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GENDER ROLES IN TRADITIONAL POTTERY PRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the world, traditional pottery production is shaped by the gender roles of each culture. In many cultures, women play a dominant role in the production of pottery; in other cultures, men and women work side by side to produce, fire, and decorate traditional pottery. The intersection of gender and craft production helps us to understand how roles change with modernization and other societal changes. This paper will use several case studies from across the globe to explore the role of indigenous men and women in pottery production, including the circumstances under which their roles change or stay consistent.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In different societies across the globe, the gender roles within pottery production are quite varied; in many cultures, the women are the primary pottery producers, but in other groups, including the Newar of Nepal, the men play the dominant role in the craft. The goal of this thesis is to explore gender roles within traditional pottery production, particularly under what circumstances these roles change.

In the summer of 2014, I had the opportunity to travel to Nepal to conduct research for the Matson Museum of Anthropology at The Pennsylvania State University. I chose to study the pottery of Bhaktapur, a small city located in the Kathmandu Valley. The city of Bhaktapur is considered to be one of the Kathmandu Valley's cultural centers and is home to approximately 100,000 people, most of whom are of the Newar ethnic group. Today, there are about one hundred potter families within Bhaktapur.

During my time in Bhaktapur, I spent time with the Prajapati family, one of the many potting families of the city. The family consisted of a mother, father, daughter, and two sons. Newar pottery production is completed mainly in family units and relies on members of the family to complete different tasks in the production process. Within this family, the mother and father actively participate in the craft as their primary livelihood. On the days that I was observing, the father worked at the wheel, while the mother crafted very small elephants completely by hand.

After spending three days observing pottery production and interviewing a family of potters, I found myself wondering more about how the traditional Newar form of pottery production has changed over time. In particular, I was interested in how gender roles, which are quite rigid in this tradition, have changed. In addition, I was interested in how economic changes and development in particular have impacted the roles that men and women play in this family enterprise. These interests and research questions have become the basis of my thesis project, which centers around gender roles within traditional pottery production.

In particular, this paper will look at how increasing contact between “traditional” societies and outside forces influences the craft of pottery and, particularly, how it influences the gender roles within its production. The aim of this project has been to understand under what circumstances we see gender roles changing. Are women or men getting more involved, or do they continue to share the role of pottery production? I believe that this will have something to do with the nature of traditional social organization, the profitability of the craft, the structure of the economy, and new opportunities before and after contact with outside groups.

In order to illustrate my arguments, I present three distinct case studies, in addition to my own observations from Nepal. The three groups that I have chosen to study are living in very diverse parts of the world, both ethnographically and geographically, which will allow me to explore their unique circumstances. I have chosen case studies that illustrate a variety of pottery production structures. The groups discussed in these case studies also vary in the amount of contact they have had with outside groups. In addition to their variability, I have chosen these three case studies based on the depth of information and literature available on the topic.

Through this paper, I hope to increase our understanding of gender roles within traditional pottery production by examining the contexts under which they change and stay the

same. I will show that it is crucial to have a detailed base of knowledge of cultures, especially the distribution of tasks among genders and ideologies about gender, in order to understand the path of change. I will also show that increasing contact with outside groups, in particular, has a strong influence on the gender roles, by introducing new opportunities, new ideals, and new markets to a community or group of people.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The impact of changing economic and social conditions on gender roles in pottery production has recently been investigated in depth by Moira Vincentelli in her book, *Women Potters: Transforming Traditions*. In this book, Vincentelli provides an overview of traditional pottery production across the globe and identifies historic patterns and trends within pottery production. While a wide variety of sources from different disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, and economics, will be used in this thesis, Vincentelli's book has proved to be a guiding force for my arguments and for this project as a whole.

In her introduction, Vincentelli begins with a history of pottery and women's roles within its production process. In particular, Vincentelli provides an overview of why women may have become involved in pottery production in the first place. Noting that gender is an important aspect of specialization in every society, Vincentelli argues that women are more likely to become involved in activities that do not interfere with childrearing, which, in most traditional societies, is their primary responsibility. These activities can include food preparation, crop growing, textile production, and pottery manufacture, in which women produce pots primarily for their households' use or for the use of the local community (Vincentelli 2003: 12-13).

According to Vincentelli, one factor that impacts gender roles in pottery production is the status of the craft, especially in a social sense. Potters very rarely enjoy a high status within their

own society, but this is generally the case for both men and women. In many parts of the world, pottery is seen as dirty and polluting. In India, for example, the potters belong to the lowest caste. In sub-Saharan Africa, potters are thought to have dangerous knowledge and certain magical powers. These traits, along with the polluting bonfires and kilns that are used to fire their pots, have created a separation between the potters and the rest of the community. Across the globe today, the status of this craft is generally becoming lower and lower, as new opportunities and professions with high incomes are becoming more popular for younger generations (Vincentelli 2003: 14-15).

Despite the generally low status of the craft, Vincentelli addresses the question of whether women are actually able to gain status through their roles as potters. She identifies several possible advantages to producing pottery, including the advantage of income, a higher status in the marriage pool (such as in 19th-century Denmark), personal satisfaction, increased contact with outside groups that provides expanded marketing opportunities, and possible roles as a priestess or leader in secret societies (such as in Nigeria). If a woman is very skilled, for example, she would have the ability to market her crafts at a higher price and demonstrate her craft and skills abroad. After reviewing these possible advantages (although it is important to note that these are not all possible in every given situation), it is clear that Vincentelli believes that women can indeed gain some status through their craft (Vincentelli 2003: 15).

One variable that has affected many potting communities is the use of the wheel. In many (but not all) places across the globe, women have not used the potter's wheel in their production methods; instead, they tend to use the techniques of coiling or handbuilding. In general, the use of the wheel has been associated with men, as exemplified by the potters of Latvia. Traditionally, these potters were women. Since the breakup of the USSR, new

technology has spread, including the use of the spoked wheel. As in many other communities, the spread of the wheel was associated with a change in gender roles, with men becoming the primary potters. Although women's traditions of pottery production have been maintained in some Latvian communities, there is no evidence for the use of the wheel for throwing by women. During her research, Vincentelli learned that, in general, it was quite difficult to persuade women to abandon their traditional handbuilding techniques in order to pursue the wheel, most likely because, for a woman to begin throwing pots, she would need to reject both a class and a gender code of normative behavior (Vincentelli 2003: 13-14; 24-25).

The issues discussed above are the main patterns and trends that are identified by and addressed in Vincentelli's book. The book then delves into numerous instances of pottery production by region. These geographical regions and groups include Europe, Africa, Asia, Oceania, Native Americans, Caribbean and African-Americans, Mexico and Central America, and South America. These case studies provide more specific materials that serve to strengthen the overarching patterns that Vincentelli identifies. While the trends that are described by Vincentelli cannot possibly extend to every single group of potters across the globe, they provide a general overview of gender roles within traditional pottery production.

Despite the wealth of information that we currently have on this subject, there are some aspects of gender roles within traditional pottery production that are not emphasized as much as they should be. Increased contact with outside groups and foreigners is underemphasized as an influence on the organization of pottery production. Vincentelli does discuss the impact of tourism and global markets, showing that it stimulates diversification and encourages women to direct their work to galleries and dealers. In addition, she argues that, in order to appeal to new markets, potters are often encouraged to use new techniques and materials, such as applying

resin to pottery after firing in order to simulate a glaze (Vincentelli 2003: 203-205). While these are important aspects of pottery production to understand, the influence on gender roles themselves has been under exaggerated in the literature. For example, when Vincentelli discusses the Pueblo Indians, she describes the history of contact with outside peoples, but she fails to fully address how this contact influences the gender roles within pottery production. She also does not make any substantial comments about external contact and overall change in gender roles. Through my case studies, I have seen that tourism and contact with outside peoples and markets can be associated with shifts in the gender roles within pottery production.

Vincentelli also often fails to emphasize how other aspects of a group's social organization, including their traditional gender roles in a broader sense, impacts the gender roles within pottery production. For example, she does not often discuss what males and females are doing if they are not producing pottery. In other words, she often fails to present how the economic and social contexts influence the arrangement of gender roles in pottery production, both before and after contact. Throughout the course of this paper, I will add to what Vincentelli has provided, while especially emphasizing the role of contact with outsiders in particular.

Chapter 3

Pueblo Indians

Although the Pueblo Indians have been in contact with Europeans since the 1500s, their culture and traditions have largely been maintained over time. It was only in the late 1800s that their world was changed in a major way, when the transcontinental railroad brought thousands of tourists and researchers into relatively constant contact with the Pueblo tribes. When choosing case studies for this project, I knew that the Pueblos would be an excellent addition because of the relatively recent changes in the gender roles of pottery production. While I was very interested in the culture and pottery of the Pueblos, I also understood that we have a longer chronological understanding of what is going on in the Pueblo tribes, due to our long history of contact from the Spanish until the present day. In addition, the Pueblo tribes occupy a geographically small area and are fairly culturally coherent, which has given researchers a better understanding of their history and culture.

The Pueblo Indians are Native American peoples who live in the American Southwest, more specifically in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico. They reside in compact, permanent villages or pueblos, where they practice intensive agriculture, produce arts and crafts, and maintain “a comprehensive ceremonial system and world view” (Eggan 1979: 224). They are united in that they have all been living within the same geographic region for a similar amount of time, and they share many aspects of their culture, including the importance of both nuclear and extended families, complex clan and society networks, a generally matrilineal social structure (although this does vary to some degree), and similar architectural styles. It is

important to keep in mind that, despite these similarities, each individual pueblo and tribe has established and developed its own discrete identity, culture, economy, and social system. Within the overarching Pueblo society, there are interwoven tribes and clans, each with their own unique aspects of identity, including their own unique languages (Malinowski, Sheets, and Schmittroth 1999: 523-542; Eggan 1979: 224-226; “History and Culture:” par. 2-9; Kramer 1996: 77).

While this chapter looks at the overarching pottery production process and its gender roles, there are several pueblos that will be discussed on an individual basis. San Juan Pueblo is one of the northernmost pueblos, located north of Santa Fe, and is a Tewa-speaking village. San Ildefonso is located due south of San Juan Pueblo, and is especially well known for its pottery, due largely to the fact that Maria Martinez, one of the most famous potters, was from this pueblo. Santa Clara is located between San Ildefonso and San Juan Pueblo along the Rio Grande. Because all of these pueblos are located relatively close together geographically, they have developed many of the same traits and characteristics over time. One final Pueblo tribe that will be discussed in this chapter is Hopi, which is located in northeastern Arizona. Nampeyo, a famous potter who will be discussed later in the chapter, was considered a Tewa-speaking Hopi potter (Eggan 1979: 224; “About The Pueblos:” par. 5).

Traditionally, Pueblo subsistence centered around agriculture, especially the cultivation of corn, beans, and squash. The Spanish introduced sheep, cattle, and new crops to the Pueblo tribes in the 1600s, which continued to play an important role in the Pueblo economy through the 20th century. Most Pueblo tribes and households maintained an organization with each gender playing distinct roles. Men were focused mainly on hunting, farming, and herding, while women’s roles were centered primarily around the home, where they made baskets and pottery,

tended small gardens, and cared for children (Malinowski, Sheets, and Schmittroth 1999: 523-542; Kramer 1996, 11).

A large portion of Pueblo communities' kinship is matrilineal in nature, although the father's clan does still play a significant role in these communities. This matrilineal kinship system relates back to the traditional division of labor and gender roles, as the kinship organization puts women at the core of the domestic sphere, the household ("Pueblo Indians": par. 5; Parsons 1932: 377; "Gender:" par. 4; Hawley 1937: 514-517).

The first recorded contact with Europeans occurred in the mid-1500s, when the Spanish tried to impose colonial rule over the Pueblo Indians. This began with the expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in 1540-1542. Despite the influence that the Spanish had on these tribes, such as domesticated animals and the introduction of Christianity, most elements of their culture remained relatively intact and these tribes still remained quite isolated, especially after 1680 Pueblo Revolt disrupted Spanish control over the area. Early in the 19th century, Mexican and American traders began to penetrate the area, followed by the establishments of forts in the middle of the century. In the late-1800s, the transcontinental railroad was built, bringing an increasing number of tourists and settlers into contact with the Pueblo Indians (Eggan 1979: 224; Chapman 1970: 3-5).

Archaeologists have inferred that women have been producing pottery in the Pueblo tradition for centuries. Although it is difficult to be certain of historic gender roles, it is generally understood that, by at least the time of contact with Europeans, women were the primary, if not exclusive, producers of pottery. Although women have played the primary role in pottery production, men have assisted in the production process. Men have, for example,

consistently played a role in mixing the clay. Most of the female potters prefer to have the men assist with this task because it is difficult and tiring work (LeFree 1975: 17).

In her book, Vincentelli leaves out important information in regards to women's historic role as the primary producers of pottery in the Pueblo culture. I suggest that, like many other cultures and societies, Pueblo women took on a traditional domestic role, and, because pottery and ceramic products were made and used primarily in the household, women were responsible for pottery production. Distinctions in sex can be seen in many aspects of Pueblo society, including occupations, ceremonial life, dress, and kinship patterns. Even through the 21st century, these traditional gender roles are still in place to a large extent. Pueblo women are generally found in the sphere of the home and all of the activities that are centered around it. For example, even when women are involved in ceremonial life, their roles are often domestic in nature, such as making masks or providing food, among other responsibilities. In addition, pottery production is well suited to women in these roles because production can be interrupted for childcare, meal preparation, and other activities (Parsons 1997: 377; Kramer 1996, 11; Murdock and Provost 1973: 215)

Men's roles, on the other hand, are focused on the outside or public life, making them less ideal candidates for pottery production. Their roles could include hunting, farming, herding, or other activities that took them away from the home. Men dominate tribal religion, constitute the tribal council, and make laws. Following these lines of responsibility and gender division, it is easy to understand why women, whose roles were centered around the home, would have taken on the role of pottery production. The traditional gender roles and division of labor within Pueblo communities contributed to the establishment and continuation of women as the primary

pottery producers (Peterson 1997: 15; Kramer 1996, 11; Murdock and Provost 1973: 215; Parsons 1997: 377).

It is also important to note that, in the Pueblo tradition, clay itself is associated strongly with females. Clay is sometimes known as Mother Earth or Clay Mother, a female deity who is highly respected, especially by potters. There are also many metaphors in the Pueblo tradition of pots as children, who are brought into the world by women. This symbolic role of women, children, and clay illustrates the importance of women (Vincentelli 2000: 21-22; Vincentelli 2003:106). The importance placed on mythological associations by the Pueblos could be another factor associated with the traditional association of women with pottery.

Although many aspects of traditional Pueblo life continue until today, the Pueblo Indians have been impacted by new methods of transportation, increasing contact with peoples outside of their own culture, and new lifestyles. The transcontinental railroad was built during the late-19th century, creating a new market for Pueblo Indians to sell their crafts. Although Vincentelli does not address this topic to a large extent, the role of the railroad's installation cannot be underemphasized in understanding Pueblo pottery production at the turn of the century. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway reached Santa Fe in February of 1880, and the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad came within a few months later. It is also important to note in this context that the Pueblo region suffered a serious drought between 1870 and 1880, which severely limited the agricultural economy of Pueblo communities (Naranjo 1996: 194).

The arrival of the railroad provided a new opportunity for economic profit. Instead of creating pottery for primarily domestic consumption, an increasing number of women began to produce new types of pottery for commercial purposes, in addition to pottery for domestic consumption. For example, at Santa Clara, typical items for sale included ashtrays,

candleholders, and cigarette boxes. These items show the shift in types of items produced, from the traditional water jugs and domestic ceramic ware, to the tourist pottery types. In addition to the new types of pottery, tourists were also intrigued by the traditional Pueblo style of pottery, and they began purchasing them as souvenirs and collecting them (Naranjo 1996: 194).

Contributing to the success of the tourist industry was an advertising program created by the Santa Fe Railway devoted to the heritage of America. Starting in 1907, the company created an annual calendar, depicting, among other things, the Indian culture of the Southwest and its artists, in particular. Around the same time, the Harvey Company began to construct hotels along the railroad, including one about fifteen miles from the Grand Canyon. In conjunction with this particular hotel (although there were many along the railroad), the company hired Hopi workmen to construct a characteristic Hopi building, for the purpose of displaying and selling traditional Hopi crafts, as well as for demonstrating their skills in weaving, pottery-making, basketry, and other crafts. This building, titled “Hopi House,” created greater demand and more appreciation for the Pueblo artists (Kramer 1996: 87-89).

Another contributing factor to the commercial potters’ success was the Arts and Crafts Movement of the early 1900s, which encouraged educated Americans to view handmade crafts as treasured, beautiful objects that require skill and talent. This movement created an even greater demand for all types of handmade crafts, including Pueblo pottery. The demand from educated Americans was not necessarily for the tourist products, but for historic styles of Pueblo pottery, leading many Pueblo potters to try to reproduce and recreate historic types of Pueblo pottery. (Naranjo 1996: 193; Vincentelli 2003: 109; Kramer 1996: 29-31, 44).

In addition to the new market, the creation of the railroad brought new people into contact with Pueblo Indians. With the influx of settlers and tourists, ‘western’ values and ideas

were introduced to this previously very traditional group of people. For example, Naranjo (1996: 195) states that “the American interpretation of Pueblo culture carried with it the need for individual potters and other artists to be recognized.” This idea was likely a contributing factor in Pueblo potters beginning to sign their work, which began with artists such as Nampeyo and Maria Martinez in the early 1900s.

Along with the influx of tourists that came to the region, beginning in the 1880s, a vast number of photographers, missionaries, artists, and anthropologists came to study, photograph, convert, paint, and observe the Pueblo people and record their customs, as well as to excavate prehistoric Pueblo sites. Museums and federal agencies, including the Bureau of American Ethnology, sent excavators to the area to collect for their institutions. The researchers who came to Pueblo communities certainly influenced their pottery traditions, as many of the local workers at these sites discovered prehistoric pottery that they then tried to reproduce in style of their pottery. Several artists emerged out of these archaeology projects, including Maria and Julian Martinez, who will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. This prehistoric pottery inspired Maria to make her fine pottery. In addition, Julian Martinez, the husband of Maria Martinez, was intrigued by the designs of the pot sherds and attempted to recreate them through his painting. (Jacobs 1995: 181; Vincentelli 2003: 107).

One potter who witnessed the impact of the railroad was Nampeyo, who was one of the first Pueblo women to be recognized individually for her work. Nampeyo was born around 1860 (the exact date is unknown) in the Tewa village of Hano. From a very young age, Nampeyo learned the process of producing pottery from her mother, and eventually married Lesso, who was from the Hopi village of Walpi. At this time, Nampeyo would have been about twenty years old (Kramer 1996, 6-143).

Nampeyo was particularly well-known for her ability to recreate the prehistoric Sikyatki style of pottery. Sikyatki, an abandoned village site on the base of the First Mesa (about three miles from Hano) was first excavated in the 1890s by a team led by Jesse Walter Fewkes. Nampeyo and her husband collected and copied designs from the ancient Pueblo potsherds and experimented over and over in attempts to reproduce this style of pottery. While Llesso is often given credit for assisting in the process, some scholars have suggested that Llesso's role in producing pottery has been exaggerated. Kramer (1996: 54-76) writes that he was a farmer, who probably did not have the time nor the skill to create such refined pottery. She also notes that Llesso was never photographed assisting Nampeyo with her pottery.

Nonetheless, Nampeyo began selling her pots on a rug in front of her home. Eventually she personally sold them at Hopi House, and during the very early 1900s, she was sold her pieces at several trading posts along the railroad. The couple, especially Nampeyo, began to be recognized on a national scale. In fact, they were taken to demonstrate pottery making at the Chicago Railroad Exposition in 1898 and 1910. She became blind later in her life, but continued to produce pottery with the help of her husband, daughters, and other local potters (Kramer 1996, 6-143). In addition to passing on her craft to later generations of her own family, Nampeyo played a major role in the revitalization of pottery production in the Hopi tradition.

During the later parts of Nampeyo's life, anthropologist Sue-Ellen Jacobs conducted ethnographic research at another pueblo, San Juan Pueblo, during two periods in the 20th century. During the 20th century, the Pueblo tribes experienced great shifts in the economy, gender division, craft productions, and other areas of life. The first period of Jacob's research was from 1900 to 1940. Life at this point, including the economic and social systems, was still very much centered around the pueblo, and life was very traditional in regards to Pueblo culture. Several of

Jacobs's informants, including a woman identified as RCB, recounted making pottery among other domestic responsibilities: "The men's would go to the fields every day. We ladies would cook our food, take care of our houses, and make a little pottery to sell to the tourists" (Jacobs 1995: 183). RCB also notes that this pottery was used for storage and for cooking. Most families required some cash income to meet all of their needs, as they were being swept further and further into the cash economy as contact with tourists and other outsiders increased. Cash was most consistently obtained by working off of the reservation. These off-reservation jobs were primarily non-skilled jobs with low wages, usually involving manual labor. Despite this shift in labor, girls in school were still taught "domestic arts," showing that the traditional gender roles were still in place to a large degree (Jacobs 1995: 183-192).

During the time of Jacob's first ethnographic field work, a potter by the name of Maria Martinez (1887-1980) came to the forefront of Pueblo pottery. Maria was a potter from San Ildefonso Pueblo who worked with her husband, sons, and daughter-in-law to produce pottery. Maria and Julian were married in 1904 and spent their honeymoon demonstrating their craft and Pueblo culture at the St. Louis World Fair. They became world famous for their beautiful pieces of art, and in particular for developing a new shiny, black-on-black technique, developed around 1919 (Bataille and Lisa 2001: 199; Vincentelli 2003: 111-112).

Like Nampeyo, Maria and Julian were inspired by the prehistoric pottery unearthed at archaeological sites, including the excavations on the Pajarito Plateau, where Julian worked beginning in 1907. Intrigued by the designs on the prehistoric pottery and wall ruins, Maria and Julian worked to reproduce and recreate the styles in their own pottery. As a pair, Maria generally worked on forming and shaping the pots, while Julian decorated them. With their success and the success of the generations that learned from them, their village, San Ildefonso,

became famous and fairly prosperous. Despite the fact that Maria and Julian worked together on most pieces, it is important to note that of the two, Maria became much more famous for her work. Individually, she was invited to the White House on four occasions, won numerous awards, and became a symbol of the Pueblo culture. (Bataille and Lisa 2001: 199; Vincentelli 2003: 111-112).

It is interesting to consider why, of these two couples, the women (Maria Martinez and Nampeyo) became much more famous, despite the fact that when many Westerners look at a piece of pottery, they are most likely to notice the decorations first, rather than the shape of the piece. Part of the answer to this question, in the case of Maria and Julian Martinez, comes from the fact that Julian died relatively early, while Maria continued to produce pottery and teach her craft to younger generations. It is also important to keep in mind that, although tourism and commercial crafts were becoming more and more viable, agriculture was still the main form of subsistence for most families. That being said, men would be quite busy during most of the year through their role in agriculture, leaving less time for crafts such as pottery-making. For example, pottery firing was only possible during the warmer months, which was the same time that the majority of agricultural labor took place.

I also suggest that women became more famous because of the matriarchal society in which they worked. They were the ones focused on the craft, they were the ones who taught new generations, and their craft thrived in the matriarchal context of the Pueblo social system. In addition, I suggest that, because women were the traditional potters of Pueblo communities, researchers and archaeologists focused mainly on the women. Women like Maria and Nampeyo, therefore, received more attention in writing and in the media for their work, while men, who were at this point just beginning to delve into the craft, were left in the background.

Between Jacob's two research periods, LeFree conducted ethnographic research on pottery production in the pueblo of Santa Clara, which is located on the west bank of the Rio Grande. In 1968, Lefree concluded that more than sixty women were involved in pottery making in Santa Clara, and there were several men and some children who also took part in the craft on a regular basis. Thirteen girls and two boys (ages eight to nineteen) worked on pottery production and learned the craft by watching their mothers and through experimentation. There were at least four men who worked as full time potters, meaning that they were not otherwise employed outside of the pueblo. In addition to these four men, several other men were involved in the production of pottery through assisting their wives in decorating the pieces (LeFree 1975: 5-6).

When Jacobs returned to San Juan to complete more research from 1972-1982, much had changed within this Pueblo community. While some wages were needed to maintain a comfortable lifestyle during the earlier period, most families now relied on wages for meeting most of their needs, including food, housing, clothing, transportation, and recreation. As a result, many households had several employed adults. Some households relied on income from selling artwork, including pottery. Many community members have attributed this shift in reliance on wages to the World War II era, when women needed to increase their wage labor to support the household while men were drafted or enlisted into the military. After the men returned home, they had a difficult time finding employment that was compatible with their skills, causing many families to leave the pueblos for urban areas. The majority of these families ended up returning to the community, and they likely brought back new ideals after living among non-Pueblo people (Jacobs 1995: 192-203).

Changes in technology also altered the way of life. For example, new regulations caused changes in the way that homes were built, and new educational systems brought more

opportunities to the pueblos. By the later part of this period, more women than men were employed on a regular, full-time basis in areas such as clerical work, teaching, household domestics, and clerks. That being said, the hourly wages of women tended to be less than those of men. In addition, by this time, both men and women were engaged in pottery production, as well as other craft production, showing that the gender roles (in which women were the primary pottery and craft producers) were beginning to change. In 1982, Jacob's informant, RCB, reported that she was still making pottery, but not as much as she used to, reflecting the overarching shifts affecting the pueblo as a whole (Jacobs 1995: 192-203).

Clearly, the Pueblo communities underwent some major changes over the course of the 20th century. The changing economic climate surrounding the communities impacted gender roles within traditional pottery production. When Pueblo communities as a whole began to decline economically, pottery and other crafts became viable options for generating income. The railroad and its travelers brought new goods that were attractive to Pueblo communities and families, creating a desire for new products and more money. Making money became an important part of maintaining the wellbeing of the family unit, as these groups were swept into the cash economy that began to surround them. As a result, pottery production became more attractive to those looking to make money. On the other hand, the search for income caused many to step outside of their traditional gender roles. Many women, therefore, made less pottery over time, trading this craft for wage labor and other activities (Vincentelli 2003: 107).

It is important to note that the gender roles within pottery production themselves shifted during the 20th century. Through the end of the 19th century, women were still the primary (if not sole) pottery producers within the Pueblo communities, while men were primarily concerned with farming, hunting, and herding (Kramer, 1996: 11). Once the railroad was introduced and

more outsiders mixed with Pueblo community members, men had more incentive to produce pottery because they could use it as a source of income. As the economic returns increased, men became more involved in the craft. While many women get credit for their beautiful works of pottery, there were several famous (albeit slightly less famous) men during this time period, who were often recognized in particular for their decorating abilities. The Pueblo Indian potters are somewhat unique from other potting communities, in that men became involved in the production of pottery through decoration of the pieces, rather than through the shaping of pottery itself. The husband of Maria Martinez, for example, was well known for his decorating skills. While the women became more famous for their work among the general public, most scholars recognize them and their husbands as a pair, as they often worked together on the same pieces. In the last fifty years or so, an increasing number of men have become potters, not just decorators, and have excelled in experimenting with new techniques and styles (Vincentelli 2003: 110; Vincentelli 2008: par. 17). As more opportunities arose and new values were introduced, the gender roles of pottery production in Pueblo communities shifted to include more men in pottery-making.

Despite the changes in markets and economies for the Pueblo Indians, many aspects of life remain very traditional in these communities. Kinship and ritual, for example, continue to play a fundamental role in many aspects of life, and they also have some substantial impacts on pottery production and its gender roles, including the recognition of women's connection with clay. Still today, many of the important and famous families of potters are headed by a female, despite the fact that an increasing number of men are working as pottery producers. While traditional gender divisions and the role of women in the household created a space for women to be the primary producers of pottery, increasing contact with those outside of the Pueblo

community, in particular, created new opportunities for men to become more involved in pottery production.

Chapter 4

Berbers

The Berbers of North Africa first peaked my interest because of their isolation from outsiders. After reading about their isolation, I found myself wondering about how this affected the production of Berber pottery, and I was especially curious to discover how their gender roles have changed or remained constant in the face of their lesser contact with the outside world. Because their culture has remained relatively traditional, even as they are increasingly coming into contact with other groups, I expected the gender roles in pottery production to remain constant as well. I knew that the Berbers would be a great case study in this project because they are so unique compared to many other pottery producing communities across the globe.

The Berbers, or Amazigh, are an ethnic group living in scattered communities across North Africa, including the countries of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Mali, Niger, and Mauretania. Traditionally, their economy consisted primarily of subsistence farming and pastoralism, while crafts such as pottery, leatherwork, and metalwork were often produced and exchanged on a local basis. The primary means of subsistence for the Berbers, cultivation, can be seen historically through abandoned grain silos, carbonized cereal grains, irrigated gardens, and the use of terraces in the archaeological record, showing that the Berber economy has been the same for a very long time (Brett 2016: par. 6-11; Lawless 1972, 114, 117; Vinogradov 1974: 42).

The basic unit of this tribal group is the nuclear, usually patrilineal family. The household is the central economic unit, as well as the central focus of production, reproduction, and consumption within the village. In addition, within the household, the power and authority is based on gender and age, with men having more power than women and older family members more than younger ones. Historically, the Berber population has been noted for its extreme individualism, in that they rely on their own population for most needs, as well as for its relative isolation from outside influences. As a result of these characteristics, many aspects of this society, including its social organization, customs, and material culture, have remained unchanged for a long time (Brett 2016: par. 6-11; Lawless 1972, 114, 117; Vinogradov 1974: 42; Crawford 2008: 67).

Berber social organization places a strong emphasis on the supremacy of men over women. This supremacy is reflected in the Berber code of honor and in Berber mythology, which depicts women as falling “from their original status as mothers of the world to that of evil witches” (Yacine 2001: 103). Within this traditional society, women are relatively voiceless, and, as sociologist Tassadit Yacine describes in her writing, they are not even the owners of their own thoughts. The honor code established in Berber society defines the spaces in which women can and cannot occupy. Because of this stringent dominance order, women are constantly looking for spaces in which they can occupy without breaking the historical code of honor (Yacine 2001: 103). Pottery appears to be one of these spaces in which they can function somewhat independently from men within Berber social organization.

The social organization of the Berbers has encouraged and dictated a division of roles and tasks for men and women (Yacine 2001: 112). This division exists even within the realm of craft production and can be associated with the fact that Berber men have control over the finances.

Men have been the main producers of jewelry, for example, at least in part because it requires a significant financial outlay. The primary female crafts include blanket-weaving and pottery production. These crafts are especially suited for women in the male-dominated Berber tradition because they do not require much financial outlay. Until the 1950s, pottery was made in all villages by most women, who used the pieces for primarily household, or at least local, consumption. The pottery was made within homes or in communal areas outside of the home, rather than in specialized studios. By the late 1980s, only certain villages were producing traditional pottery, and it had become a specialist craft activity, meaning that only a handful of specialists were producing pottery. This decline is in part due to the increasing availability of household goods, including purchased goods made of plastic and metal. In addition, by this time, the pottery was being produced on a semi-commercial basis, meaning that it was being sold on a lesser scale (Vincentelli 1989: 125).

The decorations that are found on the pottery of Berber women are especially important in understanding the Berber concept of identity, which is another aspect of Berber culture that revolves around male dominance and kinship. Each Berber village has its own decorative tradition within the broader Berber and North African tradition, so it is relatively easy to identify the village of origin of a piece of pottery or of a weaving pattern. Traditionally, once a young girl married, she would move to the village of her husband's family and adopt the decorative style and techniques of that village, showing loyalty to her new patrilineal family and their traditions (Vincentelli 1989: 126). This decorative tradition reflects the male dominated Berber society and its impact on identity and loyalty within Berber traditions.

Despite the fact that many pottery designs are dictated by the husband's tradition, the women are still able to choose symbols and designs to some extent. I suggest that Berber

women's ability to decorate pottery, to some extent in the way that they choose, gives them a voice in a world where they have very little voice. Symbolism and identity are very closely related in the Berber tradition. The symbolism of female fertility, for example, is an extremely important part of their individual status as a woman. Becker (2014:2) points out that "the forms, colors, and designs of Berber women's arts are public identity symbols that are clearly linked to concepts of contained and controlled female fertility." Through this quote, it is clear that art, including pottery, gives women a chance to share their own symbols. Arts are an important way for women to express differences between groups, as well as create a sense of belonging to specific groups (Becker 2014: 2-4; Barley 1994: 128).

Many Berber designs and shapes have significance to the women who create and use them. For example, oil lamps have been used throughout Berber history, but they are now no longer necessary after the advent of electricity. Instead, these oil lamps have become decorative and have been interpreted as a symbol of light within the home. In decorating these lamps and other pieces of pottery, Berber women have the ability to extend the significance they place on certain items and symbols onto physical materials. For example, popular designs for Berber pottery include motifs meant to protect from the "evil eye," as well as designs that would bring well-being to the household. The idea of symbolic designs can also be extended to the craft of weaving: "In this practice of weaving, the women literally were engaged in the production of an ideological sign" (Hoffman 2008: 135). Through these examples, it is easy to see that pottery has created a space in which women can have a voice (Hoffman 2008: 134-135; Vincentelli 1989: 131-132; Vincentelli 2000: 56).

Historically, Berber ceramics had the tendency to be used in domestic contexts for the Berber way of life and did not necessarily appeal to Western aesthetics, so they did not draw

much attention from the Western world. For this reason, among others, Berber pottery has not been produced for tourist purposes on a large scale. Handbuilding and coiling techniques are most often used by Berber women, especially due to the minimal facilities available for pottery production. With the introduction and increasing availability of new goods made of plastic and metals, and running water (although this has still not reached most of the Berber population), Vincentelli suggests that the primary purpose of Berber ceramics within the household may now be decorative, as the functional use of the pottery has largely been replaced by other materials (Vincentelli 1989: 124-127).

While the culture of the Berbers has remained relatively traditional, economic and political pressures, as well as new opportunities, within the last century have instigated changes within this group of people. I suggest that, like many other traditional pottery-producing societies, changes in Berber ceramics and the gender roles in pottery production have been largely impacted by the increasing amount of contact with the outside world. A desire for employment has pressured many Berbers to emigrate from the mountains into large cities, where they create new, permanent Berber communities within the urban areas. With this in mind, an increasing portion of the Berber population is relying on wage labor and labor in urban areas, rather than the traditional economy of agriculture and pastoralism (Vincentelli 1989: 129).

Moreover, many Berber individuals have had the experience of living outside of the country, where they develop new tastes, such as the use of new materials, that they did not have prior to increasing contact with the outside world. With this shift, modern materials and popular culture have 'invaded' the traditional communities. For example, with this increasing contact with the outside world, the use of pottery, still largely produced by women, has decreased with increasing consumption of cheaper materials. It is also interesting to note the differences in

decoration that occur depending on the potter's education and contact with the outside world.

According to ethnographic research conducted in 1955, villages with more contact with outside groups and with more education had the tendency to make more elaborate decorations than those who were more isolated from outside forces (Vincentelli 1989: 129). This study shows that contact with outsiders has had an impact on the production of Berber pottery.

Another change that has occurred can be seen in the marketing of pottery. In the 1950s, it was noted that, as a woman, selling pots for cash was a sign of poverty, making this practice dishonorable. Not only could a woman not sell pots for cash, she could not even make them for commercial purposes, without her being considered dishonorable. The only women who could acceptably sell pottery for cash were widows, as they were the primary breadwinners for their families and had no choice. Even earlier in the century, in 1918, Van Gennep noted that only the poor and the widowed made pottery to trade with others, not for cash, but for bartered goods. These records show that when pottery was produced for any type of commercial purposes, it was seen as a low status activity (Vincentelli 1989: 133). In addition, it is important to remember that Berber women were traditionally relegated to the home at all times, which Daphne Spain identifies as a way for men to keep female competition out of the public sphere. The ideology of men being in the public sphere and women in the private sphere serves to explain why it was not acceptable for women to conduct commercial ventures in terms of selling their pottery (Vincentelli 2003:45; Spain 1992: 41-43; "The World in Objects:" par. 3).

This viewpoint shifted, though, with increasing attention to the craft from tourists. As tourism in the region increased and there was more interest in Berber traditions, women began creating pottery that would sell on a more commercial basis, especially by the late 20th century. They had to change some aspects of their designs and production techniques in order to make

their pottery more marketable to Westerners. For example, the Western aesthetic tends to prefer certain qualities in ceramics, including high-fired wares, shiny glazed surfaces, fine textures, and finely painted decorations. While these Berber potters have not entirely changed their style of pottery, they have made adjustments in order to better conform to Western tastes (Vincentelli 2003: 45; Vincentelli 1989: 124). While I have not been able to find much information on the 21st century ability and acceptability of women to sell pottery on a commercial basis in the literature, I expect that, as tourists, researchers, and Western ideologies continue to permeate Berber society, it will become more and more acceptable for women to sell their wares without it being seen as a low status activity, as it had been previously.

In addition, the political situation and the late 20th century Arabization policies of many of the states which the Berbers call home have often repressed their traditional culture itself, as well as knowledge about their traditional culture. Many of the Arabization policies, which are meant to promote a national identity and to assimilate outside groups like the Berbers, grew in part out of the feeling that these states were threatened by outside groups. For example, in Morocco, the French used the Berbers to dethrone the sultan in 1953, and in 1971-1972, there were several attempted assassinations of the king by Berber officials. Arabization has often been state-sponsored and came along with the nationalist movement, promoting Arab ideals, culture, language, and religion. These relatively new governments often frowned upon the Berbers for their separate identity, as it could compromise the state's national unity and security. As an example of Arabization policies, in both Morocco and Algeria, Berber studies were forbidden (Adam 1972: 325-326; Brett 2016: par. 10-11; Vincentelli 1989: 127-129; Hoffman 2008: 24-25). Although many aspects of Arabization are state-sponsored, this has also resulted from self-integration and self-assimilation, especially in regards to intermarriage and movement into urban

areas. The Arabization policies, along with assimilation, have indeed pulled Berbers farther away from their separate identity and into the more modern world.

While the impact of Arabization on gender roles may not be explicitly stated in the literature yet, it is sure to cause change within the gender roles, including within the realm of pottery production. I suggest that the continued assimilation of Berber tribes into the Arab populations will contribute to a continuation of gender roles that are already present in pottery production. Arab culture, similar to that of the Berbers, and the Islamic religion tend to view men as dominant over women. As the Berbers are assimilated into this similar gender stratification, I expect that the overarching gender roles, as well as those in pottery production, will continue to exist. That being said, the needs of a cash economy could counter this, making it difficult to predict how this will play out (Moghadam 2003:6)

Since the late 20th century when these state-sponsored repressions of culture occurred, there has been a growing demand for the recognition and revival of Berber culture. The Berber language is now studied and has been recognized as a national language, and many people are beginning to see the importance of the Berbers within the tourist industry, as their crafts play an important role in trade and tourism. In addition, cultural associations have flourished since the late 1900s. While several do exist in urban regions, most of these youth-dominated associations have been established in the rural areas of Berber residence. These associations' basic goal is to promote the Berber culture and languages, by offering language classes and work to collect proverbs, folklore, medicinal remedies, and other aspects of traditional Berber culture (Vincentelli 1989: 126; Brett 2016: par. 10-11; Goodman 2005: 166-167). Berber crafts, including weaving and pottery, among others, have been "a major factor in preserving cultural

identity, acting as a marker of difference, a sign of resistance between them and the dominant cultural group” (Vincentelli 1989: 126).

I have reviewed many of the shifts that have influenced the Berbers and their pottery production, but it is important to note that these changes are relatively recent, especially when compared to the changes that have affected other traditional potting communities. The Berbers’ culture and organization still remains relatively traditional, and though their contact with the outside world is increasing, it is still minimal.

In general, Berber pottery production has maintained its gender structure to a large extent, with men still not being involved in the production of pottery. I suggest that this is due to the minimal contact with the outside world. My hypothesis is that, as the Berbers continue to come into greater amounts of contact with outsiders, the gender roles will shift. The market has the potential to become more profitable, and new technologies will be introduced that will make pottery production easier and more viable as an economic pursuit. If these changes are to occur, my guess is that men would become more involved in pottery production as an economic venture, unless it is not profitable compared to other sources of income. That being said, as more and more Berbers move into urban areas to pursue new economic opportunities, Berber pottery production may decline and possibly disappear. On the other hand, while the world surrounding Berber communities continues to modernize, there is an increasing amount of internal pressure for the Berbers to maintain their traditional culture; it will be interesting to see in which direction the Berber population moves in the coming decades.

Chapter 5

India

When I first chose to research the gender roles in traditional pottery production across the globe, I knew that India would be a necessary part of my research. The research I did in Nepal connected very well with pottery production in India. Because of their similar social and economic structures, I was interested to learn about similarities in pottery production between Nepal and India. I was also intrigued by the possible diversity across the Indian subcontinent. India has been the subject of considerable research, which has provided me with a plethora of information on social organization, economy, religion, and, of course, on the production of pottery. In addition, I knew that because of the huge geographic area that the country covers, I would find a great deal of variation within the production of pottery. For all of these reasons, I chose to include a case study on the Indian subcontinent's gender roles within pottery production.

The country of India today is incredibly vast and diverse in terms of its people, economy, and geography. The traditional Indian way of life is greatly affected by the Hindu caste system, as well as by Hinduism in general, which affects gender roles, social stratification, and the division of labor, among other aspects of Indian society. In addition, patriarchal domination is evident within the Indian social system, placing the value of men above that of women in most realms of life.

Because India is such a large geographic area to cover, this chapter will look at examples within the country that show both continuity and variation within an overarching social and economic context. While much of this information is relevant to the majority of Indian potting communities, the specific communities I will discuss include Vara, the state of Manipur, Chunar, and the state of Gujarat. Vara is located in western India, north of Mumbai. Manipur is a state in the far east of India, located on the border of Myanmar. The ancient town of Chunar is located in northeastern part of India, in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Gujarat is India's westernmost state, located on the coast, and shares part of its northern border with Pakistan. Exploring these communities will indicate the great variation that is evident within India while also showing the overarching social, economic, and religious systems that impact Indian culture and society.

In India, pottery is primarily produced by men. These men often work within a family enterprise, in which women play a smaller role in the production process. Household industries in India are the predominant type of industry, especially in rural areas. In this type of industry, there is a recognized division of labor within the family (Kalpagam 1994: 69, 78; Lynch 1979: 5-8).

Like other types of household industries, modern pottery production is organized at the nuclear or extended family level. Due to the sheer magnitude and diversity of the Indian subcontinent, a lot of variation does exist within the realm of pottery production. For example, in most parts of the country, the idea of women throwing pots is strictly taboo. In some parts, it is also taboo for women to beat the pots in one of the final stages of production, while in some areas, it is acceptable for women to complete this task. In Kerala, located in southwestern India, women carry out the role of turning the wheel for the men while they shape the pots. It is important to note that, like other types of household enterprises, the characteristic division of

labor is evident in pottery production. While a great deal of diversity exists in the gender roles of pottery production, there are some aspects of the production process in which women generally do assist, including collecting and preparing clay, handbuilding, and coiling (Kalpagam 1994: 78-81; Kramer 1991: 207; Kramer 1997: 49-52; Sinopoli 1988: 590).

Arguably the most important role that women play in the production process is in decorating the pottery. If a woman did not grow up in a potting family where they would have learned this skill, she learns from her mother-in-law. Although decoration is an important part of a piece of pottery, it is not highly valued within the family enterprise. Within the context of India, the work does not usually hold much personal meaning or significance to the decorator herself, nor does it give much significance to the women's work (Vincentelli 2003: 75).

Although men are the primary pottery producers in India, there are some parts of the country in which women play the dominant role in production. In the town of Vara, located in western India, north of Mumbai, women work seasonally to produce domestic wares and pots for consumption in the home and local community. In Vara, as in many other parts of India, the economic status and sustainability of the craft has declined, and, as a result, most men have pursued other professions, including agriculture, industry, and other trades, leaving women to take over as the primary potter. Although women are now the ones who build and shape the pots, men are still responsible for firing them (Vincentelli 2003: 77).

The town of Manipur, in the far northeast of India, also has a tradition of female pottery production. In Manipur, rather than only certain families being involved in pottery production, all women make pottery. Like most female potters in most Indian communities, they do not use the wheel, instead using handbuilding and coiling methods to create their pots. Just north of Manipur in the town of Naga, there is a strict taboo against men making cooking pots. Men here,

however, can make clay pipe-bowls, so they are not entirely excluded from pottery production (Vincentelli 2003: 75-77).

While Vincentelli provides an outstanding summary of pottery production in India, she once again leaves out important information on why these gender roles exist in the first place. One of the important factors to consider in understanding gender roles within Indian pottery production is the Hindu religion and myths that permeate Indian society. Hinduism is the basis for the caste system that is deeply embedded in the Indian social system, and it also has major effects on pottery production. Hindu myth outlines the importance of the potters' wheel, for example, and is the basis for the hierarchy that is evident even among potters in the same community: "Many myths present the potters' tool as the gift of a higher god. Of all the tools, the wheel has pride of place, which, better than any simple technical evolutionist theory, accounts for the fundamental distinction and hierarchical discrimination between potters who use the wheel and those who do not" (Mahias 2002: 174). I suggest that, because of the mystical significance of the wheel and the general dominance placed on the male within Indian social organization, only men are allowed to use the wheel.

Hindu myths, including the one discussed above, vary between regions and castes in their content and details, yet a hierarchy of potters emerges as a common theme. In most of these myths, Vishnu and Shiva each give supplies to humans to make the wheel and to produce pottery. While these materials are provided, the type of wheel and other tools that are provided by the gods differ. Some of the potters are provided with a stick from the gods with which to turn the wheel, while others must do it with their bare hands. The potters who are not given the sticks are seen as inferior, as the work they must do is far more difficult. The idea that the gods

provide materials but not the same type of wheel for each potter emphasizes the hierarchy and stratification within potting communities (Mahias 2002: 174-175).

In addition, the potter's wheel is very closely associated with the gods. Some potters, for example, worship the potters' wheel as a representation of the gods of Krishna or Prajapati (Mahias 2002: 174-175). As previously mentioned, there is a strict taboo in India against women using the wheel to produce pottery. In general, women are instead involved in the production process mainly in decorating and handbuilding ceramic pieces. I suggest that the importance placed on the wheel, especially in the context of Hinduism, is associated with the idea that men are the dominant potters in India. Because of the importance of myth, religion, and caste, men could have taken over this very symbolic role as the dominant potter, using the highly symbolic wheel as their primary tool. The symbolism and importance of Hinduism is still very prevalent in India today, even as the country becomes more modernized. I suggest that, because of the continuation of religion, the gender roles in pottery production have also continued into modern days.

The roles that men and women play within pottery production reflect the gender hierarchy that is evident in much of Indian society. The idea of patriarchal domination monopolizes the Indian social system, with men being viewed and recognized as the protector of and provider for the family. Due to this overwhelming male dominance, in most cases, the man will assign tasks within the household, usually after considering the housework that needs to be done by the women. In addition, women's labor power is not generally considered to be as important as that of men within the greater Indian society. As a result, women are often assigned to work that requires less skill, lowering the likelihood that they will acquire skills that can be used outside of the home. While the work that women do within the pottery enterprise, such as

decorating and handbuilding, requires quite a bit of skill, it requires arguably less skill and training than the wheel work performed by men, which requires more training and education from family members. In addition, working at the wheel and forming and shaping the pots, can be considered the more “important” work within the enterprise (Kalpagam 1994: 80). As a result, I suggest that the men have taken on this role as the dominant role within the production process, whereas women’s tasks are not considered as important. This would have provided a continuation in the overarching gender hierarchy, by keeping the men as the dominant producers in the more highly elevated position. The association between gender hierarchy and the pottery production process reflects the overarching theme of male dominance within the Indian social system.

In addition, the pottery production process reflects the overarching differences in genders and the roles that each gender plays. A government report from India in 1975 states that “what is important is that tasks assigned to men are considered more prestigious in most communities and regions” (ICSSR, 1975, p. 29, as quoted in Vincentelli 2003: 75). In addition, examples such as the town of Naga, where men cannot make cooking pots but can make clay pipe-bowls (both for domestic consumption and for sale), shows the tendency of men and women to create separate and specific objects that have gendered associations themselves. In Indian society where women are found mainly in the domestic realm, the idea that women make the cooking pots makes sense (Vincentelli 2003: 75-77).

The caste system impacts arguably every aspect of life in India, including pottery production and usage. For example, one reason that demand for pottery is so high in India is due to ideas of contamination, which is related to caste and purity. Many cooking pots can only be used once as they are easily contaminated due to their porous material, and therefore must be

replaced constantly. Since India's independence in 1947, India has been undergoing many changes, including in the realm of caste. Most ethnographers agree that the caste system is not disappearing, but it does appear to be changing. It is generally clear that the caste structure as a whole is weakening, but the castes, such as the potters' caste, appear to be remaining quite strong. Maloney observes that caste solidarity appears to be stronger than ever (Maloney 1974: 461-463; Vincentelli 2003: 75-77).

Even if it is slowly weakening, the caste system in India is, still today, taken very seriously. In some potting communities, there is a great deal of competition and even secrecy to the techniques and methods that they use to produce pottery. Mahias (2002) discusses the secrecy between sub-clans, which extends to restrictions on circulating tools, knowledge, skills and techniques. In a community in Gujarat, a state on the western coast of India, for example, skilled potters are extremely protective of their skills and knowledge to the point where they will not even share their techniques with those related to them, with the exception of their sons. This is where gender comes in, more specifically. In Chunar (northeastern India) and Gujarat, among other regions, potters do not even share their skills with their daughters, who could potentially marry into another clan or sub-clan (Mahias 2002: 168-169). I suggest that this type of restriction on knowledge impacts gender roles, particularly the secondary role of women in pottery production. It is impossible, or at least extremely challenging, for women to become more involved in production if they are not permitted to learn the secrets of the family craft.

Pottery production in India is a very interesting case because the Indian subcontinent has been the destination of many foreigners for centuries. Development projects continue to saturate the country with Westerners along with aspects of their respective cultures and their ideals. Despite the longstanding contact with outside cultures and societies, the pottery production

process in India has remained unchanged in terms of the gender roles within it. Although Vincentelli does not explore this topic in her book, I suggest that this lack of change is occurring for a few reasons: the existence of longstanding contact, the broadly shared traits within Indian society, and the religion that saturates every aspect of life in India.

Compared to other parts of the world, India has been in contact with outsiders for centuries. Foreigners are something that many parts of India are used to; this is not new. I suggest that this has actually allowed the Indian culture to continue to thrive in a relatively traditional sense. While the country continues to develop and modernize, many aspects of everyday life, including religion, symbolism, gender roles, and social organization, have remained relatively unchanged or only slightly modified as time went on. Because of this, there was no “shock” for the Indian people and no enormous changes that occurred all at once. I suggest that the longstanding contact has caused many aspects of life in India, including pottery production and its gender roles, to remain relatively constant.

Another reason I suggest for the relative continuity in the pottery production process is the broadly shared traits that affect much of Indian society. While many Indians live in tight-knit communities, they are still greatly affected by the overarching characteristics of the greater Indian society, including religion, social stratification, and economic systems. I suggest that these shared aspects of Indian society are associated with the continuity in pottery production. The extremely large population in India and the fact that it covers such a large area has made it somewhat resistant to and resilient against changes that might have influenced their gender roles in pottery production.

Lastly, the fact that religion saturates almost every aspect of life is a final reason that I suggest for the relatively constant gender roles within Indian pottery production. Hindu religion

has been a constant in Indian history and society; it has adapted and shifted, but it has never disappeared from the people's framework. Even those who are not necessarily 'religious' are impacted by religion: in the caste system, in gender roles, and in other areas of life. As I have demonstrated earlier in the chapter, even pottery is impacted by religion. I suggest that because Hinduism has remained a constant and because religion and pottery production are closely tied together, pottery and gender roles too have remained relatively unchanged.

Although there is still some demand for pottery, pottery production as a whole in India is declining (Mahias 2002: 158). As India continues to move towards a more "modern" society, I expect many changes to occur. The availability of industrially manufactured plastic and metal vessels will continue to slowly replace the need for pottery and clay items. As the economic sustainability and viability of the craft decreases over time, I expect men to move towards other industries and trades. In addition, as more opportunities for education and better jobs become available, I anticipate that more and more men, who are historically more involved in the public sphere of life, will move into other fields, as well. While there is no way to predict for sure what will happen, I expect that, if men must abandon their role in pottery production, women will occupy this space instead. If men do abandon their role in this craft, I could also see the institution of pottery production dwindling and eventually being abandoned, especially if religion and social restrictions (especially those regarding the potter's wheel) keep women from operating within this space. Although it is impossible to predict what the future holds for the Indian subcontinent, I suggest that there are only a few possible directions for shifts in gender roles in traditional Indian pottery production.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

Based on my research, I argue that the impact of outside groups on traditional pottery production has been largely underestimated by scholars in this field. Researchers, including Vincentelli, have credited these outside groups with having an influence on pottery, but the role of these groups has been relatively underestimated. This can be seen from all three case studies that I have reviewed in this thesis.

The Pueblo Indians have seen the largest and most sudden increase in contact with foreign groups compared to the other two peoples addressed in this paper. We know that from at least the mid-1500s, which is when the Pueblo communities came into contact with the Spanish, onwards, Pueblo women were the primary potters, creating pottery for mainly domestic use. Arguably the most influential contact between Pueblo communities and outside groups was established in the 1880s, when the transcontinental railroad reached Santa Fe, bringing researchers, tourists, and new settlers to the area and into contact with the relatively traditional Pueblo communities. This increased contact had several impacts on the Pueblo peoples, especially in creating a new commercial market for their pottery and other crafts. In addition, new commodities and new values were brought to Pueblo communities, as well as a need for cash as they were swept into an increasingly cash economy. According to research from this time period, more and more men became involved in pottery production at this time. As pottery production became a more economically viable as a source of income, more men got involved in

the production. With all of these changes, which were associated with the increasing amount of contact with the outside world, the gender roles in Pueblo pottery production began to shift.

While the Berbers are a vastly different community to explore in terms of pottery production, they too show the impact of contact with outside groups, albeit in a very different way. Recall that the Berbers have historically been a very isolated group of people, living in northern Africa. While this group is increasingly coming into contact with outsiders, it is still quite isolated compared to other traditional groups in the rest of the world. I suggest that this lack of contact is a primary reason for the Berber's relatively unchanged gender roles in the pottery production process. Women have maintained their role as the primary producers of pottery, and, as I mentioned in the concluding sections of the case study, I suggest that this will only change with increasing contact and new markets for potters. If the tourist and/or global markets become increasingly economically viable, I suggest that men will become more involved in the craft, unless other opportunities show more promising economic success. For now, though, the Berber pottery production process remains largely in the hands of women. I suggest that this is due in part to attitudes and beliefs towards women and proper gender roles, but also due to the lack of contact with outsiders, which has allowed this group to remain relatively traditional.

The last case study I discussed is yet another distinct and different community of potters, yet they too seem to validate my hypothesis. India is very distinct from both the Pueblo Indians and the Berbers, in that they have had a very long history of contact with outsiders. Unlike the Pueblos, who were in some ways 'shocked' by the sudden influx of tourists and outsiders, the Indian subcontinent has had a longstanding history of being in contact with outsiders. I suggest that this longstanding history is part of what has kept the gender roles within pottery production

relatively unchanged. The Pueblo Indians were truly swept up in the rapidly changing economy and social structure of the region. New values and new ideas were introduced in a very short amount of time, and they seem to have latched on to those ideas very quickly. For the past few centuries, India has been consistently permeated by outside forces. It is something they are used to by now. I suggest that, without the shock that the Pueblo peoples have experienced, India has been able to maintain their way of life in most realms, including religion, social structure (including the caste system), and pottery production, even while Western ideas and values are being introduced on a daily basis through trade, the internet, and better transportation, among other things.

Another conclusion that I made throughout the course of this project is that we cannot underestimate the importance of understanding what men and women are doing in the first place, as well as the importance of the overarching gender roles in each culture. It is absolutely crucial to understand what gender roles exist outside of pottery production before attempting to understand the gender roles within it. For example, in Pueblo communities, it is vital to understand that women's roles are centered around the home, while men are focused on hunting, farming, and other out-of-home activities. Partially because of their role within the home, women have been associated with domestic activities, including the production of pottery. Berber women have very similar roles, in that they are centered around the home and producing pottery for primarily domestic consumption.

One final conclusion that I made is that it is crucial to understand the traditional beliefs and religion in order to understand how they influence gender participation. In the case of the Pueblo tribes, we need to understand the belief that clay is associated with females. It is also crucial to understand the gender hierarchy that exists in Berber communities, placing men in the

dominant position. In India, it would be impossible to understand the gender roles in pottery production without first examining the role of caste and religion, especially as it affects the use of the potter's wheel by men. I feel that information regarding overarching beliefs and religion is often missing in the literature, leaving out a crucial piece of information for readers and researchers.

While I have had the opportunity to study these communities and cultures extensively, there is much more to understand. Every culture, community, and even household represents a different piece of this massive puzzle. If I were to continue working on this project in the future, I would be especially interested in studying more cultures that show how contact with outside peoples affects their pottery production system. In Cyprus, for example, pottery production has been in the hands of both men and women, though there were distinct gender roles within the process. Traditionally, men would work on collecting the clay and fuel, firing the kiln, and producing the largest pots, which were huge wine storage jars. Women, on the other hand, produced all other forms using a small tournette. During the 1900s, this trend shifted, and women became the main producers of pottery, rather than the divided roles, as was the case earlier. The large storage jars are no longer produced since this shift occurred (Vincentelli 2003: 28-29). I would be curious to study why this shift happened, as well as why women became the primary potters rather than the craft disappearing as a whole.

I would be particularly interested in continuing this research by conducting more fieldwork in Nepal. Nepal shares many characteristics and similarities with pottery production in India, but other aspects of its culture and history are very distinct. I am curious as to how these two places, with many shared qualities, differ in their pottery production and gender roles, as well as how men and women are perceived. In addition, like India, Nepal has a wide variety of

ethnic identities and groups within the country. I only had the opportunity to study one household that belongs to one ethnic group. With that in mind, I would be interested to see what similarities and variations exist between and among ethnicities, villages, and households in the rest of Nepal. Although there is no way to possibly understand every community of potters in the world, future research will bring us one step closer to understanding the patterns that are evident in pottery producing communities across the globe.

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ACADEMIC VITA

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EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University University Park, PA 2013 - Present
B.A. in Anthropology, Jewish Studies
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EXPERIENCE

National Park Service, Scotts Bluff National Monument, Gering, NE 05/2015 – 08/2015
Park Guide

- Conducted informal interpretation with park visitors about natural and cultural resources
- Researched, developed, and presented two formal programs using PowerPoint presentations
- Communicated safety issues to visitors and coworkers
- Completed supplementary training programs and webinars
- Promoted park through social media on Facebook and Twitter

09/2014 - Present

Penn State Dance Marathon (THON), University Park, PA
Supply Logistics Captain (Volunteer)

- Establish and maintain professional relationships with over 50 donors for the largest student-run philanthropy in the world
- Personally acquire donations totaling over \$900
- Collaborate with 21 Co-Captains to obtain donations requested by committees and organize donor information into databases, including Excel

Morgan Academic Support Center for Student Athletes, University Park, PA 09/2014 - Present
Tutor

- Tutor students in the areas of Statistics and Spanish
- Enhance general understanding of subject areas while motivating and supporting students
- Form relationships with students and mentor them to perform better in their courses

Penn State University Anthropology Department, University Park, PA 01/2014 - 05/2014
Faunal Laboratory Research Assistant

- Sorted, identified, weighed, and recorded faunal remains from archaeological site in California
- Entered quantitative data into Excel worksheet for analysis

Penn State University Anthropology Department, University Park, PA 09/2013 - Present
Research Assistant

- Analyze qualitative data about climate change in the Himalayan Mountains
- Develop research topics and themes resulting in Independent Research Project in Nepal during the summer of 2014
- Presentation: "Traditional Pottery of Bhaktapur," Society for Applied Anthropology National Conference (March 2015)

Crystal Cave Company, Inc., Kutztown, PA 05/2011 – 08/2014
Tour Guide

- Presented pre-established interpretive tours of Crystal Cave to small groups of visitors, while ensuring safety of customers
- Provided positive and productive interactions with a diverse public representing a cross-section of the nation and other countries
- Interacted with customers and employees to resolve complaints and conflicts
- Provided training for new tour guides

ACTIVITIES

- **Welcome Week Captain:** Welcome Week 2014, PSU
- **Member:** Phi Eta Sigma Honor Society, PSU Chapter, Spring 2014-Present
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- **Family Relations Chair, Secretary:** Oriana/Glee Club THON Organization, PSU, Fall 2013-Present