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## APPROACHING AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHOICE



*Consumption, Resistance, and Religion in the Prehispanic Southwest*

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*And we could not live with ourselves if our archaeology produced accounts of individuals, cultures, and societies that left no space for individuality, freedom of choice, will, self-determination, creativity, innovation, and resistance.*

MOORE (2000:260–261)

**I**N THIS CHAPTER, we present a model that can help archaeologists move beyond the modern dichotomy of indigenous and colonizer (see in this volume Cipolla, introduction; Creese; Shephard and Gallivan; Cobb and Stephenson), a binary that can also be understood as nonstate versus state. Since states dominate the documentary record, interpreting the past often occurs within an implicit statist framework (Flexner 2014:83–84). To overcome this deficiency, we explore a way of examining themes often reserved for periods with written documents in a manner that archaeologists working in pretextual contexts can use. We situate this method within a consumption framework that allows archaeologists to examine decisions archaeologically. In doing so, we hope to create a two-way bridge that crosses the “great divide” between precolonial and colonial inquiries—between “historic” and “prehistoric”—with clear applicability in other regions that predate modern colonialism.

We view consumption as a continuum that includes production, use, and discard. This perspective differs from that of other object-oriented paradigms that parallel consumerist theories (e.g., object biography) by focusing on human agency instead of on object agency (i.e., Gosden and Marshall 1999). As a continuum, consumption emerges as more than a simple yes–no choice in human-object interactions. Along this continuum, human decisions dialectically interact at every moment with the material world. This recursive process generates the space in which material and humans create and affect each other (*sensu* Hodder 2012; Latour 2005; Mullins 2011b).

When we view consumption as a continuum starting prior to production and continuing through final discard and archaeological recovery, the choices made become encapsulated within the material objects embedded in that continuum. Each item, such as a ceramic vessel, becomes a repository for the decisions of each group, household, or person that interacted with it in the past. Material things represent choices, and assemblages of things are considered as aggregated choices through time. It is here that an archaeology of choice emerges (*sensu* Brumfiel 2000).

An archaeology of choice—revealed through consumption patterns—recognizes that decisions are involved at every step along the consumption continuum. In an archaeology of choice, ceramics, for example, are liminal objects that transition the archaeological record from one of things to one of acts, decisions, and experiences. Ceramics are evidence of historical choices. Each pot moves beyond the corporeal field of the material and into the incorporeal field of human history.

When contextualized within the literature on enculturation (e.g., LeVine 1990; Netting 1993), specifically high-visibility attributes from Carr's (1995a, 1995b) unified theory of artifact design (see also Clark 2001), these consumption patterns indicate people's choices in terms of what they wished to transmit to household members, community members, and even other communities. Patterns of consumption also demonstrate structural restrictions on where and when people can act, serving to minimize potential overstatements of individual agency. In archaeology, the enculturation literature is often used to examine low-visibility attributes (e.g., Clark 2001) to get at underlying issues of group identity and communities of practice. Yet by focusing on the high-visibility attributes, such as painted decorations on ceramics, these consumption patterns might indicate decisions made by individuals about the groups in which they sought to signify—or avoid signifying—their membership. By examining the consumption of these highly visible attributes, archaeologists are able to draw connections between artifacts and historical choices.

To play with a tired phrase, pots are not people, but they *are* choices. While discussing consumers' conscious symbolic agency, Mullins noted that "people actively define the meaning of things, often in opposition to dominant ideology" (2011b:134). In this chapter, we use the framework of consumption to analyze whether opposition to a new spreading ideology was present in the U.S. Southwest between A.D. 1300 and 1450. The material culture associated with this ideology (labeled "Salado") has proven difficult for archaeologists to interpret. However, research over the last 20 years demonstrated that Salado was an emergent religious cult with an inclusive nature (Clark et al. 2013) centered on public feasting (e.g., Crown 1994). We present a model in which knowledge and attitude, modified by topographic cost distance, combine to determine the integration of—or opposition to—foreign social practices. We apply our model to the Salado case study of the U.S. Southwest.

## CONSUMPTION AS VIEWED THROUGH DIFFUSION

We argue that changing patterns of ceramic consumption indicate shifts in people's affiliations, both conscious and unconscious. When pottery carried clear ideological meanings and was used in public feasting, as Salado polychromes were (Crown 1994; Mills 2007), the consumption of these ideologically charged ceramic vessels may be one way to demonstrate how people chose to express their alignment to particular ideologies. These alignments, or lack thereof, may be especially visible when looking at assemblages diachronically or across large distances of space. Prior to engaging the temporal component, however, the process of transmitting technology and ideas warrants further examination.

Sociologists studying the spread of ideas primarily use the related diffusion of innovation and contagion theories (Burt 1987; Golub and Jackson 2012; Marsden 1998; Qi 2013; Rogers 2003; Ugander et al. 2012; Valente 1996a, 1996b). Investigations into the diffusion of innovation started during the 1930s and 1940s as sociologists examined the variability in uptake of new agricultural technology among farmers (e.g., Ryan and Gross 1943). Such studies discussed a logistic, or S-shaped curve, in terms of cumulative adoption and argued that interpersonal relationships are fundamental to understanding diffusion. Knowledge alone was not enough to convince people to adopt; they also needed someone they knew, often someone with high prestige, to have adopted. There are other modifiers to technology uptake as well. For instance, cultural ontologies appear to predispose certain adoptions of foreign technology and ideas (see Howey, this volume).\*

In 1973, Everett Rogers noted that the perception of advantage or disadvantage for a new idea or technology could determine how successful it was in spreading. He used the term "knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) gap" to describe differences in uptake of new innovations based on people's reactions to them. Rogers revisited social theory in use since the 1940s (e.g., Hyman and Sheatsley 1947; Tichenor et al. 1970) that had shown a gap in how different socioeconomic classes received new ideas. He expanded this theory so that it took into account individuals' changing attitudes toward innovations.

Simply knowing about something new is not enough to convince someone to use it. Attitudes, modified by culture and society, play a role as well. Through time, knowledge of an innovation is followed by an attitude toward that innovation (either negative

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\* "Foreign" is described here as ideas or material culture that originated outside of the indigenous material culture and ideology of the extant local groups, often from within migrant communities or the later communities that emerged as migrants and locals intermarried.

or positive) and then eventual adoption (or rejection) of the innovation. This draws on previous research by Bryce Ryan and Neal C. Gross (1943) that showed that adopters could be meaningfully divided based on the time it took them to adopt new ideas or materials (seen in their relative positions along the curve). The horizontal distance between knowledge and adoption is the gap, and the size of this gap will vary through time. Rogers identified several factors that affected this gap, including perceived advantage, compatibility, complexity of use, trialability, and the social field of performance. The KAP gap is important in understanding how attitude affects the diffusion process. It also suggests that diffusion could stall based on negative reactions (as discussed below).

The KAP is limited, however, in that it only treats attitude as a dichotomy of positive or negative; we will overcome this dichotomy by examining attitude as a continuum with positive on one end, negative on the other, and neutral in the middle. KAP also fails to consider the role of space in the diffusion process. Understanding how environment and space affect the transmission of ideas is key to understanding social and technological transmissions (Barash 2011:15).

The diffusion of ideas—often associated with the investigation of the diffusion of innovations by sociologists—has been of limited interest to archaeologists, who have primarily focused on the diffusion of technologies and distance decay models (e.g., Hodder 1980; Renfrew 1975; although see Cameron n.d.). While sociologists rarely incorporate spatial considerations into the spread of ideas and instead rely upon social and structural relationships within networks, archaeologists tend to favor spatial distributions of materials, population size and distribution, and environmental constraints. Despite this shortcoming, sociological investigations into diffusion that examine how ideas spread based on the structure of a network (i.e., network topology) composed of nodes (individuals) and edges (their relationships) can be useful to archaeologists.

The position of nodes within the structure of the network is important, particularly if nodes are in locations that enhance the transmission of information and technologies (Mills and Peebles n.d.). We argue that a geosocial approach that combines a relational approach (network topology) with a spatial approach (materials, population, and regional topography) can help researchers gain a more holistic method for understanding how changing patterns of consumption are driven by the diffusion of goods and their associated ideas.

## RECOGNIZING RESISTANCE USING NONTEXTUAL DATA AND MODELS OF DIFFUSION

Resistance piqued the interests of anthropologists and archaeologists during the poststructural paradigm shift in the 1980s and 1990s. Much of the resulting research

had roots in Antonio Gramsci's (1971) ideas on how subordinate groups resist a dominant group's ideology, in Marxist understandings of power struggles, and within Nietzsche's (2007[1887]) and then Foucault's (1981, 1995) *Genealogies*.

While offering valuable insights, studies of resistance in anthropology have sustained substantial criticism. Anthropologists have been accused of romanticizing resistance (Ortner 1995:177) and often oversimplifying a complex process (Scarry 2001:55) by creating a dichotomy of dominant–subordinate (Sakamoto 1996). Michael F. Brown (1991:389–406; see also Mattingly 2013) argues that this oversimplification fails to recognize that instances of resistance can also entail rejection of the current political structure of subordinate groups. In essence, marginalized groups still actively create the societies they live in (Gosden 2004). However, this focus on the agentive and creative ways in which less powerful groups navigate social and political situations has also received criticism for downplaying massive inequalities in privilege and power (González-Ruibal 2014).

Further critiques include the uncritical application of a range of theories forged within a postcolonial paradigm to periods lacking the colonizer–colonized dynamic. These critiques have been given short shrift by researchers such as Marshall Sahlins (1999:52) and Brown (1991). For example, Sahlins notes that resistance and cultural subversion are intrinsic to the nature of intercultural relations, as these relations involve a change in cultural context of “external forms and forces” (1999:52). This change alters the values placed on familiar categories and relations. In this context, resistance theories are integral for understanding cultural contact and power relations in all times, not just during the period of Western imperialism.

Another critique of the resistance literature is that researchers often fail to effectively use available data (Ortner 1995) and too often rely on textual data instead of available ethnographic data. This can be overcome by incorporating archaeological data. Material culture, which can be a bridge between the deep history of archaeology, the textual past, and the ethnographic present, is another line of evidence that should be mobilized to understand power dynamics in the past and present.

Archaeologists have observed forms of resistance in the archaeological record in a number of ways. Ceramics have been examined to show how rural enslaved Africans created household place and a material culture that did not reinforce their position in the dominant ideology's hierarchy (Ferguson 1991:260–268). Researchers have also studied style and iconography to identify resistance in the past (Emerson and Pauketat 2002; Kelley 1992; Schurr 2010; Webster 1999), as well as using ceramic distributions to examine resistance at the boundary of empires (Anders 1989:7–9).

In the U.S. Southwest literature, resistance seems most obvious at the spatial boundaries of dominant cultures (e.g., Borck 2012, 2017; Fowles 2010a; Mills 2008) and more subdued closer to the centers of power (Liebmann 2002; Mobley-Tanaka

2002; Spielmann et al. 2006; Wilcox 2009). Resistance might also have a strong spatial component. This can take the form of maintaining earlier forms of dispersed settlement patterns, or patterns of mobility as resistance to centralization and increasing hierarchy. “Subverting domination through separation” (Sassaman 2001:227) can lead to cultural and social persistence of subaltern groups. This pattern is also seen during the colonial period in the U.S. Southwest (Ferguson 2002).

Based on the above literature, a spatial component, along with social networks, should be applied to any archaeological investigation of resistance—especially when using models of diffusion to understand and explore resistance. The study of how space affects social transmission is an important, yet unresolved, question in our understanding of how ideas are transmitted (Barash 2011:15) and resisted. The study of how social connections affect the spatial distribution of technology is equally important and equally unresolved. In 1992 John E. Douglas and Carol Kramer highlighted the notion that both social and spatial measures needed to be taken into account when examining the spread of technology, the movement of people, and consumption and production practices. While little has been done to look at how these two measures interact, much has been done on them individually (see Borck 2016a for an overview of geosocial research; see also Bernardini and Peebles 2015; Coward 2013; Hill et al. 2015; Mills, Clark, et al. 2013 for recent syntheses of social network and spatial analyses).

Is it possible, then, to recognize resistance in nontextual assemblages? We argue that beyond being possible, in some instances it might even be preferred to rely on nondocumentary data to identify ancient acts and processes of resistance when text-based evidence is missing, erratic, not present, or biased. However, this preference should be coupled with the recognition that the material record also comes with its own set of biases and assumptions.

In our particular case study, we follow ideas of power that infuse the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, specifically that “power works best when it is invisible. When power becomes visible . . . it provokes resistance” (Hoy 2004:15). To recognize resistance without the textual record, we integrate inferential tools developed by postcolonial researchers examining historically neglected groups with a social network model in which knowledge and adoption of foreign objects are considered separate historical events. The adoption of new consumption practices is an agentic process where simple knowledge of foreign objects is not sufficient to explain their adoption. Attitude, pivotal to the model, is multivocal and governs future interactions. This model demonstrates how and why consumptive practices are affected by culture contact and shows how archaeological and historical data can be operationalized to approach the adoption of foreign objects and practices at multiple social and spatial scales (see Cipolla, introduction, this volume).

## WHAT IS SALADO? AN IDEOLOGICALLY DRIVEN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

A substantial part of the Colorado Plateau was depopulated during the A.D. 1200s, setting off a demographic cascade that affected much of the U.S. Southwest. At least some of the migrants, especially those from northeastern Arizona, were instrumental in founding a new religious practice that was adopted throughout the southern Southwest (Clark 2001; Clark and Lyons 2012; Crown 1994; Lyons and Lindsay 2006; Mills, Clark, et al. 2013). Our discussion focuses on the prehispanic depopulation of northeastern Arizona and subsequent movement of those groups into populated areas in southern Arizona (Figure 1.1; see Borck 2016; Borck et al. 2015; Mills, Clark, et al. 2013; Mills et al. 2015 for an examination of the regional impacts during this period). An emergent religious movement, termed “Salado,” resulted from this culture contact.

Salado is an archaeological concept that has been debated for decades in terms of both its origin (Dean 2000; DiPeso 1958; Doyel and Haury 1976; Gladwin and Gladwin 1935; Haury 1945; Nelson and LeBlanc 1986) and its ideological and organizational meaning (Crown 1994). More recent research indicates that much of what is now called “the Salado phenomenon” is likely related to an ideology that spread from northern Pueblo migrant networks to their neighbors in their new southern homes (Crown 1994; McGuire 2012; Mills, Roberts, et al. 2013; Mills, Clark, et al. 2013). Salado incorporated new consumptive practices, including decentralized production of polychrome ceramics and large-scale feasting using these polychrome ceramics (Figure 1.2) as serving vessels (Crown 1994; Mills 2007). This shared ideology has been proposed as a way to ease intergroup tensions among migrants and locals and facilitate migrant integration (Crown 1994; Clark and Lyons 2012), as well as a way to maintain a shared identity in diaspora (Clark et al. 2013; Clark and Lyons 2012; Lyons and Clark 2011; Lyons et al. 2008; Lyons and Lindsay 2006; Mills 2011). Religion does not simply integrate, though. The picture is always much more complicated than that, and conflict between—even within—communities engaged in different religious practices is common through all points in time (see Borck 2016, 2017 and Dungan 2015 for recent examples of southwestern research into how religion divides).

Early researchers posited that Salado originated in the Tonto Basin, which they labeled the “Salado Heartland” (Doyel 1976; Haury 1945). However, Roosevelt Red Ware, which is the broader term for Salado polychromes and related bichrome ceramics, occurs in large amounts in areas as disparate as the San Pedro Valley and the Transition Zone of Arizona (Clark 2001). It now appears that the ware originated in the Silver Creek area in the late 13th century (Mills et al. 1999) before being adopted throughout the central and southern Southwest.

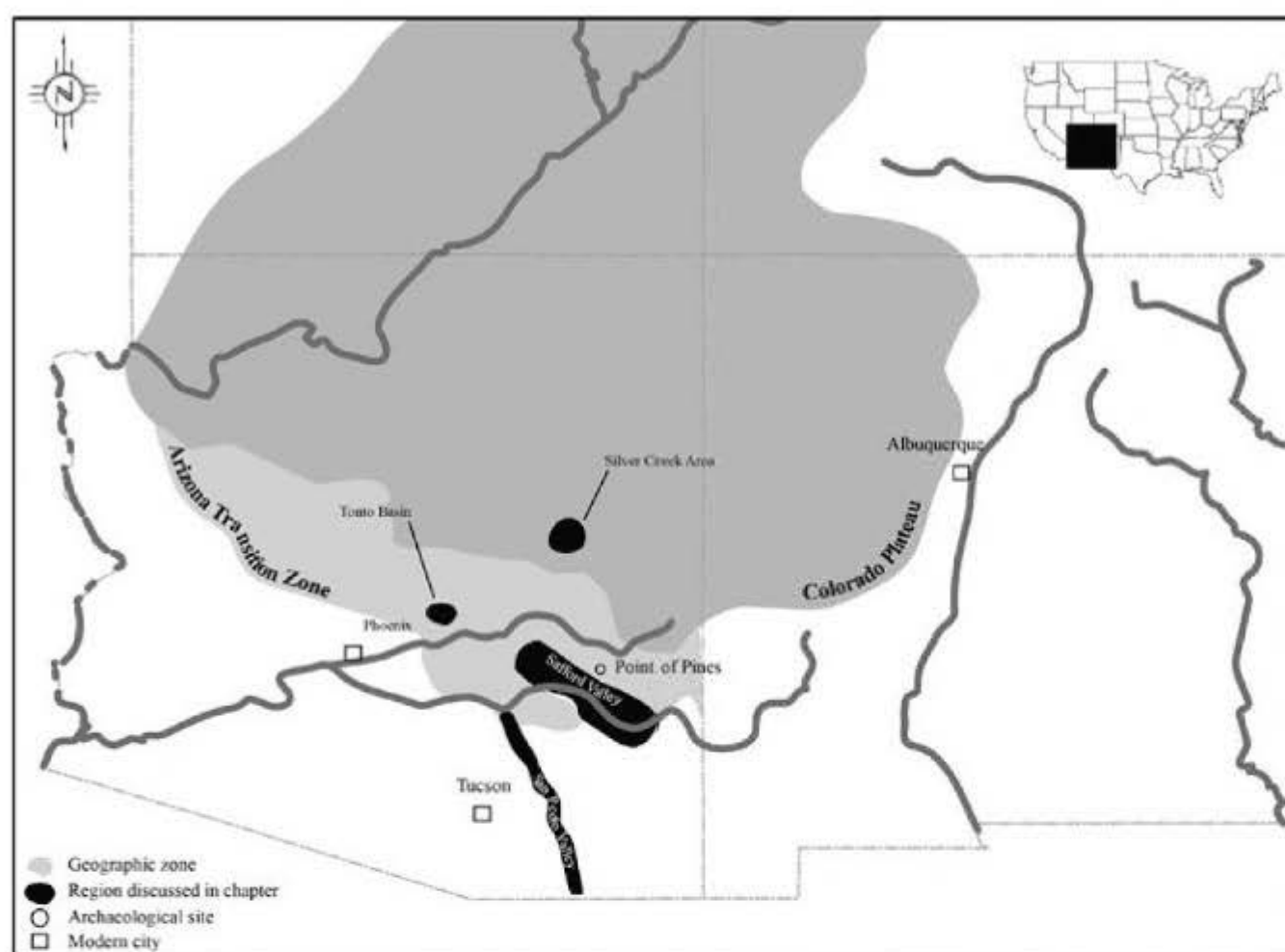


FIGURE 1.1. Overview map.

In many areas, the initial arrival of these migrants was fraught with competition and conflict. The lower San Pedro Valley (Wallace and Doelle 2001), where the locals aggregated into walled villages and constructed platform mounds, demonstrates this tense social situation. Social conflict was also present in the Point of Pines region, where a migrant enclave of at least 20 rooms was burned in the A.D. 1280s (Haury 1958, 1989).

Patricia Crown (1994) provides much of the background research on the Salado; she examines a number of models that could explain how Salado polychromes were adopted. These explanations include (1) elite exchange, (2) indicators of economic alliances, (3) ceramics as objects associated with the spread of a religious ideology, and (4) ceramics as markers of migrant ethnicity (Crown 1994:191–210). Since Salado polychromes are sourced to most areas where they are found (i.e., locally produced), Crown concludes that they were likely associated with the spread of ideas and not material exchange. Additionally, because the artistic content of the ceramics often revolves around images associated with fertility such as stylized clouds and horned serpents, she further proposes that these ceramic vessels were material indicators of the spread of a cult or ideology—a conclusion with which we agree.

However, Crown presents this conclusion while rejecting alternative explanations, including that of migrant ethnicity. While ethnicity may not be the correct term,



the association of Salado ceramics with migrant identities in diaspora is consistent with the ideological interpretation of the content of the designs (Clark et al. 2013). In addition, Randall H. McGuire (2012) points out that there is no need to reject a political explanation for the process; feasting and the production of these symbolically charged ceramics were important venues for the establishment and maintenance of power in the southern Southwest. Thus, while originally framed as alternatives, Crown's hypotheses can be viewed as intersectional processes.

By about A.D. 1350, as settlement clusters within the Salado influence aggregated, and after 50–100 years of influence from migrants from the north and their descendants, many settlements displayed an intricate range of Pueblo immigrant and local attributes (Clark and Lyons 2012). Within just a few generations, then, a range of time in which these changes would have been clearly visible to adults in the population, Salado came to signify both an inclusive ideology that emerged out of contact with locals and northerners from the Colorado Plateau and an interfused cultural identity



**FIGURE 1.2.** Gila Polychrome (Salado Polychrome / Roosevelt Red Ware) ceramic vessel. Image courtesy of Eastern Arizona College, photo by Mathew A. Devitt.

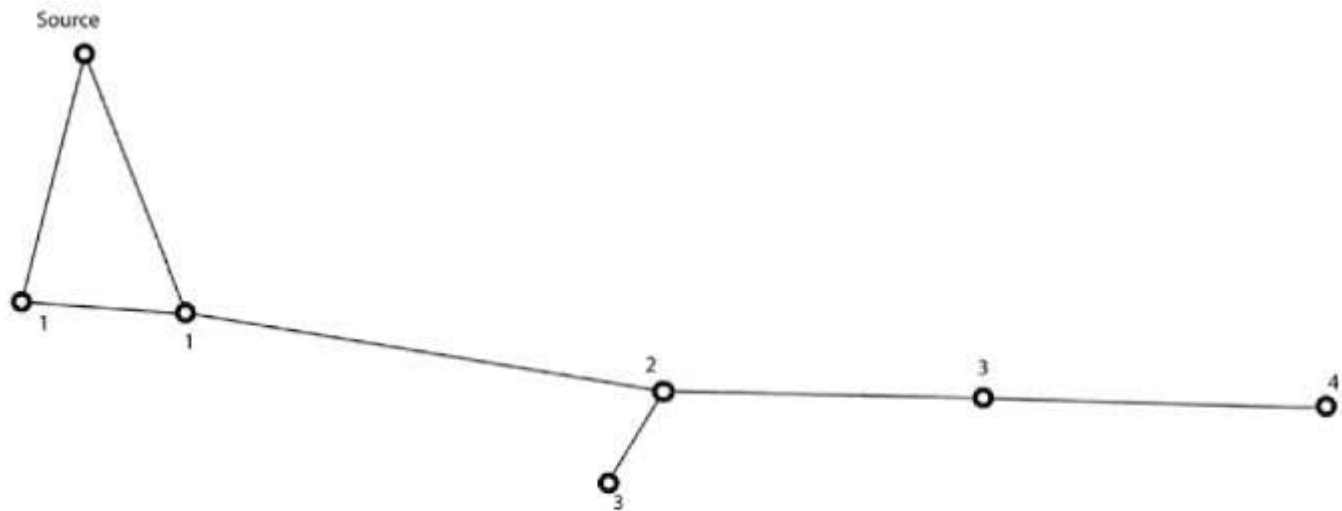
spread across a vast region of the Southwest (Clark et al. 2013). The Salado identity that was probably something shared by migrants in diaspora during the late 13th and early 14th centuries became a widespread religious tradition that was adopted by thousands of people living in multiethnic communities. There were, however, many living in relatively close proximity to those who adopted this set of religious practices who did not adopt them. The disjuncture between those who participated in this ideologically driven social movement and those who did not raises two interrelated questions. First, why did the hosts of migrants in many areas adopt the foreign objects represented by Salado ceramics? Second, why did others abstain?

McGuire (2012) argues that Salado polychromes may also be evidence of control within the inequalities of the Classic period (A.D. 1050/1150–1450) social landscape of southern Arizona. This is likely true in the few areas where Salado polychromes were imported by elites and were not created by locals. It does not appear to be true, however, throughout the majority of the region in which Salado polychromes were present (see Borck 2016).

Regardless of whether Salado is viewed as an inclusive ideology or an ideology used for political control by a few elites, interpreting the diffusion of this ideology relies on an understanding of the acceptance or resistance of the social movement termed “Salado.” This also highlights one of the difficulties mentioned earlier when examining resistance in the past. Power relationships are complex. Resistance, if it was occurring, was likely happening in multiple directions. For instance, elites in some regions may have resisted the spread of this new, decentralized ideology by co-opting its material culture at the same time that groups in other regions that were participating in the elite platform mound ideology were resisting the dissemination of Salado ideology by restricting the spread of the polychromes (and their associated power and ideas) into their communities. All of this would likely have happened while other groups resisted the platform mound elites’ hierarchical control of ritual knowledge by participating in this new decentralized and accessible religious practice (see also Borck 2016a).

## TOPOLOGY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND RESISTANCE TO FOREIGN OBJECTS

Networks are constructed of nodes and edges. Nodes are the actors, often individuals or communities, in these networks. Edges are the relationships, or connections, between the nodes. Diffusion operates through networks in two ways. The first is through direct interactions between individuals. In this view, the nodes labeled 1 in Figure 1.3 will be the first to adopt a new practice or idea from the source node since

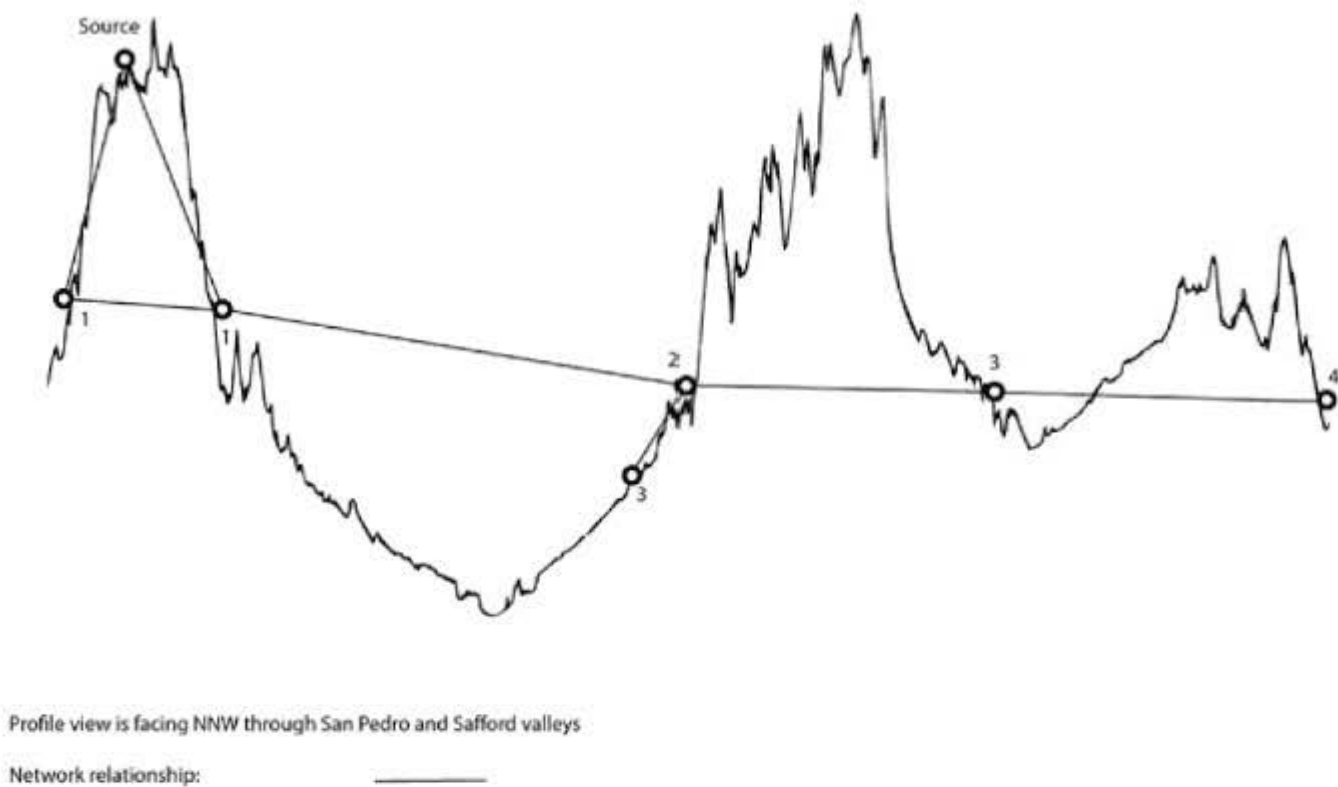


**FIGURE 1.3.** Network topology. Diffusion can, at its most basic, be modeled as moving along paths throughout the network structure. Node labels indicate path distance, or the number of nodal connections, from source.

they interact directly with the source. The second form is through structural equivalence. For instance, both of the nodes labeled 3 would be likely to adopt a new practice or accept a new idea because of their similar relationship with the broker of that idea (here, the node labeled 2). The shared likelihood of their adoption has nothing to do with their relationship with each other.

A central aspect of diffusion through structural equivalence is that it requires weak spots, or structural holes (in our case, the area between nodes 1 and 2 in Figure 1.3 is a structural hole). Brokers (nodes 1 and 2) bridge these holes. Brokers and bridging ties are very important in disseminating new ideas and technology to otherwise unattached groups (see Burt 1992 for an in-depth discussion of brokerage and Peeples and Haas 2013 for an application in archaeology). For example, recent archaeological applications of network theory have shown that brokers or “weak ties” bridge different groups and are often in intermediate areas (Peeples and Mills 2016). Here we extend this idea to areas in the southern Southwest to look at other factors that influenced the adoption and resistance to Salado ideology and material culture. We would like to highlight that one important but overlooked reversal is that these brokers are also important for stopping or slowing the spread of information.

In the simplified example in Figure 1.3, each node is labeled with a number indicating the shortest distance between it and the source node. The number represents how quickly new material spreads through the network through both positional and direct interaction. It is easy to see how much power the node labeled 2 has in controlling the distribution of new material. If this node decides that there is something wrong with the foreign objects, no other members of their group will have knowledge of it. Assuming that they pass it along, though, it would only take four steps in this



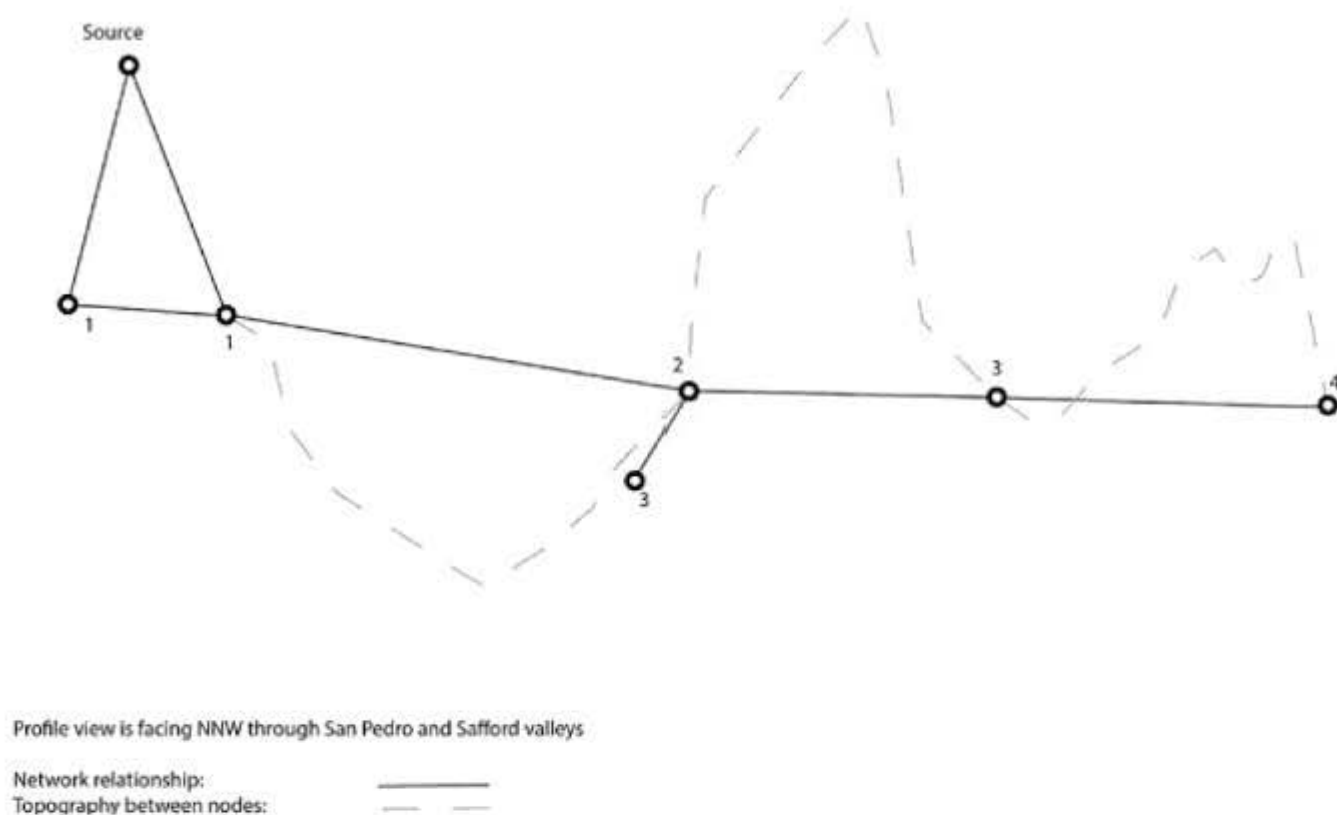
**FIGURE 1.4.** Topology and topography. Viewed horizontally, and spatially in context, a network's topology is intersected by the topographic features within which the social network resides.

example (i.e., path distance) to get to the most distant member or four steps to spread through two groups. If we do not see the foreign objects at the node labeled 4 and the attached node labeled 3 but do see it at the lower node at path distance 3, is it safe to assume that the last two nodes without the foreign objects were rejecting or actively resisting the inclusion of these objects into the social practices?

Figure 1.4 takes our network example and overlays it on the contours for the San Pedro and Safford Valleys in southern Arizona. These two valleys contained both local and immigrant populations, and in them Salado material culture, and thus its associated ideas, moved at variable rates through time. In these two valleys, the Salado polychromes had become the most common decorated ware at all sites by A.D. 1350.

What becomes clear in Figure 1.4 is that topography and topology can have a complicated relationship. We know that groups often follow the law of spatial propinquity and are often formed from interactions with spatially proximal neighbors. In the Southwest, however, we also know that interactions can span large distances and multiple environments (Mills, Clark, et al. 2013). For example, Mills, Clark, et al. (2013) found that spatial propinquity and material culture similarities were only weakly correlated. Moreover, they found that the correlation was weakest in the southern Southwest, where Salado polychrome ceramics were most frequent.

Therefore, to understand how goods moved through a social network, we *must* consider how that social network is situated in space. Figure 1.5 gives us a clearer idea



**FIGURE 1.5.** With the topographic contours removed, it is easy to see how network topology interacts with spatial topography to modify how quickly or slowly foreign objects or the knowledge of foreign objects might travel.

of the modifying influence that topography can have on topology. The dashed gray line is the path of interaction incorporating topography. When we reexamine the first example, where the nodes at path distance three and four did not show evidence of new consumption practices, we can see that instead of an act of resistance to new ideas and new practices, the low amount of Salado polychromes could be a product of the local geography. Thus, the first step is to understand the effects of both topography and social networks (or geosocial effects) on the consumption of objects at the regional scale.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Modeling relationships between social and spatial data can provide insights into the adoption of—and resistance to—material culture. Models of consumption that are applied at the regional scale may not be able to identify resistance without taking into account cost distance between localities. Here we have also introduced the importance of considering the structure and position of actors within the network as a hypothetical way of integrating the two approaches. In previous research the combination of

spatial and social networks has shown that neither is explanatory on its own (e.g., Mills, Clark, et al. 2013).

In addition to modeling spatial distributions vis-à-vis social relationships within a network, we also suggest returning to some of the insights of Rogers and others who have looked at the diffusion of innovations within social networks. Rogers (2003) suggested that perceived advantage, compatibility, complexity of use, trialability, and the social field of performance are all factors in the KAP gap. With respect to resistance, which of these factors might be operative in the diffusion of the ideology attached to Salado polychromes? Perceived *disadvantages* of adopting Salado polychromes include the responsibilities for hosting feasts associated with religious activities and obligations to others within the network.

The advantages, though, seem to be primarily political. The Hohokam world during the 14th century was full of settlements with platform mounds. Although the exact functions of these mounds seem to be variable, they are associated with higher than usual evidence for feasting, as well as the consumption of higher-valued material goods such as obsidian, turquoise, and shell by elites (see Shephard and Gallivan; Oland; and Cobb and Stephenson in this volume for descriptions of similar processes). For these reasons, as well as the cross-cultural data on the use of elevated mounds, many archaeologists working in the Southwest have interpreted these mounds as evidence for intracommunity inequality (e.g., Elson 1998). For those who are not in a position to participate, adopting Salado polychromes and other Roosevelt Red Ware ceramics may have been a way of resisting inequalities and social obligations that were extant in other areas of the southern Southwest.

Salado may, in fact, be best characterized as a populist social movement rather than one with a high degree of secrecy and control of ritual knowledge, which was more the case for the northern Southwest's kiva religion (e.g., Brandt 1994). Thus, it is the social and political disadvantages of participating in the Salado social network that we think merit the greatest attention in why they might have been resisted.

Consumption patterns of foreign objects can tell us a great deal about ideology and resistance in a prehispanic and precolonial setting. In these patterns we can see relative differences in the pace by which different groups adopted foreign objects. These patterns can shed new light on why various groups did or did not adopt new innovations by facilitating the creation of static models, in our case diffusion models, to test against.

Most diffusion models—both sociological and archaeological—work on rates of adoption curves. By incorporating both network topology and spatial topography, the adoption curves can be modified to be more holistic and to allow for more accurate interpretations of the social processes that determine whether new material practices and their associated ideologies are incorporated into the sociological and ideological practices of a particular group. Moreover, life is not composed of the deci-

sion to singularly accept or reject one idea or new material object at a time. It is a set of interlocking variables where accepting one new idea can dramatically change how individuals interact with foreign objects and ideas.

In the U.S. Southwest around A.D. 1300, Salado technology and its associated ideologies were introduced to new areas in a series of successive stages. Yet at the same time people were also interacting with ceramics from groups much farther south, ceramics that were encoded with a different set of social cues. These cues can help to determine a group's *attitude* to new ideas after they gain *knowledge* of them.

Consumption practices of ideologically charged material items, specifically the Salado polychrome ceramics, can reveal how migrant groups in diaspora may have utilized ideology to integrate themselves into the social fabric of new regions. This approach helps to answer why this integration was so effective that in many regions within just a few generations the first-comers and the guests merged historically preceded local traits with newer traits into an interfusion that archaeologists label "Salado."

Consumption practices of ideologically charged materials can also uncover how religious practices may have created fissures within ideological landscapes. These fissures create choices. By examining these fissures through resistance theories and diffusion of innovations, researchers can uncover whether groups in adjacent areas may have been specifically resisting the spread and incorporation of a new ideology. This is one of the many reasons a consumption framework is an effective means of examining an archaeology of choice. Consumption studies take into account agentic ability to choose between alternatives while recognizing that these decisions are structured within a geosocial setting (*sensu* Brumfiel 2000).

This choice to resist seems to have been made in the Coyote Mountains to the southwest of modern Tucson, where platform mound communities with almost no Salado ceramics were located relatively close to communities in the Tucson Basin and San Pedro Valleys that consumed many Salado polychromes. To understand if communities such as those in the Coyote Mountains were actively resisting the dissemination of Salado ideology, though, we need to understand how space and sociality interact. In this chapter, we have set out a conceptual guide to researchers looking to understand how people interact with new ideas in deep history and the material choices that result. We used this approach to examine a variety of acts of resistance versus acts of isolation, but the concept can be used to model any synchronic or diachronic analyses of consumption. It allows researchers to compare models derived from textual data with those derived from material goods. Such models will undoubtedly serve to create new dialogue between historical and nontextual archaeologists, a theme highlighted throughout this volume.