

Title: Approaches to the Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Past and Emergent Perspectives

Author's Name: Di Hu

Author's Affiliation: University of California—Berkeley

Mailing Address:

Di Hu

Archaeological Research Facility

2251 College Building

University of California, Berkeley

Berkeley, CA, 94720-1076

Abstract: Recently, interest in the archaeology of ethnogenesis has surged. The renewed interest in ethnogenesis stems from innovations in the historical study of ethnogenesis, theoretical shifts favoring multidirectional agency, and relevant contemporary sociopolitical debates. However, theoretical problems surrounding the appropriateness of the social science concept of “ethnicity” have made the comparative study of ethnogenesis difficult. Drawing from past and emergent perspectives adds renewed vigor to comparative studies of ethnogenesis. A methodology that integrates the different types of theory can resolve the theoretical tensions in the archaeological study of ethnogenesis.

Running head: Approaches to the Archaeology of Ethnogenesis

Keywords: ethnogenesis, ethnicity, archaeology, identity, theory

Introduction

In the past generation or so, archaeologists have recognized that boundaries of archaeological cultures, based on material culture traits, do not neatly correspond to how the people themselves perceive social, cultural, and ethnic boundaries. To complicate matters further, the old sense that identities are discrete and long-lived has been seriously challenged. Instead, anthropologists now consider identity to be situational and relational and in the constant process of making, unmaking, and sometimes, disappearing (Eriksen 1993, pp. 10-12; Gosden 1999, p. 196; Jones 1997, pp. 125-126; Kohl 1998, p. 231; Lucas 2004, p. 198; Meskell 2001; Smoak 2006, p. 5). This constructivist view of identity, specifically ethnic identity, has generated much heated debate on whether archaeologists can even trace ethnicity through time in the archaeological record (e.g., Jones 1997 contra Kohl 1998).

While many agree that “identity” should be approached historically through tracing social relationships over time, others reject the term’s analytical usefulness altogether (e.g., Brubaker and Cooper 2000, p. 25). Brubaker and Cooper (2000, p. 34) argue that even though the term “identity” is used in daily practice, it encompasses so many contradictory understandings, as both fluid and discrete, that it becomes a source of confusion rather than analytical clarity. Even more damaging to the use of “ethnic identity” in the social sciences is that it has been extensively employed to categorize and control people (Scott 1998, 2009). As interest in identity has increased, so has skepticism of its analytical and ethical value.

In archaeology, the theorizing of “identity” as fluid, contested, constructed, and emergent has made comparative studies difficult. Comparative social science (Tilly 2005; Weber 1949) rests on the conviction that one can have a deeper understanding of social processes through the study of interrelated facts, and that the methods of doing so are reproducible. The

particularistic emphasis of postmodern definitions of “identity” is ill suited to comparative social science (Sabloff 2011, p. xvii; Tilly 2005, 2008, p. 5). Methodologies in comparative archaeology have focused on the categories of material culture that have the most potential of signaling and aiding in the reproduction of identities (Emberling 1997, p. 325). Nevertheless, just as different processes underpin language, culture, and genes (Moore 1994, p. 393; Ortman 2012, p. 369; Weber 1949, p. 69), so the processes governing the production of material culture differ from those governing the production of the various kinds of identities. Therefore, we cannot directly infer the character of identities from material culture. Even though most agree that we should be looking instead at the production of social relationships and forms of identification (both *etic* and *emic*) over time (e.g., Brubaker and Cooper 2000, p. 30; Royce 1982, p. 23; Voss 2008, p. 15), we still lack methodological and theoretical clarity in going about the endeavor comparatively. Should we, then, abandon “identity” and related terms if we want to do comparative social science?

To avoid confusion, as racial, class, ethnic, gender, and other identities may have different dynamics, the scope of this paper will be ethnic identity and ethnogenesis. This paper adopts Weber’s definition of ethnic identity as a belief in group affinity based on subjective beliefs of shared common ancestry based on “similarities of physical type or of customs or both” or “of memories of colonization and migration” (Weber 1978, p. 389). According to Weber, this belief in group affinity *must* “be important for the propagation of group formation.” The genesis, maintenance, and disappearance of ethnic identity are all manifestations of the same process of “ethnomorphosis” (Kohl 1998, p. 232). Ethnomorphosis is the historical process of ethnicity.

I argue that the concepts of ethnicity and ethnogenesis, despite recent dismissals of their analytical value, should not be abandoned in comparative research. The dismissal of social

constructions such as ethnicity on the grounds that they are not “real” impedes the progress of “building systematic knowledge of social construction into superior analyses of social processes” (Tilly 2008, p. 5). Instead, I outline an integration of past and emergent perspectives of ethnogenesis that makes its comparative study not only possible but theoretically and methodologically rich. I am not arguing that such an approach is the only possibility. I intend the approach to be a heuristic model to help others generate their own frameworks to get beyond the current theoretical stalemates. Ironically, it may be the careful systematic analysis of “ethnic identity” and “ethnogenesis” that leads to the eventual dissolution of these general terms in favor of more exact concepts in the rigorous analysis of social processes (Tilly 2008, pp. 7, 77; Weber 1978, p. 395). Therefore, we will understand more fully the processes behind “ethnicity” and “ethnogenesis” not by arguing against “straw men” versions of the older understandings but by *using* the terms as *heuristic devices* to understand the many historical manifestations of the social construction of difference.

First, the theoretical problems with “ethnic identity” will be pinpointed. Second, drawing from various scholars, a methodology for comparative study of ethnic identity and ethnogenesis will be outlined. Third, case studies will illustrate the utility of the methodology as well as highlight strengths of archaeology in the understanding of ethnic identity and ethnogenesis.

The problem of the social “unit”

The modern social sciences, with the emphasis on the study of humans as “specimens,” find their roots in the Enlightenment (Weber 2005, pp. 39-40). The Enlightenment scientists considered New World peoples “uncorrupted” by civilization; therefore, the Americas provided the perfect natural laboratory to carry out systematic and comparative studies of human society (Weber 2005, p. 31). A group normally called themselves “people” in their own language, but

outsiders drew lines of group difference very differently (Weber 2005, p. 16). Thus, the Enlightenment-inspired classifying and naming of peoples echoes the modern practice of assigning ethnic categories in the social sciences.

The term “ethnicity” under the guise of “ethnos” appeared in academic discussions between the end of World War I and the beginning of World War II (Banks 1996, p. 4; Eriksen 1993, p. 3; Glazer and Moynihan 1975, p. 1; Sokolovskii and Tishkov 2002, pp. 290-91; Wade 1997, p. 16). These first discussions coincide with the Nazi and Soviet programs of finding national origins, and ethnicity was seen as a primordial set of traits for each modern nation (Kohl 1998). The invention of the concept of “ethnicity” was part of the various nation-state programs to classify human difference by geographic and cultural boundaries, in addition to “racial” physical and behavioral traits. By making social complexity more legible to outsiders, the invention of the concept of “ethnicity,” then, is probably related to what James Scott (1998) calls “seeing like a state.” A more detailed treatment of the history of the concepts of “ethnicity” and “ethnogenesis” can be found elsewhere (e.g., Banks 1996; Voss 2008).

Seeing social complexity in archaeology

In archaeology, the tension between the analytic outsider’s way of “seeing” social complexity (*etic*) and the embedded insider’s way (*emic*) pervades debates on identity (Conkey and Hastorf 1990). However, Conkey and Hastorf (1990, p. 3) argued that the tension is also a source of dynamism in archaeological theory and method debates. Such a tension forces us to be self-reflexive about our archaeological inquiry because “culture” and our view of it are historically produced (Conkey 1990, p. 12).

How can we avoid “seeing like a state” and gain more of an insider view of social cohesion? How can we avoid oversimplification when we use analytical generalizations such as

“ethnicity” and “ethnogenesis”? How do we make sure we are not constructing “ethnicity” around an imaginary academic construct and, worse, perpetuating certain hegemonic narratives of power (Foucault 1979, p. 194; Kohl 1998; Scott 1998)?

A more careful consideration of “ethnicity” reveals at least three components: (1) how insiders view membership, (2) how outsiders relate to and interact with insiders, and (3) how and why institutions such as state bureaucracies and academia draw boundaries around and classify people, and how those classifications are subsequently used (e.g., Bourdieu 1990, pp. 14, 27; Gosden 1999, pp. 125, 190; Liebmann and Preucel 2007, p. 202; Scott 1998; Verdery 1994, p. 37).

A commonly used solution to represent social relations is Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984) practice theory (Jones 1997, p. 49; Shennan 1989, p. 15; Stark and Chance 2008, p. 15). Feelings of group membership arise from a subliminal awareness of objective, but largely subconscious, commonalities of practice (Bentley 1987, pp. 27, 173). These commonalities of practice arise from dispositions bundled as *habitus*. The assumption is that people identify with a group with a *habitus* or set of cultural dispositions similar to their own. Bourdieu’s emphasis (1990, p. 54) on how dispositions generate practices which in turn reinforce those same dispositions explains the durability and cultural aesthetics of group and class. Bourdieu’s (1984) *Distinction* provided methodological grounding for his practice theory and dovetails well with the discussions on archaeological style (Conkey and Hastorf 1990; Sackett 1982; Wiessner 1983; Wobst 1977).

Weber presaged practice theory when he emphasized that people gravitate not only toward those who physically resemble themselves but also away from those with “perceptible differences in the *conduct of everyday life*” (1978, p. 390). As symbols of ethnic membership, such differences can have an “ethnically” repulsive effect, reinforcing more insular social

interaction among groups, which in turn perpetuates distinctive conducts of everyday life. Not all “symbols” have to work as an abstraction, though, as even differences in acceptable hair odor can “thwart” “all attempts at social intercourse” (Weber 1978, p. 391). People often become aware of their shared subliminal conduct of everyday life in times of crisis or to protect group interests. In short, practice theory explains the mechanism of the perpetuation of insularity in social relations.

Why is there insularity in the first place? Ethnic categorizations and identity claims are often, if not always, used in struggles for or legitimizations of power and authority (Jenkins 1994, p. 219; Tilly 2005, p. 8). Therefore, as long as there are inequalities in access to power and status as well as different normative ideals of the political community, insularity in social interaction is present. The difference between in-group and out-group identification implies different political processes (e.g., Bawden 2005; Epstein 2006; Jenkins 2007; Royce 1982; Tilly 2005). While many anthropologists have favored in-group identification as more “authentic,” several authors have argued that one cannot understand in-group identification without also understanding out-group identification, because they are related to each other (Jenkins 2007; Roosens 1989; Voss 2008). In fact, Royce (1982, p. 23) noted the differential rates of change between “objective” cues and “subjective” perceptions of identity as especially interesting because they imply competing structures of power and authority (Emberling 1997, p. 309; Jenkins 2007, p. 76; McGuire 1982; Williams 1992).

What does a methodology for the archaeological study of ethnogenesis look like?

In order to understand the significance of ethnogenesis events, a methodology must be theoretically coherent and able to organize the changes in social relations over time. At any given time, a person inhabits many identities, but profound social processes affect which ones become

more or less salient (Tilly 2005, p. 8). Because ethnic identity is often latent and becomes salient only in certain situations, we have to understand when and how latent, subliminal, habitual cultural practices and understandings of the world become politicized (Curta 2005; Karner 2007). Arguably, ethnic identity is differentiated from kinship and culture by its role in the formation of an enduring political community (Weber 1978). Furthermore, even when ethnic identity does become salient, different geographic scales of identification may be more or less salient for both *emic* and *etic* perspectives (Royce 1982, p. 29).

In this section, I briefly review the main older understandings of how cultural differences become politicized to integrate them into a general scheme. Popular are instrumental versus primordial (Banks 1996; Jenkins 2007; Jones 1997; Voss 2008) and isolationist versus interactionist perspectives (Royce 1982; Voss 2008). The evolution of such perspectives has been ably detailed by others and is beyond the scope of this paper (see Gosden 1999; Lucy 2005; Sokolovskii and Tishkov 2000; Voss 2008; Wade 1997).

According to Royce (1982, p. 38), isolationist perspectives maintain that ethnic distinctiveness can be created and maintained only in the absence of interaction with other cultural groups. Recent perspectives have moved away from isolationist definitions because isolation rarely if ever occurs in the contemporary world (Royce 1982, pp. 38-39). I should add, however, that isolationist perspectives do not require isolation but only emphasize that ethnicity is best maintained and reproduced in isolation from outside influences. Relative lack of face-to-face social interaction with other groups even when in close proximity, such as lack of meaningful social intercourse between elite and commoners, is another isolationist possibility. Interactionist perspectives, on the other hand, stress that ethnic and other group distinctions are

heightened and maintained through interaction among groups of difference (Royce 1982, pp. 39-40).

While Royce's organization of definitions into isolationist versus interactionist strands is very useful for conceptually organizing the *contexts* in which ethnic identity emerges, it is not as useful for explaining *why* they emerge and are maintained. Primordial and instrumental understandings of ethnicity address *why* ethnic identity emerges and is maintained (Jenkins 2007; Voss 2008). Primordial perspectives of ethnicity emphasize the deep, long-lived attachments between people: blood, religion, language, customs, and so on (Jones 1997). According to Voss (2008, p. 26), primordial imperatives "draw on psychoanalytical theories of a universal human need for connection and belonging" and are constant throughout a person's life. Instrumental perspectives, on the other hand, emphasize "ethnicity" as a tool for a given group to improve its political and economic standing (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 2006, p. 394; Gosden 1999, pp. 191-92). Cultural practices and symbols are used by people in different political and historical contexts to advance their interests. As such, "ethnicity" is a means to an end (Voss 2008, pp. 26-27). Instrumental understandings of ethnicity include Marxist approaches, where ethnicity is a product of unequal economic development (Matthews *et al.* 2002). If there were no economic inequality, there would be no ethnic (and class) differences (Avksentiev and Avksentiev 1993, pp. 13-15; Edelstein 1974, pp. 49-51; Holloman and Arutyunov 1978, pp. 11-13, 421-23; Isajiw 1994, p. 10; Jordan 2002, p. 6; Pokshishevskiy 1987, pp. 591-93). According to Marx and Engels (2002 [1848]), the rise of capitalism instrumentalized and simplified all identities through commoditization. Related is the premise that ethnicity is a product of capitalism (Gellner 1983). "Ethnicity" can be manipulated by rational actors depending on the political and economic situation (Bell 1975; Gosden 1999; Jordan 2002).

Primordial definitions place what *motivates* people's actions in kinship, religion, and other kinds of social bonds that emphasize shared history, while instrumental definitions place people's motivations in contemporary political and economic competition. Instrumental definitions treat "ethnicity" as an aspect of how a group politically maneuvers resources and power, usually in the context of living among other ethnic groups under a state (Bentley 1987; Fried 1967, 1968; Shennan 1989, p. 15). Primordial and instrumental perspectives are not mutually exclusive. How the "line" is drawn between groups and the choice of traits used to define a group's essence may seem instrumental and constructed to analytic outsiders, but is framed as primordial and deeply historical to insiders (Royce 1982; Smith 1986, 2000; Stark and Chance 2008, p. 4). Both perspectives are inherently political, but primordial emphases stress the normative, or "how society should be ordered in order to create good human beings," whereas instrumental emphases stress the rational, or "how to appropriate the most resources among competing groups."

Combining primordial/instrumental and isolationist/interactionist perspectives

Primordial versus instrumental and isolationist versus interactionist perspectives are one-dimensional. Combining them makes a more inclusive, two-dimensional organizational scheme. The resulting scheme has four quadrants, with each quadrant having a combination of two perspectives of "ethnicity" (figure 1). This scheme accounts for all the major understandings of identity outlined by Brubaker and Cooper (2001, pp. 6-8).

Voss (2008, p. 26) considered the concept of "ethnogenesis" as a way to bridge the theoretical tension between primordialism and instrumentalism through the introduction of diachronic change. In the four-quadrant scheme, I further this line of reasoning by adding the dimensions of isolation and interaction. The four-quadrant scheme serves as a comparative

heuristic device to trace social relations through time. We can trace whether social relations became more insular (isolationist) or interactive through time. In the same vein, we can also trace the relative importance of primordial versus instrumental claims through time. An example of how the history of ethnogenesis could be organized using the four-quadrant scheme is to consider Hill's description (1996a, p. 3) of the ethnogenesis of the Aluku, which was primarily driven by the common worship of a set of religious oracles. If we trace the history of Aluku ethnogenesis, using the four-quadrant scheme to paraphrase, we see that there is a movement from the primordial/isolationist quadrant (fragmented Maroon communities with deeply historical rituals and myths) to the primordial/interactionist quadrant (interaction between the communities) to finally the instrumental/interactionist quadrant (political unification and ethnogenesis to better resist and adapt to New World historical situations). However, even though Aluku ethnogenesis ends in the instrumental/interactionist quadrant, primordial narratives still motivate collective political action.

Breakthroughs to ethnic consciousness

The four-quadrant scheme also highlights the complexity of ethnogenesis. A breakthrough to ethnic consciousness can be caused by or accompany changes in social interaction, as the movement between the different quadrants suggests. The difficulty, however, is that similar changes in the forms of social interaction may not always manifest as ethnogenesis. There are two possible, nonmutually exclusive explanations.

The first is the poststructuralist concept of "overdetermination." Breakthroughs to ethnic consciousness, so important to ethnogenesis, are "overdetermined" in that there are multiple causes, none of which are both necessary and sufficient (Voss 2008, p. 4). The second is Tilly's distinction (2005, pp. 143-44) between "inscription" and "activation." Tilly and others

recognized that people live among multiple social boundaries, not only ethnic, and the salience of such boundaries depends on how “activated” they are (Laitin 1998, p. 23; Rousseau and van der Veen 2005, pp. 688-89, 692; Tilly 2005, p. 143). According to Tilly (2005, p. 144), “[i]nscription heightens the social relations and representations that comprise a particular boundary, while activation makes that same boundary more central to the organization of activity in its vicinity.” The “boundary” can be permeable in times of low activation, but can become more impermeable and salient during rising activation, especially in response to threats to the group’s survival (Tilly 2005, p. 144). Therefore, ethnogenesis is a form of rising activation of inscribed social relations. Activation may materially manifest as a combination of less variability of symbols, higher frequency of symbols, greater evidence of conflict, and more spatial clustering of material symbols.

The changing nature of social relations across the four-quadrant scheme may not manifest in ethnogenesis unless sufficient activation is involved. If we accept “overdetermination,” similar changes in social interaction and levels of activation in different historical contexts may lead to ethnogenesis in some situations but not in others. The “tipping” models of identity formation address the uneven evolution of shared ethnic identity (e.g., Laitin 1998). Despite the uncertainty, by tracing how social relations were organized before and after ethnogenesis as well as the precipitating causes of ethnogenesis, we can effectively compare and contrast the processes and “tipping points” of ethnogenesis in different social and historical contexts. Especially promising is to study the relationship between the organization of social relations and its susceptibility to ethnogenesis.

The types of theory integrated into one methodological framework

Much of the debate over what “theory” is or should be is fueled by the misunderstanding of “theory” as a singular “thing”; theory has multiple legitimate meanings and epistemologies (Abend 2008, p. 182). Abend (2008) skillfully mapped out at least seven distinct types of theory. The social sciences would profit from clearer definition of general terms such as “theory” (Abend 2008, p. 176). The conflation of different meanings of “identity” has also led to similar semantic predicaments (Brubaker and Cooper 2001). Likewise, Smith (2011, p. 170) argued that much of the disconnect between theory and method in contemporary archaeology is due to the postprocessual rejection of the distinct levels of analysis and specifically of Mertonian middle-range theory. In this section, I outline a methodological framework that integrates different understandings of “theory” described by Abend (2008) (figure 2).

The first level of analysis is the phenomena. Examples of phenomena are artifacts, ecofacts, archival documents, architecture, genes, and ethnographic and ethnohistorical records of language. Because the perception and categorization of phenomena are conditioned by our social memory (Giddens 1984, pp. 48-49), theory type 5, or the “overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world” (Abend 2008, p. 179), is most relevant to this level. For example, feminist, postmodernist, poststructuralist, functionalist, and Marxist theories are about how to “look at, grasp, and represent [the social world]” (Abend 2008, p. 179-80). At this level of analysis, we should be aware of how knowledge is produced and of biases.

The second level of analysis is the production of observations and data. At this level, the phenomena are measured, counted, identified, described, and formally categorized using specific methodologies. Relevant are theory types 5 and 3, which is “to say something about empirical phenomena in the social world” and to offer a better interpretation of the phenomena (Abend 2008, pp. 178-79).

The third level of analysis is the interpretation of the observations to understand social activities and practices. Because this level is specific to the archaeological concern of interpreting practices from observations about material culture, theory type 7, which refers to the special problems encountered by the different social sciences (Abend 2008, p. 181), is relevant. This level encompasses the interpretation of human activities from data and the diachronic and geographic mapping of such social practices and activities. Theories allowing the interpretation of practices from data come from, for example, ethnoarchaeology, spatial syntax concepts and methods, and experimental archaeology. The end goal of this level of analysis is to map out the history of social and cultural practices and the organization of social interaction diachronically, as well as the active roles material culture played in such social processes. An example of a diachronic “map” can be found in Sturtevant’s (1971, pp. 94-95) diagram showing the changes in Seminole location, settlement pattern, political organization, economy, relations with Europeans, religion and population size (see also Ortman 2012, pp. 346-47).

This paper’s contribution to the methodological framework is the fourth level of analysis, which is to trace the *character* of social interaction and of the emergence of social difference through time using the four-quadrant scheme. The goal of the fourth level of analysis is to understand the underlying *mechanisms* (sensu Hedstrom and Swedberg 1998; Merton 1968) behind a particular ethnogenesis. Did the rise of capitalism in area X lead to the instrumentalization of social identities, as Marx asserted? Did the rise of the state in area X lead to the durability of groupings and alliances that previously were temporary and fluctuating? That is, did the rise of states formalize social groups (Fried 1967, 1968; Shennan 1989, p. 15)? Questions such as these guide the inquiry to understand the interplay of proximate causes and long-term social processes of ethnogenesis. This level of analysis is an example of Mertonian

middle-range theory, which is between orderly thick description (level 3 of the methodological framework) and the general theories of social systems (Merton 1968, pp. 39-40; Smith 2011, p. 171). Theory type 2 is “an explanation of a particular social phenomenon” and identifies “factors” and “conditions” leading to that social phenomenon (Abend 2008, p. 178). Theory type 2 is most relevant to this level of analysis because the four-quadrant scheme helps organize the social “conditions” and proximate causes through time.

The final level of analysis actually comprises several distinct theoretical realms. The most basic realms are theory types 1 and 5 (sensu Abend 2008, pp. 177-80). Theory type 1 is a “universally quantified” “general proposition, or logically-connected system of general propositions, which establishes a relationship between two or more variables” (Abend 2008, pp. 177). An example of theory type 5 is Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984) practice theory, which was developed through years of empirical research and the aid of a four-quadrant scheme to organize groupings of tastes among the different socioeconomic classes and occupations. However, because both theory type 1 and type 5 can have a normative, or “how things should be,” account of the world, two additional distinct realms of theory come into play. For example, theory type 1 in archaeology often deals with human-environment relationships and, when combined with a normative focus, results in policy recommendations to structure human behavior in ways that are more environmentally sustainable. When theory type 5 has a normative component, it is identified by Abend (2008, p. 180) as theory type 6, which includes critical theory, feminist theory, and postcolonial theory.

Advantages of the methodological framework

The first advantage of the methodological framework presented is that it offers a way to bridge acrimonious divisions in the field of archaeology, most notably between processualists

who believe archaeologists are capable of producing reliable knowledge about the past and extreme postprocessualists who “deny the possibility of creating objective knowledge about human behaviour” (Trigger 1995, p. 322). Many of the debates were fueled by the different theoretical preferences, with processualists generally favoring theory types 1 and 2 and postprocessualists generally favoring theory types 5 and 6.

The main contrast between processual and postprocessual archaeologies is in the role of *ideas* in the formation of the archaeological record both by past peoples and by archaeologists in the present. For postprocessualists, the role of ideas is not limited to the past people who are responsible for the archaeological record but also relevant to people in the present having a profound effect on the making of the archaeological record (critical approaches). As a tool of self-criticism about the practice of archaeology, the postprocessual emphasis on “decolonizing” archaeology is helpful. However, extreme postprocessualists use critical approaches to delegitimize other epistemologies, unaware that they are often perpetuating the same kinds of social exclusion they seek to redress through their jargon and ontological and epistemological demands (Trigger 1995, pp. 321-22; Watson 1990, pp. 677-79). The methodological framework presented questions putting different kinds of theories into a hierarchy because each level of analysis is theoretically informed and therefore just as important as the others.

The second advantage of the methodological framework is its emphasis on tracing social organization and relationships through time. Tracing social relationships avoids the common pitfall of, for example, employing the methodologies of biology to directly analyze social phenomena, as if society were a biological entity (Ortman 2012; Terrell 2001; Yanow 2003, pp. 16-17). We should relegate the appropriate methodologies to their respective fields (levels 2 and 3 of the methodological framework), rather than expecting that artifact frequencies are indices of

acculturation (e.g., Quimby and Spoehr 1951) or that ethnogenesis functions like cladistic speciation (Moore 1994, 2001; Terrell 2001). Another pitfall avoided by tracing social relationships and practices as opposed to crystallized ethnic units through time is being able to tease out nuances of history that would otherwise be drowned out by theoretical dogmatism (Gregory and Wilcox 2007).

The next sections review case studies centered on four common themes in ethnogenesis: (1) the rise of internal social inequality leading to fissioning, (2) resistance against institutionalized inequalities, (3) legitimization of unequal access to power and resources or the maintenance of social inequality, and (4) frontiers along imperial and colonial borders.

The rise of internal inequality leading to fissioning

Several sorts of fissioning lead to ethnogenesis. The most common is political factionalism, which can be characterized as instrumental/isolationist because the seeds of division originate from inside the original group. Elizabeth Brumfiel (1994a, pp. 4-5) defined factions as “structurally and functionally similar groups which, by virtue of their similarity, compete for resources and power or prestige,” and whose political goals do not “go beyond winning advantages for their own faction.” “Commoners” rally around “leaders,” who use their mobilization skills for revenge and to settle personal scores with other “leaders” as they also advance the claims of the “commoners” (Brumfiel 1994a, pp. 7-8). While this model apparently emphasized little or no cultural or primordial differences among the factions to begin with, Brumfiel noted that competition and factionalism may be instrumental in the persistence of ethnic difference. The following case studies show that people use primordial claims to bolster their instrumental struggle for power, resources, and prestige. Therefore, ethnogenesis resulting

from factionalism produces cultural differences that are as long-lived, and sometimes even longer-lived, than the political relationships among factions.

Two possible results of fissioning are (1) the newly differentiating groups remain together and interact with one another in an instrumental/isolationist framework, which in turn constitutes the beginning of class, caste, and racial inequalities (e.g., Bawden 2005; Bawden and Reycraft 2009), and (2) the newly differentiated groups spatially separate or new groups are geographically differentiated by isolation caused by migration and in a primordial/isolationist framework establish and enforce group distinctiveness through a combination of new ethnonyms, cultural practices, ritual practices, and political structure (e.g., Levy 2008; Stojanowski 2010; Sturtevant 1971). Regarding the first possibility, as the social and cultural distance between the groups increase, ethnogenesis can quickly become instrumental/interactionist. Regarding the second possibility, in pre-Formative Titicaca, Bandy (2001) showed how communities fissioned when they reached a critical population of around two to three hundred people. However, this trend reversed in the formative period, and nucleated communities began to reach population sizes not previously achieved. Bandy (2001, 2004) attributed this change to the facilitative role of religion and ritual in social cohesion. While Bandy does not explicitly talk about ethnic identity, the process that he described parallels the primordialist/isolationist to primordialist/interactionist historical trajectories common in ethnogenesis.

Bawden (2005), employing Marxist perspectives, argued that the end of the Moche as an ideologically unified entity came about through ethnogenesis triggered by the breakdown of elite legitimacy and stability and by attendant catastrophic environmental disasters. The Moche rejected long-lived iconography and rapidly abandoned older settlements. However, the newly founded large settlement of Galindo showed even more spatial differentiation between groups of

people, interpreted as “elite” and “commoner,” than in previous centuries. Also, the cultural practices and iconography diverged rapidly between the “commoners” and the “elites,” and the reconstitution of society, as in the case of Galindo, led to localized innovations in institutions of power and coercive strategies of control (Bawden and Reycraft 2009, pp. 200-1). Bawden and Reycraft (2009) interpreted late Moche society as one with major structural contradictions between elite demand for control of commoner labor and commoner rejection of the new elite strategies of control. This particular process of ethnogenesis could be described as resulting from what the Marxists called alienation.

The establishment of hierarchical institutions of control, presumably to deny certain groups access to resources, prestige, and power, led to spatial segregation and hierarchy among the groups. The combination of social segregation along economic hierarchies as well as the elite rejection of traditional symbols increased the fragility of the Galindo society. Latent cultural, power, and spatial residence differences can turn into active cultural and ideological differentiation (ethnogenesis) if the periods of environmental and sociopolitical stress are sustained and force people to question formerly taken-for-granted ways of hierarchical social interaction (Bawden 2005, p. 13). Therefore, a sense of injustice among the commoners that arose from a combination of institutionalized inequality and systemic stress was further inscribed by the stylistic differences that resulted from spatial segregation of the commoners and elites. Among the commoners, ethnogenesis can be further invigorated by the formation of a political community to resist the institutional inequalities; this is the subject of a following section of the paper.

People generally now shun primordial/isolationist explanations of ethnogenesis that emphasize cultural isolation and relatively passive maintenance of habit and custom (Brumfiel

1994b, p. 89). However, if we consider primordialism on a continuum with instrumentalism, we find that although people may still jockey for power and resources, the struggle is intimately tied to what they feel the normative ideal of a political and familial unit should be. Therefore, the motivations and political language used are deeply primordial. Furthermore, as true isolationism rarely, if ever, existed in human history, we must also treat isolationism as a continuum. These case studies' isolationism stems not from true isolation but from the relative lack of outside hegemonic input in ethnogenesis. Toward a more instrumental side of the primordial-instrumental spectrum is Levy's (2008) study of Edomite ethnogenesis. Toward a more primordial side of the primordial-instrumental spectrum and a more interactionist side of the isolationist-interactionist spectrum are the cases of Seminole (Stojanowski 2010; Sturtevant 1971) and Tewa (Ortman 2012) ethnogenesis.

Levy (2008) used three lines of evidence to pinpoint the historical and social contexts of Edomite ethnogenesis: when the name for the land of "Edom" came into being; when boundary-making between groups intensified in the context of cemeteries; how ethnic group names matched with the textually derived corresponding economic lifestyles of the land of "Edom." Levy (2008) argued that Edomite ethnogenesis occurred in the social context of conical clan organization during the Bronze Age (13th-10th centuries BC) in southern Jordan and northwestern Arabia. This time period was characterized by the existence of many "brother" groups related by kinship, blood, and marriage that began to distinguish amongst themselves owing to political conflict. The texts provided the dates and the geographical tribal/land association, and archaeological survey and excavation of a cemetery provided crucial evidence for boundary maintenance and economic lifestyles.

Both primordial and instrumental forms of social organization that manifested in conical clan organization were framed as a “family affair,” which sometimes led to ethnogenesis in times of political conflict between “siblings.” Although there was interaction with nonkin groups, it was ultimately sibling rivalry that led to ethnogenesis. To “insiders,” therefore, ethnogenesis was framed as family political tensions as estranged siblings sought their own territory. The association between the sibling groups and their respective territories engendered ethnogenesis. After territories were established, continuing stylistic and linguistic differentiation reinforced group difference.

Although Sturtevant (1971) and Stojanowski (2010) believed that geographic separation played an important role in Seminole ethnogenesis, both stressed that the ethnogenesis of the Seminole was a long process that involved successive fissions and fusions. Sturtevant (1971) emphasized that Seminole ethnogenesis was a gradual process of back-and-forth migration from Georgia into the ecological niches of Florida. The migrations were motivated by the jealousies and political divisions engendered by divide-and-rule policies of the British and exacerbated by the deerskin trade, the introduction of guns, and increased warfare. As communications between the Creek communities in Georgia and the Creek “colonies” in Florida began to be severed, group distinctness of the colonies increased. Seminole ethnogenesis took on a more enduring character after the ethnonym “Seminole” was adopted by Europeans and Seminole alike and the process of primordial isolationism continued (Sturtevant 1971, pp. 92-93).

Stojanowski (2010) effectively used biodistance methods, based on variation in teeth, to gauge genetic integration and separation of the various colonial Southeastern indigenous groups in protohistorical and historical time periods (see also Klaus 2008). In a novel interpretation of genetic data, Stojanowski (2010, p. 55) utilized the *chaîne opératoire* framework, arguing that

biological reproduction is informed by the “production sequence” of “one’s upbringing, heritage, education, early life experiences.” His research showed at least two cycles of biological fission and fusion of Florida populations. In the early 16th and 17th centuries, genetic microdifferentiation resulted from decreasing migration and declining population. In the 17th century, Seminole ethnogenesis was driven by fusion after catastrophic demographic collapse, and in the 18th century and onward, it was due to fission. Ultimately, it was the “emigration of disparate communities from Georgia into the vacant lands of the old Spanish missions” that led to a more enduring form of Seminole ethnogenesis (Stojanowski 2010, p. 130). The ancestors of the Seminole originally came from Florida, so their ethnogenesis through geographic and social distancing from their Creek relatives can be seen as a homecoming rather than an invasion (Stojanowski 2010, p. 179). They were also religiously and politically united through their pro-Spanish and Christian sympathies. Others contend that the “destruction, formation, change, and fissioning” characterizing Seminole ethnogenesis were ongoing, and the Seminoles have been and still are internally differentiated culturally (Weik 2009, p. 210). Weik (2009) gave more attention to the internal divisions of the Seminole, stressing the continued practices from multiple origins such as Creek, African, Spanish, English, and Middle Eastern. Also, African Seminoles did not fully integrate with the Seminole Indian by way of shared practices and full acceptance by the Seminole Indians (Weik 2009, pp. 233-34).

Many since V. Gordon Childe have recognized that language, biological affinity, and even the different domains of culture do not necessarily coevolve (Barth 1969; Hill 1996b; Hodder 1978, pp. 4, 12-13; Moore 1994, p. 939; Ortman 2012, p. 2; Renfrew 1993, pp. 23-27; Terrell 2001). Moore (1994, p. 939) reasonably suggested that the lack of coevolution was

because the different domains of human life are subject to different sets of laws. What are these “laws” and the social and historical significance of the lack of coevolution?

Ortman (2012) deftly demonstrated how archaeology could address this methodological conundrum and showed that ethnogenesis may be responsible for some of the spectacular disconnects between language, culture, and genetics. Ortman (2012, pp. 2-3) suggested that “[r]ather than correlating independently derived patterns of genetic, linguistic, and cultural variation,” one can “focus on areas where human biology and language intersect the archaeological record directly.” Through a multidisciplinary analysis of linguistic metaphors, architecture, ceramics, oral history, genetics, and settlement patterns, Ortman showed how Tewa ethnogenesis was likely due to a religious movement and mass migration from the Mesa Verde region. This narrative explained how mass migration could have occurred as Mesa Verde culture was being rejected. Especially compelling are the innovations in material culture and architecture that were actually anachronisms to pre-Mesa Verde Rio Grande traditions of the Tewa Basin. Ortman (2012, pp. 347-48) argued that this surprising phenomenon in material culture was because the migrants from the Mesa Verde region interpreted the primordial-seeming cultural practices and linguistic and material culture characteristics of indigenous Tewa Basin populations as a way of life of their ancestors. The metaphor of going back in time as going further away in space (migration) in oral traditions reinforced this interpretation. Ortman’s interpretation of a religious revolution seeking to go back to a purer way of life by rejecting more recent innovations is consistent with all the social changes: mass migration, abandonment of old villages, burning of kivas and possessions, violence against opposing factions, and public surveillance to ensure compliance in the new behavior. While the proximate causes of dissatisfaction leading to religious revolution are still unknown, latent cultural practices and

knowledge of ancestral ways of life in the Tewa Basin provided the “ingredients” with which to characterize the revolution, mass migration, and recreation of society.

In terms of the four-quadrant scheme, the revolution and conflict in the Mesa Verde region can be characterized as both primordial and instrumental, and as more isolationist than interactionist because it was largely an in situ revolution along factional lines. As the desire for mass migration increased, perhaps owing to increasing awareness and favorable interpretation of extant ancestral ways of life in the Tewa Basin, Tewa ethnogenesis became more primordial/interactionist. As the migrants settled in their new society, political and religious dissension still existed, activating more instrumental/isolationist dimensions of ethnogenesis. The power of the past cannot be denied in ethnogenesis, and the past as embodied in ritual, oral traditions, cultural practices, and material culture can be tapped in times of political factionalism. In other words, the source of power in instrumental struggles comes not from instrumental narratives but from primordial narratives.

Resistance against institutionalized inequalities

In the words of Voss (2008, p. 36), “[e]thnogenesis has become a powerful metaphor for the creativity of oppressed and marginalized peoples birthing a new cultural space for themselves amidst their desperate struggle to survive.” The case studies in this section demonstrate that ethnogenesis can overcome fissions and factions through rallying people against institutionalized inequalities.

Generally, the struggle is against a dominant class or caste. Uniformity of practices and material culture increases among members of the ethnogenetic group. Although resistance against institutionalized inequalities is one of the possible later stages of ethnogenesis owing to internal factionalism, institutionalized inequalities generally originate from colonization by

outsiders of different ethnic origins. As the following case studies will demonstrate, colonialist powers instrumentalize identity through economically subordinating or creating certain ethnic identities in hierarchical frameworks of power. The resistance against such instrumentalism prompts the formation of political communities based on primordial narratives. The relationship between colonial ethnic, racial, and class categories and the on-the-ground forms of identification and social cohesion is a common point of departure for the study of colonialism, especially of Spanish colonialism (Cahill 1994). Often, the categorizations of the colonial structure are redeployed against the very same colonial structure (Preucel *et al.* 2002, p. 84).

Recent archaeological research on the ethnogenesis of the Seminole provides excellent examples of ethnogenesis as resistance (Weik 2009; Weisman 1999, 2007). Weisman (1999, 2007) argued that while the Seminole may have had diverse origins in the precontact Southeast, their modern identity, self-characterized as the “unconquered people,” first took on a persistent and mobilizing character during the Second Seminole War (1835-42 AD). Weisman believed that the Seminole nativistic resistance movements were ultimately most responsible for Seminole ethnogenesis. Such movements strengthened clan ties through ritual events and giving to the deceased, unification of the anti-European goals of the various Seminole groups, regularized economic exchange, and the general characterization of the Seminole as indomitable warriors (Weisman 2007, pp. 202-9).

The “ethnogenesis as resistance” narrative was also prevalent among studies of African American/Afro-Caribbean and French vernacular Canadian ethnogenesis (Mann 2008; Matthews *et al.* 2002; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). A thread through these studies is trying to understand how people created a sense of normalcy, cohesion, and family in a context full of disruption and power, racial, and class hierarchies. While Deetz (1994) saw the number of similarities in the

colonoware ceramics from Native American, English, and African traditions as proportional indexes of interaction between these three groups of people, Matthews *et al.* (2002) stressed that the production of African American colonoware was a conscious act of resistance against the racial foundations of slavery. Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005, p. 308) argued that the primary context for resistance to the senselessness and chaos caused by slavery was the home.

Ethnogenesis was creatively produced and reproduced in daily life and practice through choosing to continue shared African practices as well as draw from personal stylistic innovation (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). Ethnogenesis was the manifestation of people trying to find strength, comfort, and dignity for the spirit (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005, pp. 308-9).

Mann (2008) also regarded ethnogenesis as a way of maintaining a sense of dignity. He showed that a conscious reproduction of French vernacular architecture by French-speaking fur traders and conscious rejection and modification of such architecture by the English conquerors led to an ethnic segmentation of the fur trade and fostered the subsequent ethnogenesis of the French-speaking Canadiens. The Canadiens self-identified and became externally identified as those who stubbornly built in the French vernacular style and refused to participate in the fur trade the English way (Mann 2008, pp. 325-34). Canadian ethnogenesis is a good case study of how socioeconomic class and ethnicity are mutually constitutive in contexts of colonialism.

Ethnogenesis, while serving to resist and coopt the dominant, can also help disparate groups supersede old ethnic, tribal, and religious rivalries, especially in the cases of revitalization movements (Liebmann 2012; Liebmann and Preucel 2007; Preucel *et al.* 2002; Smoak 2006). The 1680 Pueblo Revolt displayed many of the same material culture and social changes as Tewa ethnogenesis, and may have been a reenactment of the events surrounding Tewa ethnogenesis (Ortman 2012, pp. 361-66). However, unity is often short-lived after the immediate

political goal of getting rid of the dominant power is accomplished and political difference takes hold again (Preucel *et al.* 2002, pp. 88-89).

In the cases of resistance against institutionalized inequalities, the most salient type of ethnogenesis is instrumental/interactionist overall, but primordial narratives are of utmost importance from the point of view of the resistance. As interaction decreases between the oppositional groups, so does the salience of their ethnic boundary (Tilly 2004, p. 218). However, even after the colonial power ceases to exist, the categories imposed by colonial powers still hold much relevance and power (Tilly 2005, p. 139; see also Freire 1970). Therefore, even if resistance is successful and the dominant powers are expelled, colonial categories continue to hold power over daily interactions.

Legitimization of unequal access to power and resources or the maintenance of social inequality

On the other side of the coin, ethnogenesis can consolidate economic and social domination over other groups (Bell 2005; Braswell 2003; Metz 1999; Voss 2005, 2008). Perhaps the most instrumental/interactionist of all the categories of ethnogenesis, ethnogenesis as the legitimization of unequal access to power and resources may unfortunately also be the most enduring. Because the ruling or dominant groups in unequal societies are also responsible for the political-legal framework, the categorizations produced by the dominant group have an overarching legitimacy that *emic* categorizations lack. The categorizations, even if rejected by some of the groups, still serve as a point of reference for oppositional framing as well as provide foreigners with a readymade framework. Legitimacy in the eyes of foreigners is especially salient if those foreigners come from societies with a similar hierarchy of ethnic groups, thus

transferring “shared understandings, practices, and interpersonal relations from setting to setting, making old routines easy to reproduce in new settings” (Tilly 2005, p. 111).

Tilly (2005, p. 139) suspected that the categorical identities imposed by imperialist or colonialist powers often continue after those powers like the Soviet Union cease to exist. The longevity of institutionalized inequality even after the disappearance of the powers that were originally responsible can be a result of “borrowing,” when “[p]eople creating a new organization emulate distinctions already visible in other organizations of the same general class” (Tilly 2004, p. 219). In noncolonial contexts, borrowing manifested as elites emulating foreign elites or acquiring luxury items from foreign lands (e.g. Curta 2001, 2005). In colonial contexts, borrowing manifested as the cooptation of the elite culture and ideals (e.g., Voss 2005, 2008). In postcolonial contexts, the formerly subjugated often remake themselves in the image of their former oppressors by “borrowing” the logic of the previous institutional hierarchies, attitudes, and practices (Freire 1970). A decidedly instrumental ethnogenesis that focuses on maintaining or gaining prestige and power can take place. Ethnogenesis as legitimization of institutionalized inequalities presumably creates widespread dissatisfaction and loss of dignity among the groups at the bottom of the hierarchy because resistance against those inequalities employs strongly primordial narratives. In the case of Late Classic Naco Valley of northwestern Honduras, elite adaptation of foreign symbols to manipulate local social identities for personal economic and political gain was met with uneven enthusiasm as evidenced by subsequent political fissioning and rejecting of unifying symbols (Schortman *et al.* 2001).

Bell (2005) showed how the ethnogenesis of “whites” in the 18th-century Chesapeake crafted a sense of group solidarity and distinction from Native and African groups. The “white” ethnogenesis was not explicitly for economic profit but to strengthen in-group cohesion and

difference from Native and African groups. The integrative practices reproducing ethnogenesis of “whites” were distinct from but coexistent with the capitalistic mode of stressing private profit over social obligation (Bell 2005, p. 446). Metz (1999), like Bell, also showed how “white” ethnogenesis occurred in British colonial America among various ethnic, religious, and national identities through the reproduction of integrative practices among “whites” and exclusionary, dominating practices toward Native and African groups.

A systematic examination of Spanish colonial “white” ethnogenesis was carried out by Barbara Voss (2005, 2008) in trying to understand how the formerly distinct “castas” or Spanish-colonial “castes” became the “white” *californios*. Voss’s nuanced treatment of the gendered, ethnic, labor, and governmental dimensions of North American “white” ethnogenesis demonstrated how “castas” of Native, Spanish, and African descent remade themselves into “californios” when transplanted to the Presidio in San Francisco. Voss’s (2008) practice-based approach highlighted that ethnic consciousness was not merely an epiphenomenon of intergroup interaction but an active production and reproduction of difference; in the case of the Presidio, it took the form of utilizing male Native labor, excluding women from craft production and architectural decisions, selecting for European wares, and homogeneity in foodways and other cultural practices. The San Francisco Presidio case study also calls attention to the variability of Spanish colonial projects, emphasizing that the “cultural and biological cauldron of mestizaje” may not have been as universal in Spanish colonial America as commonly assumed (Voss 2008, p. 301).

Returning to the Canadien ethnogenesis example, the dominant group, the English, had conceptualized the Canadiens as “nonwhite” to justify the exclusion of Canadiens from many segments of the economy (Mann 2008, pp. 319-20). The Canadien example exemplifies

“borrowing” between, in this case, racial hierarchies and economic hierarchies. In the examples of “white” colonialism, groups wishing to consolidate and legitimize their superior economic and political position take on “white” ethnicity regardless of blood ancestry (Bell 2005; Mann 2008; Voss 2005, 2008).

Braswell (2003) showed how cultural Nahuatization of the K’iche’an Maya elite in the Late Postclassic facilitated the creation of a class-based society. Instrumental interests of the elite and political factionalism led to a greater social distance between commoners and elites of the different houses, which drove the elite appropriation of exotic symbols, names, titles, and behavior. Braswell argued that competition between the great houses escalated foreign cultural emulation, probably leading to ethnogenesis. Alignments with the powerful Nahua neighbors were one way of gaining material and strategic advantages against opposing houses. In short, the pragmatic instrumental interests of the elites led to alignments with the Nahua, which also led to the cultural emulation of the Nahua among the elites, which in turn reinforced social distinctions between the K’iche’an elites and commoners. This phenomenon also occurred in the colonial Andes, where factionalism among native elites led not only to emerging class divisions within their *ayllus*, or family networks, but also to a Castilianization of the elites (Stern 1993; see also Guamán Poma de Ayala 1978).

Out of all the different strands of ethnogenesis, ethnogenesis as legitimization of institutionalized inequalities may be the least creative because it heavily relies on borrowing outsider frameworks rather than creating a wholly new vision from the deconstruction of the frameworks. When primordial narratives that equate blood ancestry with quality of character are employed, “racial” segregation and subordination are ossified under bureaucratic frameworks (Orser 2007; Yanow 2003). Whereas ethnogenesis as resistance often creatively draws from

metaphors and narratives of the “good” life, ethnogenesis as legitimization of institutionalized inequalities borrows effective political-legal frameworks of control as a means of domination (Scott 1998, 2009).

Frontiers along imperial and colonial borders

Many argue that frontiers are dynamic areas where social relations crisscross and ethnogenesis is likely to take place (Alconini 2004; Chappell 1993; Gruzinski 2002; Hall 1986; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Weber 2005; Willems 1989). Tilly (2004, p. 214) defined a social boundary as “any contiguous zone of contrasting density, rapid transition, or separation between internally connected clusters of population and/or activity.” What mechanisms drive the rise of ethnic difference and similarity in frontier contexts, and why are frontiers so fluid and varying in character? Rousseau and van der Veen’s excellent (2005) treatment of the rise of shared identity or of difference through agent-based modeling shows that the interaction of basic mechanisms such as the size of the repertoire of knowledge about the “other” group, the degree of bias in each group’s normative ideal of identity, and the degree of influence exercised by leaders over their neighbors’ identities leads to radically different boundary patterns. For example, clustering and sharp boundaries are most evident when there are small repertoires (little general knowledge about the other groups), low bias (little positive or negative institutional reinforcement of certain identities), and powerful leaders (Rousseau and van der Veen 2005, p. 708). Rousseau and van der Veen (2005, p. 709) show how simple microlevel processes interacting with one another can lead to a wide variety of macrolevel patterns. Therefore, frontiers are fluid because a number of continually changing microlevel processes, related to shifting alliances and dynamism in frontier societies, are at work.

Curta's (2001, 2005) studies of Slavic and other "barbarian" ethnogeneses emphasized Roman frontiers (*limes*) as social and physical spaces where the creation of ethnic identity occurred. Curta explored both the internal and external processes of identification and politics that led to the ethnogenesis of the various Danubian peoples. Many scholars believed that "barbarian" identities were born in the shadow of and in interaction with Rome in the fourth to eighth centuries AD (Brather 2005; Curta 2001, 2005). Roman expansion and the policy of establishing the *limes* meant that barbarian leaders of various tribes rose to power in the context of endemic warfare. Certain Roman policies, such as the economic closure of the *limes*, led to heightened competition amongst the barbarian elite for access to luxury goods and the rise of barbarian leaders. When interacting with Rome, leaders spoke in the name of their communities, and the development of a distinctive "international" barbarian elite culture using Roman luxury goods as "emblemic symbols" facilitated intertribal relations. Curta's primary archaeological strategy to find ethnogenesis was to look for homogenization of tastes and preferences for goods preceding and during the time when many "ethnic" names appeared in the historical record. An additional line of evidence was how frontier politics favored successful mobilization of groups, which, considering that ethnicity is often described as "politicized culture" or as "goal-oriented identity," facilitated ethnogenesis (Curta 2005, p. 203).

Curta relied heavily on instrumental/interactionist definitions of ethnicity (e.g., Barth 1969; Cohen 1969) but also acknowledged that while the context for ethnogenesis may be instrumental/interactionist, the primordial "[k]ernels of tradition" were important (Curta 2005, p. 201). Curta explicitly argued against theories of Slavic ethnogenesis that outline a primordial/isolationist development of the traits of an ethnicity in a specific locale and crystallization by later migration and interaction with outside groups (e.g., Pogodin 1901;

Rostafinski 1908; Schafarik 1844). Curta (2001, 2005) stressed that difference is created *through* interaction and is not a precondition for ethnogenesis.

Shelach's (2009) treatment of the material externalization of a wide-reaching "ethnic-like" identity on the northern frontiers of the expanding Chinese Zhou states in the first millennium BC used Wobst's (1977, pp. 323-28) distinction between symbols that communicate at short range and those that extend longer distances (Shelach 2009, pp. 78-80). The shift to pastoralism, borrowed symbols from the faraway western steppe, the rise of highly visible symbols on clothing, and increasingly hostile relations with the expanding Zhou states to the south showed that the Northern Zone had begun to consciously adopt a nomadic steppe-related identity in opposition to their southern neighbors. The conscious symbolic distancing also paralleled relative social-interaction isolation from the Zhou states. Such distancing may have made later open militaristic hostilities more vicious. In this case, the adoption of a symbolic militarism may have reinforced tendencies for violent relationships with the Zhou states in the second half of the first millennium BC (Shelach 2009, pp. 149-52).

Prudence Rice and Don Rice (2005) argued that multiple Maya ethnogeneses took place among the various Maya-speaking groups in the Postclassic and colonial period. Rice and Rice (2005) utilized the "frontier as process" approach adapted from Kopyoff (1987) and Comaroff and Comaroff (1991), which emphasizes frontiers as places where conflict, innovation, and ethnogenesis tend to occur. As Comaroff and Comaroff (1991, pp. 217, 313) stated eloquently, frontiers are "uncharted spaces of confrontation...in which people fashion new worlds." Rice and Rice (2005) argued that there were at least three frontiers in which Maya-speaking peoples became ever more differentiated from one another. The frontiers were marked by migration, raiding and warfare, and increasing language differentiation. The dynamic and competitive

nature of the frontiers increased with the Spanish conquest, which accelerated migration, competition, and cultural differentiation among the different Maya-speaking groups (Rice and Rice 2005, pp. 155-59). Therefore, the various Maya ethnogeneses happened on hostile and isolating frontiers (Rice and Rice 2005, p. 168). Rice and Rice (2005) assumed that during the Classic Maya period, there may have been more overarching identity cohesion than in the Postclassic, and that Mayan ethnogeneses began before but were also accelerated by the Spanish conquest.

The case studies highlight that ethnogenesis tended to occur in frontier or borderlands especially in times of conflict and rupture. Although ethnogenesis along frontiers is highly instrumental and interactionist, primordial narratives are sometimes the strongest in frontier contexts for the very reason that the political stakes are so high. Furthermore, a drive toward autonomy is evident among many ethnogenetic groups in frontier contexts, implicating the isolationist realm as well. Colonialism often created frontiers and boundaries where culture became heavily politicized and ethnogenesis occurred (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Weber 2005).

Discussion

What patterns do we see if we roughly plot these themes onto the four-quadrant scheme? How do these different themes of ethnogenesis relate to one another? What kinds of questions do the patterns raise? The overlap among the different themes of ethnogenesis implies a historical relationship among these themes (figure 3).

The theme of the rise of internal social inequality leading to fissioning (theme 1) overlaps the most with the theme of frontiers along imperial and colonial borders (theme 4). The theme of frontiers along imperial and colonial borders (theme 4) then shares more with the theme of

resistance against institutionalized inequalities (theme 2) than with the theme of legitimization of institutionalized inequalities (theme 3). I argue that we can organize the similarities by the degree of geographical exclusiveness of differentiated groups. Under theme 1 (fissioning), the new groups also generally geographically migrate away from one another (geographically exclusive). Likewise, in theme 4 (frontiers), the differentiated groups generally maintain and inhabit different geographical territories or imagine territorial exclusivity in contexts of overlap. The overlap between themes 1 and 4 represents this conceptual similarity of geographical exclusivity (or desire for geographical exclusivity). Similarly, theme 4 (frontiers) and the revitalization movements of theme 2 (resistance against domination) share the desire of geographical exclusivity. However, when theme 1 (fissioning) does not lead to centrifugal migration, institutional inequalities and their legitimization sometimes result, as can be represented by the overlap of theme 3 (legitimization of domination) with theme 1 (fissioning). The overlap between theme 1 (fissioning) and theme 3 (legitimization of inequality) represents this social process characterized by geographical inclusivity. The colonialism component of theme 3 also shows geographical inclusivity of the ethnically different subjugated peoples.

The affinity of certain possibilities within themes raises several questions. First, does ethnogenesis of one theme have a tendency to turn into ethnogenesis of another theme? Second, what are some of the historical implications of the affinity of certain themes of ethnogenesis? Third, how can the grouping of themes under the four-quadrant scheme help us evaluate theory types 1 and 2? Regarding the first and second questions, while the heuristic affinity of certain themes of ethnogenesis has played out in certain historical trajectories of ethnogenesis, only further comparative and long-term historical research and synthesis can establish the strength of the historical associations of the different themes. Especially important is the study of the

overlaps between the different themes to identify the common historical directions, if any, ethnogenesis takes. I suspect that while the four-quadrant scheme distills some of the basic mechanisms of ethnogenesis, the interaction of concurrent ethnogeneses, such as between elites and commoners or between men and women, will yield surprising results (e.g. Smith 2003). Regarding the third question, we can return to the two questions posed earlier in the paper. Did the rise of capitalism lead to the instrumentalization of social identities, as Marx asserted? Did the rise of the state lead to the durability of groupings and alliances that previously were temporary and fluctuating? That is, did the rise of states formalize social groups?

Archaeology is well equipped to address these questions because of its strengths in tracking long-term changes in social relations and because of its synergy with the field of history. We can begin to evaluate the connection between the rise of capitalism and the instrumentalization of social identities by evaluating how identities in different case studies changed with the progress of capitalism in relation to the four-quadrant scheme. What percentage of identities and case studies gravitate toward instrumentalism with the rise of capitalism? From the preliminary review of case studies, there does seem to be a relationship between instrumentalism and durable inequalities, especially under colonialism or a state. Therefore, formalized and instrumentalized social relations caused by colonialism or states may also have favored the rise of capitalism. We can begin to evaluate the connection between the rise of the state and the durability of social groups by tracking the durability and uniformity of symbols and types of social interaction after a group comes into contact with or under the dominion of a state.

Conclusion and future directions

This paper argued for the appropriateness of methodological frameworks that incorporate different types of theory to evaluate ethnogenesis. Also presented was a four-quadrant scheme to

aid the evaluation of theory types 1 and 2. A review of common themes in ethnogenesis and their archaeological case studies revealed intriguing possibilities for future research as well as vindicated the heuristic utility of the four-quadrant scheme. The four-quadrant scheme also demonstrated the utility of older understandings of ethnicity, such as the primordial perspectives. The surge in doctoral dissertations on the archaeology of ethnogenesis after the turn of the last millennium suggests the continued vitality of and interest in ethnogenesis (Attarian 2003; Borgstede 2004; Bush 2001; Card 2007; Cipolla 2010; Emans 2007; Hamilton 2009; Hardy 2008; Kincaid 2005; Klaus 2008; Liebmann 2006; Mann 2003; Seibert 2010; Naunapper 2007; Ngwenyama 2007; Ortman 2010; Peeples 2011; Pugh 2010; Rajnovich 2003; Sunseri 2009; Van Gijseghem 2004; Voss 2002; Weik 2002; Wilcox 2001).

Archaeological study of ethnogenesis is inherently political in contemporary contexts. Ethnogenesis studies, especially in archaeology, are of contemporarily contested areas or of identities that are bound up with recent political events (the breakup of the Soviet Union, Israel/Palestine, NAGPRA, and American indigenous movements that are sometimes class struggles as well). Times of conflict lead to critical self-examination, and the recent interest in archaeological studies of ethnogenesis is part of larger struggles for recognition or forgetting of certain ethnic identities in highly charged political contexts. The Old World studies predominantly relate to current nation-state self-determination. The New World archaeological ethnogenesis studies emphasize multidirectional agency and represent a backlash against some of the unidirectional and Eurocentric assimilation and acculturation models (Deagan 1998, p. 23; Foster 1960; Voss 2008, p. 33).

In academia, similar battles are fought over the allocation of resources and the power to define what “proper” theory is (Abend 2008, pp. 193-94). Exclusivity in language (jargon),

different epistemological focuses of many journals and conference sections, institutionalized inequality of the distribution of power, exploitation of labor, and social insularity within and between departments are sources of dynamism as well as stagnation. Under the conditions mentioned above, many new directions for research emerge. However, what is lost is a sense of history and appreciation of the utility of competing or older epistemologies. Older concepts like “culture” are used as “punching bags” (Watson 1995, p. 690), and people like the Old Timer of the parable of the Golden Marshalltown who believed in “culture” are marginalized and sometimes haughtily dismissed despite their valuable contributions to understanding empirical histories (Flannery 1982). We must become more aware of the unintended consequences of certain practices in archaeology as they can sometimes resemble the legitimization of institutional inequality.

This paper emphasizes that the integration (and not conflation) of webs of knowledge and different types of theory into our methodologies can further our understanding of ethnogenesis. For example, normative political theory and archaeology are currently disconnected fields. However, as ethnogenesis and the formation of a political community are intertwined, we should explore the relationship between the political philosophies of a group of people and their social interactions. Archaeology is well suited to the study of the relationships between ideals and practice because of its strengths in the interpretation of past human action. Different types of theory are also applicable to the archaeological study of contemporary societies. For example, spatial syntax is an appropriate methodology in the study of the social logic of space. Treating architecture as a cultural language, Hillier and Hanson (1984) show how architectural patterns can be analyzed to extract the formal principles of, for example, the modes of production or cooperation of any given sector in society. What is particularly useful is that such quantification

and systematization can help us identify principles that run counter to the ideal official political philosophy of that society, revealing internal tensions (Hiller and Hanson 1984, p. 48).

Historically, for example, social interactions such as drinking *pulque*, bullfights, theater, *paseos*, and the game of *pelota* were not segregated by caste or class in New Spain (colonial Mexico) during the Hapsburg regime, even though the regime emphasized *de jure* hierarchy and division of different ethnic and racial groups. Widespread social insularity in public places began under the Enlightenment-inspired Bourbons (Viqueira Albán 1999). Because of the Enlightenment disdain for folk culture, penchant for a top-down view of neatness and order, control and education of the masses, and emphasis on rationality and scientific naturalism, social distinctions and hierarchies were strictly enforced by naturalized practices even as they were being done away with on paper. Viqueira Albán (1999) argued that modern “democratic” Mexico is a practical continuation of this Enlightenment project, where class-based spaces are reinforced by day-to-day practices and different tastes in social diversion and not by laws. Archaeology, with its ability to infer social insularity, wealth gaps, integrative urban public spaces or lack thereof, neighborhoods and differences in stylistic taste can identify historical processes like the one outlined by Viqueira Albán (see Smith 1987, 2011). Therefore, archaeology can contribute greatly to the history not only of enduring distinction but also of disdain.

References Cited

- Abend, G. (2008). The meaning of 'theory.' *Sociological Theory* **26**: 173–199.
- Alconini, S. (2004). The southeastern Inka frontier against the Chiriguanos: Structure and dynamics of the Inka imperial borderlands. *Latin American Antiquity* **15**: 389–418.
- Attarian, C. (2003). *Pre-Hispanic Urbanism and Community expression in the Chicama Valley, Peru*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Avksentiev, A., and Avksentiev, V. (1993). *Etnicheskie Problemy Sovremennosti i Kultura Mezhnatsional'nogo Obsheniya/ Ethnic Problems of the Present and the Culture of Interethnic Communication*, State Pedagogical Institute Press, Stavropol.
- Bandy, M.S. (2001). *Population and History in the Ancient Titicaca Basin*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
- Bandy, M.S. (2004). Fissioning, scalar stress, and social evolution in early village societies. *American Anthropologist* **106**: 322-333.
- Banks, M. (1996). *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions*, Routledge, London.
- Barth, F. (1969). Introduction. In Barth, F. (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Allen and Unwin, London, pp. 9–37.
- Bawden, G. (2005). Ethnogenesis at Galindo, Peru. In Reycraft, R. (ed.), *Us and Them: Archaeology and Ethnicity in the Andes*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 12–33.
- Bawden, G., and Reycraft, R. (2009). Exploration of punctuated equilibrium and culture change in the archaeology of Andean ethnogenesis. In Marcus, J., Williams, P. (eds.), *Andean*

- Civilization : A Tribute to Michael E. Moseley*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 195–210.
- Bell, A. (2005). White ethnogenesis and gradual capitalism: Perspectives from colonial archaeological sites in the Chesapeake. *American Anthropologist* **107**: 446–460.
- Bell, D. (1975). Ethnicity and social change. In Glazer, N., and Moynihan, D. (eds.), *Ethnicity*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 141–176.
- Bentley, G.C. (1987). Ethnicity and practice. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* **29**: 24–55.
- Borgstede, G. J. (2004). *Ethnicity and Archaeology in the Western Maya Highlands, Guatemala*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, CA.
- Braswell, G. E. (2003d). K'iche'an origins, symbolic emulation, and ethnogenesis in the Maya highlands, A.D. 1400–1524. In Smith, M. E., and Berdan, F. F. (eds.), *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 297–306.
- Brather, S. (2005). Acculturation and ethnogenesis along the frontier: Rome and the ancient Germans in an archaeological perspective. In Curta, F. (ed.), *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Brepols, Turnhout, pp. 139–171.
- Brubaker, R., and F. Cooper. (2000). Beyond “identity.” *Theory and Society* **29**: 1–47.

- Brumfiel E.M. (1994a). Factional competition and political development in the New World: An introduction. In Brumfiel, E.M. and Fox, J.W. (eds.), *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 3–13.
- Brumfiel, E.M. (1994b). Ethnic groups and political development in ancient Mexico. In Brumfiel, E.M. and Fox, J.W. (eds.), *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 89–102.
- Bush, L. (2001). *Boundary Conditions: Botanical Remains of the Oliver phase, Central Indiana, A.D. 1200–1450*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Cahill, D. (1994). Colour by numbers: Racial and ethnic categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532–1824. *Journal of Latin American Studies* **26**: 325–346.
- Card, J. (2007). *The Ceramics of Colonial Ciudad Vieja, El Salvador: Culture Contact and Social Change in Mesoamerica*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- Chappell, D. (1993). Ethnogenesis and frontiers. *Journal of World History* **4**: 267–275.
- Cipolla, C. (2010). *The Dualities of Endurance: A Collaborative Historical Archaeology of Ethnogenesis at Brothertown, 1780–1910*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Cohen, A. (1969). *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Comaroff, J., and Comaroff, J.L. (1991). *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

- Conkey, M. (1990). Experimenting with style in archaeology: Some historical and theoretical issues. In Conkey, M., and Hastorf, C. (eds.), *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 5–17.
- Conkey, M., and Hastorf, C. (1990). Introduction. In Conkey, M., and Hastorf, C. (eds.), *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 1–4.
- Curta, F. (2001). *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, Ca. 500–700*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Curta, F. (2005). Frontier ethnogenesis in late antiquity: The Danube, the Tervingi, and the Slavs. In Curta, F. (ed.), *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, pp. 173–204.
- De Vos, G. A. and Romanucci–Ross, L. (2006). Ethnic identity: A psychocultural perspective. In Romanucci–Ross L., De Vos, G., and Tsuda, T. (eds.), *Ethnic Identity: Problems and Prospects for the Twenty-first Century*, 4th ed., AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD, pp.375–400.
- Deagan, K. (1998). Transculturation and Spanish American ethnogenesis: The archaeological legacy of the quincentenary. In Cusick, J. (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, Occasional Paper No. 25, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, pp. 23–43.
- Deetz, J. (1994). *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619–1864*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Edelstein, J. (1974). Pluralist and Marxist perspectives on ethnicity and nation–building. In Bell, W., and Freeman, W. (eds.), *Ethnicity and Nation–Building: Comparative, International, and Historical Perspectives*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, CA, pp. 45–57.

- Emans, R. (2007). *Tribalization, Ethnic Formation, and Migration on the Allegheny Plateau of Southwestern New York*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo.
- Emberling, G. (1997). Ethnicity in complex societies: Archaeological perspectives. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **5**: 295–344.
- Epstein, A. (2006). *Ethos and Identity: Three Studies in Ethnicity*. Aldine, Chicago.
- Eriksen, T. (1993). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, Pluto Press, London.
- Ford, J.A. (1954). On the concept of types. *American Anthropologist* **56**: 42–57.
- Foster, G. (1960). *Culture and Conquest: America's Spanish Heritage*, Wenner–Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, New York.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Herder and Herder, New York.
- Fried, M.H. (1967). *The Evolution of Political Society*, Random House, New York.
- Fried, M.H. (1968). On the concepts of 'tribe' and 'tribal society.' In Helm, J. (ed.), *Essays on the Problem of Tribe*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, pp. 3–22.
- Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Glazer, N., and Moynihan, D. (1963). *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Gosden, C. (1999). *Anthropology and Archaeology: A Changing Relationship*, Routledge, London.

- Gregory, D., and Wilcox, D. (eds.) (2007). *Zuni Origins: Toward a New Synthesis of Southwestern Archaeology*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Gruzinski, S. (2002). *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization = La Pensée Métisse*, Routledge, New York.
- Guamán Poma de Ayala, F. (1978). *Letter to a King: A Peruvian Chief's Account of Life under the Incas and under Spanish rule*, Dutton, New York.
- Hall, T. (1986). Incorporation in the world-system: Toward a critique. *American Sociological Review* **51**: 390–402.
- Hamilton, C. (2009). *Intrasite Variation among Household Assemblages at Ciudad Vieja, El Salvador*, Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- Hardy, M. (2008). *Saladoid Economy and Complexity on the Arawakan Frontier*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- Hedstrom, P., and Swedberg, R. (1998). Social mechanisms: An introductory essay. In Hedstrom, P., and Swedberg, R. (eds.), *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 1–31.
- Hill, J. (1996a). Introduction. In Hill, J. (ed.), *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492–1992*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City, pp. 1–19.
- Hill, J. (ed.) (1996b). *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492–1992*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
- Hillier, B., and Hanson, J. (1984). *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hodder, I. (1978). Simple correlations between material culture and society: A review. In Hodder, I. (ed.), *The Spatial Organisation of Culture*, Duckworth, London, pp. 3–24.

- Holloman, R., and Arutiunov, S. (eds.) (1978). *Perspectives on Ethnicity*, Mouton, The Hague.
- Isajiw, W. (1994). Definitions of ethnicity: New approaches. *Ethnic Forum* **14**: 9–16.
- Jenkins, R. (1994). Rethinking ethnicity: Identity, categorization and power. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* **17**: 197–233.
- Jenkins, R. (2007). *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 2nd edition, Sage Publications, Los Angeles.
- Jones, S. (1997). *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, Routledge, London.
- Jordan, B. (2002). *A Geographical Perspective on Ethnogenesis: The Case of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Texas at Austin, Austin.
- Karner, C. (2007). *Ethnicity and Everyday Life*, Routledge, London.
- Kincaid, G. (2005). *The Political Anthropology of the Mosel Franks: State Formation in Migration Period Europe A.D., 350–700*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri–Columbia.
- Klaus, H. (2008). *Out of Light Came Darkness: Bioarchaeology of Mortuary Ritual, Health, and Ethnogenesis in the Lambayeque Valley Complex, North Coast of Peru (AD 900–1750)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Ohio State University, Columbus.
- Kohl, P. (1998). Nationalism and archaeology: On the constructions of nations and the reconstructions of the remote past. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **27**: 223–246.
- Laitin, D. (1998). *Identity Information: The Russian–Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Levy, T. (2008). Ethnic identity in Biblical Edom, Israel and Midian: Some insights from mortuary contexts in the lowlands of Edom. In Schloen, D. (ed.), *Exploring the Longue*

- Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN, pp. 251–261.
- Liebmann, M. (2006). “*Burn the Churches, Break Up the Bells*”: *The Archaeology of the Pueblo Revolt Revitalization Movement in New Mexico, A.D. 1680—1696*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Liebmann, M. (2012). *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th century New Mexico*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Liebmann, M., and Preucel, R. (2007). The archaeology of the Pueblo Revolt and the formation of the modern Pueblo world. *Kiva* **73**: 195–217.
- Lightfoot, K., and Martinez, A. (1995). Frontiers and boundaries in archaeological perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **24**: 471–492.
- Lucas, G. (2004). *An Archaeology of Colonial Identity: Power and Material Culture in the Dwars Valley, South Africa*, Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Lucy, S. (2005). Ethnic and cultural identities. In Diaz-Andreu, M., Lucy, S., Babic, S., and Edwards, D.N. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, Routledge, London, pp. 86–109.
- Mann, R. (2003). *Colonizing the Colonizers: Canadian Fur Traders and Fur Trade Society in the Great Lakes Region, 1763—1850*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton.
- Mann, R. (2008). From ethnogenesis to ethnic segmentation in the Wabash valley: Constructing identity and houses in Great Lakes fur trade society. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* **12**(4): 319–337.
- Marx, K., and Engels, F. (2002). *The Communist Manifesto*, Penguin Books, London.

- Matthews, C., Leone, M., and Jordan, K. (2002). The political economy of archaeological cultures: Marxism and American historical archaeology. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2: 109–134.
- McGuire, R. (1982). The study of ethnicity in historical archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1: 159–178.
- Merton, R. K. (1968). *Social Theory and Social Structure*, 3rd ed., Free Press, New York.
- Meskell, L. (2001). Archaeologies of identity. In Hodder, I. (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 187–213.
- Metz, J. (1999). Industrial transition and the rise of a “Creole” society in the Chesapeake, 1660–1725. In Franklin, M., and Fesler, G. (eds.), *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation, and the Interpretation of Ethnicity*, Dietz Press, Richmond, VA, pp. 11–30.
- Moore, J.H. (1994). Putting anthropology back together again: The ethnogenetic critique of cladistic theory. *American Anthropologist* 96: 925–948
- Moore, J.H. (2001). Ethnogenetic patterns in native North America. In Terrell, J.E. (ed.), *Archaeology, Language, and History*, Bergin and Garvey, Westport, pp. 31–56.
- Naunapper, L. (2007). *History, Archaeology and the Construction of Ethnicity: Bell Type II Ceramics and the Potawatomi*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
- Ngwenyama, C. (2007). *Material Beginnings of the Saramaka Maroons: An Archaeological Investigation*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Orser, C. E. (2007). *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

- Ortman, S. (2010). *Genes, Language and Culture in Tewa Ethnogenesis, AD 1150–1400*, Ph.D. dissertation, School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Ortman, S. G. (2012). *Winds from the North: Tewa Origins and Historical Anthropology*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Peeples, M. (2011). *Identity and Social Transformation in the Prehispanic Cibola World: A.D. 1150–1325*, Ph.D. dissertation, School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University, Tempe.
- Pogodin, A. (1901). *Iz Istorii Slavianskikh Peredvizhenii*, A. P. Lopukhina, St. Petersburg.
- Pokshishevskiy, V. (1987). Geography of ethnic groups and processes. *Soviet Geography* **28**: 591–608.
- Preucel, R., Traxler, L., and Wilcox, M. (2002). “Now the God of the Spaniards is dead”: Ethnogenesis and community formation in the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In Schlinger, S. (ed.), *Traditions, Transitions and Technologies: Themes in Southwestern Archaeology*, University Press of Colorado, Boulder, pp. 71–93.
- Pugh, D. (2010). *The Swantek Site: Late Prehistoric Oneota Expansion and Ethnogenesis*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Quimby, G. I., and Spoehr, A. (1951). Acculturation and material culture. *Fieldiana: Anthropology* **36**: 107–147.
- Rajnovich, M. (2003). *The Laurel World: Time-Space Patterns of Ceramic Styles and their Implications for Culture Change in the Upper Great Lakes in the First Millennium A.D.*,

- Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, East Lansing.
- Renfrew, C. (1993). *The Roots of Ethnicity, Archaeology, Genetics and the Origins of Europe*, Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia, storia e storia dell arte in Roma, Roma.
- Rice, P, and Rice, D. (2005). The final frontier of the Maya: Central Petén, Guatemala, 1450–1700 CE. In Parker, B., and Rodseth, L. (eds.), *Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 147–173.
- Roosens, E. (1989). *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA.
- Rostafinski, J. (1908). *O Pierwotnych Siedzibach i Gospodarstwie sl Owian w Przedhistorycznych Czasach*, Nakladem M. Arcta, Cracow.
- Rousseau, D., and van der Veen, A.M. (2005). The emergence of a shared identity: An agent–based computer simulation of idea diffusion. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* **49**: 686–712
- Royce, A. (1982). *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Jeremy Sabloff (2011). Foreword. In M. E. Smith (ed.), *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. xvii–xix.
- Sackett, J.R. (1982). Approaches to style in lithic archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **1**:59–112.
- Schafarik, P. (1844). *Slawische Alterthümer*, Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig.

- Schortman, E.M., Urban, P.A., and Ausec, M. (2001). Politics with style: Identity formation in prehispanic southeastern Mesoamerica. *American Anthropologist* **103**: 312–330.
- Scott, J. (1998). *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Scott, J. C. (2009). *The Art of Not Being Governed : An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Shelach, G. (2009). *Prehistoric Societies on the Northern Frontiers of China: Archaeological Perspectives on Identity Formation and Economic Change during the First Millennium BCE*, Equinox, London.
- Shennan, S. (1989). Introduction: Archaeological approaches to cultural identity. In Shennan, S. (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, Unwin Hyman, London, pp. 1–32.
- Seibert, E. Martin (2010). *Hidden in Plain View: African American Archaeological Landscapes at Manassas National Battlefield Park*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Smith, A. (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Smith, A. (2000). *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, The Menahem Stern Jerusalem lectures, University Press of New England, Hanover, NH.
- Smith, M.E. (1987). Household possessions and wealth in agrarian states: Implications for archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **6**: 297–335.
- Smith, M.E. (2011). Empirical urban theory for archaeologists. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **18**:167–192

- Smith, S. T. (2003). *Wretched Kush: ethnic identities and boundaries in Egypt's Nubian empire*, Routledge, London.
- Sokolovskii, S., and Tishkov, V. (2002). Ethnicity. In Barnard, A., and Spencer, J. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Routledge, London, pp. 290–295.
- Stark, B. and Chance, J. (2008). Diachronic and multidisciplinary perspectives on Mesoamerican ethnicity. In F. Berdan J. Chance, A. Sandstrom, B. Stark, J. Taggart, and E. Umberger (eds.), *Ethnic Identity in Nahua Mesoamerica: The View from Archaeology, Art History, Ethnohistory, and Contemporary Ethnography*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp.1–37.
- Stern, S. (1993). *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, 2nd ed., University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Stojanowski, C. (2001). *Cemetery Structure, Population Aggregation, and Biological Variability in the Mission Centers of La Florida*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Los Alamos.
- Stojanowski, C. (2010). *Bioarchaeology of Ethnogenesis in the Colonial Southeast*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Sturtevant, W. (1971). Creek into Seminole. In Leacock, E., and Lurie, N. (eds.), *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, Random House, New York, pp. 92–128.
- Sunseri, J. (2009). *Nowhere to Run, Everywhere to Hide: Multi-scalar Identity Practices at Casitas Viejas*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Terrell, J.E. (2001). The uncommon sense of race, language, and culture. In Terrell, J.E. (ed.), *Archaeology, Language, and History*, Bergin and Garvey, Westport, pp. 11–30.

- Tilly, C. (1998). *Durable Inequality*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Tilly, C. (2004). Social boundary mechanisms. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* **34**:211–236.
- Tilly, C. (2005). *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties*, Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, CO.
- Tilly, C. (2008). *Explaining Social Processes*, Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, CO.
- Trigger, B. (1995). Archaeology and the integrated circus. *Critique of Anthropology* **15**: 319–335.
- Van Gijsegem, H. (2004). *Migration, Agency, and Social Change on a Prehistoric Frontier: The Paracas–Nasca Transition in the Southern Nasca Drainage, Peru*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Verdery, K. (1994). Ethnicity, nationalism, and state-making—Ethnic groups and boundaries: Past and future. In Vermeulen, H., and Govers, C. (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries'*, Het Spinhuis, Amsterdam, pp. 35–58.
- Viqueira Albán, J.P. (1999). *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, Scholarly Resources, Wilmington, DE.
- Voss, B. (2002). *The Archaeology of El Presidio de San Francisco: Culture Contact, Gender, and Ethnicity in a Spanish–Colonial Military Community*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
- Voss, B. (2005). From casta to Californio: Social identity and the archaeology of culture contact. *American Anthropologist* **107**: 461–474.
- Voss, B. (2008). *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Wade, P. (1997). *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, Pluto Press, London.

- Watson, P.J. (1995). Archaeology, anthropology, and the culture concept. *American Anthropologist* **97**: 683–694.
- Weber, D. (2005). *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Weber, M. (1949). *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Free Press, New York.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Weik, T. (2002). *Archaeology of Black Seminole Maroons in Florida: Ethnogenesis and Culture Contact at Pilaklikaha*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Weik, T. (2009). The role of ethnogenesis and organization in the development of African–Native American settlements: An African Seminole model. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* **13**(2): 206–238.
- Weisman, B. (1999). *Unconquered People Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Weisman, B. (2007). Nativism, resistance, and ethnogenesis of the Florida Seminole Indian identity. *Historical Archaeology* **41**(4): 198–211.
- Wiessner, P. (1983). Style and social information in Kalahari San projectile points. *American Antiquity* **48**: 253–276.
- Wilcox, M. (2001). *The Archaeology of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680: A Contextual Study of Ethnicity, Conflict and Indigenous Resistance in Colonial New Mexico*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard College, Cambridge, MA.

- Wilkie, L., and Farnsworth, P. (2005). *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Willems, W. (1989). Rome and its frontier in the north: The role of the periphery. In Randsborg, K. (ed.), *The Birth of Europe: Archaeology and Social Development in the First Millennium AD*, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, Rome, pp. 33–45.
- Williams, B. (1992). Of straightening combs, sodium hydroxide, and potassium hydroxide in archaeological and cultural–anthropological analyses of ethnogenesis. *American Antiquity* **57**: 608–612.
- Wobst, M.H. (1977). Stylistic behavior and information exchange. In Cleland, C.E. (ed.), *Papers for the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James S. Griffin*, Anthropological Papers No. 61, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor, pp. 317–342.
- Yanow, D. (2003). *Constructing “Race” and “Ethnicity” in America: Category–Making in Public Policy and Administration*, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, NY.

Bibliography of Recent Literature

- Bloch-Smith, E. (2003). Israelite ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology preserves what is remembered and what is forgotten in Israel's history. *Journal of Biblical Literature* **122**: 401-425.
- Brather, S. (2002). Ethnic identities as constructions of archaeology: The case of the Alamanni. In Gillet, A. (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, pp. 149-175.
- Cusick, J. (2000). Creolization and the borderlands. *Historical Archaeology* **34**(3): 46-55.
- Curta, F. (2007). Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology. *Early Medieval Europe* **15**:159-185.
- Curta, F. (2008). The making of the Slavs: Slavic ethnogenesis revisited. In Repič, J., Bartulović, A., and Altshul, K.S. (eds.), *MESS and RAMSES II, Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School*, Vol. 7, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, pp. 277-307.
- Effros, B. (2003). *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Faust, A. (2006). *Israel's Ethnogenesis : Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance*, Equinox, London.
- Fennell, C. (2007). *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in the New World*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Finkelstein, I. (1997). Pots and people revisited: Ethnic boundaries in Iron Age I. In Silberman, N.A., and Small, D. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, pp. 216–37

- Franklin, M., and Fesler, G. (eds.) (1999). *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation, and the Interpretation of Ethnicity*, Dietz Press, Richmond, VA.
- Gabbert, W. (2004). *Becoming Maya: Ethnicity and Social Inequality in Yucatán since 1500*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Gillett, A. (2006). Ethnogenesis: A contested model of early medieval Europe. *History Compass* **4**: 241-260.
- Hall, J. M. (2002). *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Habicht-Mauche, J. (1992). Coronado's Querechos and Teyas in the archaeological record of the Texas Panhandle. *Plains Anthropologist* **37**: 247-259.
- Hornborg, A. (2005). Ethnogenesis, regional integration, and ecology in prehistoric Amazonia: Toward a system perspective. *Current Anthropology* **46**: 589-620.
- Jamieson, R. (2005). Caste in Cuenca: Colonial identity in the seventeenth-century Andes. In Casella, E., and Fowler, C. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities*, Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, pp. 211-232.
- Jordan, B., and Jordan-Bychkov, T. (2003). Ethnogenesis and cultural geography. *Journal of Cultural Geography* **21**: 3-18.
- Ilkhamov, A. (2004). The archaeology of Uzbek identity. *Central Asian Survey* **23**: 289-326.
- Killebrew, A. (2005). *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines and Early Israel, 1300-1100 B.C.E.*, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta.

- Levy, T., and Holl, A. (2002). Migrations, ethnogenesis, and settlement dynamics: Israelites in Iron Age Canaan and Shuwa-Arabs in the Chad Basin. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **21**: 83-118.
- Lowe, G.W. (2007). Early formative Chiapas: The beginnings of civilization in the central depression of Chiapas. In Lowe, L.S., and Pye, M.E. (eds.), *Archaeology, Art and Ethnogenesis in Mesoamerican Prehistory: Papers in Honor of Gareth W. Lowe*, Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation No. 68, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, pp. 63-108.
- Lozada Cerna, M., and Buikstra, J. (2005). Pescadores and labradores among the señorío of Chiribaya in southern Peru. In Reycraft, R. (ed.), *Us and Them: Archaeology and Ethnicity in the Andes*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 206-225.
- Mullins, P., and Paynter, R. (2000). Representing colonizers: An archaeology of creolization, ethnogenesis, and indigenous material culture among the Haida. *Historical Archaeology* **34**(3): 73-84.
- Ogburn, D. (2008). Becoming Saraguro: Ethnogenesis in the context of Inca and Spanish colonialism. *Ethnohistory* **55**: 287-319.
- Palka, J. (2009). Historical archaeology of indigenous culture change in Mesoamerica. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **17**: 297-346.
- Powers, K. (1995). *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Restall, M. (2004). Maya ethnogenesis. *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* **9**: 64-89.

- Reycraft, R. (2005). Style change and ethnogenesis among the Chiribaya of far south coastal Peru. In Reycraft, R. (ed.), *Us and Them: Archaeology and Ethnicity in the Andes*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 54-72.
- Salomon, F. (1987). Ancestors, grave robbers, and the possible origins of Cañari 'Incaism'. In Salomon F., and Skar, H. (eds.), *Natives and Neighbors in Indigenous South America*, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden, pp. 207-232.
- Sachse, F. (ed.) (2006). *Maya Ethnicity: The Construction of Ethnic Identity from Preclassic to Modern Times*, Acta Mesoamericana 19, Verlag Anton Saurwein, Markt Schwaben.
- Small, D. (1997). Group identification and ethnicity in the construction of the early state of Israel: From the outside looking in. In Silberman, N., and Small, D. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Israel, Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, pp. 271-288.
- Stavig, W. (1999). *The World of Túpac Amaru: Conflict, Community, and Identity in Colonial Peru*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Stojanowski, C. (2005). The bioarchaeology of identity in Spanish colonial Florida: Social and evolutionary transformation before, during, and after demographic collapse. *American Anthropologist* **107**: 417-443.
- Sutter, M. (2005). A bioarchaeological approach to Tiwanaku group dynamics. In Reycraft, R. (ed.), *Us and Them: Archaeology and Ethnicity in the Andes*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 183-205.
- Sutter, R. (2009). Post-Tiwanaku ethnogenesis in the coastal Moquegua Valley, Peru. In *Bioarcheology and identity in the Americas*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, pp. 205-240.

- Tanudirjo, D. (2006). The dispersal of Austronesian-speaking people and the ethnogenesis of Indonesian people. In Simanjuntak, T., Pojoh, I., and Hisyam, M. (eds.), *Austronesian Diaspora and the Ethnogenesis of People in the Indonesian Archipelago*, Proceedings of the International Symposium, LIPI Press, Jakarta, pp. 83-98.
- Towner, R. (1996). The Pueblito phenomenon: A new perspective on post-revolt Navajo culture. In Towner, R. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Navajo Origins*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 149-170.
- Van Gijseghem, H. (2006). A frontier perspective on Paracas society and Nasca ethnogenesis. *Latin American Antiquity* **17**: 419-444.
- Vermeulen, H., and Govers, C. (eds.) (1994). *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries'*, Het Spinhuis, Amsterdam.
- Voss, B. (2008). Domesticating imperialism: Sexual politics and the archaeology of empire. *American Anthropologist* **110**: 191–203.
- Voss, B. (2008). 'Poor people in silk shirts': Dress and ethnogenesis in Spanish–colonial San Francisco. *Journal of Social Archaeology* **8**: 404–432.
- Warburton, M., and Begay, R. (2005). An exploration of Navajo-Anasazi relationships. *Ethnohistory* **52**: 533-561.
- Weik, T. (1997). The archaeology of maroon societies in the Americas: Resistance, cultural continuity and transformation in the African Diaspora. *Historical Archaeology* **31**(2): 81–92.
- Weik, T. (2004). Archaeology of the African Diaspora in Latin America. *Historical Archaeology* **38**(1): 32–49.

- Weik, T. (2007). Allies, adversaries, and kin in the African Seminole communities of Florida: Archaeology at Pilaklikaha. In Ogundiran, A., and Falola, T. (eds.), *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, pp. 311–331.
- Wolfel, U., and Fruhsorge, L. (2008). Archaeological sites near San Mateo Ixtatan: Hints at ethnic plurality. *Mexicon* **30**: 86-93

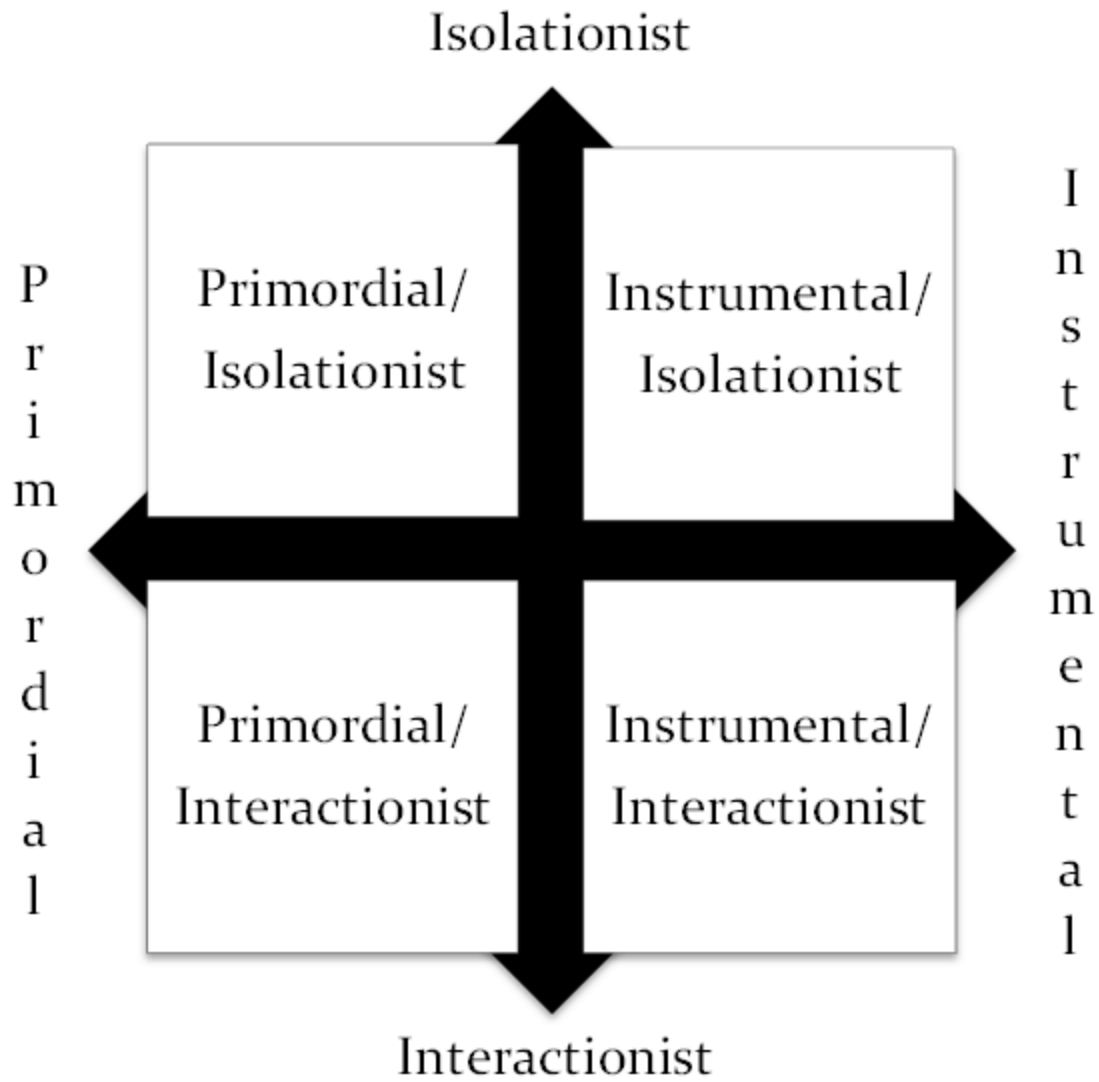


Figure 1: Four-quadrant scheme combining different perspectives of ethnicity

Level of analysis	Type of knowledge/analysis	Relevant types of theory (Abend 2008)
5	Grand theory.	1, 5, 6
4	Mertonian middle-range theory. Four quadrant scheme to organize and compare social interaction across time and space.	2
3	The interpretation of social activities and practices from data.	7
2	The production of data from phenomena.	3,5
1	Observations and categorizations of phenomena.	5

Figure 2: Methodological framework for ethnogenesis integrating different types of theory

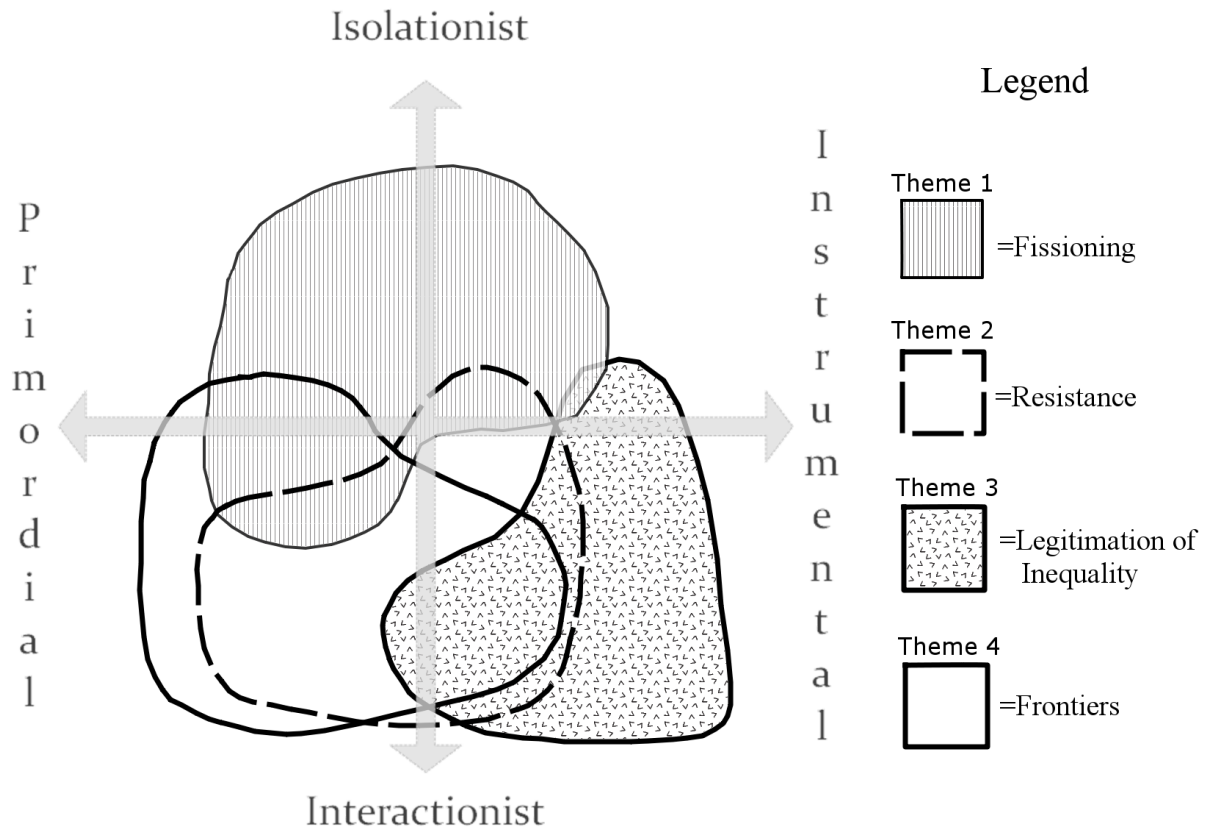


Figure 3: Common themes of ethnogenesis represented by the four-quadrant scheme