12-80

UWUCC-AP 4/2/13
Senate-Info-4/30/13

Undergraduate Distance Education Review Form

(Required for all courses taught by distance education for more than one-third of teaching contact hours.)

Existing and Special Topics Course

Course: ANTH 211 Cultural Anthropology

Instructor(s) of Record: Amanda Poole, Victor Garcia, Anastasia Hudgins

Phone: (724) 357-2735 **Email:** pooleab@iup.edu

Step Two: Departmental/Dean Approval

Recommendation: [X] Positive (The objectives of this course can be met via distance education)

[ ] Negative

Signature of Department Designee — Date 1/28/13

Endorsed: Signature of College Dean — Date 2/2/13

Forward form and supporting materials to Liberal Studies Office for consideration by the University-wide Undergraduate Curriculum Committee. Dual-level courses also require review by the University-wide Graduate Committee for graduate-level section.

Step Three: University-wide Undergraduate Curriculum Committee Approval

Recommendation: [X] Positive (The objectives of this course can be met via distance education)

[ ] Negative

Gail Sechrist — Signature of Committee Co-Chair — Date 4/23/13

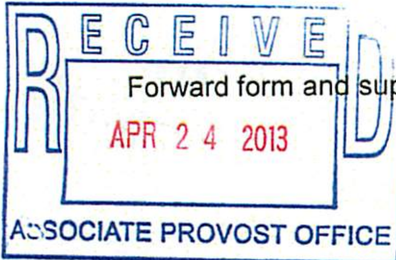
Forward form and supporting materials to the Provost within 30 calendar days after received by committee.

Step Four: Provost Approval

[✓] Approved as distance education course [ ] Rejected as distance education course

Timothy S. Moerland (m) — Signature of Provost — Date 4/25/13

Forward form and supporting materials to Associate Provost.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APR 24 2013
ASSOCIATE PROVOST OFFICE

Received
APR 8 2013
Liberal Studies
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APR 2 2013
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FEB 4 2013
Liberal Studies

Step One: Proposer

A. Provide a brief narrative rationale for each of the items, A1-A5

1. How is/are the instructor(s) qualified in the distance education delivery method as well as the discipline?

I received my Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Washington in 2009. I have taught university level classes in cultural anthropology at the University of Washington, the University of Asmara in Eritrea, and as a full time faculty member at IUP since Fall 2009. I am currently approved to teach at IUP at undergraduate and graduate levels. I have taught ANTH 211 each year since beginning work at IUP, with consistently positive feedback from student evaluations.

I have incorporated online learning components in all of the courses that I have taught at IUP, including ANTH 110, ANTH 211, ANTH 271, ANTH 420, and ANTH 480. In each of these classes, I have used Moodle or D2L as a platform to interact with students, post assignments, update the schedule, and keep grades – gaining familiarity with these programs as platforms for hybrid-online learning. I have taught the online version of ANTH 110: Contemporary Anthropology four times, and am about to teach another section of this course in Spring semester 2013. I have received positive feedback on this course from students, and from a peer evaluation of my class conducted by my colleague, Dr. Beverly Chiarulli, in Spring 2011. Dr. Beverly Chiarulli wrote: "*The course has incorporated best practices for online courses and is clearly providing a high quality learning experience for the students.*"

Since beginning work at IUP, I have also participated in three Moodle training workshops and two workshops on online course development, including the week-long "Creating Effective Online Instruction Seminar" held in May 2010.

2. How will each objective in the course be met using distance education technologies?

Objective 1: *Identify the holistic and cross-cultural approach to the study of human culture unique to cultural anthropology.*

Objective 1 will be met through readings and discussion forums, particularly stemming from the Kottak text book, which elaborates on the cross cultural and holistic nature of cultural anthropology research across subject areas. Most guided discussion post topics will ask students to discuss and apply these perspectives to contemporary global issues. The essay exams on the two ethnographies also ask students to think cross-culturally and holistically about sex and gender, family life, and religion (in the case of *Nisa*), and power and stratification in modern society (in the case of the selected case study on Contemporary Social Issues).

Objective 2: *Describe major theories and research methods used to study human cultures from a global perspective.*

Objective 2 will be met through readings and discussion topics based on the first unit of the course (built around Kottak's first three chapters). One of the guided discussion post forums in this unit will ask students to view and comment on a short online film on cultural anthropology fieldwork. The first writing activities of the course will require students to experiment with one of the methods used by cultural anthropologists (participant observation). Students will be asked to view an online lecture on Cyber-Anthropology, and apply their participant observation to traditional and online social contexts. The two essay exams will ask students to describe the varied approaches (theoretical and methodological) to research in cultural anthropology taken by the anthropologists who authored these ethnographies.

Objective 3: *Develop an awareness of cultural differences and an appreciation for the cultural diversity in the United States and in other parts of the world.*

Many of our discussion forums will ask students to explore their own cultural lenses through encounters with cultural diversity via reading materials, films, and podcasts. A large focus of these forums will be on cultural relativism, "The position that the values and standards of cultures differ and deserve respect" (Kottak 2012).

Objective 4: *Apply critical anthropological perspectives to explore ways of addressing and solving contemporary social issues.*

Objective 4 will be met through the final ethnography. The student will read one of three short case studies on contemporary applied anthropology (These books address: the use of anthropology to understand the struggles of Marshal Islanders to gain recognition and resources in the wake of the U.S. atomic military testing program in their homeland; the use of anthropology to illuminate practices and controversies about midwifery in the U.S.; and the use of anthropology to understand and mitigate the social impacts of rural industrialization around food production). After reading this text, students will participate in a discussion forum evaluating the utility of these approaches to addressing similar social issues.

3. How will instructor-student and student-student, if applicable, interaction take place?

Instructor-student interaction will take place through three primary venues. The Instructor will respond to emails and 'skype' conversations during pre-arranged office hours. The instructor will provide timely feedback on student assignments and on the progress of discussion forums. Finally, the course website will include an open and ongoing discussion forum where students can post immediate questions for the instructor and/or classmates. The instructor will respond to these questions within 24 hours on a weekday.

Student-student interaction is a critical component of this class. Students will be required to post original reflections and respond to each other's posts in group-based forums for each topic covered in class.

4. How will student achievement be evaluated?

The assessments of student achievement will rely on four primary categories- the submission of original short writing assignments that ask students to engage in different kinds of anthropological writing, participation in discussion forums, the completion of regular quizzes on reading materials, and finally, the completion of two timed essay exams.

5. How will academic honesty for tests and assignments be addressed?

There are three methods that will be employed to ensure academic honesty. The quizzes will be open book, but the time for quizzes will be limited to a 10 minute period - ensuring that students must have a firm grasp of class concepts and materials in order to excel. Writing topics will be tailored to individual student's fieldwork experiences or reflections on current events, following best practice for class assessments while limiting the potential for students to plagiarize generic essay topics. In addition, the instructor will use Turnitin to assess writing assignments and essay exams for originality. Finally, a key assessment involves student participation in many discussion forums, providing the instructor with the opportunity to become familiar with the writing style of each student, and reducing the incentive for students to seek outside help in completing multiple timely class assignments.

ANTH 211: Cultural Anthropology
Syllabus of Record

I. Catalog Description **3c-01-3cr**
ANTH 211: Cultural Anthropology

Prerequisites: None

This course introduces the major concepts, theories and research methods of cultural anthropology that are used to study and understand human culture in different parts of the world. Emphasis will be given to how traditional and non-traditional cultures undergo change as a result of globalization and how cultural anthropologists study the social, economic, and political consequences that result from integration into an expanding and changing global economy. Topics covered may include, but are not limited to, social organization, economics, power and politics, race and ethnicity, language and communication, technology, religion and ritual, and sex and gender. A wide geographic coverage in the course provides a basis for global comparisons of cultural similarities and differences among human societies.

II. Course Objectives

Upon completing the course, students will be able to:

Objective 1:
Identify the holistic and cross-cultural approach to the study of human culture unique to cultural anthropology.

Expected Student Learning Outcome 1:
Informed Learners

Rationale:
Assignments will require students to evaluate the various approaches, perspectives and methods used to illuminate the intellectual questions and problems of cultural anthropology.

Objective 2:
Describe major theories and research methods used to study human cultures from a global perspective.

Expected Student Learning Outcomes 1 and 3:
Informed and Responsible Learners

Rationale:
Assignments will require students to discuss human cultural change in the past and present from historical, social and spatial perspectives. In so doing, students learn how cultural

anthropology's examination of these issues differs from other subfields in anthropology and other disciplines. These assignments foster a holistic perspective on the cultural interrelationship of human beings.

Objective 3:
Develop an awareness of cultural differences and an appreciation for the cultural diversity in the United States and in other parts of the world.

Expected Student Learning Outcomes 1, 2, and 3:
Informed, Empowered, and Responsible Learners

Rationale:
Assignments will require students to develop a respect for the identities, polities and cultures of others in and outside of the United States. The course offers a detailed and contextually rich analysis of the depth and breadth of human diversity throughout the world and over time. It also gives students the tools to critically analyze the impact of natural and social forces that shape culture and their cultural practices.

Objective 4:
Apply critical anthropological perspectives to explore ways of addressing and solving contemporary social issues.

Expected Student Learning Outcomes 2 and 3:
Empowered and Responsible Learners

Rationale:
Assignments will require that the students familiarize themselves with the use of critical anthropological perspectives, such as advocacy anthropology, critical ethnography, and native anthropology, to understand the complex nature of social problems and their many causes. In tandem, this same objective exposes the students to how these critical perspectives in cultural anthropology consider culture and its many characteristics to develop and implement culturally-based social programs and policies aimed at solving challenging contemporary social problems of the world.

III. Course Outline

A. Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (1 hour)
   1. Introduction to Course
   2. Cultural Anthropology, a Sub Field of Anthropology

B. Culture (5 hours)
   1. Culture: What is it?
   2. Culture and Language
   3. Cultural Relativism

C. Explanation in Anthropology (5 hours)
   1. Culture Concept and Theory
   2. Objectives of Explanation in Anthropology
   3. Examples of Contemporary Anthropological Theories

D. Fieldwork & Ethnography (3 hours)
   1. Ethnographic Inquiry
   2. Field Work & Research Dissemination

Exam 1 (1 hour)

E. Kinship, Marriage, and Social Organization (5 hours)
   1. Kinship
   2. Kinship and Genealogical Inquiry
   3. Sex and Gender
   4. Marriage and Social Organization

Assignment 1: Diagramming and Analyzing a Genealogy (In-class activity)

F. Traditional Societies, Subsistence, and Economic Activities in the Contemporary Era (6 hours)
   1. Foragers
   2. Horticulturalists
   3. Pastoralists
   4. Peasants

Exam 2 (1hour)

G. Globalization, Power, and Resistance (6 hours)
   1. Globalization and Culture Change
   2. Early Colonialism and Anthropology
   3. Post-Colonialism and Anthropology
   4. Native Responses to Culture Change

Assignment 2: Anthropology's Response to Globalization (Out of class assignment)

H. Contemporary Issues and Anthropology (6 hours)
1. Food Security
2. Environment and Native Rights
3. Human, Gender, and Citizen Rights
4. Refugees, Immigrants, Migrants, and Other Diaspora Populations
5. Health Care and Traditional Medicine

Assignment 3: Reaction Paper: Critique of video *El Norte*

I. Applying Anthropology (3 hours)
1. Advocacy and Applied Anthropology
2. Making a Differences in Cultural Anthropology

Final Exam

IV. Evaluation Methods

(60 Percent) Exams - Three in-class exams: two midterms and one noncumulative final. The exams, which will require essay responses, will address the assigned readings and class presentations. Each exam is worth 20 percent of the grade.

(30 Percent) Assignments - Three out-of-class assignments: one of them is based on a genealogy exercise. The student will diagram his or her family genealogy, spanning at least three generations, and analyze it for residence and immigration, education, and occupation patterns. The other two assignments will be essays. These two assignments will be reaction papers to case studies presented in lecture or a video showing. The reaction papers, not to exceed more than 5 double-spaced pages, will explore a theory explaining globalization and culture change and critique the theory's explanatory value and contribution to understanding the impact globalization has on traditional and western cultures. Each of the three assignments is worth 50 points.

(10 Percent) Critical Reading of Ethnographic Text Assignment - An out-of-class assignment that focuses on *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*, an ethnography. The assignment consists of two essays based on a series of questions designed to stimulate critical reading and thinking skills. This assignment is presented as the Sample Assignment for a Liberal Studies Course.

V. Grading Scale

Grading scale: A 90-100 B 80-89 C 70-79 D 60-69 F 59 and below

VI. Attendance Policy

Students are strongly encouraged to attend class. Individual faculty members may develop their own policies that comply with the university attendance policy" would be better.

VII. Required Textbooks, Supplemental Books, and Readings
Below are three examples of currently available textbooks from which faculty select:

Eller, J. D. (2009). *Cultural anthropology: Global forces, local lives.* New York: Routledge.

Haviland, W. (2005). *Cultural anthropology: The human challenge.* Bellmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Kottak, C. P. (2008). *Mirror for humanity: A concise introduction to cultural anthropology.* New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.

Supplemental/Non-textbook readings (Examples)

Chavez, L. (1998). *Shadowed lives: Undocumented immigrants in the United States.* New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Endicott, K. M., & Welsch, R. L. (2008). *Taking sides: Clashing views on controversial issues in cultural anthropology* (4th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin Publishers.

Shostak, M. (2000). *Nisa: The life and words of a !Kung woman.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

VIII. Special Resource Requirements

No special resources are needed.

IX. Bibliography

Baba, M., & Hill, C. (Eds.). (1997). *The global practice of anthropology.* Williamsburg, VA: Studies in Third World Societies.

Barnard, A. (2000). *History and theory in anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bernard, R. (2010). *Research methods in anthropology* (5th ed.). New York: Altamira Press.

Bernard, R. (2011). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Bohannan, P., & Glazer, M. (1988). *High points in anthropology* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Chavez, L. (1998). *Shadowed lives: Undocumented immigrants in the United States.* New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Chiseri-Strater, E., & Sunstein, B. (1997). *Fieldworking: Reading and writing research.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Crane, J., & Angrosino, M. (1992). *Field projects in anthropology: A student handbook* (3rd ed.). Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Emerson, R., Frezt, R., & Shaw, L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Endicott, K., & Welsch, R. (2008). *Taking sides: Clashing views on controversial issues in anthropology* (4th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill/Duskin Publishers.

Kottak, C. (2007). *Mirror for humanity: A concise introduction to cultural anthropology* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Humanities Companies Inc.

Mascia-Lees, F. E., & Johnson Black, N. (2000). *Gender and anthropology.* Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press Inc.

McGee, J., & Warms, R. (2011). *Anthropological theory: An introductory history.* BostonNew York: McGraw-Hill Companies Inc..

Metcalf, P. (2005). *Anthropology: The basics.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Moore, H., & Sanders, T. (2006). *Anthropology in theory: Issues in epistemology.* New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell.

Moses, Y. (2002). Black feminist anthropology: Theory, politics, praxis, and poetics. *Anthropological Quarterly, 75*(2), 427-431.

Narayan, K. (1993). How native is a "native" anthropologist? *American Anthropologist, 95*(3), 671-686.

Ortner, S. (2006). *Anthropology and social theory: Culture, power, and the acting subject.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Podolefsky, A., & Brown, P. (1997). *Applying cultural anthropology: An introductory reader.* Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing.

Rice, P., & McCurdy, D. (2007). *Strategies in teaching anthropology.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Shaffir, W., & Stebbins, R. (Eds.). (1991). *Experiencing fieldwork: An inside view of qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Shostak, M. (2000). *Nisa: The life and words of a !Kung woman*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Strathern, A., & Stewart, P. J. (2001). *Kinship in action: Self and group*. Boston: Prentice Hall.

Van Willigen, J. (1993). *Applied anthropology: An introduction*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Van Willigen, J., Rylko-Bauer, B., & McElroy, A. (Eds.). (1989). *Making our research useful: Case studies in the utilization of anthropological knowledge*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Vélez-Ibáñez, C., & Sampaio, A. (2002). *Transnational Latina/o communities: Politics, process, and cultures*. Boulder: Rowland and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Whiteford, L., & Trotter, R. (2008). *Ethics for anthropological research and practice*. Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Wulff, R., and Fiske, S. (Eds.). (1987). *Anthropological praxis: Translating knowledge into action*. Boulder: Westview Press.

ANTH 211 **CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY** **Fall 2013**

Online- Distance Education Course

Schedule: August 26 – December 13, 2013

Required Texts: Mirror for Humanity (8th ed.), by Conrad Philip Kottak

Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman, by Marjorie Shostak

You must choose one of the following case studies on Applied Anthropology:

- Born at Home, The Biological, Cultural, and Political dimensions of Maternity Care in the United States, by Melissa Cheyney
- Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World, by Holly Barker
- Slaughterhouse Blues: The Meat and Poultry Industry in North America, by Donald Stull and Michael Broadway

Instructor: Dr. Amanda Poole
Office: Department of Anthropology (McElhaney Hall), room G1K
Tel #: 724-357-2735 (office)
Email: pooleab@iup.edu

Availability: My office hours are Tuesdays and Thursdays 9:00 – 10:30 am, and Fridays 1:00 – 3:00 pm. If these times don't work, we can make a separate appointment to meet or speak on the phone. Throughout the semester, please feel free to email me at any time. As I do check my email regularly and plan to be online on a daily basis during the course, you can typically expect a reply from me on the same day (and no later than the following day). I would appreciate it if the subject line of your emails includes our class (ANTH110). Please note that the main channel of communication among students will be through the course discussion forums on our course website (Learning Management System), which will be dedicated to discussions, ideas, and questions about the class topics (more below about this).

COURSE CONTENT AND OBJECTIVES

This course introduces the major concepts, theories and research methods of cultural anthropology that are used to study and understand human culture in different parts of the world. Emphasis will be given to how traditional and non-traditional cultures undergo change as a result of globalization and how cultural anthropologists study the social, economic, and political consequences that result from integration into an expanding and changing global economy. Topics covered may include, but are not limited to, social organization, economics, power and politics, race and ethnicity, language and communication, technology, religion and ritual, and sex and gender. A wide geographic coverage in the course provides a basis for global comparisons of cultural similarities and differences among human societies.

Upon completing the course, students will be able to:

1. Identify the holistic and cross-cultural approach to the study of human culture unique to cultural anthropology.
2. Describe major theories and research methods used to study human cultures from a global perspective.

3. Develop an awareness of cultural differences and an appreciation for the cultural diversity in the United States and in other parts of the world.
4. Apply critical anthropological perspectives to explore ways of addressing and solving contemporary social issues.

The textbook and two ethnographies will serve as the main source of material for the course. Students should note that they are responsible for – and will be tested on – all of the material presented in the pertinent chapters of the textbook. Students will have the opportunity to ask questions on the course discussion blog. However, you should also feel free to contact me by email if you are having problems with course material. The course material will be available through our course website, on the internet, and in the course textbook and textbook learning center. We will use the Online Management System provided through IUP, which will contain assignments, links to discussion forums, quizzes, current grades, and announcements. Log on to this site as soon as possible to become familiar with it (it will be available to you the week before classes begin). When you register for the class, you should be added to the participant list for our course website. If not, let me know and I will add your name later. Supplemental class readings will be available through the course website.

GRADING

Deadlines: This course is designed with weekly activities in mind. However, these weekly deadlines are flexible and can be completed according to your own schedule. There are two very important firm deadlines you need to keep in mind as you progress through the class. All of the assignments (including discussion forums, activities, and quizzes) for weeks 1 - 9 are due by noon on **Friday October 25.** All of the assignments for weeks 10 - 15 are due by noon on **Friday December 13.** Please note however, that if you do not keep up with work **each week**, you will find that you have too much work to complete during these midterm and finals weeks.

Quizzes: There are a total of 13 quizzes. Each quiz will consist of 10 questions which are randomly and automatically selected from a large bank of questions. Each quiz covers the material presented in the related Kottak textbook chapter. Students will have 10 minutes to complete each of these quizzes (worth 10 points each). For every quiz, students are allowed two attempts. The higher of the two quiz grades will be counted and automatically entered into the grade book. Due to the large number of questions in the test bank, students may not come across the same question twice in their two quiz attempts.

You will find links to the quizzes under the relevant week on our course website. Again, you can have two attempts to complete the quiz, after which it will be closed to you, and the highest grade logged in our course website. The quizzes for the first 9 weeks of the course will be available through noon on Friday October 25, and the quizzes for the last half of the course will be available through noon on Friday December 13. Please do not wait until the last minute to attempt quizzes – the system will not permit you to work on the quiz or submit your answers after these two deadlines. While taking the quiz, click **'save without submitting'** after answering each question. When you've answered every question, click on 'submit all and finish.' **Do not click on 'submit all and finish' until you are completely finished** with the quiz. You will be given your grade immediately after you finish the quiz.

For those of you on 'dialup' or with a slow connection, please consider the possibility of using a faster computer to complete the quizzes, since there is a time deadline for each one. On occasion, students click on the wrong link and inadvertently end (lose) their quiz attempt. If that happens, let me know immediately. I am able to look at a detailed log of your activities. If I confirm that it was a mistake on your part (and that you hadn't begun the quiz), I'll be able to reset the quiz attempt for you.

Activities: There are 3 short writing activities, each worth 25 points. Each assignment relates in some way to the material presented in that unit's chapters.

Please click on the **activity description** first. Avoid clicking on the **'submit activity here'** link until you are truly ready to submit your assignment – as there is a 30 minute time deadline for submission once you enter this submission link. First complete the activity as a text file (in Word). Then you should go the 'submit activity here' link for that week. Make sure you follow the instructions, including keeping within the word limit! Cut and paste your essay or answers into the spaces and hit submit. You have two options to submit your answers and these will remain open until you hit the submit button.

Please note the following information:

1. I strongly suggest that you read the assignment descriptions carefully, that you follow the instructions, and that you answer all of the questions. Many students end up with low assignment grades simply because they ignore the instructions. Regarding my comments to your activities, what often happens is that I tend to repeat the same things to most students. For this reason, I will post general comments to you, which should help you figure out how I determined your assignment grade. However, if I also have more specific comments to add for individual students, I'll include those in the comments box that you'll have access to through the activity link in our course website. If you still are not sure why you received a particular grade, feel free to contact me and I'll be able to go over that with you.
2. I will correct the assignments in the order that I receive them. I should be done correcting all assignments for the week by Sunday evening (I typically work on this over the weekend) – so expect updated grades and comments within a week of submitting your assignment.
3. As with the case of quizzes, I suggest you don't wait until the last minute to submit your assignment, since connection issues may cause you to miss the deadlines.

Essay Exams: There will be two essay exams covering the two ethnographies. The first ethnography is Nisa, which we will all be reading. The second ethnography offers you a choice of one of the three contemporary case studies in applied anthropology (more info below). The essay will be drawn from the questions under the book cover link on the course website page for weeks 10 and 15 the semester. Just like with the activities described above, you will have to submit this essay through a timed submission site. Of course, you can prepare your essays in advance and just upload them to the site. Each answer should be at least 250 words long. The essay exams are each worth 85 points each.

Discussion Forums: Students are expected to actively contribute to each week's discussion forum, a total of 15. Most discussion forums involve a small activity or reading to focus the discussion around. Each post will be worth 5 points and should be at least 100 words. I would like for you to address the discussion topic, but you can also range farther to bring up other issues from that week's chapter. Also, you are not restricted to one post per forum. If you have a strong record of posting throughout the semester, I will take this into account when factoring final grades. A post means:

1. Giving your opinion - or asking a question – about material presented in that week's textbook chapters and/or supplemental material.
2. Commenting on – or replying to – another student's comments or question.
3. Discussing material that, although not presented in your textbook, is something you've come across (e.g. a piece of news or something else you've read) and which you believe is relevant to that week's topic(s).

Although I may on occasion participate in the discussion blog (for example to clarify some misunderstanding or ask / answer a question), the majority of the posts will be by students. Be assured that I will be reading every post in its entirety. I will also keep track of how often each student participates, as well as how much effort they put into their participation. In other words, single line comments will be considered insufficient. Having said this, don't feel that you need to go to the other extreme and write an entire essay every day! What I'm looking for, really, are regular and thoughtful contributions. Although you are certainly free to express your feelings about specific topics, I'm looking for reasoned opinions based on your personal observations, what you've read, and/or what your classmates have written. *Please be respectful of your classmates.*

In order to access the forum, simply click on that week's forum link and it will take you directly to the string of posts for that week. Note that there is a menu that allows you to display the posts in the way you prefer. When you post a message, you can reply either to the latest post by clicking on the 'reply' link for that last post, or reply to an earlier message submitted by one of your classmates (or myself). Of course, it will be nice to see how discussions of single topics develop over time as you comment on one another's messages.

Important: Please use the first few days of the course to introduce yourself on the forum. This doesn't have to be long (a couple of sentences would do, or a bit more if you wish). As we begin the course, you can also include in this first post your opinion of what you think anthropology is (excavating dinosaur fossils? Finding treasures?). It will be interesting to see how that view changes over the course.

Summary:		**Grading Scale:**
Quizzes: 13 x 10 points:	130 points	403 – 450 = A
Discussion Forums:15 x 5 points:	75 points	358 – 402 = B
Activities: 3 x 25 points:	75 points	313 – 357 = C
Essay Exams: 2 x 85 points:	170 points	268 – 312 = D
Total:	**450 points**	267 and under = F

TEXTBOOKS

During the course, we will use one textbook and two additional books. All three books are required. The text book is ***Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 8th Edition by Conrad Kottak, 2012. University of Michigan-Ann Arbor: McGraw Hill, ISBN 13: 978-0078034909.** You can get an online e-version for about $46.50 from the publisher. According to the sales rep you can go to www.coursesmart.com, and run an ISBN search for **978-0078034909.** You can get a 180-day subscription to the book OR download it. You can take notes, highlight, and print pages from the on-line edition. There will be lots of used copies of earlier editions around. However, I cannot guarantee that earlier editions will cover the material in the same way.

The second book is ***Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman* by Marjorie Shostak, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2000 ISBN 13: 978-0674004320.** Any edition is fine.

Finally, based on your own interests, you can choose ONE of the following books in order to complete the final course assignment. Please obtain the most current edition (listed below) of your chosen text.
Born at Home, The Biological, Cultural, and Political dimensions of Maternity Care in the United States, by Melissa Cheyney, 2011. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning. ISBN-13: 978-0495793663.

Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World, by Holly Barker, 2012. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning. ISBN-13: 978-1111833848

Slaughterhouse Blues: The Meat and Poultry Industry in North America, by Donald Stull and Michael Broadway, 2012. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning. ISBN-13: 978-1111828783

Other readings will be assigned. Handouts and assignments will be posted on the course website. Please see the welcome email (available through the course website) for more information about accessing these materials.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

As described in the IUP Student Handbook, The Source pp. 58-62, certain standards of academic integrity and honesty are essential within our community. It is your responsibility to know what constitutes a violation of IUP's standards on academic integrity. I will seek to resolve any incidents of academic dishonesty through an informal conference, but you should expect to earn no points for the work involved in such incidents and your grade could be lowered as well. The same standards for academic honesty apply to an online course as well as for a traditional course. You area expected to complete your assignments independently. Resources may be drawn from the internet and it is your responsibility to reference websites you use for some of the class research activities. Using essays obtained through the internet is a violation of academic honesty. IUP subscribes to a service (Turnitin) which can identify plagiarism and will be used in this course.

You will be submitting assignments to me through our online Learning Management System. You may be tempted to ask a friend for a copy of his or her assignment for you to use as a guide and then you decide to make minor changes and submit it as you own work. You may have a friend who asks you to share your work. **You may think, I'll never notice that the assignments are so similar. If you think these things, you are mistaken.** This is academic dishonesty. I catch this situation every semester. If I discover identical submissions, all the students who submit the work will be **EQUALLY** penalized. The minimum penalty is that none of you will receive credit for the suspect assignments and it may result in the loss of a letter grade for both you and your friend. If you betray a friend by submitting their work as your own, you and your friend will be equally punished. Be careful who you share your work with. I am also going to put the previous semester submissions in the Turnitin database for comparison, so be careful about submitting work from other semesters as your own.

Schedule for ANTH 211 Cultural Anthropology Online

Unit	Week		Assignments
1: Introducing Cultural Anthropology	Week 1	Ch 1: What is Anthropology?	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 1
	Week 2	Ch 2: Culture	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 2
	Week 3	Ch 3: Doing Anthropology	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 3
	Week 4	Ch 4: Language and Communication	• Discussion forum • Activity 1 due • Quiz Chapter 4
2: Researching culture, social organization, and identity	Week 5	Ch 5: Making a Living	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 5
	Week 6	Ch 6: Political Systems	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 6
	Week 7	Ch 7: Families, Kinship, and Marriage	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 7
	Week 8	Ch 8: Gender	• Discussion forum • Activity 2 • Quiz Chapter 8
	Week 9	Ch 9: Religion	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 9 • NOTE: Deadline for all course materials of weeks 1-9 is Friday of Week 9
	Week 10	Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman	• Discussion forum • Essay exam
3: Applying Anthropology	Week 11	Ch 10: The World System and Colonialism	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 10
	Week 12	Ch 11: Ethnicity and Race	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 11 • Activity 3
	Week 13	Ch 12: Applying Anthropology	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 12
	Week 14	Ch 13: Anthropology's Role in a Globalizing World	• Discussion forum • Quiz Chapter 13
	Week 15	Final Essay Exam	• Discussion forum on Case Study • Essay exam can be completed any time through the end of finals week • NOTE: Deadline for all course materials of weeks 10-15 is Friday of Week 15

Unit: Researching culture, social organization, and identity

Module: Gender

Please find attached the following module material:

1. The sample assignment
2. The textbook reading on Gender,
3. The supplementary article, "Do Men Dominate Women in All Societies?"
4. A copy of the webpage with the interactive 'Brain Sex Quiz'
5. A selection of sample possible quiz questions
6. The discussion forum prompt

Sample Assignment: Gender Module

Sex and Gender
This activity asks you to engage in an anthropological debate about the influence of nature vs. nurture on gendered identity and social practice. As Kottak describes, gender refers to cultural identities that may vary across societies, whereas sex refers to our biological make-up. However, the question remains: are our gendered roles, identities, tastes, and skills shaped purely by cultural influences, or more determined by our varying biology as males and females?

In order to address this topic, read the supplemental article: "Do Men Dominate Women in All Societies." Finally, go to the following website and take the quiz to determine your own "brain sex": http://www.bbc.co.uk/science/humanbody/sex/add_user.shtml.

Use these resources to answer the following questions (each answer should be a brief response of 200 – 300 words):

1. Outline the key arguments used by anthropologists on either side of the debate on whether or not men dominate women in all societies. Which writer represents a naturist (focused more on biology determining our skills and social roles) vs. a nurturist perspective (focused more on the power of culture to shape our skills and social roles)? What evidence do they use to make their arguments? (10 pnts)

2. Describe your "brain sex" results. Kottak provides different definitions for the concepts "sex" and "gender." Is this quiz evaluating "sex" or "gender"? Explain. Does it make you think differently about how your own skills and identity are shaped by biology vs. culture? (5 pnts)

3. Finally, state your own position in the debate you detailed in question 1. Do you believe that men are destined biologically to have the upper hand across most (if not all) human societies? Or does culture play more of a role in determining the power and status of men in relation to women? Does your brainsex quiz experience seem to refute or support either side? (10 pnts)

Key Terms

bridewealth, *152*
caste system, *149*
clan, *143*
descent group, *142*
dowry, *152*
endogamy, *149*
exogamy, *146*
extended family household, *139*
family, *135*
family of orientation, *136*
family of procreation, *136*
incest, *146*
levirate, *154*
lineage, *143*
matrilineal descent, *143*
matrilocality, *145*
neolocality, *139*
patrilineal descent, *143*
patrilocality, *145*
plural marriages, *153*
polyandry, *153*
polygamy, *153*
polygyny, *153*
progeny price, *152*
sororate, *153*
unilineal descent, *143*

Go to our Online Learning Center website at **www.mhhe.com/kottak** for Internet resources directly related to the content of this chapter.

Chapter 8

Gender

Sex and Gender
Recurrent Gender Patterns
Gender Roles and Gender Stratification
Reduced Gender Stratification—Matrilineal–Matrilocal Societies
Matriarchy
Increased Gender Stratification—Patrilineal–Patrilocal Societies
Patriarchy and Violence
Gender in Industrial Societies
Applying Anthropology to Popular Culture: Lisa vs. Malibu Stacy
The Feminization of Poverty
Work and Happiness
Beyond Male and Female
Sexual Orientation
Anthropology Today: Changing Images of Masculinity

Because anthropologists study biology, society, and culture, they are in a unique position to comment on nature (biological predispositions) and nurture (environment) as determinants of human behavior. Human attitudes, values, and behavior are limited not only by our genetic predispositions—which often are difficult to identify—but also by our experiences during enculturation. Our attributes as adults are determined both by our genes and by our environment during growth and development.

Sex and Gender

Questions about nature and nurture emerge in the discussion of human sex–gender roles and sexuality. Men and women differ genetically. Women have two X chromosomes, and men have an X and a Y. The father determines a baby's sex because only he has the Y chromosome to transmit. The mother always provides an X chromosome.

The chromosomal difference is expressed in hormonal and physiological contrasts. Humans are sexually dimorphic, more so than some primates, such as gibbons (small tree-living Asiatic apes) and less so than others, such as gorillas and orangutans. **Sexual dimorphism** refers to differences in male and female biology besides the contrasts in breasts and genitals. Women and men differ not just in primary (genitalia and reproductive organs) and secondary (breasts, voice, hair distribution) sexual characteristics, but in average weight, height, strength, and longevity. Women tend to live longer than men and have excellent endurance capabilities. In a given population, men tend to be taller

and to weigh more than women do. Of course, there is a considerable overlap between the sexes in terms of height, weight, and physical strength, and there has been a pronounced reduction in sexual dimorphism during human biological evolution.

Just how far, however, do such genetically and physiologically determined differences go? What effects do they have on the way men and women act and are treated in different societies? Anthropologists have discovered both similarities and differences in the roles of men and women in different cultures. The predominant anthropological position on sex–gender roles and biology may be stated as follows:

> The biological nature of men and women [should be seen] not as a narrow enclosure limiting the human organism, but rather as a broad base upon which a variety of structures can be built. (Friedl 1975, p. 6)

Although in most societies men tend to be somewhat more aggressive than women are, many of the behavioral and attitudinal differences between the sexes emerge from culture rather than biology. Sex differences are biological, but gender encompasses all the traits that a culture assigns to and inculcates in males and females. "Gender," in other words, refers to the cultural construction of whether one is female, male, or something else.

Given the "rich and various constructions of gender" within the realm of cultural diversity, Susan Bourque and Kay Warren (1987) note that the same images of masculinity and femininity do not always apply. Anthropologists have gathered systematic

The realm of cultural diversity contains richly different social constructions and expressions of gender roles, as illustrated by these Wodaabe male celebrants in Niger. (Look closely for suggestions of diffusion.) For what reasons do men decorate their bodies in our society?

ethnographic data about similarities and differences involving gender in many cultural settings (Bonvillain 2007; Brettell and Sargent, eds. 2009; Gilmore 2001; Kimmel 2007; Mascia-Lees and Black 2000; Nanda 2000; Ward and Edelstein 2009). Before we examine the cross-cultural data, some definitions are in order.

Gender roles are the tasks and activities a culture assigns to the sexes. Related to gender roles are **gender stereotypes**, which are oversimplified but strongly held ideas about the characteristics of males and females. **Gender stratification** describes an unequal distribution of rewards (socially valued resources, power, prestige, human rights, and personal freedom) between men and women, reflecting their different positions in a social hierarchy. According to Ann Stoler (1977), the economic determinants of gender status include freedom or autonomy (in disposing of one's labor and its fruits) and social power (control over the lives, labor, and produce of others).

In stateless societies, gender stratification often is more obvious in regard to prestige than it is in regard to wealth. In her study of the Ilongots of northern Luzon in the Philippines, Michelle Rosaldo (1980*a*) described gender differences related to the positive cultural value placed on adventure, travel, and knowledge of the external world. More often than women, Ilongot men, as headhunters, visited distant places. They acquired knowledge of the external world, amassed experiences there, and returned to express their knowledge, adventures, and feelings in public oratory. They received acclaim as a result. Ilongot women had inferior prestige because they lacked external experiences on which to base knowledge and dramatic expression. On the basis of Rosaldo's study and findings in other stateless societies, Ong (1989) argues that we must distinguish between prestige systems and actual power in a given society. High male prestige may not entail economic or political power held by men over their families.

Recurrent Gender Patterns

You probably had chores when you were growing up. Was there any gender bias in what you were asked to do compared with your brother or sister? If you were raised by two parents, did any tension arise over your parental division of labor? Based on cross-cultural data from societies worldwide, Table 8.1 lists activities that are generally male, generally female, or swing (either male or female). Before you look at that table, see if you can assign the following to one gender or the other (M or F): hunting large animals ( ), gathering wild vegetable foods ( ), tending crops ( ), fishing ( ), cooking ( ), fetching water ( ), making baskets ( ), making drinks ( ). Now consult Table 8.1 and see how you did. Reflect on your results. Is what's true cross-culturally still true of the division of labor by gender in today's world, including the United States?

Even if we still think in terms of "men's work" and "women's work," ideas about gender are changing along with the employment patterns of men and women. But old beliefs, cultural expectations and challenges, and gender stereotypes linger. As of this writing, only 17 out of 100 United States senators are women. Only three women have ever served on the U.S. Supreme Court. Women, in general, remain less powerful than men. The lingering American expectation that proper female behavior should be polite, restrained, or meek poses a challenge for women, because American culture also values

TABLE 8.1 Generalities in the Division of Labor by Gender, Based on Data from 185 Societies

Source: Murdock and Provost 1973.

Generally Male Activities	Swing (Male or Female) Activities	Generally Female Activities
Hunting of large aquatic animals (e.g., whales, walrus)	Making fire	Gathering fuel (e.g., firewood)
Smelting of ores	Body mutilation	Making drinks
Metalworking	Preparing skins	Gathering wild vegetal foods
Lumbering	Gathering small land animals	Dairy production (e.g., churning)
Hunting large land animals	Planting crops	Spinning
Working wood	Making leather products	Doing the laundry
Hunting fowl	Harvesting	Fetching water
Making musical instruments	Tending crops	Cooking
Trapping	Milking	Preparing vegetal food (e.g., processing cereal grains)
Building boats	Making baskets	
Working stone	Carrying burdens	
Working bone, horn, and shell	Making mats	
Mining and quarrying	Caring for small animals	
Setting bones	Preserving meat and fish	
Butchering*	Loom weaving	
Collecting wild honey	Gathering small aquatic animals	
Clearing land	Clothing manufacture	
Fishing	Making pottery	
Tending large herd animals		
Building houses		
Preparing the soil		
Making nets		
Making rope		

*All the activities above "butchering" are almost always done by men; those from "butchering" through "making rope" usually are done by men.

decisiveness and "standing up for your beliefs." When American men and women display certain behavior—speaking up for their ideas, for example—they are judged differently. A man's assertive behavior may be admired and rewarded, but a woman's similar behavior may be labeled "aggressive"—or worse.

Both men and women are constrained by their cultural training, stereotypes, and expectations. For example, American men are told they should "be decisive"—make decisions and stick to them. In our stereotypes, changing one's mind is more associated with women than men and may be perceived as a sign of weakness. Politicians routinely criticize their opponents for being indecisive, for waffling or "flip-flopping" on issues. What a strange idea—that people shouldn't change their positions if they've discovered

there's a better way. Males, females, and humanity may be equally victimized by aspects of cultural training.

Data relevant to the cross-cultural study of gender can be drawn from the domains of economics, politics, domestic activity, kinship, and marriage. Table 8.1 shows cross-cultural data from 185 randomly selected societies on the division of labor by gender.

Remembering the discussion in Chapter 2 of universals, generalities, and particularities, the findings in Table 8.1 about the division of labor by gender illustrate generalities rather than universals. That is, among the societies known to ethnography, there is a very strong tendency for men to build boats, but there are exceptions. One was the Hidatsa, a Native American group in which the women made the boats used to cross the Missouri River. (Traditionally, the Hidatsa were village farmers and bison hunters on the North American Plains; they now live in North Dakota.) Another exception: Pawnee women worked wood; this is the only Native American group that assigned this activity to women. (The Pawnee, also traditionally Plains farmers and bison hunters, originally lived in what is now central Nebraska and central Kansas; they now live on a reservation in north central Oklahoma.)

Exceptions to cross-cultural generalizations may involve societies or individuals. That is, a society like the Hidatsa can contradict the cross-cultural generalization that men build boats by assigning that task to women. Or, in a society where the cultural expectation is that only men build boats, a particular woman or women can contradict that expectation by doing the male activity. Table 8.1 shows that in a sample of 185 societies, certain activities ("swing activities") are assigned to either or both men and women. Among the most important of such activities are planting, tending, and harvesting crops. Some societies customarily assign more farming chores to women, whereas others call on men to be the main farm laborers. Among the tasks almost always assigned to men (Table 8.1), some (e.g., hunting large animals on land and sea) seem clearly related to the greater average size and strength of males. Others, such as working wood and making musical instruments, seem more culturally arbitrary. And women, of course, are not exempt from arduous and time-consuming physical labor, such as gathering firewood and fetching water. In Arembepe, Bahia, Brazil, women routinely transported water in five-gallon tins, balanced on their heads, from wells and lagoons located long distances from their homes.

Both women and men have to fit their activities into 24-hour days. Based on cross-cultural data, Table 8.2 shows that the time and effort spent in subsistence activities by men and women tend to be about equal. If anything, men do slightly less subsistence work than women do. Think about how female domestic activities could have been

TABLE 8.2 Time and Effort Expended on Subsistence Activities by Men and Women*

Source: Whyte 1978.

More by men	16
Roughly equal	61
More by women	23

*Percentage of 88 randomly selected societies for which information was available on this variable.

TABLE 8.3 Who Does the Domestic Work?*

Source: Whyte 1978.

Males do virtually none	51
Males do some, but mostly done by females	49

*Percentage of 92 randomly selected societies for which information was available on this variable.

TABLE 8.4 Who Has Final Authority over the Care, Handling, and Discipline of Infant Children (under Four Years Old)?*

Source: Whyte 1978.

Males have more say	18
Roughly equal	16
Females have more say	66

*Percentage of 67 randomly selected societies for which information was available on this variable.

specified in greater detail in Table 8.1. The original coding of the data in Table 8.1 probably illustrates a male bias in that extradomestic activities received much more prominence than domestic activities did. For example, is collecting wild honey (listed in Table 8.1) more necessary or time-consuming than cleaning a baby's bottom (absent from Table 8.1)? Also, notice that Table 8.1 does not mention trade and market activity, in which either or both men and women are active.

Cross-culturally the subsistence contributions of men and women are roughly equal (Table 8.2). But in domestic activities and child care, female labor predominates, as we see in Tables 8.3 and 8.4. Table 8.3 shows that in about half the societies studied, men did virtually no domestic work. Even in societies where men did some domestic chores, the bulk of such work was done by women. Adding together their subsistence activities and their domestic work, women tend to work more hours than men do. Has this changed in the contemporary world?

What about child care? Women tend to be the main caregivers in most societies, but men often play a role. Table 8.4 uses cross-cultural data to answer the question, "Who—men or women—has final authority over the care, handling, and discipline of children younger than four years?" Women have primary authority over infants in two-thirds of the societies. Given the critical role of breast-feeding in ensuring infant survival, it makes sense, for infants especially, for the mother to be the primary caregiver.

There are differences in male and female reproductive strategies. Women work to ensure their progeny will survive by establishing a close bond with each baby. It's also advantageous for a woman to have a reliable mate to ease the child-rearing process and ensure the survival of her children. (Again, there are exceptions, for example, the matrilineal Nayars discussed in the previous chapter.) Women can have only so many babies during their reproductive years, which begin after menarche (the advent of first menstruation) and end with menopause (cessation of menstruation). Men, in contrast, have a longer reproductive period, which can last into the elder years. If they choose to do so,

TABLE 8.5 Does the Society Allow Multiple Spouses?*

Source: Whyte 1978.

Only for males	77
For both, but more commonly for males	4
For neither	16
For both, but more commonly for females	2

*Percentage of 92 randomly selected societies.

TABLE 8.6 Is There a Double Standard with Respect to Premarital Sex?*

Source: Whyte 1978.

Yes—females are more restricted	44
No—equal restrictions on males and females	56

*Percentage of 73 randomly selected societies for which information was available on this variable.

TABLE 8.7 Is There a Double Standard with Respect to Extramarital Sex?*

Source: Whyte 1978.

Yes—females are more restricted	43
Equal restrictions on males and females	55
Males punished more severely for transgression	3

*Percentage of 75 randomly selected societies for which information was available on this variable.

men can enhance their reproductive success by impregnating several women over a longer time period. Although men do not always have multiple mates, they do have a greater tendency to do so than women do (see Tables 8.5, 8.6, and 8.7). Among the societies known to ethnography, polygyny is much more common than polyandry (see Table 8.5).

Men mate, within and outside marriage, more than women do. Table 8.6 shows cross-cultural data on premarital sex, and Table 8.7 summarizes the data on extramarital sex. In both cases men are less restricted than women are, although the restrictions are equal in about half the societies studied. Double standards that restrict women more than men illustrate gender stratification, which we now examine more systematically.

Gender Roles and Gender Stratification

Several studies have shown that economic roles affect gender stratification. In one cross-cultural study, Sanday (1974) found that gender stratification decreased when men and women made roughly equal contributions to subsistence. She found that gender stratification was greatest when the women contributed either much more or much less than the men did.

In foraging societies, gender stratification was most marked when men contributed much *more* to the diet than women did. This was true among the Inuit and other northern hunters and fishers. Among tropical and semitropical foragers, by contrast, gathering usually supplies more food than hunting and fishing do. Gathering is generally women's work. Men usually hunt and fish, but women also do some fishing and may hunt small animals. When gathering is prominent, gender status tends to be more equal than it is when hunting and fishing are the main subsistence activities.

Gender status also is more equal when the domestic and public spheres aren't sharply separated. (**Domestic** means within or pertaining to the home.) Strong differentiation between the home and the outside world is called the **domestic-public dichotomy** or the *private-public contrast*. The outside world can include politics, trade, warfare, or work. Often when domestic and public spheres are clearly separated, public activities have greater prestige than domestic ones do. This can promote gender stratification, because men are more likely to be active in the public domain than women are. Cross-culturally, women's activities tend to be closer to home than men's are. Thus, another reason hunter-gatherers have less gender stratification than food producers do is that the domestic-public dichotomy is less developed among foragers.

We've seen that certain gender roles are more sex-linked than others. Men are the usual hunters and warriors. Given such tools and weapons as spears, knives, and bows, men make better hunters and fighters because they are bigger and stronger on the average than are women in the same population (Divale and Harris 1976). The male hunter-fighter role also reflects a tendency toward greater male mobility.

Reduced Gender Stratification—Matrilineal–Matrilocal Societies

Cross-cultural variation in gender status is also related to rules of descent and postmarital residence (Friedl 1975; Martin and Voorhies 1975). With matrilineal descent and *matrilocality* (residence after marriage with the wife's relatives), female status tends to be high. Matriliny and matrilocality disperse related males, rather than consolidating them. By contrast, patriliny and *patrilocality* (residence after marriage with the husband's kin) keep male relatives together. Matrilineal-matrilocal systems tend to occur in societies where population pressure on strategic resources is minimal and warfare is infrequent.

Women tend to have high status in matrilineal, matrilocal societies for several reasons. Descent-group membership, succession to political positions, allocation of land, and overall social identity all come through female links. Among the matrilineal Malays of Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia (Peletz 1988), matriliny gave women sole inheritance of ancestral rice fields. Matrilocality created solidary clusters of female kin. These Malay women had considerable influence beyond the household (Swift 1963). In such matrilineal contexts, women are the basis of the entire social structure. Although public authority nominally may be assigned to the men, much of the power and decision making actually may belong to the senior women.

Matriarchy

Cross-culturally, anthropologists have described tremendous variation in the roles of men and women, and the power differentials between them. If a patriarchy is a political system ruled by men, what would a matriarchy be? Would a matriarchy be a political system ruled by women, or a political system in which women play a much more prominent role than men do in social and political organization? Anthropologist Peggy Sanday (2002) has concluded that matriarchies exist, but not as mirror images of patriarchies. The superior power that men typically have in a patriarchy isn't matched by women's equally disproportionate power in a matriarchy. Many societies, including the Minangkabau of West Sumatra, Indonesia, whom Sanday has studied for decades, lack the substantial power differentials that typify patriarchal systems. Minangkabau women play a central role in social, economic, and ceremonial life and as key symbols. The primacy of matriliny and matriarchy is evident at the village level, as well as regionally, where seniority of matrilineal descent serves as a way to rank villages.

The four million Minangkabau constitute one of Indonesia's largest ethnic groups. Located in the highlands of West Sumatra, their culture is based on the coexistence of matrilineal custom and a nature-based philosophy called adat, complemented by Islam, a more recent (16th-century) arrival. The Minangkabau view men and women as cooperative partners for the common good rather than competitors ruled by self-interest. People gain prestige when they promote social harmony rather than by vying for power.

Sanday considers the Minangkabau a matriarchy because women are the center, origin, and foundation of the social order. Senior women are associated with the central pillar of the traditional house, the oldest one in the village. The oldest village in a cluster

A Minangkabau bride and groom in West Sumatra, Indonesia, where anthropologist Peggy Reeves Sanday has conducted several years of ethnographic fieldwork.

is called the "mother village." In ceremonies, women are addressed by the term used for their mythical Queen Mother. Women control land inheritance, and couples reside matrilocally. In the wedding ceremony, the wife collects her husband from his household and, with her female kin, escorts him to hers. If there is a divorce, the husband simply takes his things and leaves. Yet despite the special position of women, the Minangkabau matriarchy is not the equivalent of female rule, given the Minangkabau belief that all decision making should be by consensus.

Increased Gender Stratification—Patrilineal–Patrilocal Societies

Martin and Voorhies (1975) link the decline of matriliny and the spread of the **patrilineal–patrilocal complex** (consisting of patrilineality, patrilocality, warfare, and male supremacy) to pressure on resources. Faced with scarce resources, patrilineal–patrilocal cultivators such as the Yanomami often wage warfare against other villages. This favors patrilocality and patriliny, customs that keep related men together in the same village, where they make strong allies in battle. Such societies tend to have a sharp domestic–public dichotomy, and men tend to dominate the prestige hierarchy. Men may use their public roles in warfare and trade and their greater prestige to symbolize and reinforce the devaluation or oppression of women.

The patrilineal–patrilocal complex characterizes many societies in highland Papua New Guinea. Women work hard growing and processing subsistence crops, raising and tending pigs (the main domesticated animal and a favorite food), and doing domestic cooking, but they are isolated from the public domain, which men control. Men grow and distribute prestige crops, prepare food for feasts, and arrange marriages. The men even get to trade the pigs and control their use in ritual.

In some parts of Papua New Guinea, the patrilineal-patrilocal complex has extreme social repercussions. Regarding females as dangerous and polluting, men may segregate themselves in men's houses (such as this one, located near the Sepik River), where they hide their precious ritual objects from women. Are there places like this in your society?

In densely populated areas of the Papua New Guinea highlands, male–female avoidance is associated with strong pressure on resources (Lindenbaum 1972). Men fear all female contacts, including sex. They think that sexual contact with women will weaken them. Indeed, men see everything female as dangerous and polluting. They segregate themselves in men's houses and hide their precious ritual objects from women. They delay marriage, and some never marry.

By contrast, the sparsely populated areas of Papua New Guinea, such as recently settled areas, lack taboos on male–female contacts. The image of woman as polluter fades, heterosexual intercourse is valued, men and women live together, and reproductive rates are high.

Patriarchy and Violence

Patriarchy describes a political system ruled by men in which women have inferior social and political status, including basic human rights. Barbara Miller (1997), in a study of systematic neglect of females, describes women in rural northern India as "the endangered sex." Societies that feature a full-fledged patrilineal–patrilocal complex, replete with warfare and intervillage raiding, also typify patriarchy. Such practices as dowry murders, female infanticide, and clitoridectomy exemplify patriarchy, which extends from tribal societies such as the Yanomami to state societies such as India and Pakistan.

Although more prevalent in certain social settings than in others, family violence and domestic abuse of women are worldwide problems. Domestic violence certainly occurs in nuclear family settings, such as Canada and the United States. Cities, with their impersonality and isolation from extended kin networks, are breeding grounds for domestic violence.

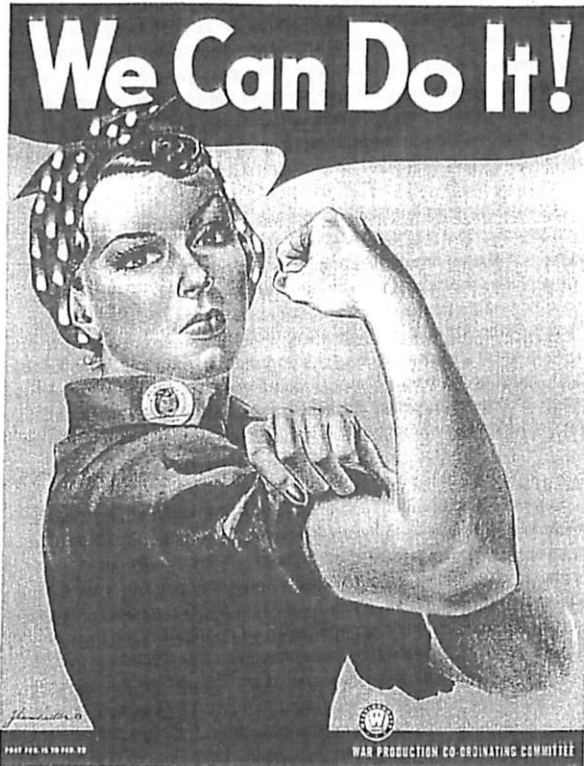
We've seen that gender stratification typically is reduced in societies in which women have prominent roles in the economy and social life. When a woman lives in her own village, she has kin nearby to look after and protect her interests. Even in patrilocal polygynous settings, women often count on the support of their cowives and sons in disputes with potentially abusive husbands. Such settings, which tend to provide a safe haven for women, are retracting rather than expanding in today's world, however. Isolated families and patrilineal social forms have spread at the expense of matrilineality. Many nations have declared polygyny illegal. More and more women, and men, find themselves cut off from extended kin and families of orientation.

With the spread of the women's rights movement and the human rights movement, attention to domestic violence and abuse of women has increased. Laws have been passed and mediating institutions established. Brazil's female-run police stations for battered women provide an example, as do shelters for victims of domestic abuse in the United States and Canada. But patriarchal institutions do persist in what should be a more enlightened world.

Gender in Industrial Societies

The domestic–public dichotomy, which is developed most fully among patrilineal–patrilocal food producers and plow agriculturists, also has affected gender stratification in industrial societies, including the United States and Canada. Gender roles have been

changing rapidly in North America. The "traditional" idea that "a woman's place is in the home" actually emerged in the United States as industrialism spread after 1900. Earlier, pioneer women in the Midwest and West had been recognized as fully productive workers in farming and home industry. Under industrialism, attitudes about gendered work came to vary with class and region. In early industrial Europe, men, women, and children had flocked to factories as wage laborers. Enslaved Americans of both sexes had done grueling work in cotton fields. With abolition, southern African American women continued working as field hands and domestics. Poor white women labored in the South's early cotton mills. In the 1890s more than one million American women held menial and repetitious unskilled factory positions (Margolis 1984; Martin and Voorhies 1975).



During the world wars the notion that women were biologically unfit for hard physical labor faded. Shown here is World War II's famous Rosie the Riveter. Is there a comparable poster woman today? What does her image say about modern gender roles?

After 1900, European immigration produced a male labor force willing to work for wages lower than those of American-born men. Those immigrant men moved into factory jobs that previously had gone to women. As machine tools and mass production further reduced the need for female labor, the notion that women were biologically unfit for factory work began to gain ground (Martin and Voorhies 1975).

Maxine Margolis (1984, 2000) has shown how gendered work, attitudes, and beliefs have varied in response to American economic needs. For example, wartime shortages of men have promoted the idea that work outside the home is women's patriotic duty. During the world wars the notion that women are unfit for hard physical labor faded. Inflation and the culture of consumption also have spurred female employment. When prices or demand rise, multiple paychecks help maintain family living standards.

The steady increase in female paid employment since World War II also reflects the baby boom and industrial expansion. American culture traditionally has defined clerical work, teaching, and nursing as female occupations. With rapid population growth and business expansion after World War II, the demand for women to fill such jobs grew steadily. Employers also found they could increase their profits by paying women lower wages than they would have to pay returning male war veterans.

Margolis (1984, 2000) contends that changes in the economy lead to changes in attitudes toward and about women. Economic changes paved the way for the contemporary women's movement, which also was spurred by the publication of Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and the founding of NOW, the National Organization of Women, in 1966. The movement in turn promoted expanded work opportunities for women, including the goal of equal pay for equal work. Between 1970 and 2009, the female percentage of the American workforce rose from 38 to 47 percent. In other words, almost half of all Americans who work outside the home are women. Over 72 million women now have paid jobs, compared with 82 million men. Women fill more than half (58 percent) of all professional jobs (*Statistical Abstract of the United States 2011*, Tables 585, 615). And it's not mainly single women working, as once was the case. Table 8.8 presents figures on the ever-increasing cash employment of American wives and mothers, including those with children under 6 years old.

TABLE 8.8 Cash Employment of American Mothers, Wives, and Husbands, 1960–2009*

Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States 2011*, Table 596, 598. http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2011edition.html.

Year	Percentage of Married Women, Husband Present with Children under six	Percentage of All Married Women†	Percentage of All Married Men‡
1960	19	32	89
1970	30	40	86
1980	45	50	81
1990	59	58	79
2009	62	62	76

*Civilian population 16 years of age and older.
†Husband present

Applying Anthropology to Popular Culture

LISA VS. MALIBU STACY

In an episode of *The Simpsons* titled "Lisa vs. Malibu Stacy," eight-year-old Lisa is outraged when her talking doll (Stacy) says things like, "Let's buy makeup so boys will like us." The doll's statement, and Lisa's reaction to it, reveal American cultural values reflecting consumerism, gender roles, and gender stereotypes. Watch a few episodes of *The Simpsons, South Park,* or *Family Guy.* What can we learn about gender roles and stereotypes (and about culture and society more generally) by analyzing such popular culture products?

Note in Table 8.8 that the cash employment of American married men has been falling while that of American married women has been rising. There has been a dramatic change in behavior and attitudes since 1960, when 89 percent of all married men worked, compared with just 32 percent of married women. The comparable figures in 2009 were 76 percent and 62 percent. Ideas about the gender roles of males and females have changed. Compare your grandparents and your parents. Chances are you have a working mother, but your grandmother was more likely a stay-at-home mom. Your grandfather is more likely than your father to have worked in manufacturing and to have belonged to a union. Your father is more likely than your grandfather to have shared child care and domestic responsibilities. Age at marriage has been delayed for both men and women. College educations and professional degrees have increased. What other changes do you associate with the increase in female employment outside the home?

The Feminization of Poverty

Alongside the economic gains of many American women stands an opposite extreme: the feminization of poverty, or the increasing representation of women (and their children) among America's poorest people. Women head over half of U.S. households with incomes below the poverty line. In 1959 female-headed households accounted for just one-fourth of the American poor. Since then that figure has more than doubled.

Married couples are much more secure economically than single mothers are. The average income for married-couple families is more than twice that of families maintained by a single woman. The median one-earner family maintained by a single woman had an annual income of $33,073 in 2008. This was less than one-half the median income ($73,010) of a married-couple household. (*Statistical Abstract of the United States 2011*, Tables 691).

The feminization of poverty isn't just a North American trend. The percentage of single-parent (usually female-headed) households has been increasing worldwide. The figure ranges from about 10 percent in Japan, to below 20 percent in certain South Asian and Southeast Asian countries, to almost 50 percent in certain African countries and the Caribbean (Buvinic 1995, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 2011*, Table 1336). The percentage of single-parent households rose in every nation listed in Table 8.9 between 1980–1981 and 2009. The United States maintains the largest percentage of single-parent households (29.5 percent in 2009), followed by the United Kingdom

TABLE 8.9 Percentage of Single-Parent Households, Selected Countries, 1980–1981 and 2009

Country	1980–1981	2009
United States	19.5%	29.5%
United Kingdom	13.9	25.0
Canada	12.7	24.6
Ireland	7.2	22.6
Denmark	13.4	21.7
France	10.2	19.8
Japan	4.9	10.2

(25 percent). Canada (24.6 percent), Ireland (22.6 percent), and Denmark (21.7 percent). The rate of increase in single-parent households over the past 30 years has been highest in Ireland, where it tripled, from 7.2 to 22.6 percent.

Globally, households headed by women tend to be poorer than those headed by men. In one study, the percentage of single-parent families considered poor was 18 percent in Britain, 20 percent in Italy, 25 percent in Switzerland, 40 percent in Ireland, 52 percent in Canada, and 63 percent in the United States.

It is widely believed that one way to improve the situation of poor women is to encourage them to organize. New women's groups can in some cases revive or replace traditional forms of social organization that have been disrupted. Membership in a group can help women to mobilize resources, to rationalize production, and to reduce the risks and costs associated with credit. Organization also allows women to develop self-confidence and to decrease dependence on others. Through such organization, poor women throughout the world are working to determine their own needs and priorities and to change things so as to improve their social and economic situation (Buvinic 1995).

Denmark, which has a high rate of workplace women, a rising birthrate, and readily available child care, is rated the world's happiest country. The genetics researcher shown here is the mother of a toddler.

Work and Happiness

Table 8.10 shows female labor force participation in various countries—condensed from 30 countries for which data were available—in 2008. The United States, with 69.3 percent of its women employed, ranked 13th, while Canada (74.4 percent) ranked 6th. Iceland topped the list, with 82.5 percent of its women in the workforce. Turkey was lowest; only 26.7 percent of its women were employed.

In 2010, Gallup conducted a survey of the world's 132 happiest countries, based on various measures, including the percentages of people in that country who were thriving—and suffering. Respondents also were asked to rate their own lives on a scale from zero (worst possible) to 10 (best possible). Denmark was the world's happiest nation; Canada came in 6th; the United States, 12th.

TABLE 8.10
Female Labor Force Participation by Country, 2008

Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2010, Table 1330; Huffington Post, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/07/03/worlds-happiest-countries_n_633814

Country	Percentage of Women in Labor Force	Rank among World's 15 "Happiest Countries"
Iceland	82.5	*
Sweden	78.2	9
Norway	77.4	3
Denmark	77.3	1
Switzerland	76.6	7
Canada	74.4	6
Finland	74.0	2
New Zealand	72.0	8
Netherlands	72.6	4
United Kingdom	70.2	*
Australia	69.9	11
Germany	69.7	*
United States	69.3	12
Turkey (lowest in table)	26.7	*

*These countries were not among the 15 "happiest countries."

Interestingly, we can detect a correlation between the two rankings—of happiness and of women's work outside the home. We see in Table 8.10 that of the 13 countries with greatest female labor force participation, 10 ranked among the world's happiest (see Levy 2010). What factors might explain this correlation? Why, as more women work outside the home, might a country's population achieve a greater sense of well-being? More money? More taxes? More social services? More personal freedom? We report; you decide!

Beyond Male and Female

Gender is socially constructed, and societies may recognize more than two genders. The contemporary United States, for example, includes individuals who self-identify using such labels as "transgender," "intersex," "third gender," and "transsexual." Such persons contradict dominant male/female gender distinctions by being part male and female, or neither male nor female. Because people who self-identify as "transgender" are increasingly visible, we must be careful about seeing "masculine " and "feminine" as absolute and binary categories.

Sex, we have seen, is biological, whereas gender is socially constructed. Transgender is a social category that includes individuals who *may or may not* contrast biologically with ordinary males and females. Within the transgender category, intersex people (see below) usually contrast biologically with ordinary males and females, but *transgender also includes people whose gender identity has no apparent biological roots.*

The term **intersex** encompasses a group of conditions involving a discrepancy between the external genitals (penis, vagina, etc.) and the internal genitals (testes, ovaries, etc.).

The older term for this condition, *hermaphroditism*, combined the names of a Greek god and goddess. Hermes was a god of male sexuality (among other things) and Aphrodite a goddess of female sexuality, love, and beauty.

The causes of intersex are varied and complex (Kaneshiro 2009): (1) An XX Intersex person has the chromosomes of a woman (XX) and normal ovaries, uterus, and Fallopian tubes, but the external genitals appear male. Usually this results from a female fetus having been exposed to an excess of male hormones before birth. (2) An XY Intersex person has the chromosomes of a man (XY), but the external genitals are incompletely formed, ambiguous, or female. The testes may be normal, malformed, or absent. (3) A True Gonadal Intersex person has both ovarian and testicular tissue. The external genitals may be ambiguous or may appear to be female or male. (4) Intersex also can result from an unusual chromosome combination, such as X0 (only one X chromosome), XXY, XYY, and XXX. In the last three cases there is an extra sex chromosome, either an X or a Y. These chromosomal combinations don't typically produce a discrepancy between internal and external genitalia, but there may be problems with sex hormone levels and overall sexual development.

The XXY configuration, known as *Klinefelter's syndrome*, is the most common unusual sex chromosome combination and the second most common condition (after Down syndrome) caused by the presence of extra chromosomes in humans. Effects of Klinefelter's occur in about 1 of every 1,000 males. One in every 500 males has an extra X chromosome but lacks the main symptoms—small testicles and reduced fertility. With XXX, aka *triple X syndrome*, there is an extra X chromosome in each cell of a human female. Triple X occurs in about 1 of every 1,000 female births. There usually is no physically distinguishable difference between triple X women and other women. The same is true of XYY compared with other males.

Turner syndrome encompasses several conditions, of which X0 (absence of one sex chromosome) is most common. In this case, all or part of one of the sex chromosomes is absent. Typical females have two X chromosomes, but in Turner syndrome, one of those chromosomes is missing or abnormal. Girls with Turner syndrome typically are sterile because of nonworking ovaries and amenorrhea (absence of a menstrual cycle).

Biology isn't destiny; people construct their identities in society. Many individuals affected by one of the biological conditions just described see themselves simply as male or female, rather than transgender. Self-identified **transgender** people tend to be individuals whose gender identity contradicts their biological sex at birth and the gender identity that society assigned to them in infancy. The transgender category is diverse; it includes individuals with varied perceptions of self and manner of gender performance. Some lean toward male; some, female, and some toward neither of the dominant genders.

Fear and ignorance related to diversity in gender fuels discrimination, principally because outsiders perceive transgender as a homogeneous and stigmatized category. In fact, there is nothing new or abnormal about diverse gender roles and identities, as the anthropological record attests. Gender variance is a human phenomenon that has taken many forms across societies and cultures.

The historical and ethnographic records reveal the malleability of gender categories and roles (Herdt 1994). Consider, for example, the *eunuch*, or "perfect servant" (a castrated man who served as a safe attendant to harems in Byzantium [Tougher 2008]).

Neither man nor woman, hijras constitute India's third gender. Many hijras get their income from performing at ceremonies, begging, or prostitution. The beauty contest shown here was organized by an AIDS prevention and relief organization that works with the local hijra community.

Acknowledgment and accommodation of *hijras* as a third sex/gender in Indian society indicates that certain societal requirements necessitated the castration of some men who then filled special social roles (Nanda 1998). Roscoe writes of the "Zuni man-woman," or *berdache* in the 19th century. As described in the previous chapter, a berdache was a male who adopted social roles traditionally assigned to women, and through performance of a third gender contributed to the social and spiritual well-being of the community as a whole (1991; 1998). Some Balkan societies included "sworn virgins," born females who assumed male gender roles and activities to meet societal needs when there was a shortage of men (Gremaux 1993).

Among the Gheg tribes of North Albania, "virginal transvestites" were biologically female, but locals consider them "honorary men" (Shryock 1988). Albanian adolescent girls have chosen to become men, remain celibate, and live among men, with the support of their families and villagers (Young 2000). And consider Polynesia. In Tonga the term *fakaleitis* describes males who behave like women, thereby contrasting with mainstream Tongan men who display masculine characteristics. Similar to the *fakaleitis* of Tonga, Samoan *fa'afafine* and Hawaiian *mahu* refer to men who adopt feminine attributes, behaviors, and visual markers.

In the contemporary West, the umbrella category *transgender* encompasses a similar variety of persons whose gender performance and identity contradict or defy a binary gender structure. Transgender people are productive and contributing members of society, at least in those sectors to which they have access and relative protection to live as who they are. In recent years, the gay and lesbian rights movement has achieved many successes, including the legalization of same-sex marriage in a few states and the repeal of the "Don't Ask Don't Tell" (DADT) policy of the U. S. armed services. The gay and lesbian rights movement has expanded to include the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community (LGBT), which works to promote government policies and social practices that protect its members' civil and human rights.

Sexual Orientation

Sexual orientation refers to a person's habitual sexual attraction to, and sexual activities with, persons of the opposite sex (*heterosexuality*), the same sex (*homosexuality*), or both sexes (*bisexuality*). *Asexuality,* indifference toward, or lack of attraction to either sex, also is a sexual orientation. All four of these forms are found in contemporary North America, and throughout the world. But each type of desire and experience holds different meanings for individuals and groups. For example, an asexual disposition may be acceptable in some places but may be perceived as a character flaw in others. Male–male sexual activity may be a private affair in Mexico, rather than public, socially sanctioned, and encouraged as among the Etoro (see below) of Papua New Guinea (see also Blackwood and Wieringa, eds. 1999; Boellstorff 2007; Kimmel and Plante 2004; Kottak and Kozaitis 2011; Nanda 2000).

Recently in the United States there has been a tendency to see sexual orientation as fixed and biologically based. There is not enough information at this time to determine the exact extent to which sexual orientation is based on biology. What we can say is that all human activities and preferences, including erotic expression, are at least partially culturally constructed.

In any society, individuals will differ in the nature, range, and intensity of their sexual interests and urges. No one knows for sure why such individual sexual differences exist. Part of the answer probably is biological, reflecting genes or hormones (Wade 2005). Another part may have to do with experiences during growth and development. But whatever the reasons for individual variation, culture always plays a role in molding individual sexual urges toward a collective norm. And such sexual norms vary from culture to culture.

What do we know about variation in sexual norms from society to society, and over time? A classic cross-cultural study (Ford and Beach 1951) found wide variation in attitudes about masturbation, bestiality (sex with animals), and homosexuality. In a single society, such as the United States, attitudes about sex differ over time and with socioeconomic status, region, and rural versus urban residence. However, even in the 1950s, prior to the "age of sexual permissiveness" (the pre-HIV period from the mid-1960s through the 1970s), research showed that almost all American men (92 percent) and more than half of American women (54 percent) admitted to masturbation. In the famous Kinsey report (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin 1948), 37 percent of the men surveyed admitted having had at least one sexual experience leading to orgasm with another

male. In a later study of 1,200 unmarried women, 26 percent reported same-sex sexual activities. (Because Kinsey's research relied on nonrandom samples, it should be considered merely illustrative, rather than a statistically accurate representation, of sexual behavior at the time.)

Sex acts with people of the same sex were absent, rare, or secret in only 37 percent of 76 societies for which data were available in the Ford and Beach study (1951). In the others, various forms of same-sex sexual activity were acceptable. Sometimes sexual relations between people of the same sex involved transvestism on the part of one of the partners (see Kulick 1998). Transvestism did not characterize male–male sex among the Sudanese Azande, who valued the warrior role (Evans-Pritchard 1970). Prospective warriors—young men aged 12 to 20—left their families and shared quarters with adult fighting men, who paid bridewealth for, and had sex with, them. During this apprenticeship, the young men did the domestic duties of women. Upon reaching warrior status, these young men took their own younger male brides. Later, retiring from the warrior role, Azande men married women. Flexible in their sexual expression, Azande males had no difficulty shifting from sex with older men (as male brides), to sex with younger men (as warriors), to sex with women (as husbands) (see Murray and Roscoe, eds. 1998).

Consider also the Etoro (Kelly 1976), a group of 400 people who subsist by hunting and horticulture in the Trans-Fly region of Papua New Guinea. The Etoro illustrate the power of culture in molding human sexuality. The following account, based on ethnographic fieldwork by Raymond C. Kelly in the late 1960s, applies only to Etoro males and their beliefs. Etoro cultural norms prevented the male anthropologist who studied them from gathering comparable information about female attitudes. Note, also, that the activities described have been discouraged by missionaries. Because there has been no restudy of the Etoro specifically focusing on these activities, the extent to which these practices continue today is unknown. For this reason, I'll use the past tense in describing them.

Etoro opinions about sexuality were linked to their beliefs about the cycle of birth, physical growth, maturity, old age, and death. Etoro men believed that semen was necessary to give life force to a fetus, which was, they believed, implanted in a woman by an ancestral spirit. Sexual intercourse during pregnancy nourished the growing fetus. The Etoro believed that men had a limited lifetime supply of semen. Any sex act leading to ejaculation was seen as draining that supply, and as sapping a man's virility and vitality. The birth of children, nurtured by semen, symbolized a necessary sacrifice that would lead to the husband's eventual death. Heterosexual intercourse, required only for reproduction, was discouraged. Women who wanted too much sex were viewed as witches, hazardous to their husbands' health. Etoro culture allowed heterosexual intercourse only about 100 days a year. The rest of the time it was tabooed. Seasonal birth clustering shows the taboo was respected.

So objectionable was male–female sex that it was removed from community life. It could occur neither in sleeping quarters nor in the fields. Coitus could happen only in the woods, where it was risky because poisonous snakes, the Etoro claimed, were attracted by the sounds and smells of male–female sex.

Although coitus was discouraged, sex acts between men were viewed as essential. Etoro believed that boys could not produce semen on their own. To grow into men and

Anthropology Today *Changing Images of Masculinity*

Some have argued that the anthropological study of gender has focused too much on women and alternative genders, forgetting that men are gendered, too. That is, the social construction of masculinity varies across space and time, from culture to culture, and from one historical period to another. This story argues that in times of prosperity, male gender images can be less serious and more playful, tending toward youth and androgyny—blurred gender lines. But when times get tough, images of masculinity revert to the celebration of traditional male roles, including the values of age, experience, and hard work. Also highlighted is the extent to which the international fashion industry, and its reflections throughout the media, influences images of gender. Examine some recent fashion magazines to see if the comments here about changing gender images might also apply to female models.

Has anyone seen the Dior man . . . that scrawny rocker dude with a chicken chest, a size 36 suit and a face that seems to be sprouting its first crop of peach fuzz?

It has been almost a decade since Hedi Slimane, then the designer for Dior men's wear, jump-started an aesthetic shift away from stiffly traditional male images that long dominated men's fashion. . . . The image of the Dior man was so influential that it . . . exiled a generation of conventionally handsome and mature models from runways into the gulag of catalogs.

On catwalks and in advertising campaigns the prevalent male image [became] . . . that of skinny skate-rat, a juvenile with pipe-cleaner proportions. Designers . . . developed so pronounced an appetite for the jailbait type that at some model castings in Milan and Paris the new faces often showed up chaperoned by Mom.

A recent American advertising trend has been to use mature, masculine, muscular men rather than younger, thinner male models.

"Men have always been defined by their jobs—always," said Joe Levy, the editor in chief of Maxim. When the economy was flush, consumers were content to indulge designer subversions of age and gender expectations, he added. That was before the recession. . . . "Suddenly the notion of having a job or a career is in doubt," Mr. Levy said. "So you fall back on old notions of what it meant to be a man or to look like one."

You lose the T-shirt and the skateboard. You buy an interview suit and a package of Gillette Mach 3 blades. You grow up, in other words. Suddenly evidence of a new phase in the cycle of evolving masculine imagery was all over the catwalks in the runway season that recently ended. Just as suddenly it can be seen splashed across the covers of magazines, where the boys of recent memory have been transformed overnight into men. . . .

"It's not just models, it's actors, it's advertising, it's the movies," said Sam Shahid, creative director of Shahid & Company and a force behind campaigns that first helped put Calvin Klein's name on half the world's backsides. "It's trendy to do this, and everyone's suddenly jumping

continued

Anthropology Today *continued*

on it," Mr. Shahid said, referring to the abrupt rejiggering of masculine ideals.

"It's also, like comfort food, about the economy," he said. "Look back to movies during the Depression, and all you saw was real guys like James Cagney. In tough times, people want a strong man."

Or, at the very least, they want images of men who look old enough to vote. "The twink thing seems over," said Jim Nelson, the editor of GQ. "When people open GQ, I don't want them to feel like they're looking at clothes on 16-year-olds."

It is not merely a matter of body type, Mr. Nelson noted. "When we cast, we want a model with some heft to him and a few years on him," he said. "Someone who has aged a little bit and who feels like he's a man."

What they want, in short, is Jon Hamm. That Mr. Hamm's square-jawed Don Draper so persuasively resembles an archetypal father on a time-travel visa from an era of postwar expansion and fixed gender roles can hardly be incidental to the success of "Mad Men."

"At a time of underemployment . . . people want to be reminded" through images from pop culture, Mr. Nelson said, "that we as men do work, we do labor. . . ."

Designers . . . have responded with a wholesale revival of so-called "heritage" labels and work wear. And they are casting their runway shows and ad campaigns with increasingly hirsute, well-built, mature types—men who certainly look as if they've never been waxed or had a manicure. . . .

When casting a recent fashion pictorial, the editors of Details were aware that in seeking a "real man" type they were looking for a nonexistent ideal. There is of course no such thing as a "real" man, Dan Peres, the magazine's editor in chief, remarked. "But we have a product to produce that . . . has to be relatable to a reader . . . who wants to be able to see some vision of himself in the pages of a magazine." Especially in a depressed economy, the editors concluded, the Details man was not well represented by the boys so fashionable a moment ago. . . .

"It's about what connection a reader is going to make with some waify 17-year-old versus a 34-year-old man."

Source: Guy Trebay, "From Boys to Men," *New York Times*, October 15, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/17/fashion/17MANLY.html?sq=men%20and%20boys&st=cse&scp=3&pagewanted=print.

eventually give life force to their children, boys had to acquire semen orally from older men. From the age of 10 until adulthood, boys were inseminated by older men. No taboos were attached to this. Such oral insemination could proceed in the sleeping area or garden. Every three years, a group of boys around the age of 20 was formally initiated into manhood. They went to a secluded mountain lodge, where they were visited and inseminated by several older men.

Male–male sex among the Etoro was governed by a code of propriety. Although sexual relations between older and younger males were considered culturally essential, those between boys of the same age were discouraged. A boy who took semen from other youths was believed to be sapping their life force and stunting their growth. A boy's rapid physical development might suggest he was getting semen from other boys. Like a sex-hungry wife, he might be shunned as a witch.

These sexual practices among the Etoro rested not on hormones or genes but on cultural beliefs and traditions. The Etoro shared a cultural pattern, which Gilbert Herdt (1984) calls "ritualized homosexuality," with some 50 other tribes in Papua New Guinea, especially in that country's Trans-Fly region. These societies illustrate one extreme of a male–female avoidance pattern that is widespread in Papua New Guinea and indeed in many patrilineal–patrilocal societies.

Flexibility in sexual expression seems to be an aspect of our primate heritage. Both masturbation and same-sex sexual activity exist among chimpanzees and other primates. Male bonobos (pygmy chimps) regularly engage in a form of mutual masturbation known as "penis fencing." Females get sexual pleasure from rubbing their genitals against those of other females (de Waal 1997). Our primate sexual potential is molded by culture, the environment, and reproductive necessity. Heterosexual coitus is practiced in all human societies—which, after all, must reproduce themselves—but alternatives also are widespread (Rathus, Nevid, and Fichner-Rathus 2008). Like gender roles and attitudes more generally, the sexual component of human personality and identity—just how we express our "natural" sexual urges—is a matter that culture and environment determine and limit.

Summary

1. Gender roles are the tasks and activities that a culture assigns to each sex and to the genders it recognizes. Gender stereotypes are oversimplified ideas about attributes of males and females. Gender stratification describes an unequal distribution of rewards by gender, reflecting different positions in a social hierarchy.
2. Cross-cultural comparison reveals some recurrent patterns involving the division of labor by gender, as well as gender-based differences in reproductive strategies. Gender roles and gender stratification vary with environment, economy, adaptive strategy, system of kinship and descent, level of social complexity, and degree of participation in the world economy.
3. When gathering is prominent, gender status is more equal than when hunting or fishing dominates a foraging economy. Gender status also is more equal when the domestic and public spheres aren't sharply separated.
4. Gender stratification also is linked to descent and residence. Women's status in matrilineal societies tends to be high because overall social identity comes through female links. Women in many societies, especially matrilineal ones, wield power and make decisions. Scarcity of resources promotes intervillage warfare, patriliny, and patrilocality. The localization of related males is adaptive for military solidarity. Men may use their warrior role to symbolize and reinforce the social devaluation and oppression of women. Patriarchy describes a political system ruled by men in which women have inferior social and political status, including basic human rights.
5. Americans' attitudes about gender roles has varied with class and region, and historically. A declining need for female labor promotes the idea that women are unfit for many jobs, and vice versa. Countering the economic gains of many American women is the feminization of poverty. This has become a global phenomenon as

impoverished female-headed households have increased worldwide. A cross-national survey revealed a correlation between degree of happiness and women's work outside the home.

6. Societies may recognize more than two genders. The term *intersex* describes a group of conditions, including chromosomal configurations, that may produce a discrepancy between external and internal genitals. Transgender individuals may or may not contrast biologically with ordinary males and females. Self-identified transgender people tend to be individuals whose gender identity contradicts their biological sex at birth and the gender identity that society assigned to them in infancy.
7. There has been a recent tendency to see sexual orientation as fixed and biologically based. But, to some extent at least, all human activities and preferences, including erotic expression, are influenced by culture. Sexual orientation stands for a person's habitual sexual attraction to, and activities with, persons of the opposite sex (heterosexuality), the same sex (homosexuality), or both sexes (bisexuality). Sexual norms vary widely from culture to culture.

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Chapter 9

Religion

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Anthropology Today: Hinduism Takes Back Yoga

Given the varied and worldwide scope of beliefs and behavior labeled "religious," anthropologists know how difficult it is to define **religion.** In his book *Religion: An Anthropological View,* Anthony F. C. Wallace offered this definition: "belief and ritual concerned with supernatural beings, powers, and forces" (1966, p. 5). By "supernatural" he referred to a nonmaterial realm beyond (but believed to impinge on) the observable world. This realm cannot be verified or falsified empirically and is inexplicable in ordinary terms. It must be accepted "on faith." Supernatural beings—deities, ghosts, demons, souls, and spirits—make their homes outside our material world, although they may visit it from time to time. There also are supernatural or sacred forces, some of them wielded by deities and spirits, others that simply exist. In many societies, people believe they can benefit from, become imbued with, or manipulate supernatural forces (see Bowie 2006; Bowen 2008; Crapo 2006; Lambek 2008; Stein and Stein 2008; Warms, Garber, and McGee, eds. 2009).

Wallace's definition of religion focuses on presumably universal categories (beings, powers, and forces) within the supernatural realm. For Emile Durkheim (1912/2001), one of the founders of the anthropology of religion, the key distinction was between the sacred and the profane. Like the supernatural for Wallace, Durkheim's "sacred" was the domain set off from the ordinary or the mundane (he used the word "profane"). For Durkheim, every society had its sacred, but that domain was socially constructed; it varied from society to society. Durkheim focused on Native Australian societies, which

POSTSCRIPT

Do Native Peoples Today Invent Their Traditions?

Building on Hobsbawm and Ranger's notion of the "invention of traditon," Keesing makes the case that in most—if not all—Pacific societies, the history and cultural traditions that are regarded as authentic are substantially different from the events and practices that actually occurred. In his mind, there can also be little doubt that controlling what is accepted as tradition has become politically important. How does Trask's concern over professional bias impact Keesing's other arguments? What criteria would Trask suggest as a substitute as a way of judging which practices are authentic traditions and which are modern innovations?

Many other anthropologists have addressed the question of the invention of tradition. In Hawaii, the best-known work is by Jocelyn Linnekin, especially her 1983 essay "Defining Tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian Identity," *American Ethnologist* (vol. 10) and her book *Children of the Land* (Rutgers University Press, 1985). See also Trask's review of the latter in the *Hawaiian Journal of History* (vol. 20, 1986).

Questions about the invention of traditions have become important in North America as well. In 1997 Brian D. Haley and Larry R. Wilcoxon published an essay in *Current Anthropology* (vol. 38) entitled "Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition." They argued that anthropologists and environmentalists had encouraged Chumash Indians to exaggerate claims that a site proposed for industrial development was traditionally sacred. The following year, archaeologist John McVey Erlandson published a reply to Haley and Wilcoxon in *Current Anthropology* (vol. 39). Like Keesing, Erlandson drew on historical (white American) sources to defend his position that the site was held to be sacred.

Another anthropologist, Alan Hanson, wrote a similar but more focused argument about the invention of tradition among the Maori of New Zealand in "The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic," *American Anthropologist* (vol. 91, no. 4, 1989). This essay prompted a vigorous and at times hostile debate within New Zealand, and at one point some Maori threatened to censure the American Anthropological Association because of this article, which some considered racist and anti-Maori. Stephen Webster also discusses this topic in light of the so-called Maori renaissance, a revival of Maori cultural values within the modern bicultural state of New Zealand in his book, *Patrons of Maori Culture: Power, Theory and Ideology in the Maori Renaissance* (University of Otago Press, 1998).

ISSUE 11

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Do Men Dominate Women in All Societies?

YES: Steven Goldberg, from "Is Patriarchy Inevitable?" *National Review* (November 11, 1996)

NO: Kirk M. Endicott and Karen L. Endicott, from *The Headman Was a Woman: The Gender Egalitarian Batek of Malaysia* (Waveland Press, 2008)

ISSUE SUMMARY

YES: Sociologist Steven Goldberg contends that in all societies men occupy most high positions in hierarchical organizations and most high-status roles, and they also tend to dominate women in interpersonal relations. This is because men's hormones cause them to compete more strongly than women for status and dominance.

NO: Cultural anthropologists Kirk and Karen Endicott argue that among the Batek people of Malaysia gender roles are not rigidly distinguished. Even the headman of the foraging band in which they lived was a woman. Batek women and men have autonomy and similar access to possessions. They contend that Batek social and cultural treatment of the two sexes is remarkably egalitarian.

In most of the world's societies, men hold the majority of leadership positions in public organizations, from government bodies to corporations and religious institutions. In families, husbands usually serve as heads of households and as primary breadwinners, while wives take responsibility for children and domestic activities within the household. Is the predominance of men in these public areas of family life universal and inevitable, a product of our human nature, or is it a cultural fact that might vary or be absent under different cultural conditions? Is it even possible for any human society to be sexually egalitarian? Are there any societies where men and women are equally valued and have equal access to possessions, power, and prestige?

Some nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists, including J. J. Bachofen and J. F. MacLellan, postulated that the patriarchal societies known from history had been preceded by a matriarchal stage of evolution in which women held

the dominant social roles in society. Today, nearly all anthropologists doubt that any matriarchal societies ever existed. Some societies trace descent through women, matrilineally, and in these societies women play a more prominent public role than in patrilineal societies, where descent is traced from father to children.

European societies have never been either matrilineal or matriarchal; they are examples of societies that are firmly patriarchal. Most Europeans and Americans have long considered this state of affairs both natural and God-given.

The anthropology of women arising in the 1970s challenged claims that the subordination of women was either natural or inevitable. Feminists took up the rallying cry, "Biology is not destiny." They argued that women could do anything that society permitted them to do, and that patriarchal society, like any other social institution, could be changed.

Some feminist anthropologists considered male dominance to be universal, but attributed it to universal cultural, not biological, causes. The groundbreaking volume *Women, Culture, and Society,* edited by Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford University Press, 1974), presents some possible cultural reasons for universal male dominance. Rosaldo and Lamphere propose that all societies distinguish between "domestic" and "public" domains; women are associated with the domestic domain, with the home and raising children, while men are active in the public domain, where they have opportunities to obtain wealth, power, and ties with other men.

Some anthropologists contend that sexually egalitarian societies once existed (e.g., Eleanor Leacock's "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution," *Current Anthropology* [vol. 19, 1978]). They attribute the scarcity of such societies today to historical circumstances, especially the spread of European patriarchal culture to the rest of the world.

Here, Steven Goldberg presents a biological explanation for male dominance, contending that males have more of the hormones that cause individuals to strive for dominance than women do. Thus, regardless of cultural variations, men will occupy most of the high-status and high-ranking positions in any society. Biologically, men are also best suited to be dominant in interpersonal relations with women.

In their selection, Kirk and Karen Endicott present evidence that the Batek of Malaysia are an example of a gender egalitarian society. Males and females participate in most of the same daily activities, and both men and women are involved with children and domestic affairs. There are no high-status roles in this society, but the headman of the hunter-gatherer band with whom the Endicotts lived was a woman, not a man. For the authors, the Batek case challenges authors like Goldberg who assert that men are dominant in all societies.

While reading these selections, ask yourself whether or not the Batek case actually contradicts Goldberg's assertion that all societies are male dominated. Would a single egalitarian society disprove Goldberg's thesis? If you accept Goldberg's contention that males have an innate tendency toward domination, can you think of any cultural arrangements that might neutralize male superiority, or at least keep it in check?

YES

Steven Goldberg

Is Patriarchy Inevitable?

In five hundred years the world, in all likelihood, will have become homogenized. The thousands of varied societies and their dramatically differing methods of socialization, cohesion, family, religion, economy, and politics will have given way to a universal culture. Fortunately, cultural anthropologists have preserved much of our present diversity, which may keep our descendants from too hastily allowing their natural human ego- and ethno-centricity to conclude that theirs is the only way to manage a society.

However, the anthropological sword is two-edged. While diversity is certainly apparent from anthropological investigations, it is also clear that there are realities which manifest themselves no matter what the varied forms of the aforementioned institutions. Because these universal realities cut across cultural lines, they are crucial to our understanding of what society *by its nature* is and, perhaps, of what human beings are. It is important, then, that we ask why, when societies differ as much as do those of the Ituri Pygmy, the Jivaro, the American, the Japanese, and a thousand others, some institutions are universal.

It is always the case that the universal institution serves some need rooted in the deepest nature of human beings. In some cases the explanation of universality is obvious (e.g., why every society has methods of food gathering). But there are other universalities which are apparent, though without any obvious explanation. Of the thousands of societies on which we have any evidence stronger than myth (a form of evidence that would have us believe in cyclopes), there is no evidence that there has ever been a society failing to exhibit three institutions:

1. *Primary hierarchies always filled primarily by men.* A Queen Victoria or a Golda Meir is always an exception and is always surrounded by a government of men. Indeed, the constraints of royal lineage may produce more female societal leaders than does democracy—there were more female heads of state in the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century than there were in the first two-thirds of the twentieth.

2. *The highest status roles are male.* There are societies in which the women do most of the important economic work and rear the children, while the men seem mostly to hang loose. But, in such societies, hanging loose is given

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higher status than any non-maternal role primarily served by women. No doubt this is partly due to the fact that the males hold the positions of power. However, it is also likely that high-status roles are male not primarily because they are male (ditch-digging is male and low status), but because they are high status. The high status roles are male because they possess—for whatever socially determined reason in whichever specific society—high status. This high status exerts a more powerful influence on males than it does on females. As a result, males are more willing to sacrifice life's other rewards for status dominance than are females.

In their *Not in Our Genes*, Richard Lewontin, Leon Kamin, and Stephen Rose—who, along with Stephen Jay Gould are the best-known defenders of the view that emphasizes the role of environment and de-emphasizes that of heredity—attempt to find fault with my work by pointing out that most family doctors in the Soviet Union are women. However, they acknowledge that in the Soviet Union "family doctoring [had] lower status than in the United States."

Which is precisely the point. No one doubts that women can be doctors. The question is why doctors (or weavers, or load bearers, etc.) are primarily women only when being a doctor is given lower status than are certain roles played mostly by men—and furthermore, why, even when this is the case (as in Russia) the upper hierarchical positions relevant to that specific area are held by men.

3. Dominance in male-female relationships is always associated with males. "Male dominance" refers to the feeling, of both men and women, that the male is dominant and that the woman must "get around" the male to attain power. Social attitudes may be concordant or discordant with the reality of male dominance. In our own society there was a time when the man's "taking the lead" was positively valued by most women (as 30s' movies attest); today such a view is purportedly detested by many. But attitudes toward male-dominance behavior are causally unimportant to the reality they judge—and are not much more likely to eliminate the reality than would a social dislike of men's being taller be able to eliminate men's being taller.

Over the past twenty years, I have consulted every original ethnographic work invoked to demonstrate an exception to these societal universalities. Twenty years ago many textbooks spoke cavalierly of "matriarchies" and "Amazons" and pretended that Margaret Mead had claimed to find a society in which sex roles were reversed. Today no serious anthropologist is willing to claim that any specific society has ever been an exception.

It is often claimed that "modern technology renders the physiological differentiation irrelevant." However, there is not a scintilla of evidence that modernization alters the basic "motivational" factors sufficiently to cast doubt on the continued existence of the universals I discuss. The economic needs of modern society probably do set a lower limit on the status of women; no modern society could give women the low status they receive in some non-modern societies. But modernization probably also sets an upper limit; no modern society is likely to give women the status given to the maternal roles in some other matrilineal societies.

Scandinavian nations, which have long had government agencies devoted to equalizing women's position, are often cited by social scientists as demonstrating modernization's ability to override patriarchy. In fact, however, Norway has 454 municipal councils; 443 are chaired by men. On the Supreme Court, city courts, appellate courts, and in Parliament, there are between five and nine times as many men as there are women. In Sweden, according to government documents, men dominate "senior positions in employer and employee organizations as well as in political and other associations" and only 5 of 82 directors of government agencies, 9 of 83 chairpersons of agency boards, and 9 per cent of judges are women.

One may, of course, hope that all this changes, but one cannot invoke any evidence implying that it will.

Of course, there are those who simply try to assert away the evidence. Lewontin *et al.* write, "Cross cultural universals appear to lie more in the eye of the beholder than in the social reality that is being observed." In fact, with reference to the universalities mentioned above, they do not. If these universals were merely "in the eye of the beholder," the authors would merely have to specify a society in which there was a hierarchy in which males did not predominate and the case would be closed.

The answer to the question of why an institution is universal clearly must be parsimonious. It will not do to ascribe causation of a universal institution to capitalism or Christianity or modernization, because many hundreds of societies lacked these, but not the universal institutions. If the causal explanation is to be at all persuasive, it must invoke some factor present in every society from the most primitive to the most modern. (Invoking the male's physical strength advantage does meet the requirement of parsimony, but does not counter the evidence of the central importance of neuro-endocrinological psycho-physiological factors.)

When sociologists are forced to acknowledge the universals, they nearly always invoke "socialization" as explanation. But this explanation faces two serious problems. First, it does not explain anything, but merely forces us to ask another question: *Why* does socialization of men and women always work in the same direction? Second, the explanation implicitly assumes that the social environment of expectations and norms acts as an *independent* variable capable of acting as counterpoise to the physiological constituents that make us male and female.

In individual cases, of course, anything can happen.

Even when a causation is nearly entirely hereditary, there are many exceptions (as tall women demonstrate). Priests choose to be celibate, but this does not cast doubt on the physiological basis of the "sex drive." To be sure, there is also feedback from the environmental to the physiological, so that association of physical strength with males results in more males lifting weights. However, in principle, a society could find itself with women who

were physically stronger than men if women lifted weights throughout their lives and men remained sedentary.

But, in real life, this can't happen because the social environment is a *dependent* variable whose limits are set by our physiological construction. In real life we all observe a male's dominance tendency that is rooted in physiological differences between males and females and, because values and attitudes are not of primary causal importance here, we develop expectations concordant with the male-female behavioral differences.

Most of the discussion of sex differences has emphasized the neuroendocrinological differentiation of males and females and the cognitive and behavioral differentiation this engenders. This is because there is an enormous amount of evidence demonstrating the role of hormones in fetally differentiating the male and female central nervous systems, CNS response to the potentiating properties of certain hormones, and the thoughts and actions of males and females.

There is not room here for detailed discussion of the neuroendocrinological mechanism underlying dominance behavior. But a useful analogy is iron and magnet. Iron does not have a "drive" or a "need" to find a magnet, but when there is a magnet in the area, iron, as a result of the very way it is built, tends to react in a certain way. Likewise, the physiological natures of males and females predispose them to have different hierarchies of response to various environmental cues. There is no response that only one sex has; the difference between men and women is the relative strengths of different responses. Males react more readily to hierarchical competitiveness than do females; females react more readily to the needs of an infant-in-distress. Norms and socialization do not cause this difference, but reflect it and make concrete a specific society's specific methods for manifesting the response. (Cleaning a rifle and preparing Spaghetti-Os are not instinctive abilities).

The iron-magnet analogy makes clear the role of social environment. Were there to be a society without hierarchy, status, values, or interdependence of the sexes, there would be no environmental cue to elicit the differentiated, physiologically rooted responses we discuss. But it is difficult to imagine such a society and, indeed, there has never been such a society.

Even if we had no neuro-endocrinological evidence at all, the anthropological evidence alone would be sufficient to force us to posit a mechanism of sexual psycho-physiological differentiation and to predict its discovery. We do, however, possess the neuro-endocrinological evidence and the anthropological evidence permits us to specify the institutional effects—the limits of societal variation that the neuro-endocrinological engenders.

For thousands of years, everyone, save perhaps some social scientists and others ideologically opposed to the idea, have known perfectly well that men and women differ in the physiological factors that underlie masculine and feminine thought and behavior. They may not have known the words to describe the linkage of physiology with thought and behavior, but they knew the linkage was there. (I recently read a comment of a woman in Pennsylvania: "They keep telling us that men and women are the way they are because of what they've been taught, but you can go a hundred miles in any direction and not find a single person who really believes that.") And even the most feminist parent, once she has children, can't help but notice that it is nearly impossible to get small boys to play with dolls not named "Killer Joe, the Marauding Exterminator," or at least with trucks—big trucks.

None of this is to deny tremendous variation on the level of roles. Even in our own society, in just a century the role of secretary changed from virtually solely male to virtually solely female. With the exception of roles associated with child nurturance, political leadership, warfare, security, and crime, virtually every specific role is male in some societies and female in others. No one doubts that the women who exhibit the dominance behavior usually exhibited by men encounter discrimination. But the question remains: why is dominance behavior usually exhibited by *men*?

The implication of all this depends on context. Clearly the correctness or incorrectness of the theory I present is important to an understanding of human behavior and society. But to the individual man or woman, on the other hand, the universals are largely irrelevant. The woman who wishes to become President has a sufficient number of real-life equivalents to know that there is not a constraint rendering impossible a female head of state. But there is no more reason for such a woman to deny that the motivation to rule is more often associated with male physiology than there is for the six-foot woman to pretend that women are as tall as men.

Kirk M. Endicott and
Karen L. Endicott

NO

Understanding Batek Egalitarianism

The Batek were remarkably egalitarian in the social and cultural treatment of the sexes. This was so as recently as 2004, despite economic changes due to government-sponsored development projects. There was no area of Batek culture or social life in which men controlled women or subjected them to asymmetrical systems of evaluation. Batek concepts of males and females recognized the physical differences between the sexes without imposing evaluative or symbolic significance on them. In daily social life, men and women had equal control over themselves and an equal voice in the affairs of the camp-group. Men and women were equal partners in marriage: the choice of spouse was left to the individuals involved, husbands and wives cooperated economically but were not exclusively dependent upon each other, decision making was a shared responsibility, and divorce could be initiated by either spouse. The political system did not favor men over women except in the headmanship system imposed by outsiders. In the economic sphere, males and females had equal access to the sharing network, which included the foods brought in by both men and women. Neither sex was prohibited from participating in any activity, except for the prohibition among a few Aring River people in 1990 against women doing blowpipe hunting and men weaving pandanus. The contributions by each sex to the food supply differed between 1975–76 and 1990, but in both periods both sexes contributed to the material well-being of the group, and neither sex group thought it was being exploited by the other. Socialization to gender roles occurred without coercion or preferential treatment of either sex.

In this chapter we attempt to bring out the features of Batek culture and circumstances that fostered their gender egalitarianism. We think of these features as leveling mechanisms that prevented the rise of male dominance, for we accept the premise that in societies in which there is competition for control, males are at an advantage because of their greater physical strength and their freedom from childbearing and nursing. We do not mean to imply that the conditions enabling the Batek to be gender egalitarian are the only conditions that could do so. Gardner argues that a number of different combinations of cultural and natural circumstances can lead to individual autonomy—which we see as a key feature of gender equality—in hunting and gathering societies.

From *The Headman was a Woman: The Gender Egalitarian Batek of Malaysia*, 2008, pp. 147-151.
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The Bases of Batek Gender Egalitarianism

We define . . . a gender egalitarian society as one in which neither sex has overall control over the other or greater cultural value than the other. Control can be based in the economic system (e.g., the ability to withhold a resource necessary for survival), the system of authority (authority may be vested in such areas as political offices, kinship relationships, and religious ideologies), and in direct force. With these possible bases of control in mind, let us turn to a consideration of how the Batek prevented men from gaining control over women.

Economic Security

We believe that the key economic reason Batek men did not dominate Batek women is that no woman was dependent on a specific man—such as a father, husband, brother, or son—for survival. Women were economically secure, surviving through their own foraging efforts and through direct participation in the camp-wide food-sharing network. In 1975–76 most of the staple foods in the Batek diet, including rice and flour obtained in trade, could be procured by both men and women using skills, knowledge, and tools that were readily available to all. No rights of exclusive ownership over resources restricted women's access to any foods or other necessities, and the flexible division of labor permitted them to harvest any resources they came upon. Women also had full rights in the food-sharing network, and they retained these rights even when men obtained most of the food, as was the case in 1990. By contributing to and drawing from the food-sharing network, women could usually be certain of getting some food—including the foods ordinarily obtained by men, such as honey and arboreal game—even when they were ill or when their own food-getting efforts failed. Thus, the economic security of Batek women was based on their being able to depend upon the group as a whole in addition to their own efforts. Although Batek women—and men—could survive by their own efforts alone for limited periods of time, they were not economically *independent* like Hadza and Paliyan women, who gathered most of their own food and shared little even with their husbands.

Because Batek women were economically secure, women could withdraw from unsatisfactory marriages without suffering economic hardship. Both in 1975–76 and in 1990 we saw divorced women with children living happily for extended periods without remarrying, even when they had persistent suitors.

Some scholars have claimed that external trade and other economic processes that involve a delay between when the work is done and when the reward is received undermine the autonomy and equality of women in hunting and gathering societies. Leacock argues, following Engels, that when hunter-gatherers begin to produce commodities for trade, in addition to goods for consumption, families become isolated from each other, and women come to depend on their husbands and sons for survival, rather than on the group as a whole. Woodburn contends that "delayed-return" economic processes, which include collecting goods for trade, enmesh women in a system of binding commitments that place them under the authority of men.

Why, then, hasn't trade led to male dominance among the Batek? The answer is certainly not that trade is a recent innovation; there is good reason to suppose that the ancestors of the Batek have traded forest produce to horticulturalists for cultivated foods and other goods for the last 3000–4000 years, and commercial trade goes back at least to the 1930s. Rather, the reason seems to be that the Batek practiced trade in ways that were compatible with the general conditions ensuring women's economic security. Among the Batek, both men and women could and did collect and trade forest produce in 1975–76, although men generally spent more time at it than women. Trade in forest produce was just one of several sources of food for the Batek, and it was compatible with the other forms of food getting they practiced and with their general nomadic, egalitarian way of life. Most importantly, they shared all food obtained by trade just as they shared all food obtained directly from the forest. Thus, women benefited from external trade in the same way as men.

Dispersed Authority

Another characteristic of Batek society that seems to have inhibited the development of male dominance was the broad dispersal of authority. What little authority existed was spread among all adult men and women and consisted mainly of the authority to govern oneself and one's young children. Leadership was based on persuasion; there was no possibility of coercion. In these circumstances it was the qualities of the individual—including eloquence, intelligence, and tact—that determined what, if any, influence a person had over others. Group decisions were usually based on open discussion, and individuals had the right to ignore the consensus and follow their own desires. Batek ethics promoted extreme respect for personal freedom, constrained only by a general obligation to help others—as exemplified by the food-sharing requirement. Men, women, and children could all express their ideas and wishes and act on them as they saw fit.

Nonviolence

Another feature of Batek culture that seems to have inhibited male dominance was their suppression of all physical aggression. Like the horticultural Semai Orang Asli, who also appear to be gender egalitarian, the Batek abhorred violence and claimed that they would abandon anyone who was habitually aggressive. They regarded violent behavior as a sign of madness. They were usually successful at defusing potential violence through their methods of conflict resolution, and they took great pains to teach their children to avoid all aggressive behavior. Because no aggression was tolerated, Batek women were safe from coercion based on physical force or the threat of physical force.

Is Batek Culture a Result of Encapsulation?

The conditions we have identified as making gender egalitarianism possible among the Batek are largely cultural. Some scholars would go further (to the question of why the Batek culture took the form it did in the first place. Why were Batek nomadic forager-traders and why were they organized in a fashion that permitted egalitarian relations between the sexes?

A number of scholars have argued that basic cultural features of some contemporary foraging peoples—including egalitarian gender relations where they exist—result from the societies being "encapsulated," surrounded and politically dominated by more numerous and powerful people. The Batek and other Semang could be categorized as encapsulated because they are surrounded by Malays. The encapsulation theory implies that egalitarian relations in foraging societies are an "abnormal" social condition and did not exist before the societies came under the influence of more powerful neighbors. Although the various proponents of the theory agree that the influence of the surrounding society shapes the culture of the foraging group, they do not agree on exactly how this takes place.

In an early formulation of this idea, Gardner describes the foraging Paliyan of India as being extremely individualistic, noncompetitive, nonviolent, noncooperative (to the point of not even sharing food with spouses), independent, and egalitarian even between the sexes. They show little emotion for others, and they hold idiosyncratic rather than shared views about the world. He postulates that these characteristics are due to the Paliyan having been subjected to centuries of abuse, threats, exploitation, and contempt from surrounding peoples. He argues that the relative helplessness of the Paliyan "made withdrawal or subservience more realistic than attempts at retaliation" and that their repression of aggressive impulses led to their particular cultural characteristics. He claims that a whole category of similarly surrounded and subordinate foragers ("refugee gathering peoples") share similar characteristics.

Testart defines a category of hunter-gatherers as *chasseurs-cueilleurs enclaves*, "enclaved hunter-gatherers," who are surrounded by more numerous and powerful farmers or herders with whom they trade. He says that the political domination of the outsiders promotes nomadism among the foragers: they keep moving to escape their tormentors. The foragers are egalitarian, he asserts, because continuous exploitation in trade equally impoverishes all of them. Woodburn also examines the relations between foragers and surrounding peoples. He asks: "Have their sharing and egalitarian leveling mechanisms developed in opposition to domination by outsiders? Have we here a sort of moral oppositional solidarity of low-status groups, akin to the egalitarian solidarity manifest in some working-class or millenarian movements?" Some writers have argued that the cultures of most if not all contemporary foraging peoples are predominantly shaped by their position in the larger surrounding society. The cultural characteristics of a people such as the Ju/'hoansi of southern Africa, they contend, are determined by their position as an impoverished rural proletariat in the class-stratified societies of Botswana and Namibia.

Could it be that the Batek were gender egalitarian because they were encapsulated by Malays? We think the answer is no. In fact, Malays could never have exercised real control over Semang as long as the latter were nomadic, economically self-sufficient, and had a vast empty forest to hide in. Also, before Malay villages were removed from the Lebir watershed, local Malays were far from numerous enough or well-organized enough to have

politically dominated the Batek. In recent years the Malaysian government, with all the resources of a modern nation-state, has been unable to exercise control over them. And the Batek never depended on trade with Malays for their survival, so trade with Malays was voluntary for both parties. If Batek had been coerced or abused by traders, they could have moved to remote areas or to areas near more congenial Malay villagers.

However, the Batek case does support Testart's claim that abuse or the potential for abuse by a more numerous and powerful people may reinforce the nomadism of some foraging groups. Frequent movement was probably the most effective defense the Semang had against the slave raiding that went on in some areas into this century. But the Batek economy also required nomadism, and there is no reason to suppose that they would have—or could have—settled down had there been no threat from Malays. Most Batek remained nomadic as recently as 1990, even though slave raiding ceased in the 1920s.

The Batek culture did not show the kinds of distortions and gaps that would suggest that they were merely a subdivision of the larger surrounding society, like some of the Indian foraging groups that appear to be occupational subcastes of forest produce collectors within Hindu society. The Batek had a strong sense of unity and a complete and distinctive culture, including a separate language, religion, and way of life. They considered Malays to be the archetypical "outsiders" with whom they often contrasted themselves. There is no reason to doubt that the Batek could have existed as an independent society with much the same form of culture before the Malays came on the scene.

In our opinion the most plausible reason that the Batek were nomadic forager-traders, with a culture supporting egalitarian relations between the sexes—and the reason that most closely resembles the Batek's own views of why they live the way they do—is that they were filling an ecological and social niche that provided them with a relatively secure and satisfying way of life, one that had some advantages over swidden horticulture, the main alternative possibility in their environment. For example, foraging was a more reliable way of getting food than farming in the deep forest, where birds, monkeys, wild pigs, elephants, and crop diseases could easily destroy the results of an entire season's labors. As Benjamin argues, the Semang are probably the descendants of the Hoabinhians who, after the advent of agriculture in the Malay Peninsula, opted to pursue a way of life based on nomadic foraging combined with trade with their farming neighbors. Until the arrival of the Malays in the interior in the last few hundred years, those neighbors were mainly Senoi Orang Asli, the descendants of other Hoabinhians who opted to concentrate on horticulture. Both groups became skilled specialists who shared the fruits of their respective modes of adaptation by means of trade. Pursuing complementary ways of life reduced the possibility of intergroup friction that could have arisen had they been competing for the same resources. No doubt there have been individual crossings back and forth across the Senoi-Semang boundary, especially when intermarriage has been involved, but the two ways of life have nevertheless remained distinct into the twenty-first century. As we have shown in this book, egalitarian relations between the sexes were an integral feature of the foraging-trading mode of adaptation the ancestors of the Batek chose.

POSTSCRIPT

Do Men Dominate Women in All Societies?

In these two selections, Goldberg and the Endicotts disagree on how to interpret cultural facts. Goldberg contends that all societies are dominated by males, while the Endicotts present a case that seems to be gender egalitarian. The Endicotts argue that three features of Batek society lead directly to gender equality. Batek men do not dominate Batek women because no woman is dependent on any particular man for survival, political authority is widely dispersed, and aggression is suppressed. Goldberg would disagree, asserting that because of our distinctive human biology all societies exhibit some form of male domination. Of course, he has never observed the Batek and argues largely on theoretical grounds.

The authors of the two selections also disagree on what types of forces, cultural and biological, determine relations between the sexes and how men and women interact interpersonally. For Goldberg, it is the presence of certain hormones in males that have conditioned them to be competitive, assertive, and dominating. For the Endicotts, gender equality emerges from a complex interplay of local cultural factors. Every woman can forage and hunt for her own food as well as for food to feed her children. Every Batek man, woman, and child shares with all others in the community, creating a egalitarian ethos in nearly every aspect of social life. Another key feature of Batek society is their nonviolent approach to life, something that is much less common in societies with complex economies and social hierarchies. For the Endicotts, if male hormones and biology played a role in Batek life, these have been overshadowed by the need to share, the social requirement to be noncompetitive, and avoidance of violence.

During the last 30 years, anthropologists have conducted many studies that have focused specifically on gender roles and indigenous ideas about gender in specific societies. The most provocative of these studies have been in non-Western and tribal societies, usually the kinds of societies we might describe as small-scale or preindustrial societies. The general finding of these studies is that gender relations are much more complicated and variable than scholars thought in the early days of feminist anthropology. For example, as among the Batek, a number of studies have shown that not all societies make a simple distinction between domestic and public domains, associate women exclusively with a domestic domain, or evaluate activities outside the home as superior to those inside it. Scholars have also realized that analytical concepts like "male dominance" and the "status of women" are too crude to describe the range of variation found in all human societies. They have

attempted to break up these categories into several different components that can be identified and measured in more systematic ways in ethnographic field studies.

The question of whether or not males are dominant in a particular society is not as clear-cut as it may once have seemed. Among the Batek, the two genders seem to be about as equal as one could imagine men and women to be. But part of this egalitarianism can be explained by the fact that as hunter-gatherers, the Batek have few material possessions and no social hierarchy or stratification as we find it in most agricultural and industrial societies. In sedentary societies where individuals and families can amass larger quantities of material possessions, the situation is more complex. For example, in her book *Fruit of the Motherland: Gender in an Egalitarian Society* (Columbia University Press, 1993), anthropologist Maria Lepowski has argued that the Vanatinai of Papua New Guinea are sexually egalitarian. Compared to many other New Guinea societies, the Vanatinai show status differences between the genders that are indeed quite modest. If we listen to the ways men talk about women and their social position in society in this community, they seem to have a level of gender equality that is hard to find in other societies. But as a horticultural and fishing community, the Vanatinai do have modest forms of social ranking, and men tend to take on more of the elevated social positions than do women. In many other small-scale societies like the Vanatinai, anthropologists have shown that women and men may have similar amounts of influence over daily life, but the cultural ideology (or at least men's ideology) portrays women as inferior to men, just as it portrays the things women do as less important than what men do. In some other cases men's and women's spheres of activity and control are separate and independent. Some societies have competing ideologies, in which both men and women portray their gender as superior. And some societies, such as the Hua of Papua New Guinea, have multiple ideologies, which simultaneously present women as inferior, superior, and equal to men (see Anna Meigs's book *Food, Sex, and Pollution: A New Guinea Religion* [Rutgers University Press, 1984]). Despite these complications, it may still be useful to describe or refer to a culture as "gender egalitarian," as the Endicotts do in the case of the Batek and Lepowski does of the Vanatinai. Goldberg, of course, would say that such societies do not exist.

A readable introduction to feminist anthropology is Henrietta Moore's book *Feminism and Anthropology* (University of Minnesota Press, 1988). An interesting collection of articles showing variations in male-female relations is Peggy Sanday and Ruth Goodenough's edited volume *Beyond the Second Sex: New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990). For a discussion of gender equality and inequality among hunter-gatherers, see Karen L. Endicott's article "Gender Relations in Hunter-Gatherer Societies," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*, Richard B. Lee and Richard Daly, eds. (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

For a full explication of Goldberg's theory of innate male dominance, see his book *Why Men Rule, A Theory of Male Dominance* (Open Court, 1993). Other works that argue for a biological basis for male dominance include

Lionel Tiger's book *Men in Groups* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969); Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox's book *The Imperial Animal* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971); Robert Wright's article "Feminists Meet Mr. Darwin," *The New Republic* (November 28, 1994); and Barbara Smuts's article "The Evolutionary Origins of Patriarchy," in *Human Nature* (6:1–32, 1995). For a more general survey of the anthropological literature on hormones and gender, see Carol M. Worthman's "Hormones, Sex, and Gender," in *Annual Review of Anthropology* (24:593–616, 1995).

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Unit: Researching culture, social organization, and identity
Module: Gender

Select Sample Quiz Questions

1. What is the domestic-public dichotomy?

2. Compare two of the following in terms of gender roles and stratification: (a) foraging societies, (b) matrilineal-matrilocal societies, (c) patrilineal-patrilocal societies, (d) agricultural societies, and (e) industrial societies.

3. What is a matriarchy? Have anthropologists ever encountered one? If so, describe it; if not, describe the closest approximation. How does it compare to a patriarchy?

4. What effects did the advent of agriculture have on the roles and status of women?

5. What social, political, and economic conditions influence gender stratification and violence against women?

6. How has industrialism affected gender roles and stratification? How and why is poverty becoming feminized?

7. Which of the following is not culturally constructed? Race, gender, kinship, sex, sexual norms

8. In which mode of livelihood would you expect women's status to be highest?

9. According to Kottak, which socio-political trend in United States history contributed to the emergence of the American notion that "a woman's place is in the home"?

10. A political system ruled by men in which women have inferior status is known as a(an)________________.

11. The worldwide increase in female-headed households stems from all of the following except,______________________.

Discussion Forum Prompt

Please create a discussion post of at least 100 words that addresses one or more of the following questions: Why is it important to understand the distinction between sex and gender? Did your stance on this issue change after reading the debate "Do men dominate women in all societies"? Did it change after taking the quiz to determine your "Brain Sex"? Are the cross cultural studies of gender described by Kottak useful to our own society? You should also feel free to pose your own questions related to this material.