologically determined. A gender’s circumstantial roles are those that are not gender-exclusive. Instead, depending on individual capability and preference, such gender-linked circumstantial roles can be acceptable expressions for that gender. Therefore, a culture’s understanding of what qualities are gender-linked can be expressed in how exclusively-gendered or circumstantially-gendered roles are present within the division of labor.

Trocolli has argued that the previous use of role flexibility theory to explain variation in Native American’s division of labor has been misguided and that a rigid labor dichotomy is simply not applicable. Trocolli states that:

the concept of ‘role flexibility’ has been misused to explain how women access roles ‘normally’ occupied by men-roles in the ‘public’ realm...role flexibility assumes dire need in the ruling lineage...and ignores the cultural traditions where a ‘chief’ may not be a gendered category. Therefore, gender role flexibility is not a useful concept for understanding why and how women become chiefs. [1999: 54]

This is where Kopytoff’s theory bolsters Trocolli’s analysis. After discarding role flexibility theory, Trocolli relies on Kopytoff’s distinction of immanent and circumstantial gender roles to explain how women became chiefs within Native American societies. Trocolli states that roles which are typically considered gendered (such as chieftainship) are in fact “circumstantial and negotiable” (Trocolli 1999:55). Rather than seeing specific roles as requiring certain existential identities, these roles are negotiated and obtained by individuals seen to possess the necessary talents and social status to be good at that particular role (Trocolli 1999:55).

Another application of Kopytoff's ideas was performed by Miller, who uses Kopytoff's model to explain women's access to political power amongst the Tlingit, Coast Salish, and Sioux during the 1970s. Kopytoff's main argument is that women's freedom of role choice relies on a lack of rigid innate qualities (existential identities) attached to womanhood that would limit/be in conflict with the role being pursued. When utilizing this concept, Miller found a disconnect between theory and reality for the Coast Salish. Miller states that "because of...differences in the internal organization of Native societies, it cannot be argued that women's movement into political life occurs everywhere without dispute, as the Coast Salish case shows. Instead, the processes of change in Native communities, including changes in the roles of men and women, are properly viewed as highly localized, even within a single culture" (Miller 1994:69). This local-analysis is important to note for this study because of the single-person interview-based data that forms the basis for some of the ethnographic analogy used by archaeologists to recreate past lifeways in California. As such, it becomes apparent that extrapolating social roles over a wide geographical range can be difficult and should be approached with caution. However in cases with multiple interviews among various individuals and villages from a culture, such extrapolations about cultural gender configurations can become more grounded.

Additionally, Miller found that a prime factor in determining women's ability to access political (e.g. powerful) roles in Native communities depended on whether or not women's and men's gender roles were bifurcated (Miller 1994:69). Bifurcation refers to whether or not one gender had more circumstantially gendered roles they could perform than another gender. For the purposes of Miller's study, this means that women had

more access to social roles typically performed by men whereas men had less access to roles typically performed by women. While Miller argues that historic role circumstantiality must be analyzed to understand women's contemporary political/economic role, this study posits that historic role circumstantiality must also be analyzed in order to understand women's access to power in the past.

A vital framework for interpreting archaeological remains is an understanding of the possible gender perspectives past cultures may have had. Since gender typically informs past social divisions (Sweely 1999) such as who performed what kind of labor or who had access to positions of power, in order to interpret these past cultures better, an understanding of such "folk gender" is needed. While there is continued debate about the applicability of ethnographic analysis (Cummings 2013) to archaeology, it still stands as a productive starting point from which archaeologists can extrapolate past lifeways, especially if it is geographically-situated. Therefore, in order to understand the archaeology of pre-contact California, a solid understanding of the potential gender-perspectives is needed.

In order to examine the social role of healer within California hunter-gatherers, this study focuses on the "operationalization" of power at the small scale. This methodology is championed by Sweely (1999) who focuses on shifting the theoretical orientation of how archaeologists analyze power. Rather than approaching power from a "top-down" perspective of how the dominant groups maintain, exert, and perpetuate power, this approach looks at power as "non-static circumstantial positions along a continuum in which individual actions affect authority structures and public discourses influence individual opinions and actions" (Sweely 1999: 1).

This is an important shift because it relies on understanding how specific social distinctions (such as gender) manifest within a culture's social reality. Social distinctions organize, define, and influence differing sets of relationships and function to maintain or subvert the overarching social ideology. As these social interactions continually negotiate and reinterpret the significance of social difference, it creates the avenues through which power is differentially manifest (Sweely 1999:7).

This study looks at how California hunter-gatherer groups during the 1800s socially distinguished the role of healer, how established social distinctions (gender) interacted with this role, and whether or not both social distinctions of healer and gender could contradict established social ideology. By ethnographically-rooting this information concerning hunter-gatherer gender-perceptions, this study provides better methods for "translating the archaeological record" and promotes more complex interpretation of the past (Cummings 2013:4-11). Both gender and healer function as aspects of individual identity and are different forms of how individuals could be socially distinguished. Both roles are liminal, in the sense that, depending on cultural conception, they can be seen as immanent or as functional circumstantial roles. Regardless of which category gender or healer falls into, as social distinctions, they can both function to maintain or subvert prevailing social ideologies of a culture in how they structure the power relations of an interaction.

Sweely discusses the fact that social groupings or organizations are more resilient if individuals have greater latitude to pursue their own interests and endeavors while still adhering to the group ideology. It is in visualizing this *latitude* with which individuals might negotiate their own interests through a set of ideological conditions that the

analytical reduction of social groups can be avoided. For archaeological analysis this latitude must be envisioned in order to see power relations at work. By studying the relationship between gender and the division of labor, the cultural perception of gender is situated within how influential gender was as a category for individuals.

In the case of gender, the way to understand such latitude would be to first understand a culture’s possible immanent identities (Kopytoff 1990). A culture’s understanding of gender will be expressed in what traits are gender-linked to an individual’s existential identity along with the social roles considered to be gender-exclusive. From this backdrop, this study maps the role of healer to see how it fits into these social ideologies as informed by the amount of latitude afforded individual expression of gender (Sweely 1999:7-12). This study therefore focuses on validating or disproving the following theoretical models as described in Table 2.

Table 2. Women’s Access to Power Theories

<b>Theories Explaining Women’s Access to Power within Native American Groups</b>	
Role-Flexibility (Albers 1983; Kidwell 1975; Knack 1989; Powers 1986; Whitehead 1981)	Men and Women’s roles are exclusively-gendered, but roles of power are flexible given specific dire-circumstances
Existential Identity and Immanent/Circumstantial Roles (Kopytoff 1990)	Women’s Existential Identities exclude them from roles of power with contrary immanent qualities, but allow them access to circumstantial roles of power.
Bifurcated Role-Circumstantiality (Miller 1994)	Same as Kopytoff, except only when women have more access to circumstantial roles than men do women have access to roles of power.

## CHAPTER II. BACKGROUND RESEARCH

### **Hunter-Gatherer Models and California**

California has been noted as a valuable archaeological resource when it comes to evaluating the “nature and emergence of non-egalitarian, organizationally complex hunter-gatherers” (Raab and Jones 2004:86). While “evaluation of causal relationships is difficult in such a complex context (of cultural diversity), where a multitude of natural and/or social processes might potentially give rise to [the] observed structures” it is only by studying complexity within such diverse areas that anthropologists can better understand the mechanisms that produce social and subsistence intensification (Raab and Jones 2004:86). As such, California is the perfect testing ground for re-negotiating common conceptions about past gender configurations, gender roles, and gendered access to power as related to social complexity and subsistence strategies.

During the late 1960s, hunter-gatherer research shifted away from attributing structural complexity solely to environmental richness and towards a focus on subsistence intensification and sociopolitical change (Burch and Ellanna 1994; Grier et al. 2006; Kelly 1995). California hunter-gatherers’ reliance on acorns make it a prime area of analysis for this connection between resource intensification and structural complexity. This has led a majority of archaeological research into California hunter-gatherers to focus on understanding the appearance and overall social effects of acorn intensification (Morgan 2012; Raab and Jones 2004).

There is debate as to what role population pressure, social circumscription, and environmental factors have played in shaping the foundations for resource intensification. One such argument by Glassow (1980) concludes that coastal fishing became vital to southern California groups only after population had increased. Other explanations for resource intensification look to: population pressure and how it causes resource shortages (Basgall 1987:41-42; Bouey 1987; Wohlgenuth 1996); population pressure and social circumscription in central California after 1000 CE (Hildebrandt 1997); and population pressure due to the arrival of new Numic-speaking groups in the high alpine of eastern California (Bettinger 1991:670-673). Foraging radii models (Morgan 2008) or applications of the culture-historical approach (Jordan and Shennan 2009) have also been utilized. It seems that the majority of hunter-gatherer models as applied to California have perpetuated environmental determinism, lacked integration of human agency, and, most importantly for this study, failed to integrate gender theory.

### **Gender and Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology**

Some of the guiding principles of gender archaeology are to consider division of labor as situational and culture-specific, to question the applicability of the public/private dichotomy, and to primarily avoid homogenizing the given gender-categories of a culture (Nelson 2004:39-40). While these principles are fairly straightforward, the implementation of gender research within hunter-gatherer archaeology has been a longstanding challenge of the discipline. As argued by Wylie (1992) these principles are simply a starting point from which useful, applicable models should be created, which is the intended goal of this study.

Critiques of the androcentric nature of previous hunter-gatherer research were the first purview of such gendered research. For example, Gero (1993) addresses how gender biases have skewed understanding of Paleoindians in the Americas. Such re-evaluation has also been applied to the use of ethnographic analogy, where “awareness of the effects of colonialism, of the bias of the ethnographer, of environmental change, and so forth, is critical” when projecting sociocultural ideas onto the past (Nelson 2004:40). An example of how fruitful such re-examinations of the ethnographic record can be is seen in Whelan’s (1995) analysis of hunting strategies of the Plains Indians. Instead of assuming net-fragments from a Late Paleoindian site were indicative of male hunting activities, Whelan posits a broader understanding of the gender division of labor (or lack thereof) for Plains people in general (Whelan 1995:54, 63-64).

This re-negotiation of the past by focusing on a wider range of possibility is at the heart of gender archaeology. By creating space for women and other genders to be “read” into the past, gender archaeology allows for a better representation of what the past was actually like without overburdening the story from one gender’s perspective. A substantial amount of research focused on situating gender in past societies has utilized ethnohistorical and ethnographic data to support gender-informed interpretations (Crass 2001; Galloway 1997; Spector 1991). Of note, the use of ethnographic data, and the possible pitfalls of projecting ethnohistorical accounts onto the archaeological record, has also been addressed extensively (Brumfiel 2006; Cummings 2013:4-12; Wobst 1978) along with the unreliable nature of ethnographic data as being unduly influenced by Western bias (Pyburn 2004). But, through careful analysis, a broad understanding of possible cultural constructions of gender can be read into archaeological remains.

Particularly when it comes to gender, even if the ethnographies accurately depict the gender-system at the time of their writing, there is no guarantee this gender system has time-depth. Such issues of time-depth are salient for works regarding Native American societies considering the immense changes that occurred for these populations upon contact with the Western world (Etienne and Leacock 1980; Perdue 1998).

However, this does not mean the ethnographic record is completely without merit. When feminist theory is combined with the direct historical approach of ethnographic interpretation, a more robust reading of the archaeological record can be created. In this case, the direct historical approach refers to “following cultures from their early encounters with Western researchers into the archaeological past (which presumably contains the remains of their own ancestors)” (Nelson 2004:41). Through careful considerations, actual applicable data can be teased from ethnographic information. For example, the use of ethnographic analogy can be substantiated when archaeologists identify complexes of traits in the ethnographic data along with the functional or ideological circumstances that could produce such traits (Wylie 1985).

### **Gender and North America: Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology**

A look at how gender archaeology has been applied to North American archaeology is useful for this study in order to situate it theoretically. Steps were taken towards a gendered past (albeit accidentally) by some of the earliest New Archaeologists in their use of sex roles and gender relationships to analyze marriage patterns, residence patterns, and pottery production in North America (Claassen 1997:65). In general, a focus on the division of labor, sex role formation, and women’s agency has marked gendered research within the region. Claassen’s own research relies on expanding upon

investigations into !Kung sex-roles as undertaken by Draper (1975), who found that there was a lack of gendered work expectations/pressures on children because of the foraging nature of their society. Draper argues that gendered expectations (or sex-based roles) would be enforced when subsistence is centered around the household, when women are away from the home leaving children responsible over the household, and/or when women's work is physically demanding (Claassen 1997).

Claassen contends that if Draper is correct, then such gender-related expectations should be applicable to North American pre-contact peoples. If "strongly sexed role formation, the essence of gender to most archaeologists, occurs in specific situations" then Claassen states these situations would have been present for those individuals in Mexico/Southwest during the development of maize agriculture and "possibly with the production demands of Adena-Hopewell exchange [and] the Mississippi-Ohio river drainages" where local plant domestication occurred (Claassen 1997:82). Importantly, Claassen states such gender-enforcement would "probably [occur] with the move to acorn dependence in California" (Claassen 1997:83). As such, analysis of gender-based expectations and socialization processes for these acorn dependent groups can show if both Claassen and Draper's ideas hold weight.

Other methodologies of gendered North American archaeology include the use of the task-differentiation approach (Spector 1983) and the direct historical approach (Nelson 2004). However, the task-differentiation technique has since been discarded as being "too sterile" (Claassen 1997:85) while feminist scholars have been critical of the direct historical approach (Brumfiel 1991; Fratt 1991; Latta 1991). Overall integration of a gendered approach to North American archaeology has focused on how current

archaeological and lab methods are already sufficient to foster a gendered look at the past. One methodological alteration that has been posited, which is more a problem of interpretation than method, is that any catchment areas around sites that are ten kilometers or less should be attributable to women's hunting/activity while men's ranges were further afield (Brumbach and Jarvenpa 1997).

Karen O. Bruhns (2006) presents a succinct examination of gender-related research done post-1997. One development since Claassen's work is the examination of social complexity and its effects on women in the American Southwest (Crown 2000). This addresses some of the issues in explaining connections between subsistence and gender roles, relying on specific locational-based suppositions without falling into the trap of extrapolating gender-roles cross-culturally. Bruhns concludes by bringing up the importance of "supernumerary genders" to any research into North America. The fact that "history and ethnography make it perfectly clear that the existence of so-called supernumerary genders was not uncommon among native North America" means any gendering of the past should take these social realities into consideration (Bruhns 2006:840). However, problems in how to translate this into archaeological practice are clear.

Other works looking at supernumerary genders in the archaeological record include Hayes-Gilpin's identification of one ambiguously sexed figure in southwestern rock art (Hayes-Gilpin 2004). Prine was also able to find evidence of other genders in the Hidatsa of the northern Plains by analyzing historic and ethnographic works and then applying this information to archaeological materials from the protohistoric and historic periods (Prine 2000). Prine identified at least one earth lodge as belonging to a third

gender individual. Two other works also address issues of supernumerary genders, but beyond that most archaeological work has not integrated these vital social roles (Koehler 1997; Wilson 1997).

The ecological and social underpinnings for gender differences for the Naskapi, Navajo, Eskimo, Iroquois, and Plains people are addressed by Bonvillain (1989) from a historical perspective. Bonvillain concludes that a contributing factor to more egalitarian gender relations includes stable adaptations to environmental conditions, principles of autonomy that emphasize harmonious interpersonal behavior, and matrilineal residence rules which function to reinforce and protect women's rights (Bonvillain 1989).

Whitehead (1981) produced an in-depth look at third gender roles as an expression of "institutionalized homosexuality," as well as a means by which men obtained access to women's distinctive areas of prestige. Referencing the California Yurok, Whitehead posits that because women healers were more revered (and earned more) than male healers, this is the reason for the existence of Yurok third genders (*wergen*). Referencing Kroeber's note that the Yurok themselves interpreted the *wergen*'s motives as such, this motive seems to remain unquestioned (Whitehead 1981). Importantly, Whitehead looks to the organization of prestige and gender constructs, finding that when supernumerary genders were "found, there was little development of general social stratification. Instead...age and sex were the principal lines along which prestige hierarchy manifested...[and] a distinctive arena of female prestige differentiation existed" (Whitehead 1981:111). The role of kinship and marriage is presumed to play a vital role in women's prestige and in cultural gender role organization in general.

Roscoe (1998) and Lang (1998) collected and collated information pertaining to supernumerary gender expression in North America throughout ethnographic and other sources. Lang analyzes both gender role changes available to men and women throughout various North American cultures in an attempt to understand the cultural context which gave rise to the presence of supernumerary gender roles. An important conclusion by Lang is the fact that (generally) women participated in masculine gender roles without typically being labeled as occupying an alternative gender because “aspects of the masculine gender role were already accessible to women” whereas men who participated in feminine gender roles almost always occupied an alternative gender (Lang 1998:343). This seems to imply that rather than women being the ones to have confining innate qualities (immanent identities), it was men who were considered to have such constraints in order to be perceived as male-gendered (Kopytoff 1990).

### **Gender and California Native American Studies**

Previous work on gendering California Native American life has focused on situating women as the primary production unit and arguing that they should be considered the social and economic focus when interpreting archaeological sites (Jackson 1991). The transition from portable manos/metates to spatially fixed bedrock mortars is considered a major marker in California prehistory. Jackson investigates this transition by focusing on the social ramifications of such fixed mortar sites. Using historical, ethnographic, and archaeological data, Jackson argues that “among those historic and late prehistoric Indian cultures of the western Sierra Nevada of California, women’s food procurement and production activities were fundamental [structuring units]” (Jackson

1991:301). This would mean that the spatial distribution of sites is a function of the necessities of women's gathering needs.

Farris (1992) also addresses issues of gender and economy in prehistoric California, examining pine nut bead exchange as a strict "woman's economy" which co-existed with other exchange networks. A prominent re-analysis of the androcentric assumptions about California Native Americans was performed by Dick-Bissonette (1997), who uses ethnographic and archaeological data to establish the Foothill Yokuts and adjacent Mono/Miwok cultures as having matrilineal residency patterns rather than patrilineal residency as previously believed. Because their social lives relied heavily on acorns, basketry, matrilineal use rights, and women's work groups, it meant that women (particularly senior women) had high-levels of power in these groups (Dick-Bissonette 1998).

Hollimon (1992) addresses the importance of skeletal analysis by looking at the Chumash of the Santa Barbara channel, finding labor-related trauma and high-levels of domestic violence. Hollimon postulates that both labor and domestic violence were gender-based. This conclusion is supported by Lambert (1997) who also analyzed Chumash skeletal remains, to find that the highest level of skull fractures occurred in adult women and such rates were analogous to modern domestic violence-related deaths. A general overview of explicit gender-focused work in California archaeology by Hollimon concludes that even though there has been some research, ultimately it "highlights the fact that there is considerable promise for the future" (Hollimon 2009:4).

### **Gender and Social Roles: Healers**

When it comes to the social role of healer, there has been renewed interest in the “archaeology of shamanism” (Pearson 2002). Investigations into the archaeology of this healing role include analysis of “Pretty Lady” figurines of the Mesoamerican Formative period as a part of curing ceremonies (Guillen 1988; Marcus 1998). Paul Rehak (1999) argues that the floral motifs of Minoan Crete wall paintings actually show plants known to have medicinal purposes and uses as rites for specific goddesses. Rehak concludes that “lustral basins” found in Thera are related to these goddess rituals and that these goddesses (the figurines of women with twinning snakes on their arms) are actually representations of women healers (Rehak 1999).

Generally, investigation into healing roles has relied on a combination of images, iconography, written record, and material remains, however Nelson states that “new ways of identifying such roles are needed so the prehistoric healers (of [any] sex) can be recognized” (Nelson 2004:111). This study addresses such new methods by crafting an understanding of labor distribution and its relationship to gender-exclusive or gender-circumstantial access to the role of healer. While it is unlikely to correlate specific cultural patterns as hardline indicators of women or men taking the role of healer, this study provides a basis from which to conclude if the healing role is “gendered” and if so, how this correlates to other types of labor.

### **Gender and Social Roles: California Healers**

Previous work on situating gender among California Native American healers has focused on locating nonbinary genders in the archaeological record and how these nonbinary genders are equivalent to the social role of “shaman” or “undertaker”

(Hollimon 2000, 2001). This analysis of the material remains that correlate to the shaman-role within the Chumash culture and interrogation of the antiquity of multiple genders is useful, but does little to relate the healing role to other divisions of labor by gender.

A study of Pomo “baby rocks” looks at their use in fertility rituals and reproduction (Parkman 1994), but the majority of any works looking at healers in California hunter-gatherer groups has focused on analyzing the prolific rock-art in the region. For instance, Hayes-Gilpin’s (2004) examination of southern California rock engravings and paintings finds the majority of them to be representative of female genitalia. Alternatively, other examinations of rock-art finds gendered symbolism and an emphasis on life-cycle events or rites-of-passage (Whitley 2000). Whitley provides a map of the major “shamanic” religious complexes in California defined as Spirit Helper, Mythic, and Magical Pains. However, Whitley erroneously attributes bedrock mortars to be examples of rock-art (Whitley 2000:47-49) and does not approach this art analysis from a gendered perspective. Whitley does not address healer gender choice or gendered access to the role within the ethnographic record, generally obfuscating the gender of shaman participants more often than not. However, Whitley does allow that “rock art sites were feminine gender places, even though they were often used by men” (Whitley 2000:98).

### **California Climate, Resources, And General Cultural Patterns**

Typically, the Northwestern and Southern culture areas in California are treated as “adumbrations of the larger Northwest Coast and Southwestern culture areas, [while] the Central subculture stands as the most distinctive” (Heizer 1978:3). Environmentally,

California is defined by the Great Central Valley surrounded by the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Mountain ranges to the east, and the Coast and Klamath Mountain ranges to the west. Southern California is dominated by the Transverse and Peninsular Mountain ranges to the south and a semi-mountainous desert ranging from south-central to the eastern boundary. The state is defined as having a Mediterranean climate with 15-40 inches of rain a year in the south and up to 70 inches in the northwest and higher-elevations. The Joaquin Valley and Mojave Desert are obvious exceptions to this average rainfall and have a drier climate (Baumhoff 1978:16).

Such environmental configurations influenced the food resources available to the hunter-gatherers of California, leading to their reliance on acorns, fish, and large mammals. This use of acorns as the main dietary staple, in the form of acorn-mush or acorn-bread, is the most characteristic aspect of California subsistence. Even along the Northwest Coast, where acorn resources made up a secondary percentage of the diet, or in the Northeast where there was scarcity, acorns still played an important role and were highly regarded. Ten different species of oak populate the area and different hunter-gatherer groups preferred different species, with some traveling further afield in order to obtain specific types (Baumhoff 1978:16).

Secondary gathered resources include the buckeye, chia seed, and epos root. The buckeye, similar to acorns, is poisonous unless the toxins are leached out through pouring water onto the nuts. Chia seeds were utilized when acorn crops failed while the epos root, occurring across much of Northern California, was eaten raw or boiled (Palmer 1878:600-601). Other gathered resources include insect larvae, grasshoppers, and a variety of other edible plants and seeds (Baumhoff 1978).

Salmon or anadromous fishes made up the bulk of the seafood related resource exploited, particularly the king or chinook salmon, silver or coho salmon, and the steelhead trout. Other aquatic resources include mollusks, shellfish and sea mammals. Considering the presence of shell mounds along the coast, exploitation of these marine resources has considerable time depth (Finstad et al. 2013; Luby et al. 2006). The sea mammals exploited include sea lions, sea otters, and the harbor seal, all of which were vital resources for the Northwest Coast and Santa Barbara Channel groups (Baumhoff 1978:17).

Deer, elk (Roosevelt and Tule/Dwarf), and pronghorn antelope formed the bulk of the large game hunted throughout the state, although methods for procuring these animals ranged from individualized tracking to large inter-tribal communal drives (Willoughby 1963). Only in the Central Valley were deer not present, although they did occur along the fringes of the area during winter and spring. To make up for this lack of deer, the pronghorn antelope's grazing range was contained within the Central Valley. In addition to such large game, a plethora of small game animals were also hunted, which included but was not limited to: ground squirrels, brown squirrels, gophers, cottontail rabbits, jack rabbits, geese, ducks, and many more (Baumhoff 1978:17).

The distribution of these resources is important for this study because it affects which resources were obtained and exploited by individuals within each group. This division of resource gathering and the structure of who performed such tasks makes up the bulk of the labor-based data examined in order to elucidate the possible gender-based differences in social roles.

## **California Hunter-Gatherer Social Organization**

While Gifford (1926b) argues that the main organizing principal for California Native American groups was that of lineage, Kroeber believes it was the “tribelet” (Kroeber 1976:830). According to Kroeber’s experiences with California Native American groups and through his analysis of other ethnographic data, Kroeber felt that the term “tribe” was not applicable to California hunter-gatherer groups except for the Yuma and Mohave. Instead, Kroeber uses the term “tribelet” which he defines as the largest group over which one individual, leader, or chief had recognized authority. Such leaders were known and respected among neighboring tribelets but were not the leaders for their neighbors. While each culture, such as the Cahuilla or the Pomo, may be deemed a cohesive unit based on language and other elements, within this unit there were multiple tribelets, each with their own distinctive leaders (e.g. the Pomo had 34 tribelets while the Cahuilla had 12 tribelets). Each of these tribelets was composed of varying lineages comprised of family and household groups containing the following: parents, children, collateral-, lineal-, or affinal-relatives, and sometimes non-relatives as well. Such a “typical” type of household would depend on culturally defined ideals concerning household configurations (Kroeber 1920, 1976:830).

Spatially, the tribelet was typically composed of a central village, which served as the political, ritual, and economic center, along with several surrounding villages. This principal village held large caches of food and goods and was occupied either permanently or seasonally. Usually each principal village had a leader who was either the head of a renowned lineage/extended family or, especially in the northwest where lineages were less important, was the wealthiest individual. Leadership was typically

inherited but not always (Bean 1978:674). Some tribelets were presided over by a single authority, such as with the Shasta, Miwok, and others (Holt 1946; Mason 1912).

Lineage types and residence patterns also varied throughout the state. Totemic moieties (Gifford 1926b) or unilineal patterns occurred mostly in southern and south-central California whereas ambilateral extended families of flexible corporate groups based on residence occurred in north-coastal and northeastern California (Kunkel 1974). The Chumash may be considered to have had “nation-states” (King 1969). Additionally, cross-cultural multiple “tribelet” gatherings were somewhat common, usually involving groups within a radius of about fifty to seventy-five miles. Such grand occasions were reserved for rituals, trade feasts, or mourning ceremonies (Gayton 1936:75-76; King 1969; Kroeber 1976).

## CHAPTER III. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

### **Defining California Labor and Geographical Study Area**

The focus of this study is to recapture pre-contact California hunter-gatherer gender identity and healing practices. Such a study is obviously hindered by the interruption of hunter-gatherer practices within the state by the colonialization, subjugation, and forced removal of Native Americans at the time of contact with European explorers. As such, most analyses of aboriginal California have relied upon informant interviews and salvage ethnographies performed during the early 1900s. Because this study focuses on understanding possible pre-contact labor patterns, inclusion of labor specifically rooted in European-influenced adaptation have not been included (e.g. cattle herding, cotton weaving). The ethnographic studies analyzed focus on discussions and interviews with elder informants whose memory of previous lifeways date back to the 1800s. These informants would also recount stories told to them by both their parents and grandparents, information that is also included within this analysis. As such, the general timeframe for the majority of the information analyzed within this study dates to roughly the mid-1800s.

Previous assessments of California Native Americans have either focused on examining groups within the modern boundaries of the state (Kroeber 1976), have examined only those groups fitting the California culture area (Heizer 1978), or have

examined both with an understanding that some groups holding territory in the state have non-California cultural affiliations (Bettinger 2015). The modern boundaries of the state function as a delimiting factor for analysis because, regardless of external cultural affiliations and influence, the majority of groups within these boundaries share similar sociopolitical organization (Kroeber 1976:830-832), similar ideas of disease and healing (Kroeber 1976:851), and similar hunter-gatherer labor practices (Heizer 1978). These factors function as a uniting baseline from which gender identity is analyzed.

One of the defining features of the California culture area is the robust acorn/pinon processing complex that utilizes either handheld mortars, sand basins, or bedrock mortars for leaching and processing of such staple foods (Jackson 1991). As such, the controlling factors for the study area are (1) groups with territory within the modern boundaries of California who (2) practice specialized subsistence methods of acorn-processing, (3) conceptualize disease as “pains” that can be “sucked out” only by professional healers; and (4) were hunter-gatherer-fishers. Any groups that performed agricultural practices were removed from the study (e.g. Yuma, Mohave).

Such distinctions were made because this study focuses on women’s access to healing roles among California hunter-gatherer groups. If groups have different conceptions of how to heal, this could possibly influence who was able to perform such healing. However, if groups held the same conceptions of how to heal, then this acts as a control, in order to see if access to healing roles was influenced by other factors such as the division of labor. Additionally, the processing of acorns amongst California groups was a highly-specialized trade ascribed mostly to women and functions as a distinctive California cultural marker (Willoughby 1963). As this study concerns how gender access

to healing is influenced by labor patterns, the focus on groups that share such a trait creates a baseline of processes that would craft women's possible immanent identities (Kopytoff 1990).

Functioning as a controlling factor, this nut-processing complex allows for this study to better assess how labor may or may not express innate gender qualities. As a control, it places variations in other labor practices as the possible determining factors when it comes to access to healing. This study focuses on how shared labor and circumstantial labor accounts for women's access to healing as a function of labor-based identity. If a group did not practice acorn-processing and women had access to healing, it could be argued that such access was due to the lack of time-consuming nut processing and not due to differences in shared or circumstantial labor. As a measure of gender identity, this creates a shared understanding of women's possible existential identity as being expressed through the potential immanent role of acorn processing. This then allows for variation in other labor roles to be seen as the impetus for conceptions of identity.

Previous scholars typically segment California into seven subcultural areas based on a wide-array of shared cultural markers, resulting in the following subregions: Northwest, Northeast, North Coast Ranges, Sacramento Valley, San Joaquin Valley, Southern Coast, and Southern Interior. Such divisions include variations in linguistic stocks and environment, but roughly correspond to certain ecological zones. The Northeast resides along the Modoc Plateau, while the Northwest traverses the Cascade and Klamath Mountain Ranges. The North Coast Ranges subregion aligns with the North Coast Mountain Range, bounded to the east by the Sacramento Valley and to the west by

the Pacific Ocean. Both the Sacramento Valley and San Joaquin Valley subculture areas align with these valleys, although both subregions also include portions of the Sierra Nevada mountain range to the east. Additionally, the Sacramento Valley area includes groups that occupy the lower Sierra Nevada mountain range while the San Joaquin Valley includes some groups within the Mojave Desert. The Southern Coast follows the Southern Coast, Transverse, and Peninsular Mountain Ranges situated along the southern-half of the California coastline. Lastly, the Southern Interior is composed of the Mojave and Colorado Desert (Baumhoff 1978).

Environmentally, these subcultural areas do not sharply divide into singular ecological zones. Instead, each culture area has between two to four different overall types of environments which include Desert Shrub, Grassland, Oak Woodland-Grass, Chaparral, Pine-Fir Forest, and Redwood Forest (Baumhoff 1978:18). In order to understand if the distribution of gender access to healing aligns with these geographically determining boundaries, the study area has been grouped according to these regional zones.

Some groups within the California study area were removed due to the lack of overall labor distribution information (Bankalachi, Chumash, Costanoan, Kamia/Ipai, Klamath, Nongatl, Patwin, Salinan, Nomlaki). Other groups were removed due to the presence of agriculture (Mohave, Yuma), lack of nut-processing information (Chemehuevi, Chimariko, Coast Yuki, Cupeno, Kawaiisu, Lassik, Luiseno, Wappo, Wiyot), lack of access to acorns (Panamint, Modoc), or lack of sucking healers (Mohave, Gabrielino). Ultimately, this resulted in a total of 27 groups being included within the study area, as shown in Tables 3-8.

## Methods: Determining Gender Access to Healing

Healing roles were coded as being accessible by men only, mostly men, both men and women equally, and mostly women. If there were equal accounts of “mostly men”/“mostly women” being healers and “both men and women” being healers, then either “mostly men”/“mostly women” was utilized. If there were equal accounts of “men only”/“mostly men” healers and “women only”/“mostly women” healers, then the healer role was coded as “both”. If there were equal accounts of “both” and “men only”/“women only” then the labor was coded as “mostly men”/“mostly women”. Times wherein one response dominated resulted in this response being used. The distribution of healers, along with each culture’s language family (Golla 2011; Moratto 1984), is shown in Tables 3-8. The geographic distribution of healers within the study area can be seen in Figures 1-2, and throughout all of California in Figure 3. Overall, within the study area, the distribution of gender access to healing roles was as follows: four groups (15%) had men-only healers, twelve groups (44%) had mostly men healers, five groups (19%) had healers who were both men and women equally, and six groups (22%) had mostly women healers.

Table 3. Northeast Culture Groups

<b>Northeast Subregion</b>		
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language Family</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>
Achomawi	Hokan	Mostly Men <sup>1</sup>
Atsugewi	Hokan	Mostly Men <sup>2</sup>
Northern Paiute (Surprise Valley Paiute)	Uto-Aztecan	Both Men and Women Equally

<sup>1</sup> Also accessible to Third Gender

<sup>2</sup> Also accessible to Third and Fourth Genders

Table 4. Northwest Culture Groups

<b>Northwest Subregion</b>		
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language Family</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>
Tolowa	Athapaskan	Mostly Women <sup>3</sup>
Yurok	Algic	Mostly Women <sup>3</sup>
Karok	Hokan	Mostly Women
Hupa	Athapaskan	Mostly Women <sup>3</sup>
Sinkyone	Athapaskan	Mostly Men
Mattole	Athapaskan	Mostly Women <sup>3</sup>
Shasta	Hokan	Mostly Women <sup>4</sup>
Wailaki	Athapaskan	Mostly Men

Table 5. North Coast Culture Groups

<b>North Coast Ranges Subregion</b>		
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language Family</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>
Kato	Athapaskan	Mostly Men
Yuki	Yukian	Mostly Men
Pomo	Hokan	Both Men and Women Equally

Table 6. Sacramento Valley Groups

<b>Sacramento Valley Subregion</b>		
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language Family</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>
Wintu	Penutian	Both Men and Women Equally <sup>4</sup>
Maidu	Penutian	Mostly Men
Nisenan	Penutian	Both Men and Women Equally
Yana	Hokan	Mostly Men
Washo	Hokan	Both Men and Women Equally

<sup>3</sup> Also accessible to Third Gender

<sup>4</sup> Also accessible to Third and Fourth Genders

Table 7. San Joaquin Valley Groups

<b>San Joaquin Valley Subregion</b>		
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language Family</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>
Miwok	Penutian	Mostly Men
Yokuts	Penutian	Mostly Men
Tubatulabal	Uto-Aztecan	Men Only
Paiute-South (Owens Valley)	Uto-Aztecan	Mostly Men
Mono	Uto-Aztecan	Men Only

Table 8. Southern Interior Group

<b>Southern Interior Subregion</b>		
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language Family</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>
Tipai (Southern Diegueno)	Hokan	Mostly Men
Serrano	Uto-Aztecan	Men Only
Cahuilla	Uto-Aztecan	Men Only

Within the study area, a slight geographical pattern can be discerned (Figure 1). Clearly the occurrence of mostly women healers is confined to the northwest, while the presence of both men and women healers is mostly situated within the northern area of the state. Finally, occasions where men-only have access to healer roles occurs more towards the southern portion of the state. While this bespeaks of geographical influence, it does not rule out the possibility of other influential factors. If geography was the only factor, than all coastal groups should exhibit similar patterns of access to healing, but this is not the case. Additionally, the distribution does not align perfectly to geographic zones, as indicated in Figure 2.



Figure 1. Distribution of Gender Access to Healer Roles within Study Area (Tribal Boundaries Source: Benvenuti 2015)



Figure 2. Distribution of Gender Access to Healer Roles with Geographical Subregions (Tribal Boundaries Source: Benvenuti 2015)

## **Methods: Determining Importance of Geographical Subregions**

Kroeber (1920) initially proposed cultural “hearth” tribes which roughly aligned to the north, central, and southern portions of the state. Accordingly, “the northwestern culture was the limited area occupied by the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa; with primacy among these to be attributed probably to the Yurok” (Kroeber 1920:152). The central area’s core was situated within the Pomo, Wintu, and Maidu, with the southern Wintu being seen as the likely “hearth” tribe. The southern coastal center was situated on or near the coast amongst the Chumash, Gabrielino, or Luiseno. Lastly, the southern interior cultural center was situated around the Colorado River, and was posited to rest amongst the Mohave (Kroeber 1920:152; Kroeber 1976:899). These hearth cultures were supposed to be originators for a majority of cultural traits, such that “more influences [would] have flowed out from the center to the peripheries than in the opposite direction” (Kroeber 1976:901).

When applying Kroeber’s idea to the role of healer and gender access to healing, such hearth tribes do not seem to hold exceedingly well. While the influence of the Yurok/Karok/Hupa is apparent, if the Wintu were a regional center, than the surrounding groups would be more likely to have equal amounts of gender access to healing. If the Wintu were influential in regards to this cultural characteristic, a slow dispersal from equal access to mostly one gender would be expected. Instead, the Wintu are surrounded by mostly women healers to the north and west, and mostly men healers to the south and east. If the Wintu acted as a transitional zone between the mostly women healers to the north and the mostly men healers to the south, the distribution makes slightly more sense. The central portion of the state, amongst the San Joaquin Valley and Sacramento Valley,

had mostly men healers, with the mountainous eastern regions surrounding these valleys more likely to have equal access to healing. However, this changed towards the southern portion of the state (along with the injunction of a desert environment) wherein men-only healers appear.

While it is possible that the distribution of healer roles was such that geographic discrete regions functioned as hearth-zones which inculcated different distributions of gender access to healing, such distributions do not correlate in a linear fashion. Both the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys are connected and occupy the central portion of the study area, and as such if geography controlled healer access, then these valleys should have the same distribution of gender-access to healing. Instead, there is a divide between the two valleys wherein gender access transitions from mostly men to equal access and then back to mostly men. This exclusionary divide of equal access to healing within the central valleys can be even better seen when including the other cultural groups that were not included within the study area (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Distribution of Healer Gender for All Groups in California with Information (Tribal Boundaries Source: Benvenuti 2015)

Figure 3 highlights the polar distribution of healer gender between the northwest and the southern portions of the state, but it also makes clear that the distribution between these two portions is variable. If gender access to healing was solely a byproduct of

geographical proximity to these opposing ideals of mostly women and men only, then a direct transition from the men only south to mostly men to both to mostly women should be observed. Instead, the transition stutters between mostly men and both throughout the center region, coastal ranges, and Sierra Nevada Mountains. As such, this highlights the potential for other factors, such as the labor-related ones to be the additional aspects that influence gender access to healing.

### **Methods: Determining Division of Labor**

In order to assess how these labor divisions codify gender expectations or showcase the latitude of gender identity within California hunter-gatherer groups (Sweely 1999), the distribution of the different types of labor between genders is examined. If the labor-type is mainly occupied by one gender, but another gender has access to the role, then this labor would not be conceived as “gendered” by the culture. Instead, this role would be “circumstantially gendered” as described by Kopytoff (1990) and Miller (1994). It is this relationship between gender and circumstantial/exclusively gendered roles that comprises the data for this study. Gender exclusive roles are those that are specifically noted as being occupied by one gender, whereas gender circumstantial roles are those that are noted as being accessible to another gender besides the one that typically performs the task. Gender circumstantial roles are different from gender neutral roles wherein it is noted that both men and women participate to an equal degree. The difference between these two types of roles relies on the cultural conception that the task is “typically” performed by a certain gender, but “sometimes” another gender would perform the task.

Labor was coded with the following terms: male exclusive (M), female exclusive (F), male circumstantial (MC), female circumstantial (FC), and both/gender neutral (B). The division of labor can be seen in Appendices A-F. Categories labeled as circumstantially male/female were those tasks that were considered to be predominantly performed by men or women, but which the other gender could perform occasionally. This reflects the fact that these tasks are not restricted but rather function as negotiable tasks dependent on the individual or group need. Tasks that were considered gender neutral were those participated in by both genders in equivalent amounts and were therefore not indicative of gender-qualities. How these tasks potentially reflect identities can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9. Gender Role Categories for Division of Labor Data

<b>Gender Who Performs Task</b>	<b>Kopytoff Identity-Type Task Represents</b>
Male-Exclusive	Aligns with Male Existential Identity, Opposes Female Existential Identity
Female-Exclusive	Aligns with Female Existential Identity, Opposes Male Existential Identity
Circumstantially-Male <sup>5</sup>	Aligns with Female Existential Identity, does not oppose Male Existential Identity
Circumstantially-Female <sup>6</sup>	Aligns with Male Existential Identity, does not oppose Female Existential Identity
Gender-Neutral	Aligns with both Male Existential Identity and Female Existential Identity

<sup>5</sup> Women's tasks a man can perform without being labeled a supernumerary gender

<sup>6</sup> Men's tasks a woman can perform without being labeled a supernumerary gender

Methods for determining the gender division of labor for all groups varied depending on the material source being assessed. For those field studies recorded as ethnographic analysis, simple transcription of gender-determined work was employed. For works that assessed culture element distributions and employed lists of culture elements that were either affirmed, denied, or unknown to the informant, a slightly different approach had to be employed. When a single informant was questioned, their answers were used. If multiple informants were questioned in a single work, or throughout multiple works, and their answers completely agreed, then such responses were used. If multiple informants were questioned in a single work, or throughout multiple works, and their answers disagreed, the answer that was presented the majority of the time between all references was used. If there was no majority, then the labor was recorded as circumstantial labor for the less-frequent gender response.

If there were equal amounts of responses between “men only” and “women only” then the labor was recorded as “both”. If there were equal accounts of a labor being “men only”, “women only”, and “both” (between multiple informants or multiple works) then this labor was also coded as “both”. In such cases, the informants’ response may be due to inter-geographical distribution of different gender ideologies. If this was the case, then the group holistically would therefore not attach a strong gender-component to the labor and as such, the labor was not indicative of existential identities.

When there were equal amounts of responses between “mostly men” and “men only”, then the labor was coded as “female circumstantial”. When there were equal amounts of responses between “mostly women” and “women only”, then the labor was coded as “male circumstantial”. When there were equal amounts of responses between

“mostly men” and “mostly women”, then the labor was coded as “both”. When there were equal accounts of “mostly men” and “both”, the labor was coded as “female circumstantial”. When there were equal amounts of responses between “mostly women” and “both”, the labor was coded as “male circumstantial”. This coding was followed so that it would cover occasions when both genders performed the labor. When there were specific responses about a gender not performing specific labor, and these responses were more frequent than those affirming that that gender performed the labor, then the labor was recorded as being performed solely by the other gender.

In cases where sources designated equal accounts of a single-gender and both-genders performing the labor, then this labor was recorded as being circumstantial labor for the gender not specified. This was done because if responses of both genders occurred such gender-sharing of work, along with responses of single-gender performance of the work, indicates that in either specific geographical locations or specific circumstances, the work was performed by multiple genders. As such, it seemed appropriate to specify such labor as circumstantial. Lastly, in any cases where informants were unsure with their responses, the responses that were noted as being sure were used.

For ethnographies where no gender was specified, such labor was not included. When necessary, labor as coded by Willoughby was utilized (Willoughby 1963). However, Willoughby’s labor role distributions were not solely relied upon because the methodologies employed by Willoughby in determining gender-attributes are not addressed within the work. When comparing multiple works with Willoughby’s assessment, preference was given to the original sources over Willoughby’s account.

For hunting, fishing, and gathering labor, if the overall type of labor was generally performed by one gender, but both genders obtained specific kinds of animals or plants, then this labor was coded as “circumstantial” for the other gender. However, if there were multiple instances of such specific animal or plant designations, then the labor was coded as “both”. For example, the Northern Paiute describe small game hunting as male-labor but women obtained water fowl, set traps for mudhens, and anyone could set traps for squirrels (Kelly 1932). Since it was noted that women were using traps and snares to capture multiple types of small-game animals, both “small game hunting” and “trapping, snaring” labor was coded as “both” for the group. Willoughby’s categories of “communal fishing” and “a few people fish together” were collapsed into the “group fishing” category. If one category denoted one-gender and the other both, then the group fishing category was labeled as circumstantial labor for the gender not specified. If one category was already noted as circumstantial and the other as both, then the group fishing category was coded as both.

Tables 10-14 show the complete list of tasks utilized within this study. Overall, labor divisions were grouped into five general categories of hunting, fishing, gathering, food preparation, and manufacturing:

Table 10. Labor Roles Source: Willoughby (1963) [modified]

<b>Categorization of Labor Roles</b>	
<b>General Labor Category</b>	<b>Specific Labor Roles</b>
Hunting	Trapping, Snaring
	Communal Drives
	Individual Hunting
	Small Game Hunting
	Large Game Hunting
	Seal Hunting
	Meat Cut Up on Spot by Hunter, Packed Home

Table 11. Labor Roles Source: Willoughby (1963) [modified]

<b>Categorization of Labor Roles</b>	
<b>General Labor Category</b>	<b>Specific Labor Roles</b>
Fishing	Group Fishing
	Individual Fishing
	Spear Fishing
	Net Fishing
	Catch Fish with Baskets
	Poison Fish
	Hook and Line Fishing

Table 12. Labor Roles Source: Willoughby (1963) [modified]

<b>Categorization of Labor Roles</b>	
<b>General Labor Category</b>	<b>Specific Labor Roles</b>
Gathering	Gather Acorns
	Gather Pine Nuts
	Shake Nuts Out/Knock Nuts Down From Trees
	Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.
	Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs
	Catch Grasshoppers
	Gather Basket Material
	Collect Wood
	Obtain Water
	Transport Food

Table 13. Labor Roles Source: Willoughby (1963) [modified]

<b>Categorization of Labor Roles</b>	
<b>General Labor Category</b>	<b>Specific Labor Roles</b>
Food Preparation	Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts
	Process and/or Prepare Acorns
	Prepare Non-Nut Vegetal Dishes/General Cooking
	Butcher Meat
	Cook Meat
	Prepare Fish Dishes

Table 14. Labor Roles Source: Willoughby (1963) [modified]

<b>Categorization of Labor Roles</b>	
<b>General Labor Category</b>	<b>Specific Labor Roles</b>
Manufacturing Labor	Make Baskets
	Make Fish Baskets
	Make Mats
	Make Nets
	Make Cordage
	Make Cradles
	Make Traps, Snares, Weirs
	Make Bows and Arrows
	Make Fire
	Make Canoes/Tule Balsas
	Construct Sweat House or Dance House
	Construct Permanent House
	Construct Summer House
	Make Skin Blankets
	Make Rabbitskin Blankets
	Make Clothing, General
	Make Moccasins
	Make Skin Dressing

### **Methods: Determining Presence or Absence of Supernumerary Genders**

A potential understanding of how gendered identity or how much influence gender has in forming the immanent identity of individuals is obtained by comparing these labor-access lists with the presence or absence of supernumerary genders. If gender was a defining characteristic that had immanent qualities, these qualities would prevent a gender from occupying certain roles in the community. If the individual wanted to transcend these immanent qualities, they would be labeled differently upon stepping outside of the perceived gender boundaries. This would lead to the presence of other genders beyond man and woman. Alternatively, the presence of supernumerary genders

could also be indicative of a lack of existential identities. If any informants or works stated that third or fourth genders were present within the culture, then these supernumerary genders were designated as being present within the group. Only when these informants and works stated that third and fourth gender individuals performed labor designated as exclusive to another gender were they considered to be present within the group. If the works stated that third and fourth gender individuals were considered as such based on the individuals' sexuality, then such a third or fourth gender was not designated as being present in the group for this study.

## CHAPTER IV. STATISTICAL DATA ANALYSIS

To determine if there was an overall correlation or connection between women having access to the role of healer and high levels of circumstantially gendered activities, chi-square goodness of fit tests and chi-square tests of independence were performed, along with Fisher's exact tests. Because Miller's theory hinges on the notion that women's access to power is connected to role bifurcation, or the idea that one gender has greater access to circumstantial roles. Using the division of labor dataset, Miller's theory is analyzed as it applies to California hunter-gatherer groups by seeing if (1) the number of circumstantial/exclusive/gender neutral roles are distributed evenly; (2) if role exclusivity/circumstantiality is dependent on gender, and (3) if healer gender is dependent on role exclusivity/circumstantiality. These qualities are assessed using chi-square tests for goodness of fit and independence for each cultural group and for California overall.

Chi-square tests for goodness of fit were performed using PAST software, with all categories of gender labor being used (Hammer 2001). For each cultural group, the observed values for "male exclusive labor", "female exclusive labor", "male circumstantial labor", "female circumstantial labor", and "both/gender neutral labor" were utilized. The expected value for each labor category was calculated by totaling the number of roles present and dividing by five (i.e. taking the average). For some of the chi-square tables, the expected value was less than five. For the Yana, Tipai (Diegueno),

and Cahuilla groups, the observed labor was collapsed to create fewer categories. As such, for these groups, the “male exclusive labor” and “female exclusive labor” categories were combined to create the “exclusive labor” category while the “male circumstantial labor” and “female circumstantial labor” categories were combined to create a “circumstantial labor” category. The “both/gender neutral” category was left alone, thus a total of three categories was used within the chi-square goodness of fit tests for the Yana, Tipai (Diegueno), and Cahuilla. Table 15 shows how this test was set up, using the Achomawi group as an example.

Table 15. Example of Chi-square Goodness of Fit Test (Achomawi)

<b>Example of Chi-square Goodness of Fit Test</b>		
Achomawi	Observed Role Frequency	Expected Role Frequency
Male Exclusive	18	8.6
Female Exclusive	8	8.6
Male Circumstantial	2	8.6
Female Circumstantial	4	8.6
Both	11	8.6

Fisher’s exact tests were calculated using PAST software. These tables were set up such that the rows were “male” and “female” while the columns were “exclusive labor” and “circumstantial labor”. After setting up the table, the univariate contingency table tests were run which provided the Fisher’s exact test statistic. The categories and rows were set up in this way in order to see if there was a correlation between gender and

number of exclusive or circumstantial labor roles available to that gender. Table 16 shows how this test was set up, using the Achomawi group as an example.

Table 16. Example of Fisher’s Exact Test (Achomawi)

<b>Example of Fisher’s Exact Test</b>		
Achomawi	Number of Exclusive Labor Roles	Number of Circumstantial Labor Roles
Male	18	2
Female	8	4

Finally, four different chi-square tests of independence were performed using PAST software, one set of four tests for all cultural groups in the study area and one set of four tests for all cultural groups in the study area except for the Yuki culture. These tests were used in order to understand the relationship between total number of gender exclusive or gender circumstantial labor roles present and healer gender. The first chi-square test of independence was set up such that the rows were “male exclusive labor” and “female exclusive labor”, while the columns were “mostly men healers”, “men only healers”, “both men and women equally healers”, and “mostly women healers”. Thus the number of men’s exclusive tasks and women’s exclusive tasks were totaled for all cultural groups with each type of healer-access. These totals were then utilized within the chi-square test to see if there was a correlation between number of gender-exclusive roles and healer gender access. Table 17 shows how the contingency table was constructed for this chi-square test.

Table 17. Chi-square Test of Independence (Exclusive Roles)

	Men Only Healers	Mostly Men Healers	Mostly Women Healers	Both Men and Women Healers	Total
Male Exclusive Tasks	51	191	99	84	425
Female Exclusive Tasks	29	73	49	40	191
Total	80	264	148	124	616

The second chi-square test of independence was set up such that the rows were “male circumstantial labor” and “female circumstantial labor”, while the columns were “mostly men healers”, “men only healers”, “both men and women equally healers”, and “mostly women healers”. Thus the number of men’s circumstantial tasks and women’s circumstantial tasks were totaled for all cultural groups with each type of healer-access. These totals were then utilized within the chi-square test to see if there was a correlation between number of gender-circumstantial roles and healer gender access. Table 18 shows how the contingency table was constructed for this chi-square test.

Table 18. Chi-square Test of Independence (Circumstantial Roles)

	Men Only Healers	Mostly Men Healers	Mostly Women Healers	Both Men and Women Healers	Total
Male Circumstantial Tasks	5	30	17	14	66
Female Circumstantial Tasks	11	37	4	15	67
Total	16	67	21	29	133

The third chi-square test of independence was set up such that the rows were “male exclusive labor” and “male circumstantial labor”, while the columns were “mostly men healers”, “men only healers”, “both men and women equally healers”, and “mostly women healers”. Thus the number of men’s exclusive tasks and men’s circumstantial tasks were totaled for all cultural groups with each type of healer-access. These totals were then utilized within the chi-square test to see if there was a correlation between the number of men’s exclusive and circumstantial roles and healer gender access. Table 19 shows how the contingency table was constructed for this chi-square test.

Table 19. Chi-square Test of Independence (Male Exclusive/Circumstantial Roles)

	Men Only Healers	Mostly Men Healers	Mostly Women Healers	Both Men and Women Healers	Total
Male Exclusive Tasks	51	191	99	84	425
Male Circumstantial Tasks	5	30	17	14	66
Total	56	221	116	98	491

The final chi-square test of independence was set up such that the rows were “female exclusive labor” and “female circumstantial labor”, while the columns were “mostly men healers”, “men only healers”, “both men and women equally healers”, and “mostly women healers”. Thus the number of women’s exclusive tasks and women’s circumstantial tasks were totaled for all cultural groups with each type of healer-access. These totals were then utilized within the chi-square test to see if there was a correlation between the number of women’s exclusive and circumstantial roles and healer gender

access. Table 20 shows how the contingency table was constructed for this final chi-square test.

Table 20. Chi-square Test of Independence (Female Exclusive/Circumstantial Roles)

	Men Only Healers	Mostly Men Healers	Mostly Women Healers	Both Men and Women Healers	Total
Female Exclusive Tasks	29	73	49	40	191
Female Circumstantial Tasks	11	37	4	15	67
Total	40	110	53	55	258

### **Gender and Uneven Distribution of Circumstantial/Exclusive Tasks**

Chi-square goodness of fit tests for each culture determine if labor is divided evenly between male exclusive/circumstantial, female exclusive/circumstantial, and gender neutral tasks. In order to determine if each gender has a statistically significant distribution of exclusive/circumstantial tasks, the distribution of labor has been analyzed to see if it deviates substantially from an even distribution. Wherein such deviation occurs, it connects to Miller’s claim that bifurcation plays a key role in differences in women’s access to power (Miller 1994:69).

Through the use of chi-square goodness of fit tests, it became apparent that tasks were not evenly distributed by gender within the study area (Table 21). Almost all groups have a p-value less than .005, with the highest p-values falling between .025 and .05. While the rejection of the null could be due to random sampling error, the fact that such rejection occurs consistently throughout the study area is encouraging and indicates

that such random error may not be causing these results. As a test of whether or not exclusive, circumstantial, and gender neutral roles are distributed evenly, this shows that for all cultural groups the distribution is not even. This tests whether or not tasks randomly appear to align with a gender division of labor or if the distribution deviates from even in a significant way. As a first measure of role-bifurcation, this test indicates the positive possibility of it occurring among groups within the study area. Also when looking at the number of roles and their distribution throughout the study area, the vast majority of groups (22) showed variable distributions of circumstantial tasks, with either more male circumstantial than female circumstantial labor or vice versa.

Table 21. Chi-Square ( $\chi^2$ ) Goodness of Fit Tests Results

<b>Chi-Square Goodness of Fit Results</b> df = 4, Critical Value = 9.49, $\alpha = .05$		
<b>Culture</b>	<b><math>\chi^2</math>-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Achomawi	18.51	P < .005, Reject null
Atsugewi	46.21	P < .005, Reject null
Paiute – North	9.87	.025 < p < .05, Reject null
Kato	37.63	P < .005, Reject null
Yuki	22.57	P < .005, Reject null
Pomo	55.21	P < .005, Reject null
Tolowa	15.38	P < .005, Reject null
Yurok	21.30	P < .005, Reject null
Karok	27.47	P < .005, Reject null
Hupa	20.85	P < .005, Reject null
Sinkyone	34.12	P < .005, Reject null
Mattole	30.70	P < .005, Reject null
Shasta	24.97	P < .005, Reject null
Wailaki	22.00	P < .005, Reject null
Wintu	21.24	P < .005, Reject null
Maidu	10.14	.025 < p < .05, Reject null
Nisenan	16.76	P < .005, Reject null
Yana <sup>7</sup>	12.28	P < .005, Reject null
Washo	16.58	P < .005, Reject null
Miwok	21.09	P < .005, Reject null
Yokuts	11.64	.01 < P < .025, Reject null
Tubatulabal	14.33	.005 < P < .01, Reject null
Paiute – South	9.58	.025 < P < .05, Reject null
Mono	12.35	.01 < P < .025, Reject null
Tipai (Diegueno) <sup>7</sup>	6.00	.025 < P < .05, Reject null
Serrano	34.40	P < .005, Reject null
Cahuilla <sup>7</sup>	9.03	.01 < P < .025, Reject null

### **Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality Dependence on Gender**

Secondly, to further assess the relationship between gender and role-circumstantiality, Fisher's exact tests were performed. The Fisher's exact test was

<sup>7</sup> Labor categories were collapsed into Exclusive/Circumstantial Male Labor, Exclusive/Circumstantial Female Labor, and Gender Neutral Labor since an even distribution between the extended labor categories was less than 5, thus violating Cochran's rule. Therefore, df = 2, critical value = 5.99,  $\alpha = .05$ .

chosen instead of a chi-square test of independence because of the prevalence of expected values less than five for the majority of groups, a violation of Cochran's law. Fisher's exact test determines if the exclusivity or circumstantiality of a role is dependent on the gender performing that role. This test functions to bolster the initial claim of the chi-square goodness of fit by seeing if there is a relationship between gender and role type. If gender and role exclusivity/circumstantiality are dependent, this indicates that a person's gender influences how much latitude is afforded them in the expression of their social role. Or rather, the amount of exclusive or circumstantial tasks that occur for one gender depends on which gender is performing that labor. If gender and role exclusivity/circumstantiality are independent, it possibly indicates that all genders are capable of negotiating their social role. This could mean that cultural ideas of sex-linked innate identity characteristics are more lenient among those groups wherein gender and role-type are independent. If these groups see a higher rate of women-access to healing, this would bolster Kopytoff's theory, that, as women's gender-linked qualities decrease, women are afforded greater access to roles of power.

Testing the relationship between gender and whether or not tasks are circumstantial or exclusive also functions to measure if gender was actually a vital organizing component amongst the culture. If gender and task exclusivity/circumstantiality are independent, this indicates that gender might not be the main force driving how the group divides its labor. These statistical relationships inform the background gendered-perceptions of access to healing roles. If exclusivity/circumstantiality is dependent on gender (and vice versa), this better allows assessment of whether or not women's access to healer roles is connected to the

prevalence of circumstantial roles. A 5% level of significance was used to determine H0 rejection. As such, it was revealed that of the 27 groups within the study area, only one group shows a relationship between role-exclusivity/circumstantiality and gender (Table 22).

Table 22. Fisher’s Exact Test Between Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality

Results

<b>Fisher’s Exact Test</b>		
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Test-statistic</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Achomawi	0.165	P > .05, Accept null
Atsugewi	0.536	P > .05, Accept null
Paiute – North	0.316	P > .05, Accept null
Kato	0.066	P > .05, Accept null
Yuki	0.014	P < .05, Reject null
Pomo	0.534	P > .05, Accept null
Tolowa	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Yurok	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Karok	0.551	P > .05, Accept null
Hupa	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Sinkyone	0.366	P > .05, Accept null
Mattole	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Shasta	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Wailaki	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Wintu	0.070	P > .05, Accept null
Maidu	0.496	P > .05, Accept null
Nisenan	0.231	P > .05, Accept null
Yana	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Washo	0.278	P > .05, Accept null
Miwok	1.000	P > .05, Accept null
Yokuts	0.057	P > .05, Accept null
Tubatulabal	0.142	P > .05, Accept null
Paiute – South	0.682	P > .05, Accept null
Mono	0.167	P > .05, Accept null
Tipai (Diegueno)	0.376	P > .05, Accept null
Serrano	0.440	P > .05, Accept null
Cahuilla	0.480	P > .05, Accept null

### **Healer Gender and Task Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: Total Study Area**

In order to measure the relationship between healer gender and the distribution of exclusive/circumstantial tasks, chi-square tests of independence were performed. Two different datasets were used when testing for this dependency. The first dataset included all cultures within the study area. The second dataset excluded the Yuki as a means of focusing only on those groups wherein role exclusivity/circumstantiality were independent as proven by Fisher's exact test.

Four different chi-square tests-of-independence were performed to try to understand the potential relationship between healer gender and division of labor. A 5% level of significance was used to reject H<sub>0</sub> for all tests. As always, the rejection of the null in these cases could be due to random sampling error. However, the frequency distribution of circumstantial labor does show shifting patterns between healer groups which serves to back-up the notion that such labor is correlated with healer gender access and that significance is not due to this possible random error. These tests measured the following relationships: if the distribution of male-exclusive and female-exclusive tasks were associated with healer gender; if male-circumstantial labor and female-circumstantial labor were associated with healer gender; if male-exclusive and male-circumstantial labor were related to healer gender; and if the distribution of female-exclusive and female-circumstantial labor were related to healer gender (Table 23).

Table 23. Chi-Square Tests of Independence for Task Types and Healer Gender: Whole Study Area Results

<b>Chi-Square Tests of Independence (Task Type and Healer Gender)</b>		
df = 3, Critical Value = 7.815, $\alpha = .05$		
<b>Labor Distribution</b>	<b><math>\chi^2</math>-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Male-Exclusive Labor and Female- Exclusive Labor	2.81	.40 < p < .50, Accept the null
Male-Circumstantial Labor and Female-Circumstantial Labor	11.05	.01 < p < .05, Reject the null
Male-Exclusive Labor and Male-Circumstantial Labor	1.19	.50 < p < .75, Accept the null
Female-Exclusive Labor and Female-Circumstantial Labor	12.81	.001 < p < .01, Reject the null

It appears, when looking at the study area as a whole, that the relationship between exclusive labor and healer gender is not statistically significant, along with the relationship between men's exclusive and men's circumstantial labor and healer gender. This indicates that gender access to healing is only associated with the distribution of circumstantial labor between men and women and the distribution of women's labor itself. This helps to highlight Kopytoff (1990) and Miller's (1994) theories by showing a dependency between circumstantial labor and healer gender, as well as how conceptions of women's exclusive labor relate to healer gender. Either access to healing depends on the distribution of circumstantial tasks between men and women, as well as the distribution of exclusive and circumstantial tasks for women, or how these tasks are distributed depends on healer gender.

Table 24. Chi-Square Tests of Independence for Task Types and Healer Gender: Gender Independent Groups Results

<b>Chi-Square Tests of Independence (Task Type and Healer Gender)</b>		
df = 3, Critical Value = 7.81, $\alpha = .05$		
<b>Labor Distribution</b>	<b><math>\chi^2</math>-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Male-Exclusive Labor and Female- Exclusive Labor	2.02	.50 < p < .75, Accept the null
Male-Circumstantial Labor and Female-Circumstantial Labor	10.56	.01 < p < .05, Reject the null
Male-Exclusive Labor and Male-Circumstantial Labor	1.24	.75 < p < .90, Accept the null
Female-Exclusive Labor and Female-Circumstantial Labor	11.58	.001 < p < .01, Reject the null

The results of the chi-square tests of independence for all groups in the study area except the Yuki can be seen in Table 24. Similarly to the study area overall, only the circumstantial tasks and women's exclusive/circumstantial tasks showed evidence of correlation. For these groups, this shows that gender identity may be role-based and not expressive of innate characteristics. Women's and men's labor may not be reflective of confining existential identities. Therefore among these groups, the role of healer may be reflective of a gender identity based on roles occupied by that gender, not innate characteristics associated with the gender.

Healer, as another role that could be occupied by either gender, therefore should influence or depend on the distribution of other similarly circumstantial roles. Particularly this shows that these circumstantial roles, as capable of being occupied by either gender and therefore expressive of anyone's identity, are a key influence in access to healing. Women's exclusive and circumstantial roles are also related to healer gender whereby such role-based identities must be compatible with the requirements of the

healer role. Either healer gender depends on the exclusive and circumstantial labor roles of women or how exclusive and circumstantial labor roles are occupied by women depends on healer gender. Since the roles may not represent restrictive identity markers based on innate qualities, both “man-ness” and “woman-ness” are therefore expressed by whichever roles are occupied by each gender. The latitude afforded to women in occupying labor roles appears to be influential in determining the gender distribution of healer.

Since identity may not be tied to innate qualities, more latitude may be afforded each gender in occupying labor roles, and thus the more likely it would be that healing was a shared pursuit open to both men and women. In addition to these shared pursuits, the particular exclusive and shared roles occupied by women appears to effect healer gender access. Another avenue for this expression of role-latitude can be found in the presence or absence of third and fourth individuals amongst these groups. If identity was labor-role based, then the occupation of alternative labor roles would be more likely to occur amongst those groups since innate gender regulations would not prevent occupation of such roles. As such, in order to test for the influence of supernumerary genders, Fisher exact tests were performed to see if healer gender was related to the presence or absence of supernumerary genders. The distribution of third and fourth genders within the study area is shown in Table 25.

Table 25. Third and Fourth Genders For Gender Independent Groups

<b>Third/Fourth Gender Distribution: Gender Independent Groups</b> (Source: Roscoe 1998, Harrington 1942, Drucker 1937a)				
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Subregion</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>	<b>Third Gender Present</b>	<b>Fourth Gender Present</b>
Achomawi	Northeast	Mostly Men	Y	Y
Atsugewi	Northeast	Mostly Men	Y	Y
Paiute – North	Northeast	Both Men and Women	Y	Y
Pomo	North Coast	Both Men and Women	Y	Y
Kato	North Coast	Mostly Men	Y	N
Tolowa	Northwest	Mostly Women	Y	Y
Yurok	Northwest	Mostly Women	Y	N
Karok	Northwest	Mostly Women	N	N
Hupa	Northwest	Mostly Women	Y	N
Mattole	Northwest	Mostly Women	Y	N
Shasta	Northwest	Mostly Women	Y	Y
Sinkyone	Northwest	Mostly Men	Y	N
Wailaki	Northwest	Mostly Men	Y	N
Wintu	Sacramento Valley	Both Men and Women	Y	Y
Nisenan	Sacramento Valley	Both Men and Women	Y	N
Washo	Sacramento Valley	Both Men and Women	Y	Y
Maidu	Sacramento Valley	Mostly Men	Y	N
Yana	Sacramento Valley	Mostly Men	Y	Y
Miwok	San Joaquin Valley	Mostly Men	Y	N
Paiute – South	San Joaquin Valley	Mostly Men	Y	N
Yokuts	San Joaquin Valley	Mostly Men	Y	N
Tubatulabal	San Joaquin Valley	Men Only	Y	N
Mono	San Joaquin Valley	Men Only	Y	N
Tipai (South Diegueno)	Southern Interior	Mostly Men	Y	Y
Serrano	Southern Interior	Men Only	Y	N
Cahuilla	Southern Interior	Men Only	N	N

Two Fisher’s exact tests were performed using PAST software. Both of these assessments included all cultural groups in the study area except for the Yuki. The first table was set up such that the rows were “third gender present” and “third gender absent”

while the columns were “mostly men healers”, “both men and women healers”, “mostly women healers”, “men only healers”. After setting up the table, the univariate contingency table tests were run which provided the Fisher’s exact test statistic. The second table was set up such that the rows were “fourth gender present” and “fourth gender absent” while the columns were “mostly men healers”, “both men and women healers”, “mostly women healers”, “men only healers”. After setting up the table, the univariate contingency table tests were run which provided the Fisher’s exact test statistic. Table 26 shows how this contingency table was constructed for third gender presence or absence as an example of these two Fisher’s exact tests.

Table 26. Contingency Table for Fisher’s Exact Test (Supernumerary Genders)

	Men Only Healers	Mostly Men Healers	Mostly Women Healers	Both Men and Women Healers	Total
Third Gender Present	3	11	5	5	24
Third Gender Absent	1	0	1	0	2
Total	4	11	6	5	26

### **Healer Gender and Presence/Absence of Supernumerary Genders**

Due to the lower frequency data for presence/absence of supernumerary genders as seen in Table 25, a Fisher’s exact test was performed to test for associations within the gender independent groups (Table 27). For the groups where identity appears to be role-based, it appears that the presence or absence of either third or fourth genders was not related to healer gender. No tests were performed for the gender dependent group due to

the small sample size of it being only one group, although it should be noted that the Yuki have both third and fourth genders.

Table 27. Fisher’s Exact Test for Supernumerary Gender Configurations and Healer Gender: Gender Independent Groups

<b>Fisher’s Exact Test (Supernumerary Genders and Healer Gender)</b>		
<b>Supernumerary Gender Distribution</b>	<b>Test-statistic</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Presence of 3 <sup>rd</sup> Genders	0.230	P > .05, Accept null
Presence of 4 <sup>th</sup> Genders	0.118	P > .05, Accept null

The fact that the presence or absence of supernumerary genders does not, in a statistically significant way, appear to effect healer gender reinforces the connection between healer gender and circumstantial roles. Essentially, supernumerary genders function as a proxy for individuals to have access to exclusively-gendered roles and means of expression. Since healer gender is unrelated to the distribution of exclusive tasks, it would follow that healer gender access is not dependent on the ability of individuals to assume such exclusive tasks. If gender was equivalent to an existential identity, then the presence or absence of supernumerary genders would showcase the capability of individuals to escape these existential identities. Therefore, in order to more fully examine the relationship between healer gender and division of labor, analysis of task-type as a percentage of total labor roles and healer gender access was performed.

**Relative Frequency Distribution of Labor Roles and Gender Independent Groups**

The frequency distribution of task-type amongst the gender independent cultures divided between healer groups can be seen in Figures 4-7. In order to compare the labor distribution overall, each task type was converted into a percentage of the overall labor within the individual culture. Since the total number of roles designated as male/female

exclusive, male/female circumstantial, and both varies drastically amongst all cultures, it was more appropriate to compare such roles based on what percentage of the labor within the group it accounted for. By converting the counts of each type of labor, this facilitates a comparison between all cultures. Instead of comparing counts of each labor-type, by looking at percentage distribution, it controls for the variability in number of responses for each type of labor.

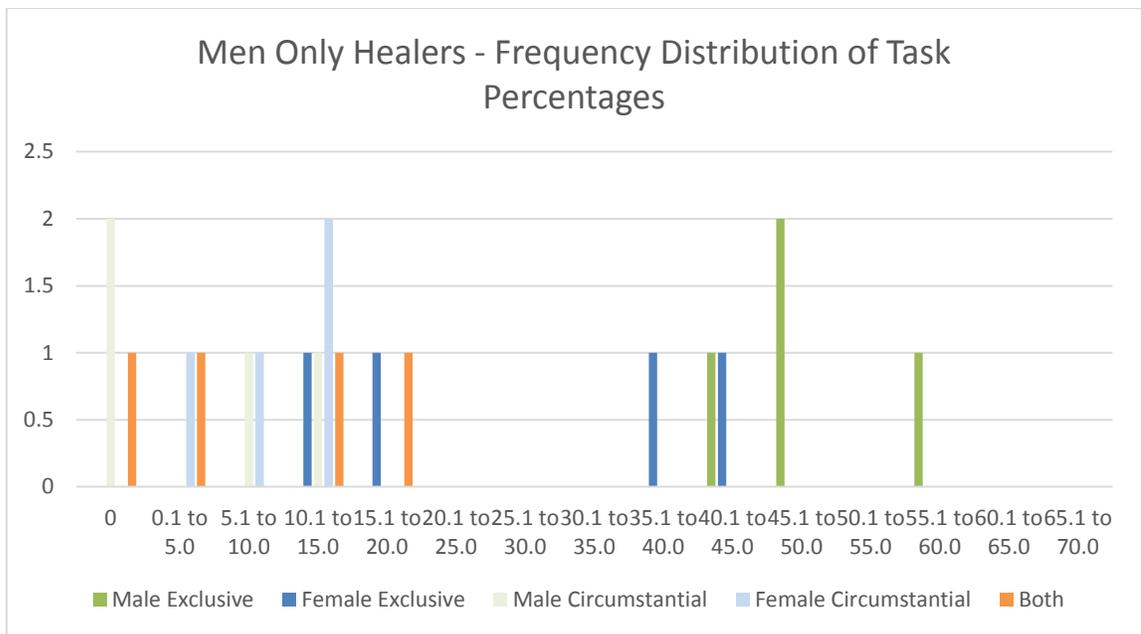


Figure 4. Men Only Healers: Frequency Distribution of Labor

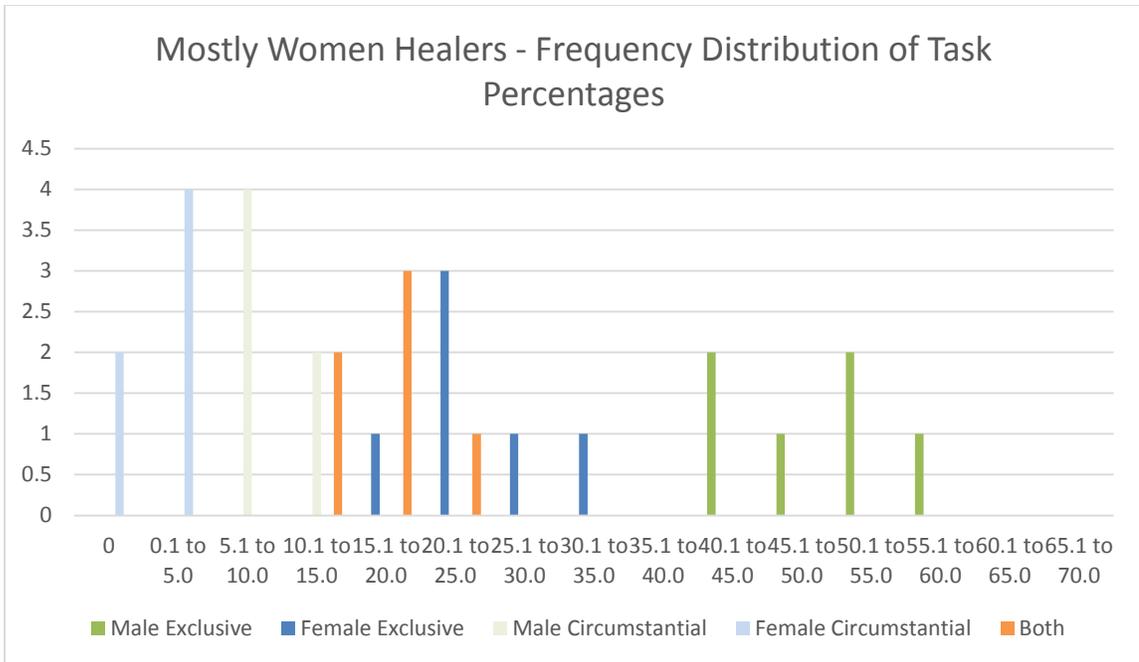


Figure 5. Mostly Women Healers: Frequency Distribution of Labor

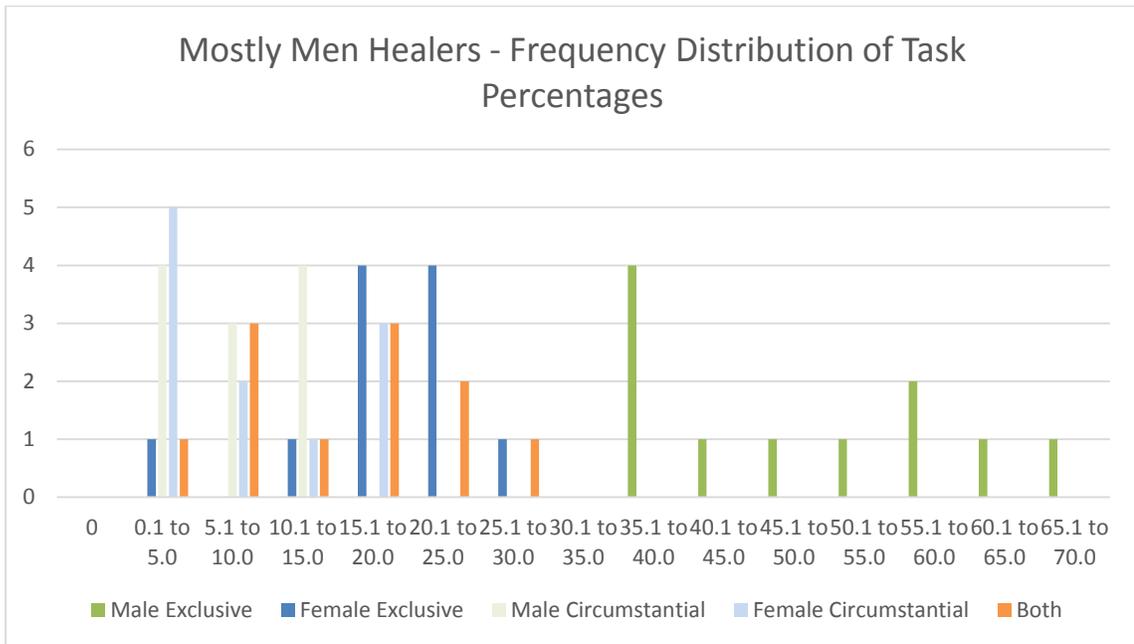


Figure 6. Mostly Men Healers: Frequency Distribution of Labor

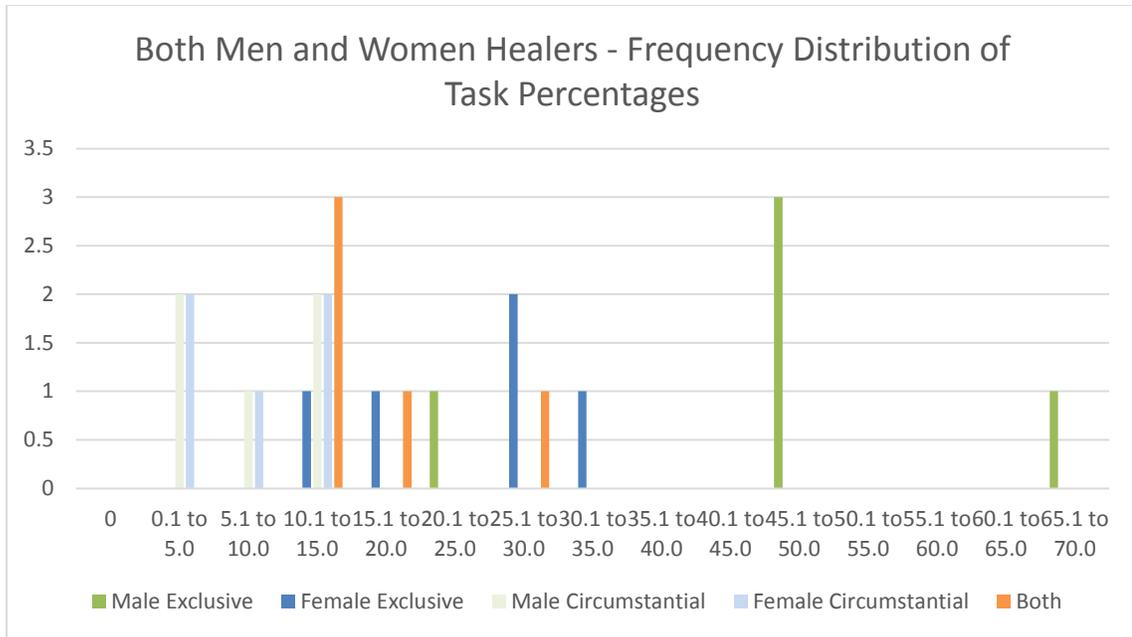


Figure 7. Both Men and Women Healers: Frequency Distribution of Labor

For the groups wherein gender was not related to the exclusivity or circumstantiality of the tasks, identity markers may rest upon the labor roles themselves. As such, how secluded identities are from each other influences how these labor roles are conceived (and vice versa). Labor that is shared functions to create shared identity characteristics among men and women. Labor that is not shared would be what crafts differentiation amongst genders. But, since identity is more linked to the labor being performed, and not innate gendered characteristics, shared labor is indicative of shared identity markers. In particular, this shared identity labor in the form of male/female circumstantial tasks is related to healer gender along with the distribution of labor roles performed by women.

It would appear that the greater amount of labor separation, the more likely healer gender is to be considered part of one labor-related identity matrix. This is seen with the men only healer group, wherein women's exclusive labor shows the highest percentage

throughout all groups. Additionally, while all healer groups have a range of male-circumstantial labor from 0.1% to 15%, the women-only healer group is the only group wherein male-circumstantial labor always accounts for at least more than 5% of total labor performed. Comparatively, the female-circumstantial labor is lowest for mostly women healers. While the highest percentage of female-circumstantial labor occurs amongst the mostly men healers (15.1% to 20%). These two opposing configurations of labor-identities show that as labor that represents identity markers is shared less frequently by one gender, the more likely labor-expressive of power (in this case, healer) is also going to be connected to that labor-identity.

In this case, for men only and mostly women healers, it would seem that role-based labor identities are more distinctively defined. Since the configuration of male/female circumstantial labor was shown to influence healer gender, these differing distributions is interesting. The gender that is more capable of assuming alternative labor roles or rather, additional role-based identity qualities, is less likely to have access to power overall. This could be because roles of power are expressive of a non-shareable identity and the role itself is expressive of an identity that is then linked to one gender in order to then function as an additional exclusive role.

For the men only healers, since labor roles that could have been used to separate the male identity are fewer (due to more female circumstantial roles), then it becomes necessary for the healer role itself to function as a boundary defining this male labor-based identity. The same can be said for the mostly women healers, but with the role of healer being necessary to define woman's labor as an identity in opposition to the male circumstantial labor.

As the disparity between male/female circumstantial labor decreases, or when circumstantial labor is more evenly distributed between both role-based identities, then the role of healer appears to become more accessible to both genders. Additionally, as the proportion of female circumstantial labor lowers, the more likely women are to have access to the role of healer. It could be that whether or not healing-labor is conceived of as being compatible with these labor identities determines the difference between mostly-men healers and both men and women having equal access to healing.

### **Proportion of Labor Roles and Gender Dependent Yuki**

For the Yuki, the percentage distribution of labor was as follows: Male Exclusive 46%, Female Exclusive 9%, Male Circumstantial 3%, Female Circumstantial 11%, Both 31%. If the labor was expressive of innate qualities, then the male-exclusive/circumstantial roles and female-exclusive/circumstantial roles express identity characteristics, however there are more female circumstantial labor roles present than female exclusive ones. Combined with the fact that there are third and fourth genders, this could bolster the definitiveness of gender-based identities because it shows how deviance from gendered-labor patterns begets an alternative gender. The fact that there are more female circumstantial roles and the role of healer itself is circumstantial for women could indicate that, while labor may be expressive of innate characteristics, such qualities are not extensive nor confining.

## CHAPTER V. INDIVIDUAL CULTURE SAMPLES

Considering the variable distribution of healer gender throughout the study area, if such distributions clearly aligned to the seven subregions, then it would be prudent to analyze each subregion in order to ascertain specific cultural distinctions that could lead to the variability in healer access. However, these regional distributions do not equate to geographically discrete regions of healer gender preference. Through statistical analysis, it appears that labor distribution plays a stronger role in determining access to healer roles than geographical subregion. As such, cultural samples from each type of healer-gender distribution have been chosen for comparative analysis.

Of note, the culture chosen for the men only healers is somewhat of an outlier in terms of having similar labor access to the other men only healers. The main difference between the Mono and the rest of the men only healer groups is the fact that the Mono have greater access to aquatic resources than their counterparts. Also, because of their proximity to the Yokuts and cultural similarities, analysis of how the two groups' division of labor differs provides a more thorough understanding of the possible labor divergences that lead to differential access to healer roles.

### **Mostly Women Healers: Tolowa Example**

#### Northwest Culture California

The groups considered part of the Northwest Cultural Area include the following: Tolowa, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Mattole, Nongatl, Eastern Shasta,

Western Shasta, Chimariko, and Wailaki. These groups comprise the only instances of mostly women healers throughout California, except for the Sinkyone and Wailaki, who had mostly men healers. From these groups, the ones included within the study area are: Tolowa, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, Sinkyone, Mattole, Shasta, and Wailaki.

Traditionally the Northwest Cultural Area of California has been seen as heavily influenced by groups further north. The environment of Northwest California is markedly different from the rest of the state, seeing greater amounts of rainfall and having vast amounts of timberland with lower-levels of acorn and game production. The area does have the best fish production in the state. Because of the less productive quality in oak and game, the cultures within the Northwest primarily rely on riverine and ocean resources (Baumhoff 1978:19). This focus on fishing rather than acorn processing may have influenced the development of women healers, however the Sinkyone and Wailaki exceptions potentially undermines such speculation. Even though fishing formed a vital staple for such groups and was more important within this region, such fishing was still “probably less important than the acorn” as a food source (Bettinger 2015:8).

#### Tolowa Geography and Background

The Tolowa are part of the Athapaskan language family and they lived in northwestern California in territory that included a substantial amount of seacoast. At the time of contact in 1828, the Tolowa lived most of the year in eight villages along or near the coast, seven of which were large enough to contain upwards of three-hundred individuals. Each village had a tract of shoreline from which ocean fishing occurred. The principal river for this region was the Smith River and its tributaries, which did not

produce as much salmon, eels, and other riverine resources as the Klamath River to the south and east (Gould 1978:128).

The Tolowa territory encompassed four main habitats, each with varying economic importance. These habitats included: a coastal strip, a redwood forest, a Douglas fir-oak flat habitat, and a riverine habitat. The coastal strip consisted of rocky headlands and offshore islets that were rich in shellfish and provided ample nesting grounds for shorebirds and was home to the northern sea lion. The shoreline also provided ample wild berries and fibrous plants used for making nets and cordage (Gould 1978:128-129).

The redwood forest was a dense, narrow belt of redwoods situated in a group of low hills immediately inland from the coast. These redwoods contained deer and elk and material for the Tolowa to make their sea-crafts and houses. Further inland from the redwood belt was the oak range located along steep mountains ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 feet in elevation. Between these mountains were flat areas of various sizes wherein abundant supplies of three species of acorns could be found. Lastly, the riverine habitat occurred along the Smith River and its tributaries, connecting the three zones and providing seasonal supplies of salmon and eels. Marshes dotted the landscape and provided waterfowl and tule reeds for the crafting of tule aprons (Gould 1978:128-129).

The village configuration involved permanent family homes where married women, their daughters, and young sons lived. Men and boys from the age of puberty lived together in the village sweathouse, which was seen as a dwelling almost exclusively reserved for male endeavors. Activities in the sweathouse included the crafting of certain materials, gambling, and the initiation ritual of women healers (Gould 1966:70).

### Tolowa Division of Labor

The typical Tolowa diet consisted of “acorns, sea-lions, cormorants, smelt, eels, and two species of salmon” (Gould 1966:68). Of the overall subsistence activities described in the ethnographic accounts, sixteen activities were male-exclusive, nine were female-exclusive, five were male circumstantial, one was female circumstantial, and eight were gender neutral/both (Driver 1939; Drucker 1937b; DuBois 1932; Gould 1966, 1978). However, for the purposes of overall analysis with other cultural groups, a few of these tasks listed were removed. The gender division of labor can be seen in Table 28.

Table 28. Tolowa Gender Labor

Tolowa Gender Division of Labor					
	Male-Only	Female-Only	Male Circumstantial	Female Circumstantial	Gender Neutral/Both
	Gather Seabird Eggs <sup>8</sup>	Make Clothing, General	Collect Shellfish <sup>8</sup>	Group Fishing	Construct Permanent House
	Trapping, Snaring	Make Baskets	Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.		Shake Nuts Out/Knock Nuts Down From Trees
	Communal Drives	Obtain Water	Gather Pine Nuts		Make Cordage
	Individual Hunting	Collect Wood	Gather Acorns		Make Cradles
	Small Game Hunting	Gather Seaweed <sup>8</sup>	Prepare Fish Dishes		Skin Dressing
	Meat Cut Up On Spot, Packed Home	Process and/or Prepare Acorns			Prepare Non-Nut Vegetal Dish/General Cooking
	Sea Mammal Hunting	Make Mats			Cook Meat
	Large Game Hunting	Transport Food			Butcher Meat
	Spear Fishing	Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts			
	Net Fishing				
	Make Fish Baskets				
	Make Nets				
	Make Traps, Weirs, Snares				
	Make Bows and Arrows				
	Make Canoes				
	Make Moccasins				
<b>Total</b>	16	9	5	1	8

<sup>8</sup> This labor was not included in overall California labor analysis due to lack of information for more than one group

### Tolowa Men's Labor

The majority of men-only tasks involved hunting, fishing, and the making of accoutrements for these endeavors. For instance, hunting of deer, elk, sea lions, ocean fish, and salmon were all the domain of men. Canoe-making was also seen as a men-only pursuit (Gould 1978:130). Men did not climb trees to knock acorns off their branches. The manufacture of hunting and fishing gear included the crafting of bows, arrows, harpoons, spears, weirs, net-sinkers, scoop-nets, and fish-baskets. The fact that baskets were utilized by men to catch fish and that this art was seen as a masculine task is interesting considering baskets were typically seen as being female-exclusive labor in California (Willoughby 1963).

The manufacture and crafting of tools for hunting and fishing was exclusively a male activity and presents an interesting spatial distribution of tasks. The chipping of stone for arrowheads or grinding of stone for net-sinkers took place out in the open in special workshop areas of the village, where women were free to walk by and see such activities. However, the actual assemblage of these tools into their final form was performed inside the sweathouse away from women (Gould 1966:69). This bespeaks of not just gender-exclusive labor but also spatially-exclusive labor as a means of preventing interference in the luck of the objects being assembled, mostly due to the idea of menstrual taboos being present (Willoughby 1963:17). Regardless of the culturally conceived reasons for such seclusion, the result is the prevention of women from learning such manufacturing techniques.

Importantly, this task seclusion was not due to the nature of the sweathouse itself, since young girls were allowed to play in the sweathouse during the absence of men and

women were allowed in to witness a woman healer's dance (Dubois 1932:254). This shows that the sweathouse, while being a mostly masculine residence, was only exclusionary when men were present or where certain tasks were being performed.

In addition to the exclusionary space inside the sweathouse, each village also had a separate detached area devoted to the making of stone tools, splitting wood, butchering of sea lions, and fish cleaning (Gould 1978:131). While most of these tasks involved male-exclusive labor, fish cleaning and preparation was part of women's labor, and as such, this space was most likely a shared activity area for all to partake in such labor.

The tasks that were male circumstantial included assisting in gathering acorns or other plants and assisting in the collection of shellfish. This circumstantiality of acorn gathering also extended to the gathering of other types of edible plants. Even though "most of the gathering of edible products was women's work...men did not disdain to help at times. Women dug the edible roots, picked berries, and gathered the all-important acorns...they gathered shellfish, and the seaweed...[but] trips to offshore rocks for big mussels or sea birds' eggs were naturally made by the men" (Drucker 1937b:234).

Of note however, is the conflicting evidence concerning the gendered role of shellfishing, with such statements as "[men] sometimes helped in the collection of shellfish...it was always women who gathered shellfish" occurring within the same account (Gould 1966:69). Even though these statements differ, they are not mutually exclusive when it comes to conception of the task itself. If anything, this shows that the task was conceived as a woman's task first and foremost, with men occasionally partaking, which easily qualifies it as a male circumstantial role.

## Tolowa Women's Labor

Women-exclusive tasks, on the other hand, pertained to the making of aprons/clothing; the collection of wood; the transportation of food; weaving of tule mats; and preparation of vegetable food for cooking or storage. Additionally, women-only tasks included the smoking and drying of fish and venison; the pounding of acorns; the gathering of shellfish and seaweed; and the weaving of baskets. The only task that was seen as female-circumstantial was the task of salmon fishing, which was primarily performed by men but women assisted on occasion. One of the main aspects of women's work was the twinning of baskets for "soup bowls, women's hats, large storage baskets, open-twined work baskets, and baby-carrying baskets, burden baskets..[and] storage baskets for valuables, trays, sifters and hoppers for processing acorns" (Gould 1978:133). Another time-consuming task was the transportation of acorns and dried fish back to the village from inland for both storage and later processing (Gould 1978:130).

The preparation of almost all food (even resources supplied by men) was considered a woman's task along with the gathering of water (Drucker 1936:234; Dubois 1932:254). Women were also the ones who gathered wood daily for the constantly-burning fires. This task was time consuming and "might entail crossing the river in canoes to a spot where the firewood had not been exhausted. The canoe was filled and returned to the settlement. The wood was then placed in baskets and carried with the aid of a tump-line to the houses" (Dubois 1932:254). Women were also in charge of storing, processing, and cooking acorns. Interestingly, it could be a matter of time allocation that somewhat informed the division of labor, as seen in the fact that, while women were drying fish for long periods of time (between one to two hours), or were preparing meals,

they would also craft the necessary baskets for gathering and cooking (Gould 1966:70). Their tasks required long periods of time overseeing the production of a non-mobile subsistence resource, which encouraged the integration of other tasks that did not require mobility.

The task of fishing in general was highly male exclusive, with women not even being allowed to watch the manufacture of fish basket-traps or the tying of a gill net (Drucker 1936:234). However women did occasionally engage in salmon fishing, assisting men who were fishing with nets and spears (Gould 1966:69). Labor that was gender neutral included the building of permanent dwellings. This work was seen as a joint endeavor, with men and women completing complimentary aspects of the task (Gould 1966:69). In addition, cordage, skin dressing, and cradles were all tasks performed by both men and women, along with the cooking/butchering of meat and preparation of non-nut vegetable dishes (Willoughby 1963).

#### Tolowa Healing Practices and Gender

Healers among the Tolowa were almost always women, with third gender individuals also having access (Gould 1966:70). Even if a man was a healer, he was not seen as effective as a woman healer, with one informant stating: “[men] are not much doctor, they know only a little bit” (Dubois 1932:256). The only other assertion that men were healers arises from Drucker’s fieldwork, wherein informants state that while healer roles were predominantly occupied by women, men still had access to the profession (Drucker 1937b:245). Healers obtained their power through possession of pains, which were not seen as spirits, but as immaterial bodily disease that could only be seen and made material by these healers (Drucker 1937b:257).

Healers were initially called to the profession through dreams, after which they held their first performance of healing in front of the whole community within the sweathouse. This is interesting because it shows that women as healers had unchallengeable access to the sweathouse whereas non-healer women had certain restrictions. Another vital component of the healer role among the Tolowa was that it represented “the only professional class and [they] were the only people who could...acquire any amount of wealth by means other than inheritance” (Drucker 1937b:257).

In this case, healing was not only a means of acquiring access to secluded spaces but also functioned as a means of acquiring wealth and prestige, with powerful healers being known far and wide. The fact that the role was occupied almost entirely by women would seem to indicate the healer role itself was a task akin to other women-exclusive labor. The initiation ritual for Tolowa healers was described by Powers (1877) in detail. According to this account, the candidate was first placed on the ground in the middle of a cabin and then dancers, both men and women, formed a circle around them. These dancers chanted and danced all night, circling around the prospective healer. This was continued for nine nights, during which the candidate must fast and consume only water. During the daytime the dancing was intermittent but the candidate was guarded throughout. After this initiation ritual, the candidate could begin healing (Powers 1877:67-68).

The process of healing itself involved the healer being offered a certain amount of money to cure a sick patient. The healer could refuse the amount if they thought it too low, thus they were able to negotiate their rates for services. There were two methods for

curing, one of which only involved the chanting of certain words that had been told to the healer through dreams. The other healing method involved sucking out a pain from the sick patient (Dubois 1932:257).

If a person had been afflicted by a pain, which was “something sticking in a person”, the only way to remove it was through sucking (Dubois 1932:257). When gathered in the sweathouse, the healer first chanted words from their dreams, and then danced while facing east, before closing their eyes in order to see where the pain was located. The doctor then spat on the location of the pain and began to suck, removing the pain and showing it to the patient or any others present. The pain itself resembled a small black object, sometimes like a turtle or snake and it had two eyes. After extracting the pain, the doctor danced more and sang before blowing their hands in order to blow the pain away (Dubois 1932:257).

#### Tolowa Third and Fourth Genders

As there are direct references to third gender healers among the Tolowa, this helps to solidify the cultural conception of both healing roles and gender itself. The fact that third gender individuals were healers shows that these individuals were possibly conceived of as equivalent to woman based conceptions of gender. Since very few men acquired the rank of healer, it was viewed as a woman-coded opportunity. Since third gender individuals were able to achieve healer status, the characteristics of masculinity (and gender) may not be linked to existential identities, but rather reliant on task-based expression.

The gender status of third gender individuals is somewhat muddled, however, by the fact that such individuals had use of the male-exclusive sweathouse at all times (Lang

1998:85). Additionally, there was an example of a third gender ‘headman’ amongst the Tolowa who wore women’s clothes and was a practicing healer, but did not seem to have engaged in any other women’s work. Notably, leaders among the Tolowa attained their status through accumulation of wealth, typically relying on inherited goods to form the base wealth necessary to reach the amount needed to become a ‘headman’ (Gould 1978:130-131). Thus, this third gender leader was able to maintain their wealth and status (and their gender identity) through their outfit and practice of healing. In this case, it would appear that the male gender existential identity could be shifted through the wearing of women’s clothes and/or performance of women’s work. This also reinforces the conception of healing as a distinctly womanly pursuit amongst the Tolowa and the malleability of gender as an identity distinction.

While there is some evidence for certain conceptions of a fourth gender, such individuals did not pursue masculine activities. Instead, such individuals were women who had relations with women, for instance, one Tolowa woman had “purchased a wife and lived with her” (Drucker 1937b:260). Such women were not barred from the role of healer, but social acceptance may have been low considering informants stated that such women were “considered very shameful” (Drucker 1937b:260). Such shamefulness was not attached to third gender individuals however.

### **Mostly Men Healers: Yokuts Example**

The distribution of mostly men healers spans multiple subregions within the study area and includes the following groups: Achomawi, Atsugewi, Sinkyone, Wailaki, Kato, Yuki, Maidu, Yana, Miwok, Yokuts, Paiute-South, and Tipai (Southern Diegueno). However, because the highest concentration of mostly men healers occurs within the

central valley regions of the study area (the Sacramento Valley and San Joaquin Valley), the Yokuts group was chosen as a representative sample.

### San Joaquin Valley

The San Joaquin valley is very similar to the Sacramento Valley subregion, except that the San Joaquin valley is drier. A rich delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin River lies between these two valleys and is occupied by the Plains Miwok. This area housed a great quantity of oaks with plentiful antelope and tule elk to serve as prime large game hunting (Baumhoff 1978).

### Yokuts Geography and Background

While the Valley Yokuts can be separated into Northern and Southern components, the general mode of subsistence, labor distribution, and access to healing roles was a shared cultural trait amongst these distinctive regions. The only main difference was geographical location and the fact that among the southern Yokuts, salmon and acorns were less available (Wallace 1978a, 1978b). In addition to the San Joaquin valley subdivisions, the Foothill Yokuts were oftentimes treated as a separate subdivision as well (Spier 1978a). The Foothill Yokuts' subsistence methods were again similar to their fellows, the only difference being less reliability on fishing. Similar healing methods were employed, and as such the Foothill Yokuts are equally included in this culture review.

The Southern Valley Yokuts lived in a lake and marsh environment which promoted a more aquatic-based subsistence lifestyle. Their territory included three lakes (Tulare, Buena Vista, and Kern) along with the lower portions of the Kings, Kaweah, Tule, and Kern rivers. Aquatic birds by the thousands resided throughout this marshland,

along with a plethora of fish, turtles, and freshwater mussels. Big game hunting was also plentiful as herds of pronghorn antelope and tule elk frequented the area (Wallace 1978a:448-449).

The Northern Valley Yokuts occupied territory within the northern area of the San Joaquin Valley, the demarcation falling along the bend in the Valley to the south and midway between the Calaveras and Mokelumne rivers to the north. The San Joaquin River was the centralizing feature of the Northern Valley Yokuts and provided an abundance of fresh-water fish and fowl. Similar to the Southern Valley Yokuts, the presence of marshes provided abundant resources. Extending east and west beyond these marshes were broad open plains. Bordering these plains along the eastern and western edges were low hills. Beyond the thick vegetation present within the marshy areas, the valley floor supports sparse stands of trees that stick to river courses with oak-groves occurring in well-watered areas (Wallace 1978b:462).

The Foothill Yokuts were located within the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the east of their valley brethren. These mountains have a generous distribution of coniferous forests and rivers that cut a few deep gorges amongst these hills. There are two major inhabitable zones within these hills: the Upper Sonoran Zone which ranges from 600 to 3,300 feet above sea-level and the Transition Zone which ranges from 3,300 to 6,200 feet above sea-level (Spier 1978a:472).

#### Yokuts Gender Division of Labor

A variety of taboos were associated with the eating of specific meats among the Yokuts. While common use was made of squirrels, gopher, rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, certain groups refrained from eating elk, bear, and/or deer depending on cultural

restriction (Gayton 1948b:166, 180). While the acorn formed a staple food, other vital resources included greens and bulbs, tule and iris root, and buckeye seeds (Gayton 1948b:146).

Of the overall subsistence activities, fifteen activities were male exclusive, nine were female exclusive, two were male circumstantial, seven were female circumstantial, and six were gender neutral/both (Aginsky 1943; Dorsey 1903; Driver 1937; Gayton 1948a, 1948b; Kroeber 1976; Redding 1881; Willoughby 1963). The gender division of labor can be seen in Table 29.

Table 29. Yokuts Gender Labor

<b>Yokuts Gender Division of Labor</b>					
	<b>Male Exclusive</b>	<b>Female Exclusive</b>	<b>Male Circumstantial</b>	<b>Female Circumstantial</b>	<b>Gender Neutral/Both</b>
	Trapping, Snaring	Gather Acorns	Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots	Shake Nuts Out/Knock Nuts Down From Trees	Construct Permanent House
	Communal Drives	Gather Pine Nuts	Prepare Non-Nut Vegetal Dishes	Collect Wood	Make Nets
	Individual Hunting	Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs, etc.		Make Cordage	Construct Summer House
	Small Game Hunting	Process and/or Prepare Acorns		Make Rabbitskin Blankets	Make Skin Blankets
	Large Game Hunting	Butcher Meat		Make Moccasins	Make Clothing, General
	Individual Fishing	Make Baskets		Skin Dressing	Gather Basket Material
	Spear Fishing	Make Mats		Construct Sweat House or Dance House	
	Net Fishing	Make Cradles			
	Poison Fish	Make Fish Baskets			
	Group Fishing				
	Catch Fish With Baskets				
	Cook Meat				
	Make Traps, Weirs, Snares				
	Make Bows and Arrows				
	Make Canoes				
<b>Total</b>	15	9	2	7	6

Yokuts Men's Labor

Along the lakes, men's labor was particularly geared towards the hunting of small game, water fowl, and fishing. Essentially the subsistence around Tule Lake "was

composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots” (Gayton 1948a:14). The Lake Yokuts did not have access to deer meat, not even through trade, with the only large game animal available being that of the antelope. The majority of rabbits and squirrels were obtained by men through communal drives whereby long nets were set up along the barren plains west of the lake (Gayton 1948a:14).

Men’s large game hunting included the use of bows and arrows, drives by small groups of men, and the use of deer disguises (Gayton 1948a:71, 1948b:183). The manufactured goods from such hunting were generally crafted by men, with only some references to women participating in aspects of skinning. Sinew string was specifically related to men and strengthens the connection between men and roles that involve both hunting and their byproducts (Gayton 1948a:83-85). Along the foothills, deer and elk were also caught using snares (Gayton 1948b:146).

Fishing was performed using the use of fish nets, weirs, spears, or poisoning, along with diving. Methods for small-game hunting included trapping with stones, shooting with arrows, or drowning squirrels out of their holes (Gayton 1948b:183). While there is no mention of secluded workspaces, the sweat house did function as living quarters for young and single men. Married men would occasionally stay in the sweat house for socializing. While women were typically excluded from the sweat house, they were allowed entrance when it was empty of men. Usually this occurred during the winter when women would use the sweathouse as a means of warming themselves (Gayton 1948a:60).

This connection between the sweat house and men extended to its construction as well. Digging sticks were used in excavation of the sweat house floor, with the dirt being placed into old baskets and removed by men and boys. It was said that “women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned” (Gayton 1948a:60-61). In contrast, the construction of the family dwelling was a family affair and included both men and women’s labor applied to different aspects of construction. In such cases, men would construct the wooden poles, build the framework, and dig out the floor space. The thatch or mat coverings were then prepared by the wife and other female relatives. These thatch coverings were tied on by women, except for the upper levels, which were fastened by men (Gayton 1948a:61-63).

Certain plants were gathered by men, such as the tule plants for house building, which were gathered by men but were weaved into mats to cover the house-frame by women (Gayton 1948a:13). The male circumstantial labor also included the cooking of one root-plant, the soaproot. This dish was highly prized and was typically prepared only in large quantities for feasting. The cooking of these roots was specifically noted as a man’s task and that, if great quantities of this bulb were needed, then men would also assist women in the gathering of them (Gayton 1948a:77). Additional references to men cooking occurs on occasion, with men cooking the dinner meal when women were away gathering seeds. More specifically, men were in charge of cooking meat and some non-nut dishes as mentioned, but the preparation of acorn dishes belonged solely to women (Gayton 1948b:177).

On acorn and pine nut expeditions, men were the ones to usually climb up trees and knock down the nuts. Such gathering, like the building of homes, was a family

affair. If a woman did not have a man to assist in the knocking down of these nuts, she would knock them down herself. While such labor was typically associated with men, women would perform it out of necessity (Gayton 1948a). In the case of gathering wood, men were the ones who felled the limbs through the use of fire, while both men and women would pack and carry the wood back to the village (Gayton 1948a:78). Overall the majority of men's tasks were exclusive and related to hunting and fishing pursuits. While only two types of male circumstantial tasks were present, a majority of work was shared/gender neutral with everyone contributing different roles to achieve success.

#### Yokuts Women's Labor

Women's labor related to the gathering of plants, acorn processing, and basket-making. Women gathered manzanita berries using a long pole to knock the ripe berries off the bush (Gayton 1948b:181). Depending on geographical location, women had access to bedrock mortars in order to pound and process acorns and pinon. Among the lower valley inhabits, bedrock mortars were not to be found, but among the foothill Yokuts, women did use bedrock mortars (Gayton 1948b:155).

The gathering of acorns was a joint endeavor with men and women contributing different labor. While men were the ones to knock down the acorns, women exclusively gathered them for storage and future processing. The picking of acorns was usually an all day job, with the family occupying the acorn groves for about a month at a time (Gayton 1948b:178). Because men were not active participants in the literal gathering of acorns from the ground, and informants consistently relegated this task to women, acorn gathering was labeled as labor exclusive to women. Similarly, the processing of acorns involved some assistance by men in the crafting of the fire to be used by women to heat

water for leaching. However, beyond this assistance, men were banned from being around during the cooking of acorn mush (Gayton 1948b:178-9). Small seed gathering was occasionally performed by men, but it was typically a woman's occupation. The gathering of seeds was an all-day procedure, with seeds being carried back to the village through the help of burden baskets (Gayton 1948b:178-9).

Both men and women dug the roots used for basket making, but women were the only ones who actually crafted such baskets (Gayton 1948a:60-61). Women made these baskets using deer bone awls, but the awls themselves were constructed by men. Women also used obsidian blades made by men to cut and prepare meat, to prepare basketry materials, and to cut/prepare hides (Gayton 1948a:80). Of note, there are conflicting reports about the division of labor concerning animal skinning, with some informants reporting that "everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp was given a piece of the meat" (Gayton 1948b:183). Other informants noted that only men were responsible for skin-dressing (Driver 1937). Explicit references to men tanning or stripping skin, while women sewed such skin-strips together to form blankets, also occurs. As such, this labor was recorded as female circumstantial labor (Gayton 1948a:82).

Labor as performed by women was taught to young girls by their mothers, who showed them how to "pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots...a girl did not learn to sift meal...or to cook until she was about fourteen" (Gayton 1948b:194). Basket-making, on the other hand, was taught to young girls at the age of ten. This age-based qualifier for labor is an important characteristic of Yokuts division of labor. If, as postulated by statistical analysis, the division of labor was not directly dependent on

gender, then the presence of age-based labor could function as an additional structuring quality. Other types of labor reference age as well, such that, seed-gathering was referred to as the job of “old women” (Gayton 1948b:179).

### Yokuts Healing Practices and Gender

Healers were predominantly men, with further distinction being made between professional and unprofessional people who had power. Differing reports concerned how frequently women were able to become professional healers, however “many men and old women got ‘unprofessional’ power” (Gayton 1948a:31). Power, in this case, related to spiritual dream helpers who would bestow supernatural power upon the person they visited. This power was then channeled into talismans (*walat*) that were symbolic of the dream helper. Such talisman objects included bead necklaces, weasel skins, bird heads, and feathers. Various talismans were obtained by professional healers and were representative of their personal dream helpers. These talismans were used during the process of healing and, once used, had to be “revitalized” by dreams featuring the dream helper represented. Without such additional dreams, the talisman was useless (Gayton 1930, 1948a:32, 109; Kroeber 1976:511).

As far as obtaining such power, individuals must first experience a significant dream featuring an animal or bird. Upon this experience, a person had to then go out and talk to the helper, going a distance away from their house before smoking tobacco and scattering crane downy feathers on the ground. This recognition of the dream experience must be performed regardless of whether or not the person accepted or rejected the power being offered by the helper. If such actions were not performed, the person would become ill. If, after making this offering, a person chose to accept the power being

offered, then they must follow a strict regimen of fasting the next day. This initial fasting and recognition was performed by anyone looking for power (Gayton 1948a:31-32).

There was no evidence of a healer society or instruction by older healers to new healers. Instead the process to become a powerful healer was a solitary endeavor invoked through the following of strict regulations. If one wanted to become a professional healer, they must also continue “fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time” (Gayton 1948a:32). During this period, the potential healer would also have to acquire the talismans as instructed by their dream helpers. Individuals seeking power for professional healing would also seek out secluded ponds where it was hoped their supernatural helpers would visit them to give further instructions. Once an individual believed they had acquired enough power, they would demonstrate their new role as a professional healer by giving a public dance in the sweat house during which they would cure a patient (Gayton 1948b:169).

The curing process itself lasted two days, the first day being spent diagnosing the patient, during which the healer would consult their dream helpers who were the ones capable of informing the healer where the sickness was located within the patient. In order for the dream helpers to locate the sickness, the healer pressed their talismans against the patient’s body and held them up in multiple directions. After such diagnosing, the healer would then return the next day in order to actually cure the patient. The method of curing involved cutting the area with a flint knife, sucking, and brushing with feathers. Especially powerful healers were able to suck out any illness without cutting, or could remove the pain through rubbing with skins. After the pain was removed, it was either spat or squeezed from the skin onto a tray and taken away by the

healers' assistant. Payment for healing was accepted before curing, with the option for the healer to demand greater payment once the cure was underway (Gayton 1948a:32-33, 1948b:169; Kroeber 1976:511).

These professional healers also had assistants who would look after their talismans, prepare any necessary medicines, and dress the healer in ceremonial costume. One essential piece of equipment for anyone with any kind of power was eagle down. Typically healers would also wear eagle down rolled into cord about their neck and wrist. Talismans were burned upon the death of the healer and were never inherited. Healing itself was not thought of as hereditary, although it was not unusual for healers' children to also become professional healers themselves (Gayton 1948a:33-35, 100).

Healers were intimately connected to the actual illnesses themselves as well. Conceptions of disease revolved around the idea that illness was caused by foreign objects shot into a person by a malicious healer. These pains could be made of bugs, snakes, fur, or other similar objects (Gayton 1948b:204). In addition to sickness in general being caused by bad healers, they could also poison people as well. Such poisoning involved the use of specific plants or iridescent rocks, which were pounded into powders and placed on objects that, when touched by someone, would poison and kill them (Gayton 1948a:47).

#### Yokuts Third and Fourth Genders

As far as labor-based alternative genders, only the third gender was present. A fourth gender was conceived of by the Yokuts, but only in reference to homosexual women. As such, the group is recorded as only having a third gender. Third gender individuals, in addition to performing women's labor, were also in charge of handling,

burying, and singing mourning songs for the dead. One informant stated that their paternal uncle was a third gender individual, who “dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant’s grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him” (Gayton 1948a:106). It is clear that gender conceptions, in this case, were role-based and included not just the performance of non-expected roles, but also the addition of specific, burial-based tasks.

### **Both Men and Women Healers: Nisenan Example**

The distribution of both men and women healers spans three subregions within the study area and includes the following groups: Paiute-North, Pomo, Wintu, Nisenan, and Washo. The subregions include the Northeast, North Coast, and Sacramento Valley. The Nisenan, located in the Sacramento Valley region, were chosen as a representative sample because of their location between two groups of mostly men healers to the north and south.

#### Sacramento Valley Region

The Sacramento Valley’s main defining feature, similarly to the San Joaquin region, is its situation within the central portion of the state and designation as a valley. The area has both grassland and timberland, along with some swatches of woodland and chaparral amongst the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the east. The grassland is home to deer and antelope, while oaks dot the gallery forest surrounding the Sacramento River. The Sacramento River also harbors a high salmon population. Thus, inhabitants within the Sacramento Valley had a gallery of subsistence options (Baumhoff 1978:20-21).

## Nisenan Geography and Background

Nisenan territory occupied the drainage systems of the Yuba, Bear, and American Rivers within the Sacramento Valley. The demarcation of their territory to the west was the bounding Sacramento River, to the east the rising Sierra Nevada slopes, and they spread to a few miles past the American River. The northern edge of their territory has been debated but anywhere north of the Middle Fork Feather River was beyond their geographic reach. The oak-filled grasslands east of the Sacramento River provided ample access to acorns, and within 15 miles of these grasslands are rising foothills of oak, pine, and chaparral that transition into an oak and conifer forest. This forest is bisected by stream-filled canyons, but this does not cut down on the abundant game and other resources spread throughout the region (Wilson and Towne 1978:387).

Tribelet centers were situated along the riverplain, particularly at the mouth of the American River, Bear River, and Yuba River. These tribelets were composed of several large villages that were densely populated, with a recognized leader occupying a specific village for each group. Another tribelet known as the Hill Nisenan in the literature was located between the Cosumnes River and the south fork of the American River. The final two tribelets occurred within the area between the Bear River and middle fork of the American River, and along the upper drainages of the Bear and Yuba rivers (Wilson and Towne 1978:387).

A distinction can be made between the Hill Nisenan and the Valley Nisenan in terms of cultural subdivisions, whereas linguistically the Nisenan can be divided into four main groups with “every political unit [showing] slight dialectic differences” (Beals 1933:338). When it comes to the division of labor, there is a general consistency shared

between the Hill and Valley Nisenan whereas there are some slight differences in training regimens for healer roles. However, the gender distribution of access to healing is consistent between all Nisenan groups.

#### Nisenan Gender Division of Labor

Of the overall subsistence activities for the Nisenan, eighteen activities were male-exclusive, six were female-exclusive, five were male circumstantial, five were female circumstantial, and five were gender neutral/both (Beals 1933; Faye 1923; Kroeber 1929; Voegelin 1942; Willoughby 1963). The gender division of labor can be found in Table 30.

Table 30. Nisenan Gender Labor

<b>Nisenan Gender Division of Labor</b>					
	<b>Male Exclusive</b>	<b>Female Exclusive</b>	<b>Male Circumstantial</b>	<b>Female Circumstantial</b>	<b>Gender Neutral/Both</b>
	Trapping, Snaring	Gather Acorns	Gather Pine Nuts	Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs	Group Fishing
	Communal Drives	Process and/or Prepare Acorns	Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.	Cook Meat	Obtain Water
	Individual Hunting	Prepare Non-Nut Vegetal Dishes	Collect Wood	Make Cordage	Make Skin Blankets
	Small Game Hunting	Make Baskets	Transport Food	Make Fire	Make Rabbitskin Blankets
	Large Game Hunting	Make Mats	Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts	Construct Summer House	Make General Clothing
	Meat Cut Up on Spot by Hunter, Packed Home	Make Cradles			
	Spear Fishing				
	Net Fishing				
	Poison Fish				
	Climb Trees, Shake Nuts Out/ Knock Nuts Down with Pole				
	Catch Grasshoppers				
	Butcher Meat				
	Make Nets				
	Make Bows and Arrows				
	Construct Permanent House				
	Make Moccasins				
	Skin Dressing				
	Construct Sweat House or Dance Hose				
<b>Total</b>	18	6	5	5	5

### Nisenan Men's Labor

Men's labor amongst the Nisenan was largely controlled by hunting and fishing pursuits, with the additional labor of catching grasshoppers being a distinguishing feature. Grasshoppers would be driven by fire into great pits from which they were then collected. This was referred to as exclusively men's labor wherein "several men would enter...a meadow. They would dig a funnel-shaped hole and...drive the grasshoppers into the hole where they would be bagged" (Faye 1923:39-40). The yellowjacket larvae was another specified insect captured by men, with men or boys finding their nests while pursuing other game and then collecting the larvae (Beals 1933:346). In general, hunting occurred during the winter with summer designated as the time for seed gathering (Faye 1923:39).

Fire also appears to have been used extensively for hunting purposes, with men having an assortment of fire-based techniques. For instance, deer were generally captured by groups of men, who would create a circle of fire and stand close behind it as the fire encroached on the deer, slowly trapping the game in a corral. The meat from these group hunting pursuits was typically divided evenly between all the hunters and, in cases of a large catch, some was preserved for future feasts (Faye 1923:40).

Rabbit hunting worked slightly differently than deer hunting, with the group choosing one person to be the head of the rabbit hunt. This person coordinated the event and their directions were obeyed by everyone involved. In addition to this headman, hunting groups also brought with them a "luck-bringer" (Faye 1923:40). Rabbits were driven into nets that were about one hundred yards long and five feet high. Multiple nets

were joined together in order to maximize the amount of rabbits captured, with the full extent sometimes reaching up to a mile in length. Once ensnared, the rabbits were killed with clubs by attendant men stationed throughout the length of the net. Another technique for rabbit hunting included driving them out of burrows with sticks. There was no mention of fire-based rabbit drives (Beals 1933:348).

Not only were nets used to capture rabbits, they were also used when capturing waterfowl. During the summer, twisted grapevine nets would be placed over watering holes frequented by birds and small game such that, when the animals went to drink, they were then ensnared and captured. Interestingly, some snares were made of women's hair, particularly the snares used to capture quails. In this case, small hedges were built in quail-rich areas with only a few openings between them within which the snares would be strung across. As the quails were frightened towards the traps, they would end up hanging themselves on the nooses (Faye 1923:39). This quail fencing technique was practiced by some men to a professional degree, with these men trading the quail and feathers for other types of meat and acorns. Women with long hair would sell their hair to these quail brush-fence owners (Beals 1933:349).

The Nisenan consumed a wide variety of both plant and animal resources, with no mention of avoidance or taboos for insects, invertebrates, or any edible plants. Some mammal foods were avoided, such as the dog, grizzly bear, wolf, coyote, and reptiles. Birds that were not eaten included the buzzard, eagle, and woodpecker. Fish, especially salmon, were considered an important part of their diet (Beals 1933:346). Occasionally men would assist with the gathering of pine nuts, tubers, and roots, with specific mention

of men assisting in the gathering of wai bulbs during the spring (Kroeber 1929:261; Voegelin 1942:62-63).

All of the hunting and snaring methods were thus cooperative, but gender exclusive, pursuits. This can be said of sweat house construction as well, with only men working together to build it. Certain restrictions applied during construction with the men only being allowed to drink acorn soup. Additional ritual had to be maintained during construction which involved the observance of rites upon setting each of the three support beams and when setting up the roof ladder. This permanent sweat house was different than the one constructed for curing, which was only created when a person was sick and used as the space for the healer to perform their curing techniques (Faye 1923:45).

Importantly, crafting labor techniques were often confined to the knowledge of a few men who would learn such techniques from their relatives. Such exclusive knowledge applied to the making of bows, arrows, and nets. Similarly, quail and deer hunting methods were taught from father to son with “there evidently being considerable specialization even in hunting pursuits. In any occupation supernatural aid in the form of medicines, charms, or even simple ‘good luck’ [were utilized]” (Beals 1933:365). This connection to supernatural aid for subsistence purposes is in stark contrast to the lack of supernatural aid connected to the healer role.

Of note, Kroeber’s informant, who was from the Valley Nisenan, mentioned men crafting carrying baskets and seed-baskets within the sweat house while women made close-woven baskets in their own homes or outdoors. However, this informant was the only one to mention that men made baskets. As such, the task was coded as women-only,

but it is important to note the possibility of this task being male circumstantial among some Valley Nisenan (Kroeber 1929:262).

### Nisenan Women's Labor

There were fewer descriptions and notations about labor that was exclusive to women. Specific references to plant gathering, basket making, and cooking methods account for the bulk of women-only activities. Of note, just as there were men specialists in hunting technology, there were women specialists in basket making. While every woman made baskets, some women were known for making finer baskets and these finer-quality products were highly prized (Beals 1933:342). The techniques for making such high-quality baskets were learned from mothers or grandmothers on either side of the family. While not everyone who could learn these specialized techniques did, "all women could make ordinary cooking baskets" (Beals 1933:365).

Acorns were a staple food for the Nisenan and their gathering or processing account for the majority of women's labor. Black acorns were the most prized variety and were solely gathered by women, with men sometimes shaking limbs in order to knock the acorns off the trees. Once gathered, these acorns were oftentimes pounded in portable mortars or bedrock mortars, depending on the location of gathering. After pounding, the flour was sifted by tossing with basket trays, in order to separate the coarser particles and leave behind the fine acorn flour for cooking (Beals 1933:351).

After the flour was sifted, the process of leaching had to be performed. Leaching involved placing the flour on a clearing of hard ground and pouring water over a section of the flour covered with pine needles. This leaching process took about three hours. Afterwards the acorn flour was made into a thick mush that was only eaten cold.

Alternatively, the mush was placed among hot rocks and covered with leaves in order to bake it into cakes. Overall, such acorn processing was basically a day-long endeavor, and “in winter, during sunny weather, women pound[ed] acorns all day” (Beals 1933:351).

In addition to these acorn resources, women gathered pine nuts, buckeyes, greens, berries, and an assortment of grass seeds such as the wild oat. Seeds would be gathered by beating the grass and then catching the falling seeds with finely-woven carrying baskets. The seeds were then pounded into a fine flour and used as additions to the acorn mush or soup. Mushrooms and grasshoppers were similarly dried and pulverized for soup flavoring (Beals 1933:351).

Women would assist in the gathering of wood, particularly kindling and smaller limbs, whereas men would gather the larger logs and any wood used for sweat house purposes. Similar distinctions of complimentary tasks performed by men and women can be seen in the transportation of food, with women always transporting acorns but men assisting in the transportation of pine cones. Mention of men preparing pine nuts is also made, although the task itself was generally designated as women’s labor, thus pine nut preparation is a male circumstantial task (Voegelin 1942:62-63).

#### Nisenan Healing Practices and Gender

Healing roles were open to both men and women, with no distinction being made that the role was an exclusively gendered task. The most common name for a healer was *yomu’s*e and there were no linguistic markers distinguishing between men or women healers (Beals 1933:390). One potential contributing factor to such access to healing was the methods by which individuals obtained healer roles. Both women and men who

wanted to become healers had to spend anywhere from six to seven months being taught by an older healer. Throughout this training, the initiate learned medicinal secrets about which plants and herbs should be used as medicines during the curing process. The only gender distinction made was that women were not taught the use of poisons because “it was feared that if a woman had this knowledge they might become mentally unbalanced...and kill everyone” (Niethammer 1995:148). This lack of access to poisons meant that women were sometimes preferred as a healer because they were “less likely to use poison” (Kroeber 1929:274).

Differing accounts suggest that the training may or may not have been free, depending on geographical location. Among the Hill Nisenan, accounts vary with some mentioning that a boy’s father had to pay a rather high fee in shellbead money before the healer agreed to take on the student (Faye 1923:51). Other accounts state that there was no fee, particularly if the initiate was a relative of the healer (Beals 1933:386). Regardless of payment, the training methods involved a group of initiates being taken to a secluded area by older healers where they were instructed about the arts of healing medicines.

During this training, ritual activities were also observed as a means of initiating the individuals into the healing profession. At night, the older healers would press the initiate against themselves in such a way as to render the trainees unconscious. After awakening, the potential healers would then dance until daybreak, at which point they would dance around a fire four times, blowing whistles while the older healers sang. After eight days of instruction in both medicines, herbs, and ritual activity, the older

healers left the initiates, who then had to stay in seclusion for several more months (Beals 1933:386-389).

This training by an elder healer also involved certain food restrictions, such that trainees could not eat salt, meat, or grease, and could only consume acorn soup for one year. Additional dietary requirements remained once the initiate became a healer, such that they must “never [eat] salt or meat. [They] ate ‘medicine’ and nothing else for four days previous to undertaking to cure a sick person” (Faye 1923:51). Such medicines were herbal and plant concoctions, the composition of which was secret to everyone but healers and their initiates (Faye 1923:51).

In addition to this main tutelage method of acquiring healing knowledge, there were a few other methods by which someone might become a healer. One involved the individual going out into the woods in order to have dreams and find a spirit (*‘us*) who would teach the individual the ways of curing. During this self-imposed exile, the individual must fast until noon every day as well (Faye 1923:50-51). Among the Mountain Nisenan, an individual might dream of how to cure through sucking and then call people to let them practice curing methods for no cost. For these healers, no herbal medicines were used and only curing through sucking was practiced (Beals 1933:388).

At other times it would seem an individual was forced to become a healer, even against their own desires. If other healers decided someone should become a healer, they would dig two connected holes underground and place herbs and hot coals within one hole to make smoke. The individual would then be forced into the other hole and made to breath in the smoke. After this process, the individual would be capable of curing people (Beals 1933:388-389).

Overall it appears that any connection to the supernatural or spirits is tenuous at best and instead healer roles were more aligned with the keeping of secret herbal knowledge. While there were certain proscriptions when it came to how such knowledge should be obtained, if an individual were to discover a healer's stash of medicinal herbs (*wenI*) then that individual could cure themselves. It was these medicinal concoctions that were considered to hold supernatural power. However, there were some exceptions whereby some healers did have dreams or converse with spirits, but such experiences were not required of all healers (Beals 1933:385-386).

Even though curing methods relied heavily on the use of herbal medicines, sucking still formed a component of the healing process (Kroeber 1929:274). In general, the curing method involved the healer chewing up medicine before spitting it into their hands, then blowing on the patient, and pressing them with their hands until the source of the sickness was found. These objects (pains) were sucked out of the patient and could be pieces of flint, lizards, frogs, sticks or other intrusions. These objects were mixed with blood. After removal, the healer would spit the object into a hole in the ground and cover it with dirt (Beals 1933:387; Faye 1923:52).

In addition to these individual methods of healing, there also existed a curing (*hiwe*) dance that was sometimes performed. This healing ceremony took place outdoors and involved multiple people who danced during the healing. Everyone involved had to wear upright feathers on their heads and a band of featherwork. The dancers wore acorn soup on their faces, arms, and upper bodies while carrying sticks of elderwood. Throughout the first four dances, two women would burn seeds and then, after the fourth dance, the patients were brought in. These patients had to lie over a drum on their

stomach, with their head facing west, while the healer turned them in a circle four times. After this, the healer would spit medicinal herbs into their hands and press the patient's body, blowing medicine on the patient throughout the process. The healer did this four times and then the dancers would give the healer their feathers, which were used to brush away sickness from the patient. It is unclear whether or not this curing dance also involved sucking to remove the pain or if brushing was considered sufficient (Faye 1923:51-52).

### Nisenan Third and Fourth Genders

Some accounts state that the Nisenan conceived of third or fourth genders as “half-men” and “half-women” (Powers 1877:345). This is corroborated by other informants, who stated that individuals “just grew that way” (Faye 1923:376). In general, third gender individuals were never ridiculed, and always dressed, talked, and associated with women. Such action was considered a choice and based on individual desire (Beals 1933:376). However, one informant stated that such individuals did little work, that they mostly stayed at home cooking, and were “not noted for their brightness [however] they were fairly treated by men” (Faye 1923:376). Specific information about fourth gender customs is lacking beyond the fact that they were recognized.

### **Men-Only Healers: Mono Example**

The distribution of men-only healers spans two subregions within the study area and includes the following groups: Mono, Tubatulabal, Serrano, and Cahuilla. The subregions include the San Joaquin Valley and Southern Interior. The Mono were chosen in order to highlight the processes that may give rise to differential access to healing given the fact that the group is surrounded by mostly men healers to the north, east, and

west. This makes them an ideal case to analyze for differences in labor as an explanatory factor for healer gender choice. For information concerning the San Joaquin Valley region, see: Mostly Men Healers: Yokuts Example.

### Mono Geography and Background

The majority of data about Mono culture are derived from the Western Mono who, up until 1850, were “entirely undisturbed by [European] intrusion” (Gayton 1948a:1). This allows for their culture to be less diffuse and disturbed from contact with European settlements. The Western Mono were composed of around six tribal groups including the Northfork Mono proper, the Wobonuch, the Entimbich, the Michahay, the Waksachi, and the Patwisha. These groups differed from the Eastern Mono in regards to geographical distribution, since the Western Mono were located west of the Sierra Nevadas, whereas the Eastern Mono were located to the east of this mountain range. There is debate as to whether or not the Michahay were “transitional Yokuts” (Gayton 1948b:210-215). However, tribal subdivisions were linguistically distinguishable and the Michahay considered themselves as separate peoples from the Yokuts (Spier 1978b:426). In general, a distinction could be made between the Eastern Mono, who shared more traits with the Owens Valley Paiute, and the Western Mono, who shared traits with the Foothill Yokuts and Miwok (Gifford 1932).

Environmentally, the Eastern Mono occupy a long, arid depression along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Their territory held a multitude of small streams and the Owens River. Their geographical distribution was occasionally intermixed with the Southern (Owens Valley) Paiute, especially around Owens River and Mono Lake (Kroeber 1976:586). The Western Mono, on the other hand, occupied the

area between about three thousand and seven thousand feet in elevation amongst the western side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The Northfork Mono's base territory was along the North Fork of the San Joaquin River. The Wobonuch lived along a variety of forks off King's River while to the south and west of them were the Entimbich. The Michahay lived along the northern headwaters of Cottonwood Creek. Finally, Eshom Creek formed the central portion of Waksachi territory (Spier 1978b:427). As can be seen, the Western Mono territory was home to a great many streams and major riverways, with "one [division]...[located] on each side of the three great streams that flow through their territory" (Kroeber 1976:586). Their territory had an abundance of freshwater aquatic resources and plenty of access to both large and small game.

#### Mono Gender Division of Labor

Of the overall subsistence activities for the Mono, thirteen activities were male-exclusive, four were female-exclusive, three were male circumstantial, four were female circumstantial, and four were gender neutral/both (Aginsky 1943; Dorsey 1903; Driver 1937; Essig 1934; Gayton 1948a, 1948b; Gifford 1932; Redding 1881; Willoughby 1963). The gender division of labor can be seen in Table 31.

Table 31. Mono Gender Labor

Mono Gender Division of Labor					
	Male Exclusive	Female Exclusive	Male Circumstantial	Female Circumstantial	Gender Neutral/Both
	Trapping, Snaring	Gather Acorns	Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.	Group Fishing	Catch Fish With Baskets
	Communal Drives	Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs	Cook Non-Nut Vegetal Dish	Make Nets	Make Cradles
	Individual Hunting	Make Baskets	Process and/or Prepare Acorns	Make Cordage	Construct Sweat House/Dance House
	Small Game Hunting	Gather Pine Nuts		Make Rabbitskin Blankets	Construct Permanent House
	Large Game Hunting				
	Spear Fishing				
	Net Fishing				
	Poison Fish				
	Climb Trees, Shake Nuts Out/Knock Nuts Down with Pole				
	Collect Wood				
	Make Canoes/Tule Balsas				
	Make Moccasins				
	Skin Dressing				
<b>Total</b>	13	4	3	4	4

As a representative of the men-only healer group, the Mono have very low occurrence of male-circumstantial tasks, which is consistent with the other groups whose male circumstantial tasks range from zero to two occurrences. The proportional distribution of labor is similar to these other groups as well, with the majority of exclusive tasks being applied to men. The only group with more female-exclusive tasks were the Cahuilla.

### Mono Men's Labor

Men's labor was associated with hunting, fishing, and the manufacture of a few crafts. Overall, venison was the staple meat consumed by the Mono (Gifford 1932:21). Hunting techniques for deer ranged from deer stalking using a deer disguise or communal drives wherein the meat was distributed evenly between all participants. One form of deer hunting ascribed to unskilled hunters was that of trapping (Gayton 1948b:219).

Hunting typically required bows and arrows, which were also crafted by men, although different types of bows were made. The sinew backed bow was highly valued and knowledge of its crafting was somewhat restrictive. Multiple kinds of arrows were also designated, with one kind being used for birds, another for squirrels and small game, the third kind for deer or other larger game, and the last kind used for war. All of these arrows were made exclusively by men (Gayton 1948b:219). The obsidian used in projectile points was brought over from the Eastern Mono territory and worked into finished points by Western Mono men (Gayton 1948b:261).

Small game hunting was also exclusive to men, with mention of various methods for capture. While ground squirrels were not abundant throughout the entirety of the Mono territory, when available they were typically captured through the process of smoking them from their holes. The process involved the use of a fire fan crafted from hawk or buzzard tail feathers which were also exclusively made by men. Along with squirrels, cottontail rabbits were occasionally smoked from their holes (Gayton 1948b:220, 262). Alternative to smoking, snares were also used, especially to capture pigeons in the late fall (Gayton 1948b:220-221).

For some tribelets, fish were scarce, particularly within Waksachi territory. Fishing techniques included poisoning with plants, trapping with weirs, or harpooning. These techniques were performed solely by men, but the capturing of fish was performed by both men and women. Such capturing was noted for when the fish were poisoned or when a weir was being used. To trap fish, late at night men would drag a net that reached from bank to bank in order to drive the fish into the weir, where they would be captured by other men, women, and children using baskets or by grabbing the fish with their bare hands (Gayton 1948b:263).

While certain kinds of cordage were made by men and women, overall there were more references to men making cordage and thus it is coded as a circumstantial role for women (Driver 1937:77; Gifford 1932:28). Men (along with women) made coarse string or rope, but only men crafted sinew cord from deer sinew. This process involved soaking it in water and then pounding the sinew between two stones, one of which was possibly an arrow straightener stone if the man had one (Gayton 1948b:226).

Carrying nets were generally made by men (Gayton 1948b:265; Gifford 1932:28) although references to women crafting such nets occurred among the Michahay and Waksachi (Gayton 1948b:226). These two tribelets' geographical closeness to Yokuts territory (wherein both men and women made nets) may explain such differences in net-making gender. Regardless of craftsmanship, these carrying nets were still generally used by men, who placed the tumpline across their chest and arms in order to use it (Gayton 1948b:226).

Men did assist in gathering certain plants, such as milkweed, but such gathering was for the purposes of making cordage and not gathering for consumption (Gifford

1932:28). The only other plant gathered by men was the yucca plant which grew along the southern and eastern portions of Eshom Valley, located in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Western Mono men would go to Eshom Valley in the fall to dig yucca roots which were brought back for roasting. In the spring, a similar trip was taken, but this time to gather the yucca blossoms which would be gathered, processed, and cooked exclusively by men (Gayton 1948b:222). This collection and cooking of yucca is the only occurrence of men directly involved in the otherwise women dominated task of plant gathering and cooking.

Beyond subsistence tasks, men's manufacturing included both the crafting and wearing of moccasins, although women would use them for long trips (Driver 1937:75; Gayton 1948b:266). Skin dressing was also an exclusive occupation for men (Aginsky 1934:408; Driver 1937:70). The collection of wood was an exclusive task for men, and trees were felled through the use of fire (Gayton 1948b:266).

#### Mono Women's Labor

Acorns formed the staple vegetable food. The typical gathering grounds for acorns were within the Eshom Valley. This work involved both men and women providing complimentary labor, with men knocking slightly green acorns off the trees, and women gathering and transporting them back in burden baskets. The shelling of acorns was considered a family process, with everyone contributing to such processing. Acorn mush was the typical acorn product produced by women (Gayton 1948b:222-223).

The Northfork Mono were highly mobile when it came to pinenut collecting, going so far as to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains east of Eshom Valley in order to gather these nuts. Such expeditions would last anywhere from one to two years, with

these Northfork Mono inhabitants residing within Eastern Mono territory without garnering ill-will. During the trip, the travelers carried acorns with them which women would pound and prepare at certain stopping places while men would hunt the local game supply (Gifford 1932:19). Upon reaching the pine nut groves, men would use long wooden hook-like poles to hoist themselves up into the pine trees, from which they would hook and knock down pine cones for women to then gather (Gayton 1948b:222). Such dedication of both time and energy into gathering pine nuts indicates this resource was highly valued. In addition to the gathering of these staple nut products, women also harvested camass roots (Redding 1881) and manzanita berries. These berries were acquired by beating the manzanita bush with a long stick, after which the berries would be swept together using a brush made of twigs. The berries were then winnowed and placed into burden baskets for transport (Gifford 1932:21-22).

Women made cordage that was typically crafted from milkweed plants. Such string was usually two-ply and involved the laying out of massive amounts of milkweed plants on bedrock mortars to dry. Once sufficiently dried, the fibers were smoothed with the fingers and rolled into string. This process of rolling was exactly like that used by men in crafting sinew cord (Gayton 1948b:226). Such convergence of techniques bespeaks of possible shared labor knowledge. While manufacturing was mostly the occupation of men, occasionally women did craft rabbitskin blankets (Aginsky 1943:418; Driver 1937:79) or cut aprons from deerskin prepared by men (Gayton 1948b:266). However, women's major crafting endeavors involved the making of baskets (Dorsey 1903:211).

The construction of family dwellings was a complimentary affair, wherein men “did most of this work but...[the] women’s job was the making of the thatch” (Gayton 1948b:215). In order to make this thatch, women would gather long grasses and willows which were then twined together at the base. Twining of this thatch was also sometimes performed by men (Gayton 1948b:260). Such labor distinctions crystalizes the overwhelming association of women with plant gathering and crafting.

Labor involved in the construction of the dance or sweat house was more equitably distributed between genders and others. Construction of the frame was performed by men while women collected the thatch material. However, women would assist men in “throwing and packing earth over the roof” (Gayton 1948b:259). After construction, the chief would announce that a large feast was to be held, for which men were in charge of providing deer meat and women would prepare vegetable foods (Gayton 1948b:259).

#### Mono Healing Practices and Gender

Healers as a general class were called *puhake* while healers who cured via sucking were called *nupuhawich*. Since power could be used for other things besides healing as there also existed amongst the Mono “deer-callers” (*tasuwadi*) and weather-power wielders whose singing could induce rain (Gifford 1932:50). Power could be acquired by any individual through the following of certain procedures, and the only difference between someone who had power and a healer was the quantity of power the person possessed. In addition, while women could acquire a level of power, they could never acquire enough power to become professional healers. Instead, their power was

said to typically be used to aid their children and relatives, especially to help their daughters through childbirth (Gayton 1948b:277).

The acquisition of power proceeded from an individual having dreams during which supernatural helpers, known as Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, and Owl, would visit the individual. These helpers were considered the strongest type of supernatural beings and were associated with certain types of power. After contact with these helpers, an individual may then dream of lesser supernatural helpers, such as manifestations of Blackbird, Night, and Fox (Gayton 1948b:238-239). The path to becoming a professional healer was mostly an individualized one. There was some instruction from older men to younger ones, who would gather in the sweat house for such lessons, but this instruction was only in how to induce dreaming and not about curing processes themselves (Gayton 1948b:275).

When an individual had the initial dream from a supernatural helper, the person could choose whether or not to accept the aid (power) being offered. Additionally, an individual could reject offers from supernatural helpers who offered power the person did not want. For instance, if an individual wanted to become a professional healer they would accept dreams from Owl or Coyote, but not from Cougar who could only bestow hunting power (Gayton 1948b:239). After the initial dream, in order to secure the power being offered, the individual must then dream of the supernatural helper a few more times. As such, there were methods for inducing dreams, which involved seclusion, food restrictions concerning meat consumption, swimming on cold winter nights, and the ingestion of tobacco (Gayton 1948b:239, 275).

The power provided by these supernatural helpers was substantiated in the material world through the use of talismans. These talismans, as holders of power, could only be used once, after which they were burned and the individual had to dream once more of their supernatural helper before acquiring a new talisman (Gayton 1948b:276). Interestingly, healers would frequently lend their talismans to other healers (Gayton 1948b:240). Examples of such talismans include weasel skins, the rattle of a snake, a decorated eagle head, or the tip of an eagle wing (Gayton 1948b:241).

There existed a two-tier system of healers wherein new healers or healers without much power, would cure by cutting and sucking out pains (Gayton 1948b:240). These healers were called “little doctor” (*ti'čin pohage*). Healers with greater power were known as “blood doctor” (*pa'bai pohage*). Such healers could cure by first rubbing the patient with their talismans, which had been dipped in a basket of water, and talking to their dream helper while blowing on the afflicted area. This procedure did not always cure, however, and a blood doctor may have to resort to cutting and sucking away the pain if necessary (Gayton 1948b:241). The pains themselves were known as “blood all-over” (*pa'pin ka'mida*) and were always clots of blood which were spat into a sand-covered tray upon removal. The pain could either then be burned or buried and the tray would be given to the healer as part of the payment for curing (Gayton 1948b:276-277).

#### Mono Third and Fourth Genders

Among the Mono, third gender individuals (*tono'čim* or *tai'up*) were present and also connected to the role of undertaker (depending on the tribelet). Such individuals performed women's labor and “learn[ed] to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would [around five or six years old]” (Gayton 1948b:236). Third gender individuals

would also go with women to gather seeds and were not ridiculed, with around two or three such individuals typically occurring in a village (Gayton 1948b:236). The fact that individuals could assume third gender roles at a young age is indicative that conceptions of identity could be determined fairly early by an individual. Additionally, not all third gender individuals performed the duties of undertaker, it was only when an individual experienced dreams of the dead that such labor roles would be undertaken (Gayton 1948b:236).

Labor-mixing by third gender individuals does seem to be present among the Mono, with informants stating that third gender individuals would, when wearing women's clothes, join women in acorn gathering and other tasks. But, these individuals could, upon removing the women's dress and donning men's outfits, then join men in hunting and other pursuits (Gayton 1948b:274). However, others could choose to not mix gender-roles and present only as women. Such fluidity of gender presentation and roles presents the possibility that immanent gender identities were not rigidly defined. Additionally, one of the terms for third gender individuals, *tai'up*, refers not just to those individuals who entirely take on women's dress and roles, but also to the ones who mix gender labor roles, and to bachelors (Gayton 1948b:274). This clearly complicates conceptions of gender as a stabilizing force rooted in biological realities

Fourth gender individuals who took up men's roles were not present among the Mono. Instead, fourth gender individuals referred to homosexual women. Fourth gender individuals also did not have any official duties unlike third gender individuals with their undertaker roles. Interestingly, fourth gender individuals do figure into Mono folklore

wherein the Pleiades constellation is explained with a story about young homosexual wives (Gayton 1948b:236)

## CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSIONS: WAS GENDER IDENTITY EXISTENTIAL OR ROLE-BASED?

Through analysis of labor, an understanding of conceptions of gender identity can be illuminated. Labor did not just function to fulfill particular needs but rather was divided amongst individuals based on cultural proscription. This labor, then, was either exclusive or circumstantial to the gender designated to perform the task. Certain labor, like the gathering of roots and berries, functioned as a circumstantial role and would therefore not be expressive of existential identity markers. The gathering of roots and berries was not an immanent role for either gender, but representative of personal capability and social/individual need, as can be seen among the Tolowa. When examining the labor categories with this existential/immanent and role-based/circumstantial lens, the labor that is exclusive to each gender could represent immanent roles and function as representations of a gender's existential identity. On the other hand, the labor that is shared between genders is representative of an individual's role-based identity, unconnected to gender expectations.

When this undercurrent of labor as identity is combined with the presence or absence of supernumerary genders, a possible understanding of gender identity as more labor-based and not innate can be formed. For instance, the Tolowa exhibit a lack of fourth genders who performed men's task and fewer circumstantial tasks for women which would seem to indicate that women's existential identities among the Tolowa were

more confining and that the tasks designated as exclusively women's labor were immanent roles. The fact that, through performing women-exclusive roles, individuals who would typically be designated as men were then conceptualized as a third gender and/or equivalent to women would indicate that such tasks express innate qualities. Such innate qualities were seen to generally manifest in biologically-designated women, but were also capable of manifestation within biologically-designated men. It would seem that the men as a gender were not seen as having a confining existential identity or that such existential identities did not preclude them from expressing alternative labor roles while still securing access to men-only spaces.

Because third gender individuals among the Tolowa had access to the sweathouse at the same time as men as well as access to healing roles, it would appear that conceptions of male gender identity were more fluid and based around granting access to typically exclusive roles. Even if the assertions that men had access to healing roles is accurate (and not a misunderstanding that such men were, in fact, third gender individuals), the fact that such men were fewer in number and considered not as good as women healers reinforces the notion that healing was a distinctly womanly pursuit.

Looking to bifurcation, the distribution of circumstantial roles among the Tolowa is different between men and women, albeit not by a large margin. Perhaps of more interest is the type of role that is circumstantially conceived. Both salmon and acorns were seen as staple foods for the Tolowa (Gould 1966:69). Shellfish was a subsistence product that could be found while other types of fishing occurred, making it a task performed as a means of maximizing productivity. Neither circumstantial tasks were

evident of specialized knowledge beyond locational information. This would then allow for shared subsistence endeavors as necessity warranted.

It would appear that among the Tolowa, men were men because they hunted specific game, had knowledge of how to make certain tools, and made such hunting/fishing-related tools. If a man ceased such labor and performed exclusively-women's roles, then they occupied a third gender category. This indicates that men's gender identity was a role-based one, and not an existential one. On the contrary, the female-gender identity potentially had more existential qualities and was not role-based because women were not allowed to perform men-only labor roles.

If Kopytoff's assessment of gender identity is correct, it would be expected that women would have fewer exclusive roles among the Tolowa and thus have a less-restrictive set of gender-linked innate qualities. Instead, it would appear to be the opposite, with women having a higher quantity of exclusive labor roles and fewer circumstantial roles than men. This leaves the possibility that, either Kopytoff's theory is incorrect, or it does not take into account the possibility that power-laden roles themselves can be immanent roles for women.

When taking into account the statistically significant labor roles, and the fact that circumstantial labor bifurcation occurs, with men having greater access to circumstantial roles than women, this lends some credence to Miller's theory. However, Miller's theory must be taken with some caveats that it is not bifurcation in favor of women that encourages access to power but rather the opposite. Since the ratio of male and female circumstantial labor is related to healer gender, the Tolowa exemplifies the ratio that encourages women's exclusionary access to healing.

Bifurcation occurs among the Yokuts, with more female circumstantial roles occurring than male circumstantial roles. If Miller's theory were correct concerning the influence of bifurcation on access to healing, then the Yokuts should see a higher number of women occupying healing roles. This is not the case however, with women only having some access to the role. Instead the role of healer is clearly seen a man's profession that women may have access to but on the whole, are not nearly as prevalent within the role to convincingly support Miller's theory.

When looking at gender identity, the Yokuts do appear to have identities rooted in specific types of labor, especially when it comes to shared labor practices. Of particular interest is the fact that within a majority of circumstantial or both labor categories, the work being performed by men and women varied. For instance, in construction of houses, women's labor concerned the weaving of mats or digging the structure's base, whereas men's labor was concerned with building the framework or cutting down trees (Gayton 1948a, 1948b). Even though the overall labor was shared, the specific processes required within the labor were distributed differently. This type of shared, yet differentiated, labor may indicate that even though identity was role-based, it was still somewhat shaped by understandings of innate gender-linked qualities, which in turn influenced initial ideas of exclusivity for healer roles.

The division of labor among the Yokuts is similar to that of the Tolowa in the sense that there are more exclusive roles for men and a disparity between circumstantial labor. This would be expected given both groups have flexible but somewhat exclusionary healer role access. The differences between these two labor distributions potentially provide a clue as to why one group conceives healing as a woman's role

whereas the other saw it as more of a man's role. Even though bifurcation of roles is evidenced for both, there is a clear switch between how such bifurcation occurs.

Whereas the Tolowa only have one circumstantial female role, the Yokuts have seven circumstantial female roles. Male circumstantial roles differ as well, with the Tolowa having five possible roles and the Yokuts having only two.

Between the Yokuts and the Mono healers, the shifting of circumstantial labor can be seen as contributable to how healer-roles themselves shifted from exclusively gendered to circumstantially gendered roles. When comparing the division of labor between the Yokuts and Mono, women's shareable identity labor (male-circumstantial labor) decreased between the men only healers to mostly men healers. However, men's shareable identity labor (female-circumstantial labor) increased. This shift indicates that, as women's access to men's identity labor increased, so too did their capacity to become healers.

Gender as a structuring principle amongst California hunter-gatherer groups within the study area roughly during the 1800s appears to be more malleable and less expressive of restricting innate qualities (Kopytoff 1990). This can be seen through both statistical analysis and an examination of four sample cultures who exemplify differential access to healing roles. By focusing on the latitude afforded to men and women in types of tasks available to them, the division of labor becomes less staunchly gendered and more likely to reflect individual preference and potential. In order to understand this latitude, subsistence and related tasks were categorized based on their exclusivity, circumstantiality, or gender neutral qualities.

Utilizing chi-square goodness of fit tests, it was revealed that the distribution of tasks amongst men and women clearly deviated from an even distribution. This showed that the division of labor may be influenced by gender and that the allocation of exclusive, circumstantial, or gender neutral tasks was structured. In order to see if this structuring relied on gender as the main component, Fisher's-exact tests were performed. This analysis looked to prove if the number of circumstantial or exclusive tasks depended on the gender performing the task. As such, this test functioned to elucidate if gender itself was an organizing principle for California hunter-gatherer groups in the study area. If gender and task type showed a relationship, this would prove that labor roles exemplified innate characteristics and were connected to the culture's ideas concerning existential identities (Kopytoff 1990). If gender and task type were unrelated, then the distribution of tasks between genders was not related to the genders performing such tasks and thus such labor did not enforce gender-based identity.

As proposed by Miller (1994), the ability for individuals (particularly women) to occupy roles of power relied upon bifurcated labor. Labor bifurcation occurred when one gender had more circumstantial roles than another gender. If access to circumstantial roles was dependent on gender, then this would show that the underlying processes of bifurcation was gendered qualia. As a defining aspect of individuals accessing power, the impetus behind the distribution of circumstantial roles must be taken into account. If happenstance afforded women more circumstantial roles, and women had access to power, this would not show that bifurcation of circumstantial labor was related to women's access to power. In order to show that bifurcation actually effected access to power, it must be shown that circumstantial role distribution was dependent on gender.

Hence, a Fisher's exact test was performed to see if gender and role exclusivity/circumstantiality were correlated.

Statistically-speaking, the vast majority of California hunter-gatherer groups within the study area did not evince gender-based distributions of labor types. Instead, a task's exclusivity or circumstantiality was related to other factors. This showed that the ability to obtain roles typically not associated with one's socially-proscribed gender was not statistically related to said gender. Thus, gender was not prohibitive in expression of labor-based identities. Instead, avenues of expression were open to both genders and allowed for the occupation of both exclusive and/or circumstantial tasks. This lack of dependency, however, does not mean there was no relationship between access to healing, gender, and circumstantial roles. Instead it evinces the potential for identity within California hunter-gatherer groups to be more labor-based and not gender-based.

Circumstantial labor, then, functioned as a measure of shared identity characteristics between men and women within California hunter-gatherer groups in the study area. This positions the role of healer itself to be a role that did not express gendered-exclusive identity characteristics but rather a role that expressed identity characteristics obtainable by anyone. If healer gender functioned as such a measure, then it would relate to the distribution of circumstantial labor throughout the group overall. If a group had a greater amount of shared circumstantial labor, then identity characteristics as linked to labor-expression were more accessible to all genders. If a group had fewer circumstantial labor roles, then identities would be more restrictive and this would translate to more exclusive gendering of healers and more exclusively gendered-labor in general.

This connection between healer gender and circumstantial labor was tested using chi-square tests of independence. Multiple aspects of the division of labor were tested to see if either exclusive labor or circumstantial labor played a role in gender access to healing roles. Ultimately, it was shown that the distribution of circumstantial labor between men and women, as well as the distribution of exclusive and circumstantial labor for women, was related to the gender-distribution of healing roles.

Gender itself was assumed through the performance of labor roles and could be altered simply by performing different types of labor and assuming differing presentations. This places understandings of gender, of “man-ness” and “woman-ness”, to be expressions of role-based identities. The gender identity of “man” was assumed and presented through the performance of “male-exclusive” labor. The gender identity of “woman” was assumed and presented through the performance of “female-exclusive” labor. Circumstantial labor, then, presented avenues of shareable labor-identity potential for either men or women. The greater percentage of circumstantial labor afforded a gender, the greater opportunity that gender had in assuming exclusively-gendered labor. As previously exclusive labor shifted into circumstantially available labor, the gender identity of “man” and “woman” would likewise shift to accommodate.

As healer roles themselves had equivalent potential to be either exclusive-labor or circumstantial-labor, the overall level of circumstantial labor within a culture then functioned to determine whether or not healer roles were equally circumstantially negotiable. If multiple types of labor-identities were shared, this allowed for the labor of healer to be just another shareable identity. Which gender had initial claim to the

exclusivity of healing labor may have depended on geographical location or conceptions of how healing labor was obtained and performed.

Therefore a potential influencing factor in access to healing was how healers obtained, maintained, and expressed their power. In the northwestern region, healer power was generally due to the healer being capable of having ‘pains’ within the body. Within central and southern California, healer power was accessible through a connection with supernatural beings known as dream helpers. If discrepancies in acquisition and expression of healer power determined initial exclusivity or circumstantiality of healer roles, then two groups which share similar conceptions of healing should share similar gender access to healing. This is countered by the differing gender-access to healing between the Yokuts and Mono. Both cultures shared similar methods of acquiring power and the processes involved in actual curing methods. Such similarities in healing and power acquisition could be due to geographical proximity, but the fact that the two groups have different gender-access to healing indicates that even when conceptions about healing methodologies are shared, it did not lead to similar gender access. As such, this bolsters the claim that the division of labor, particularly circumstantial labor, played a greater role in determining who had access to roles of power.

While there is no doubt that gender functioned as a categorical and structuring aspect of California hunter-gatherer society within the study area during the 1800s, the ways of gender and importance of “gender as proscription” was less meaningful. Gender, as a determining factor for access to power, appears to have been less of a concern. Instead, identity itself was tied to action and expression, rather than immutable, non-transformable characteristics. If gender was tied to such identity markers, it was not in

such a binary conception, and not necessarily rooted in understood biologically-based qualities. Gender was embodied through labor and was not an identity characteristic in and of itself. Rather, it was the labor being performed that functioned as the backbone for identity. In regards to access to healing roles, if labor was identity, so too was the role of healer. This resulted in individuals being able to achieve the role of healer so long as there was a certain distribution of shared labor-identity characteristics between both men and women. Overall this positions Miller's association of bifurcated circumstantial labor and Kopytoff's theory concerning lack of immanent roles as appropriate measures for determining access to certain roles of power for either gender in California hunter gatherer groups.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. HUNTING LABOR<sup>9</sup>

Northeast Subregion							
Culture	Trapping, Snaring	Communal Drives	Individual Hunting	Small Game Hunting	Large Game Hunting	Sea Mammal Hunting	Meat Cut Up on Spot, Packed Home
Achomawi	M	M	M	M	M		M
Atsugewi	M	M	M	M	M		M
Paiute - North	B	B	M	B	M		

<sup>9</sup> Labor is coded as follows: M = Labor Exclusive to Men, F = Labor Exclusive to Women, MC = Circumstantial Labor for Men, FC = Circumstantial Labor for Women, B = Both Men and Women Perform the Labor Equally

North Coast Subregion

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Trapping, Snaring</b>	<b>Communal Drives</b>	<b>Individual Hunting</b>	<b>Small Game Hunting</b>	<b>Large Game Hunting</b>	<b>Sea Mammal Hunting</b>	<b>Meat Cut Up on Spot, Packed Home</b>
Kato	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Yuki	M	M	M	M	M		M
Pomo	M	M	M	M	M	M	M

**Northwest Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Trapping, Snaring</b>	<b>Communal Drives</b>	<b>Individual Hunting</b>	<b>Small Game Hunting</b>	<b>Large Game Hunting</b>	<b>Sea Mammal Hunting</b>	<b>Meat Cut Up on Spot, Packed Home</b>
Tolowa	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Yurok	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Karok	M	M	M	M	M		M
Hupa	M	M	M	M	M		M
Mattole	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Shasta	M	M	M	M	M		M
Sinkyone	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Wailaki	M	M	M	FC	M		F

**Sacramento Valley Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Trapping, Snaring</b>	<b>Communal Drives</b>	<b>Individual Hunting</b>	<b>Small Game Hunting</b>	<b>Large Game Hunting</b>	<b>Sea Mammal Hunting</b>	<b>Meat Cut Up on Spot, Packed Home</b>
Wintu	M	FC	M	M	M		M
Nisenan	M	M	M	M	M		M
Washo	M	M	M	M	M		
Maidu	M	M	M	FC	M		M
Yana	M	M	M				M

**San Joaquin Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Trapping, Snaring</b>	<b>Communal Drives</b>	<b>Individual Hunting</b>	<b>Small Game Hunting</b>	<b>Large Game Hunting</b>	<b>Sea Mammal Hunting</b>	<b>Meat Cut Up on Spot, Packed Home</b>
Miwok	M	M	M	M	M		
Yokuts	M	M	M	M	M		
Paiute – South	M	B	M	M	M		
Mono	M	M	M	M	M		
Tubatulabal	M	FC	M	M	M		

<b>Southern Coast/Interior Subregion</b>							
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Trapping, Snaring</b>	<b>Communal Drives</b>	<b>Individual Hunting</b>	<b>Small Game Hunting</b>	<b>Large Game Hunting</b>	<b>Sea Mammal Hunting</b>	<b>Meat Cut Up on Spot, Packed Home</b>
Tipai (South Diegueno)	M	M	M	M	M		
Serrano	M	M	M	M	M		
Cahuilla	M	M	M	M	M		

APPENDIX B. FISHING LABOR<sup>10</sup>

Northeast Subregion							
Culture	Group Fishing	Individual Fishing	Spear Fishing	Net Fishing	Catch Fish with Baskets	Poison Fish	Hook and Line Fishing
Achomawi	B	M	M	M	F	F	M
Atsugewi	B	M	M	M	F		
Paiute - North		FC	M	M	F		

<sup>10</sup> Labor is coded as follows: M = Labor Exclusive to Men, F = Labor Exclusive to Women, MC = Circumstantial Labor for Men, FC = Circumstantial Labor for Women, B = Both Men and Women Perform the Labor Equally

**North Coast Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Group Fishing</b>	<b>Individual Fishing</b>	<b>Spear Fishing</b>	<b>Net Fishing</b>	<b>Catch Fish with Baskets</b>	<b>Poison Fish</b>	<b>Hook and Line Fishing</b>
Kato	B		M	M			
Yuki	B		M	FC		B	
Pomo	B	M	M	M	M	M	

**Northwest Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Group Fishing</b>	<b>Individual Fishing</b>	<b>Spear Fishing</b>	<b>Net Fishing</b>	<b>Catch Fish with Baskets</b>	<b>Poison Fish</b>	<b>Hook and Line Fishing</b>
Tolowa	FC		M	M			
Yurok	B		M	M			
Karok	M	M	M	M		M	
Hupa	FC		M	B			M
Mattole	B		M	M	M		M
Shasta	B	M	M	M	F		
Sinkyone	B		M	M			M
Wailaki	B		M	M		B	

**Sacramento Valley Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Group Fishing</b>	<b>Individual Fishing</b>	<b>Spear Fishing</b>	<b>Net Fishing</b>	<b>Catch Fish with Baskets</b>	<b>Poison Fish</b>	<b>Hook and Line Fishing</b>
Wintu	B		M	M	F		
Nisenan	B		M	M		M	
Washo	FC						
Maidu	B	M	M	M	F		
Yana			M	M			M

**San Joaquin Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Group Fishing</b>	<b>Individual Fishing</b>	<b>Spear Fishing</b>	<b>Net Fishing</b>	<b>Catch Fish with Baskets</b>	<b>Poison Fish</b>	<b>Hook and Line Fishing</b>
Miwok	B		M	M	M	M	M
Yokuts	M	M	M	M	M	M	
Paiute – South	B	M	M	M	M	M	M
Mono	FC		M	M	B	M	
Tubatulabal	B		M	M	M	M	M

Southern Interior Subregion								
Culture	Group Fishing	Individual Fishing	Spear Fishing	Net Fishing	Catch Fish with Baskets	Poison Fish	Hook and Line Fishing	Total Labor
Tipai (Southern Diegueno)	Fishing of Little Importance <sup>11</sup>							
Serrano	Fishing of Little Importance <sup>11</sup>							
Cahuilla	Fishing of Little Importance <sup>11</sup>							

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<sup>11</sup> Fishing did not contribute very much to the overall subsistence practices and there is a lack of information on gendered fishing techniques (Willoughby 1963:24)

APPENDIX C. GATHERING LABOR<sup>12</sup>

Northeast Subregion										
Culture	Gather Staple: Acorns	Gather Staple: Pine Nuts	Shake Nuts Out/ Knock Nuts Down From Trees	Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.	Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs	Catch Grass-hoppers	Gather Basket Material	Collect Wood	Obtain Water	Transport Food
Achomawi	F	B	B	MC	B	B		B	B	B
Atsugewi	F	F	M	F	B			B	F	MC
Paiute - North	F	F	M	F	MC			F	F	MC

<sup>12</sup> Labor is coded as follows: M = Labor Exclusive to Men, F = Labor Exclusive to Women, MC = Circumstantial Labor for Men, FC = Circumstantial Labor for Women, B = Both Men and Women Perform the Labor Equally

**North Coast Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Acorns</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Shake Nuts Out/ Knock Nuts Down From Trees</b>	<b>Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.</b>	<b>Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs</b>	<b>Catch Grass-hoppers</b>	<b>Gather Basket Material</b>	<b>Collect Wood</b>	<b>Obtain Water</b>	<b>Transport Food</b>
Kato	B	B	M					FC	MC	
Yuki	B	FC	M	MC	B	B		B	B	B
Pomo	B	B	M	MC	B			M	MC	F

**Northwest Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Acorns</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Shake Nuts Out/ Knock Nuts Down From Trees</b>	<b>Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.</b>	<b>Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs</b>	<b>Catch Grass-hoppers</b>	<b>Gather Basket Material</b>	<b>Collect Wood</b>	<b>Obtain Water</b>	<b>Transport Food</b>
Tolowa	MC	MC	B	MC				F	F	F
Yurok	B	B	M				MC	B		MC
Karok	B	B	M	B			MC	MC		MC
Hupa	MC	B	M	F			F	MC	F	B
Mattole	MC	MC	M	F						
Shasta	F	F	M	F	F			B	F	F
Sinkyone	B	B	M	F		B	F			
Wailaki	F		M	MC		B			M	

**Sacramento Valley Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Acorns</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Shake Nuts Out/ Knock Nuts Down From Trees</b>	<b>Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.</b>	<b>Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs</b>	<b>Catch Grass-hoppers</b>	<b>Gather Basket Material</b>	<b>Collect Wood</b>	<b>Obtain Water</b>	<b>Transport Food</b>
Wintu	F	MC	M	F	FC			B	F	F
Nisenan	F	MC	M	MC	FC	M		MC	B	MC
Washo	B	B	FC	F	MC	F		M	M	B
Maidu	F	MC	M	F	B	B		FC	MC	MC
Yana	F	F	M	F				M	F	

**San Joaquin Valley Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Acorns</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Shake Nuts Out/ Knock Nuts Down From Trees</b>	<b>Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.</b>	<b>Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs</b>	<b>Catch Grass-hoppers</b>	<b>Gather Basket Material</b>	<b>Collect Wood</b>	<b>Obtain Water</b>	<b>Transport Food</b>
Miwok	MC	F	M	MC	MC	B		B		
Yokuts	F	F	FC	MC	F		B	FC		
Paiute - South	B	MC	B	F	MC		MC	MC	MC	B
Mono	F	F	M	MC	F			M		
Tubatulabal	F	B	M	F				MC	B	

**Southern Interior Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Acorns</b>	<b>Gather Staple: Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Shake Nuts Out/ Knock Nuts Down From Trees</b>	<b>Gather Seeds, Berries, Roots, etc.</b>	<b>Catch Insects, Larva, Grubs</b>	<b>Catch Grass- hoppers</b>	<b>Gather Basket Material</b>	<b>Collect Wood</b>	<b>Obtain Water</b>	<b>Transport Food</b>
Tipai  (Southern Diegueno)	F		M	MC					F	
Serrano	F	F	M	F						
Cahuilla	F	F	M	F					F	

APPENDIX D. FOOD PREPARATION LABOR<sup>13</sup>

Northeast Subregion						
Culture	Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts	Process and/or Prepare Acorns	Prepare Non-Nut Vegetable Dishes/General Cooking	Butcher Meat	Cook Meat	Prepare Fish Dishes
Achomawi	MC	F	F	M		
Atsugewi	M	F	F	M	M	
Paiute - North		MC	F		F	F

<sup>13</sup> Labor is coded as follows: M = Labor Exclusive to Men, F = Labor Exclusive to Women, MC = Circumstantial Labor for Men, FC = Circumstantial Labor for Women, B = Both Men and Women Perform the Labor Equally

**North Coast Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Acorns</b>	<b>Prepare Non-Nut Vegetable Dishes/General Cooking</b>	<b>Butcher Meat</b>	<b>Cook Meat</b>	<b>Prepare Fish Dishes</b>
Kato		F		M	M	M
Yuki		F	F		FC	B
Pomo		F	F	M	F	F

**Northwest Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Acorns</b>	<b>Prepare Non-Nut Vegetable Dishes/General Cooking</b>	<b>Butcher Meat</b>	<b>Cook Meat</b>	<b>Prepare Fish Dishes</b>
Tolowa	F	F	B	B	B	MC
Yurok		F		M		F
Karok	F	F	F	M	F	B
Hupa	F	MC	F	F	F	F
Mattole	F	F	F	M	FC	F
Shasta	F	F	F	M	F	F
Sinkyone		F		M	M	F
Wailaki		F	F	B	M	M

**Sacramento Valley Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Acorns</b>	<b>Prepare Non-Nut Vegetable Dishes/General Cooking</b>	<b>Butcher Meat</b>	<b>Cook Meat</b>	<b>Prepare Fish Dishes</b>
Wintu	F	B	F	M	B	M
Nisenan	MC	F	F	M	FC	
Washo	F	F	F			
Maidu	MC	F	F	F	MC	F
Yana		F	MC			M

**San Joaquin Valley Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Acorns</b>	<b>Prepare Non-Nut Vegetable Dishes/General Cooking</b>	<b>Butcher Meat</b>	<b>Cook Meat</b>	<b>Prepare Fish Dishes</b>
Miwok	F	F	F			F
Yokuts		F	MC	F	M	
Paiute - South	B	F	F	B	F	
Mono		MC	MC			
Tubatulabal	B	MC	F			

**Southern Interior Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Pine Nuts</b>	<b>Process and/or Prepare Acorns</b>	<b>Prepare Non-Nut Vegetable Dishes/General Cooking</b>	<b>Butcher Meat</b>	<b>Cook Meat</b>	<b>Prepare Fish Dishes</b>
Tipai (Southern Diegueno)		MC	F		F	
Serrano	F	F	F	M	F	F
Cahuilla		F	F	F	F	F

APPENDIX E. MANUFACTURING LABOR<sup>14</sup>

Northeast Subregion (Part 1)									
Culture	Make Baskets	Make Fish Baskets	Make Mats	Make Nets	Make Cordages	Make Cradles	Make Traps, Snares, Weirs	Make Bows and Arrows	Make Fire
Achomawi	F	M	F	M	FC	F	B	M	M
Atsugewi	F		F	M	FC	F	M	M	M
Paiute - North	F			M	B	F	M	M	B

<sup>14</sup> Labor is coded as follows: M = Labor Exclusive to Men, F = Labor Exclusive to Women, MC = Circumstantial Labor for Men, FC = Circumstantial Labor for Women, B = Both Men and Women Perform the Labor Equally

**Northeast Subregion (Part 2)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Canoes/Tule Balsas</b>	<b>Construct Sweat House or Dance House</b>	<b>Construct Permanent House</b>	<b>Construct Summer House</b>	<b>Make Skin Blankets</b>	<b>Make Rabbitskin Blankets</b>	<b>Make General Clothing</b>	<b>Make Moccasins</b>	<b>Skin Dressing</b>
Achomawi	M		M	B	FC	B	FC	M	FC
Atsugewi			M	M	M		M	M	M
Paiute - North			B			B	B	B	MC

**North Coast Subregion (Part 1)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Baskets</b>	<b>Make Fish Baskets</b>	<b>Make Mats</b>	<b>Make Nets</b>	<b>Make Cordages</b>	<b>Make Cradles</b>	<b>Make Traps, Snares, Weirs</b>	<b>Make Bows and Arrows</b>	<b>Make Fire</b>
Kato	MC				M	B	M		
Yuki	F	M		M	M	FC	B	M	
Pomo	MC	M		M	FC	B	M	M	

**North Coast Subregion (Part 2)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Canoes/Tule Balsas</b>	<b>Construct Sweat House or Dance House</b>	<b>Construct Permanent House</b>	<b>Construct Summer House</b>	<b>Make Skin Blankets</b>	<b>Make Rabbitskin Blankets</b>	<b>Make General Clothing</b>	<b>Make Moccasins</b>	<b>Skin Dressing</b>
Kato			M			FC	M		M
Yuki		M	M	M				B	M
Pomo	M	M	M		M	M	M	M	M

**Northwest Subregion (Part 1)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Baskets</b>	<b>Make Fish Baskets</b>	<b>Make Mats</b>	<b>Make Nets</b>	<b>Make Cordages</b>	<b>Make Cradles</b>	<b>Make Traps, Snares, Weirs</b>	<b>Make Bows and Arrows</b>	<b>Make Fire</b>
Tolowa	F	M	F	M	B	B	M	M	
Yurok	F				B	F		M	
Karok	F			M	B	F	M	M	M
Hupa	F			M	B	F	M	M	M
Mattole	F	M	B	M	B		M	M	
Shasta	F			M	B	B	M	M	M
Sinkyone	MC	M		M	M	M	FC	M	
Wailaki	F			B	M	F	M	M	F

**Northwest Subregion (Part 2)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Canoes/Tule Balsas</b>	<b>Construct Sweat House or Dance House</b>	<b>Construct Permanent House</b>	<b>Construct Summer House</b>	<b>Make Skin Blankets</b>	<b>Make Rabbitskin Blankets</b>	<b>Make General Clothing</b>	<b>Make Moccasins</b>	<b>Skin Dressing</b>
Tolowa	M		B				F	M	B
Yurok			M				MC	M	
Karok			M				F	B	
Hupa					M		B	M	M
Mattole	M					F	B	M	B
Shasta	M	M	B	FC			MC	MC	B
Sinkyone	M					B	B	B	B
Wailaki		B	M				M		

**Sacramento Valley Subregion (Part 1)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Baskets</b>	<b>Make Fish Baskets</b>	<b>Make Mats</b>	<b>Make Nets</b>	<b>Make Cordages</b>	<b>Make Cradles</b>	<b>Make Traps, Snares, Weirs</b>	<b>Make Bows and Arrows</b>	<b>Make Fire</b>
Wintu	F		F	M	FC	F	M	M	M
Nisenan	F		F	M	FC	F		M	FC
Washo	F	M	F	M	M	F			
Maidu	F		F	FC	FC	F	FC	M	M
Yana	MC						M		M

**Sacramento Valley Subregion (Part 2)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Canoes/Tule Balsas</b>	<b>Construct Sweat House or Dance House</b>	<b>Construct Permanent House</b>	<b>Construct Summer House</b>	<b>Make Skin Blankets</b>	<b>Make Rabbitskin Blankets</b>	<b>Make General Clothing</b>	<b>Make Moccasins</b>	<b>Skin Dressing</b>
Wintu			FC	M			FC	M	M
Nisenan		M	M	FC	B	B	B	M	M
Washo	M		B		M	B	M	FC	M
Maidu	M	M	M	FC	FC	M	B	M	MC
Yana							B		FC

**San Joaquin Valley Subregion (Part 1)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Baskets</b>	<b>Make Fish Baskets</b>	<b>Make Mats</b>	<b>Make Nets</b>	<b>Make Cordages</b>	<b>Make Cradles</b>	<b>Make Traps, Snares, Weirs</b>	<b>Make Bows and Arrows</b>	<b>Make Fire</b>
Miwok	MC				FC			M	
Yokuts	F	F	F	B	FC	F	M	M	
Paiute - South	F		F	M	FC	F	M	M	
Mono	F			FC	FC	B			
Tubatulabal	F		M	M	FC				M

**San Joaquin Valley Subregion (Part 2)**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Make Canoes/Tule Balsas</b>	<b>Construct Sweat House or Dance House</b>	<b>Construct Permanent House</b>	<b>Construct Summer House</b>	<b>Make Skin Blankets</b>	<b>Make Rabbitskin Blankets</b>	<b>Make General Clothing</b>	<b>Make Moccasins</b>	<b>Skin Dressing</b>
Miwok		B	M			B	M	M	M
Yokuts	M	FC	B	B	B	FC	B	FC	FC
Paiute - South	M		FC			FC	B	M	FC
Mono	M	B	B			FC		M	M
Tubatulabal			B			FC	F	M	FC

Southern Interior Subregion (Part 1)									
Culture	Make Baskets	Make Fish Baskets	Make Mats	Make Nets	Make Cordages	Make Cradles	Make Traps, Snares, Weirs	Make Bows and Arrows	Make Fire
Tipai (Southern Diegueno)	MC			FC	FC	FC		M	
Serrano	F			M	FC	M		M	
Cahuilla	F			M	FC	B		M	

Southern Interior Subregion (Part 2)									
Culture	Make Canoes/Tule Balsas	Construct Sweat House or Dance House	Construct Permanent House	Construct Summer House	Make Skin Blankets	Make Rabbitskin Blankets	Make General Clothing	Make Moccasins	Skin Dressing
Tipai (Southern Diegueno)			B			FC		B	M
Serrano	M					F	M	M	M
Cahuilla			M			FC			M

APPENDIX F: TOTAL COUNT OF LABOR<sup>15</sup>

Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: Northeast Subregion				
Culture	Subregion	Healer Gender	Number of Roles By Gender	Sources
Achomawi	Northeast	Mostly Men	M: 18 F: 8 MC: 2 FC: 4 B: 11	Dixon 1908 Stewart 1941 Voegelin 1942 Willoughby 1963
Atsugewi	Northeast	Mostly Men	M: 23 F: 10 MC: 1 FC: 1 B: 3	Dixon 1908 Garth 1976 Voegelin 1942 Willoughby 1963
Paiute – North	Northeast	Both Men and Women Equally	M: 8 F: 11 MC: 4 FC: 1 B: 9	Kelly 1932 Stewart 1941 Willoughby 1963

<sup>15</sup> M = Labor Exclusive to Men, F = Labor Exclusive to Women, MC = Circumstantial Labor for Men, FC = Circumstantial Labor for Women, B = Both Men and Women Perform the Labor Equally

<b>Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: North Coast Subregion</b>				
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Subregion</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>	<b>Number of Roles By Gender</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Pomo	North Coast	Both Men and Women Equally	M: 27 F: 5 MC: 3 FC: 1 B: 5	Essene 1942 Freeland 1923 Gifford 1926a Gifford and Kroeber 1937 Holmes 1902 Kniffen 1939 Kroeber 1909, 1976 Loeb 1926, 1932 Purdy 1903 Willoughby 1963
Kato	North Coast	Mostly Men	M: 18 F: 1 MC: 2 FC: 2 B: 4	Driver 1939 Essene 1942 Loeb 1932 Willoughby 1963
Yuki	North Coast	Mostly Men	M: 16 F: 3 MC: 1 FC: 4 B: 11	Essene 1942 Foster 1944 Kroeber 1976 Loeb 1932 Willoughby 1963

<b>Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: Northwest Subregion</b>				
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Subregion</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>	<b>Number of Roles By Gender</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Tolowa	Northwest	Mostly Women	M: 15 F: 8 MC: 4 FC: 1 B: 8	Driver 1939 Drucker 1937b DuBois 1932 Gould 1966 Willoughby 1963
Yurok	Northwest	Mostly Women	M: 14 F: 4 MC: 3 FC: 0 B: 5	Driver 1939 Kroeber 1976 O'Neale 1932 Willoughby 1963
Karok	Northwest	Mostly Women	M: 18 F: 7 MC: 3 FC: 0 B: 6	Driver 1939 Harrington 1929 O'Neale 1932 Willoughby 1963
Hupa	Northwest	Mostly Women	M: 16 F: 10 MC: 3 FC: 1 B: 5	Driver 1939 Fry 1904 Goddard 1903 Willoughby 1963
Mattole	Northwest	Mostly Women	M: 19 F: 7 MC: 2 FC: 1 B: 5	Driver 1939 Nomland 1938 Willoughby 1963

<b>Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: Northwest Subregion (table continued from previous page)</b>				
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Subregion</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>	<b>Number of Roles By Gender</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Shasta	Northwest	Mostly Women	M: 17 F: 13 MC: 2 FC: 1 B: 6	Dixon 1907 Holt 1946 Mason 1899 Voegelin 1942 Willoughby 1963
Sinkyone	Northwest	Mostly Men	M: 19 F: 4 MC: 1 FC: 1 B: 8	Driver 1939 Nomland 1935 Willoughby 1963
Wailaki	Northwest	Mostly Men	M: 15 F: 7 MC: 1 FC: 1 B: 6	Loeb 1932 Willoughby 1963 Young and Murphey 1941

**Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: Sacramento Valley Subregion**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Subregion</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>	<b>Number of Roles By Gender</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Wintu	Sacramento Valley	Both Men and Women Equally	M: 17 F: 10 MC: 1 FC: 5 B: 4	DuBois 1935 Voegelin 1942 Willoughby 1963
Nisenan	Sacramento Valley	Both Men and Women Equally	M: 18 F: 6 MC: 5 FC: 5 B: 5	Beals 1933 Faye 1923 Kroeber 1929 Voegelin 1942 Willoughby 1963
Washo	Sacramento Valley	Both Men and Women Equally	M: 14 F: 8 MC: 1 FC: 3 B: 5	Barrett 1917 Lowie 1939 Stewart 1941 Willoughby 1963
Maidu	Sacramento Valley	Mostly Men	M: 16 F: 10 MC: 6 FC: 7 B: 4	Dixon 1905 Loeb 1933 Voegelin 1942 Willoughby 1963
Yana	Sacramento Valley	Mostly Men	M: 12 F: 5 MC: 2 FC: 1 B: 1	Redding 1881 Sapir and Spier 1943 Willoughby 1963

<b>Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: San Joaquin Valley Subregion</b>				
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Subregion</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>	<b>Number of Roles By Gender</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Miwok	San Joaquin Valley	Mostly Men	M: 16 F: 5 MC: 4 FC: 1 B: 5	Aginsky 1943 Barrett and Gifford 1933 Clark 1904 Essig 1934 Gifford and Kroeber 1937 Loeb 1932 Willoughby 1963
Paiute – South	San Joaquin Valley	Mostly Men	M: 15 F: 7 MC: 5 FC: 4 B: 8	Driver 1937 Forde 1949 Steward 1933, 1938 Willoughby 1963
Yokuts	San Joaquin Valley	Mostly Men	M: 15 F: 9 MC: 2 FC: 7 B: 6	Aginsky 1943 Dorsey 1903 Driver 1937 Gayton 1948a, 1948b Kroeber 1976 Redding 1881 Willoughby 1963
Tubatulabal	San Joaquin Valley	Men Only	M: 14 F: 5 MC: 2 FC: 4 B: 5	Driver 1937 Redding 1881 Voegelin 1938 Willoughby 1963
Mono	San Joaquin Valley	Men Only	M: 13 F: 4 MC: 3 FC: 4 B: 4	Aginsky 1943 Dorsey 1903 Driver 1937 Essig 1934 Gayton 1948a Gifford 1932 Redding 1881 Willoughby 1963

<b>Gender and Role Exclusivity/Circumstantiality: Southern Interior Subregion</b>				
<b>Culture</b>	<b>Subregion</b>	<b>Healer Gender</b>	<b>Number of Roles By Gender</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Tipai (South Diegueno)	Southern Interior	Mostly Men	M: 8 F: 4 MC: 3 FC: 4 B: 2	Drucker 1937a, 1941 Spier 1923 Waterman 1910 Willoughby 1963
Serrano	Southern Interior	Men Only	M: 14 F: 10 MC: 0 FC: 1 B: 0	Benedict 1924 Drucker 1937a Harrington 1942 Willoughby 1963
Cahuilla	Southern Interior	Men Only	M: 10 F: 10 MC: 0 FC: 2 B: 1	Barrows 1900 Drucker 1937a, 1941 Hooper 1920 Willoughby 1963

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