

Notes on P&B Chapter 11: (Gender & Age)

- **Gender is the cultural construction of “personhood:”** it defines notions of: “masculinity /femininity” & (sometimes) “inter-gender” statuses & roles, part of one's:
 - “social identity” as ascribed by others & one's:
 - “self-identity” as viewed by oneself.
- Gendered statuses also are associated with:
 - “behavioral patterns” = roles, tightly or loosely defined, depending on one's

- culture. These may be:
- “normative:” behavior that fulfills an ideal “role.” &
 - “deviant:” behavior that falls outside of those ideal roles. It is subject to:
 - Amusement
 - Derision
 - Strict Sanctions (or punishments, everything from reprimands to force, ostracism, banishment, re-programming or death)
 - In short, gender depends how others define it, how one views it and what one does.
 - **Gender complements or**

modifies, but does not replace, an “individual’s:”

- **Biological Sex:** i.e., whether male = with a Y chromosome (XY), or female = (XX), [the latter are the “default sex” in mammals]. Unlike “gender,” which is *cultural*, sex is *biological*-part of one’s genetic makeup (an individual’s “genotype”). Obviously, one’s biological sex is more limited than one’s cultural gender [although there is a small % of every population that produces:
 - “Intersex” sterile individuals, “hermaphrodites,” -and how

cultures deal with that is very different:

- In Western culture, which views everything in “black and white” terms (static dualism), parents will be forced to choose how to raise the baby & even have “corrective” sex-change operations performed to turn the child into either an acceptable “man” or “woman.”
- In some non-Western cultures the child will be killed at birth (infanticide) as an abomination (“spirit child”).
- In others, the intersexed individual will be considered a

special kind of “person:” “man-woman” or “woman-man,” who may be respected and believed to have special powers, such as animal or plant fertility, or shamanic insight.

- **Gender Studies:** Have become very prominent only since the 1970s & “women’s liberation.” Gender is now a major focus for ethnology & ethnography. [this is ironic since that is precisely the time, via the dominance of money=
wage labor & the entry of women into the labor force, aided by a **machine** (power)]

technology & social welfare, that gender has become less important in Western life.

- Band & Tribal Society, always dependent on **tools**, in contrast views gender, along with age, as the most important statuses.
- **Value Classifications:** These are general terms used to classify (loosely) whole societies based on the power or authority of predominant genders (more popular in lay-people's usage than in anthropological discourse).
 - **“Patriarchy:”** lit., “Rule” by men,” as in senior men=

“Patriarchs,” as in Old Testament Hebraic culture. Patriarchy does characterize many societies, particularly those with patrilineal corporate kin groups, those descendant from senior male ancestors, lineage or clan founders. Such societies are called:

- **“Androcentric,”** or male-dominated, or more perjoratively as:
- **“Phallogentric,”** or dominated by the phallus, from the Greek cult of *Phallos*, the male organ,

or penis.

- **“Matriarchy:”** or “rule by women,” from senior women= “matriarchs.” Such societies do not exist, although they are common in traditional & even our own modern mythology.

- Indeed, based on a faulty decoding of very early archaeological findings & some distorted ethnography, certain unilineal “armchair” ethnologists, like the Swiss Jurist Johann Bachofen (1880) postulated the earliest stage of human society being “Primal Matriarchy,”

the stage of “Earth Mother” worship before the rule of the “Male Sky Gods” and its attendant Patriarchy. Others, like Sir Henry Maine, a British lawyer of the same time, hypothesized just the opposite: Primitive Patriarchy followed by Matriarchy.

- Yet, because another 19th century theorist, Karl Marx, was reading Bachofen, this belief is still enshrined in Marxism.
- In much more recent times, this same notion of Primal

Matriarchy has been retained in the “Great Goddess” worship of *Wicca* (a reinvented version of ancient pre-Christian European animistic “witchcraft,” & by some adherents of feminism, especially the Marxist ones.

- In contrast, modern archaeological studies & abundant ethnographic data see feminine Earth Goddesses and masculine Sky Gods as *complements* of each other in the same nature religions rather than as exclusive predecessor or successor.

- Yet, there is something “matriarchical” in matrilineal societies as women do enjoy relatively high status within them. Yet even there men still rule, albeit through women, such as maternal uncles, MoBr & SiSo.
- **“Sexual Equality:”** although hoped for in the ethnographic record, P&B point out that it too does not really exist as absolute equality. Yet “greater equality than patriarchy” can be demonstrated for a few groups & that is clearly where Western society is evolving.

- **Sex & Gender are closely related to “Sexual Division of Labor:”** [the general pattern for most tool-using societies, based on psychological, somatic (bodily architecture) & energetic (caloric expenditure pattern) differences between males & females-both very controversial politically & the:
 - “Gendered Division of Labor,” particularly those more “plastic” tasks & roles subject to greater cultural variation]. Both of these divisions are reproduced via childhood enculturation &

life crises rites, all with sacred mythic “charters.”

- **Rigid Gender Differentiation** exists where the 2 genders are behaviorally & spatially segregated [it is most common in warlike societies that value masculine traits, such as those of South Amerindia & Melanesia-often where the role of “Man the Hunter” is problematic due to insular (island) impoverished faunas (Melanesia) or isolated continental megafaunal impoverishment (South American lowlands), & therefore “Man the Warrior”

becomes more highly developed]. An example from New Guinea (Melanesia) in P&B is the Hua, an instance from Amazonia (S. America) is the Yanomamö.

- **Hua:** mountains of eastern (Papua) New Guinea, a patrilineal horticultural tribal group in villages of 100-300.
- **[Ethnophysiology:** = Is how each culture envisions the parts & functioning of the human body, due to analogy, the fact that mature females produce more “liquids” than men: milk, menstrual blood & the water of

parturition]. Hence Hua women are considered “wetter” than males, i.e., they have more of the real life-giving substance, *nu*, which may be transferred also to men. It is gaseous [the moisture in breath] or liquid (blood, sweat, semen, female sexual secretions + [milk]). It may be transferred in food or in sexual intercourse [or in close proximity like touch or by merely stepping over something].

- [The “Sexual Antagonism Complex”:] if female contact (especially via menstrual blood)

is considered highly (not just mildly) “polluting” for men, [especially if men are regarded as “hard,” “dry” and “solid,” or “strong” & those traits are equated with power & health], men will interact aggressively & antagonistically with women.

- **“Battle of the Sexes:”** stereotyped, often ritualized, confrontations between the sexes pits “the society of men” against the “society of women,” specifically those sexually mature, accessible women [more so for lovers & wives, less so for mothers,

sisters & juvenile daughters, more so in public, less so in private]. This stereotyped confrontation occurs in sex, rites (ceremonies & rituals), artifacts, activities and even residence. This complex is correlated with beliefs that:

- **Sex is Dangerous:** in the Hua case, since men have scarce *nu*, they will lose it via ejaculation & females will gain it, weakening the men and strengthening the women. [This leads to restricting sex (sex tabooed at certain points such as before a hunt or battle, or limiting the

amount sex or the time spent in love-making)].

- **“Food is Dangerous,”** i.e., the food prepared by women, like root crops=tubers (of high moisture content, from inside the earth, a feminine domain, as is the prepared garden), are tabooed for young boys before initiation.
- **“Women are very Dangerous Enemies:”** Wives and female lovers may not only be confronted or avoided, they may be regarded as “enemies” in extreme gender segregation societies, as in New Guinea.

This may have real roots in warfare, since wife capture is a common corrolary of war. Therefore one's wife may have once been a real "enemy," as among the "Imbi" (another highland New Guinea group like the Hua or Sambia). There women's names often translate as "enemy" and they may not even be able to speak Imbongu (Imbi language)! As always, bereft of the protection of brothers, the captured wife endures the lowest status for females cross-culturally, a bad situation exacerbated by her

alien cultural status (again, a crime among us, “kidnapping” and “murder” is the “moral” goal among other cultures).

- **The Cosmos is Gendered:** Often women are related to the cold & wet, such as water or earth, both “hollow & lower” domains, while men align with the hot & dry of the aerial world, the “solid upper” domain. Similarly, women are identified with the hamlet or village (the “inner” domestic circle=’hearth”), men with the forest, mountains or jungle (“outer”=’wild”).

- **“Residential Segregation by Gender:”** If the geography of the macro-cosmos is gendered, why not the microcosm of the hamlet? This can take 3 forms:
 - **“Men’s Huts:”** a special, often village-central hut where initiated males reside. Forbidden to women and uninitiated boys, it may be open, as in the Hua case, to post-menopausal old women who have given birth to three children or more and thus are “purged” of *nu*. In South America the Men’s Hut is where all the sacred

male paraphernalia, like masks & phallic “flutes,” is stored and likewise tabooed to women. There, if she enters the Men’s Hut she will be gang-raped by all the adult village men, thereafter becoming a “wanton,” a woman sexually accessible to all men, but denied the right of marriage. Once again “cultural relativity” rules since here rape, a harsh “crime” in our culture, becomes the accepted “law” in another cultural context!

○ **“Menstrual Huts:”** are

temporary, fully enclosed shelters, usually outside the village--but not in the deep forest--where women must go during their menses, out of contact with men.

- **Gender-Styled hut types:** different types of residences for men & women, where they do not live together (“residential segregation”), Young children live with their mothers, a common pattern in cultures with polygyny. In New Guinea, for ex., a man’s hut will only have one room, whereas a

woman's will have 2 (1 for the pigs she cares for), or, if the family lives together, the husband has a demarcated sleeping area from his wife or children (sex takes place during the day-in the forest).

- [**“Sexed Space:”**] where male and female activities occur in their respective zones within the cultural landscape, zones tabooed to the members of the opposite sex, like a woman's garden or a man's bench.
- [**“Sexist Technology:”**] (of traditional tool-using societies) versus our modern (machine-

based) “Androgynous Tech,” where they emphasize the size & strength differences between the sexes in human sexual dimorphism, rather than minimizing it. These technical objects & processes emulate:

- the “body image” &
- “body processes” of each sex, making the tools/tasks seem uniquely appropriate to their users:

- **[Male “Upper Body” Technology:]** that utilizes male’s greater upper body strength (arms, chest & shoulders) to power/pro-

pel long, linear & pointed weapons, carved “deconstructively” from “killed” sentient resources (animism), like trees or rocks, and used to kill fleet or dangerous game. These masculine body-image & body-process tools are “weapons” like a spear, a club, bow& arrows, blowguns, etc.. Note that they are the same instruments that can be used for inter-society warfare or intra-society quarrels (Politics).

- **[Female “Lower Body”**

Technology:] A female's shorter stature & broader hips make her a more stable load platform & the strongest muscles in her upper body, the neck muscles, are employed to sustain heavy loads via a tump-line or by balancing a load on the head. Her characteristic implements are the digging stick, the round, soft & hollow burden basket, baby-sling or net bag, all produced by finger-manipulation techniques: looping, knot-

ting, twining or plaiting, or by mechanical weaving --each made by additive = "constructive," or gestational" techniques manipulating soft (textiles) or supple (basketry) constituent-elements. Both objects & processes are reflective of her body image & body processes, and are used to harvest stationary and inoffensive resources, such as tubers, dug from the "feminine," soft, dark, humid earth, or to gather "stationary" animals, such

as shellfish.

- **[Artifactual Segregation:]** where male & female artifacts are not only different, and stored and employed in different zones relative to the home base, but the finished objects are tabooed, once they are finished, to the opposite sex.
- **[Sexual Task Sequencing:]** Even though the opposite sex has often contributed to making the object, it will be sexually segregated, as will the tasks it is designed to help)! Yet, usually the contribution of each sex alternates, frequently

with the male initiating (& therefore “determining”) the technological process and the female terminating or finishing the sequence, as in men doing the heaviest work of preparing the garden then abandoning it to the women who cultivate & harvest its bounty-[in both new Guinea & Amazonia]. This is another expression of:

- 1st the segregation of tasks
- 2nd the making of those now segregated “techno-tasks” complementary, each necessary for the opposite gender’s subsistence role.

- **“Gendered Exceptions” in the Sexual Division of Labor:** Gender is a cultural construct, but one based on inherent “primate” foundations such as the Sexual Division of Labor & the “Home Base” (i.e., both biological sex and gender are involved). Therefore, “exceptions” to the general rule occur, but come from tasks that are based on sex-similar hand-eye coordination, both sexes can do them (ex., among the Waiwai, men, not women, make the baskets, but women make the coil-built pottery/men carve)

- **“Woman the Hunter:”**
Also, these are “trend” or “tendency statements.” They just predict that “most” societies will exhibit this structure; they aren’t universal generalizations,” which one exception will invalidate (there are none of those in the social sciences). Hence, there will always be some exceptions, even in hunting & war; Women may hunt, but they usually do so when the prey is small, inoffensive & stationary, as in an Aboriginal Australian woman

breaking open a log and clubbing a bandicot to death with her digging stick as she searches for tubers:

- Net-hunting: Often, what enables women to fish, as in the P&B photo of some Coastal New Guinea women, or some Agta, a mountain tribe of the Phillipines, women hunt together without men, is the use of a net which both minimizes the need for upper body strength & immobilizes the game to render it less dangerous.

But even in the Agta case, unique in the literature, women do not hunt the majority of the time (men still do most hunting & with upper-body strength requiring bow & arrow & for dangerous game such as wild boar—this being an island where wild pig is the largest game available) and not for the most formidable game-wild pig-that the men do.

- **[Support Roles:]** Several societies have women acting as beaters driving

game to male hunters, but that is not "hunting," although it is being "a part of the hunt." Similarly, with "fishing" women will use nets (not harpoons or arrows), when the men fish with fish-poison. This too is a form of "gathering" since fish are rendered inert and then gathered, like tubers, into baskets, as the Yanomamö do.

- In those same jungles of South America, Men hunt fish with bow and arrow.
- **[The Woman Warrior:]**

Among the ancient Scythians of central Asia there were apparently some “women warriors” but their exact nature & role is unknown. The myth of the “Amazons” is, however, just that, tho this Greek myth did give its name to this New World S. American river.

- **[Gender Complementarity:]** (Efficiency); ex., men hunt, butcher & women clean and cook. This, indeed, is the basis of marriage in some traditional societies, where no “marriage ceremony” beyond the first

cooked meal may be necessary.

- **“Male Tasks Differentially Esteemed:”** Male tasks are invariably more highly valued because of “meat hunger” (fat, meat and vitamen A essential for quality milk production in females & hence brain development in their children) and the romance of danger in the hunt, reinforcing esteemed values: bravery, skill, strength.
- **“The Somatic Basis:”** Why the differences of "man the hunter/woman the gatherer," or that, among pastoralists, men take care of large animals?

P&B cite:

- **Relative strength** [I add "upper body"/"lower body"]
- **Fertility maintenance** = regular, very heavy exercise suppresses female fertility. Modern female runners, for example, often do not menstruate and ovulate monthly, hormones are suppressed + low levels of body fat, which will not yield enough available energy for the fertile cycle or lactation (that is why the primitive ideal is fat women, particularly the voluptuous "Venus" Paleo-

- lithic figurines P&B picture
- Citing “somatic” adaptations like !Kung Bushmen female steradopidgia (“baby got back”) in fat-storage exaggerated buttocks, thighs and belly. Even today in the peasant world, such as in rural India, a man is wealthy if he can make his woman fat (the anorexic modern Western feminine ideal is just that).
 - **Compatibility with child care.** in 1970 Judith Brown argued that female tasks:
 - **Are fairly routine and**

repetitive, therefore they do not require much concentration (so that the mother can direct her main attention towards her children).

- **They can be interrupted (by children) and resumed without altering efficiency.**
- **They do not place the children who accompany their mothers in potential danger, therefore...**
- **They tend to take place in or around the “home base.”**
- **The “Feminine Garden:”**
Why are women so often asso-

ciated with the largest amounts of garden labor in tribal horticultural societies?

- Like the Yanomamö, men are frequently absent on hunting expeditions.

- Like the Dani, men are commonly involved in raiding and warfare.

- **Women=Root Horticulture:**

But, women's contributions in the fields usually declines as tuber horticulture evolves into intensive cereal (grains) agriculture, particularly if large draft animals are involved (where more male upper body

strength is needed). Note that in New Guinea women care for a small domesticated, pigs. The same pattern associates care of chickens, or other domestic fowl like ducks, and women.

- **“Women=Root Crops:”** Due to a shift from root crops like sweet manioc to seed crops: corn/ wheat/ barley/ sorghum/ rice (but P&B ignore bitter manioc, which acts like a seed crop in its labor requirements but a root crop in its nature, sweet manioc is not an exception), the latter (seed crops) require much processing time /

effort. (grinding corn, pounding & winnowing rice), male labor becomes more needed.

- **Tubers=Continuous Yield:** Since tropical root crops yield continuously, women can harvest a little bit as they need it, so their labor is sufficient, but with seed crops, which mature all at once, and whose harvesting requires male upper body strength (as in a sickle or scythe), massive man-power and large domesticate animal help is required, hence men take a larger role & become the primary agriculturalists (gen-

erally, *women :horticulture :: men : agriculture*).

- **“Seed Crops=Males:”** Since most seed crops need a lot of water and good soil, agricultural intensification (building terraces, ridged fields or irrigation networks) again emphasizes the need for male upper body strength, again pushing agriculture into the male sphere.
- **“Men & Large Animal Domesticates:”** Also, if there is a prolonged dry season, such as in temperate regions, seed crops will be utilized and

supplemented with grass-grazing domestic animals, which require male involvement.

- **“Women=Local Markets:”**

The Marketplace is exceptional; in many areas like the Mideast it is a male sphere, but in Africa & the Amerindian New World it is female, save if:

- **“Male Merchants are**

peripatetic:” (one who moves from place-to-place, like a tinker), then the market women close to their homes will be supplemented by ambulatory male traders far from their

homes.

- **Intersexes:** Some cultures segregate gender roles (the warlike ones) to such an extent that they polarize the roles, creating, in effect, “super males” (warriors) and “super females” (domestics) at each end of a continuum and permitting no overlap (denying the “feminine” in males or the “masculine” in females). This creates a void in the middle where some individuals that cannot meet the requirements of the polar types find themselves. These “liminal” statuses,

neither fully “masculine” nor “feminine,” are: “feminized males” & “masculinized females.” Such statuses may involve either:

- “transvestitism” (dressing in the garb of the opposite sex, mimicking its gestures). This does not necessitate a “homosexual” orientation. Some cultures, like those in the West, dichotomize the sexes and so find it difficult to deal with these liminal patterns, declaring them normatively “deviant” and subjecting them to sanctions

or reform. Others, outside the West, tolerate these minority statuses, do not stigmatize them or may even ascribe certain value, like supernatural power, to such persons.

- Hermaphrodites are a special category, but tend to be dealt with in the same manner (whether exclusion or inclusion) as the more elective statuses.
- Ironically, those cultures, like Margaret Mead's Mountain Arapesh, New Guinea, a very peaceful

people, may place the “masculine” and “feminine” roles close together, permitting considerable overlap, thus allowing males to act occasionally in a “feminine” form and some females in a “masculine” form without altering their core gender identification. Such societies will have no middle (liminal) roles since everyone can qualify, and tend to lack transvestitism or homosexuality (occasional homosexual behavior, often in adolescence, may be

common cross-culturally, but homosexual self-identification or homosexual sub-cultures are not). These intermediary gender roles may either be expressed as a temporary stage of the “life cycle,” a “life trajectory convergence,” where the genders exchange properties as a result of aging, or as permanent liminal statuses and roles, “life goals:”

- **“Life Stage Intersexes:”**
These limit exclusively male homosexuality to a stage of the life cycle, such as the Sambia

of the New Guinea highlands, who raise young boys as the exclusively homosexual partners of elder initiated youths from 7-17, and then marry them to childhood betrothed wives while henceforth expecting exclusive heterosexuality throughout adulthood! The Sambias were highly warlike and wanted to “feed” boys to turn them into men via fellatio (oral sex). Fully 10% of highland New Guinea groups did the same, although some used sodomy (anal sex). This is not as strange as it may seem

(“child molestation” in our culture a crime, in their’s a moral imperative) since the highly warlike ancient Greek Spartans appear to have had similar phallic practices. In the case of the equally war-like Yanomamö in S.A., the latter also happens during young adulthood (as reported by the French ethnographer Jacques Lizot, not Chagnon), often due to the dearth of females (as a result of female infanticide and senior male polygyny), but is not considered a formal stage in the life cycle.

- **“Life Trajectory Convergence:”** The Hua of New Guinea, having structurally defined “masculinity” and “femininity” via their concept of *nu* life force “liquidity,” then face the problem of aging. If men have interacted with their wives over a long life, accumulating much *nu*, then as old men they have become soft & feminized. They no longer make war or hunt, the traditional props of masculine identity, and thus, as “feminized males” must be classified with women! Similarly, an old post-

menopausal woman, no longer “wet” via lactation and gestation, becomes masculinized & is allowed in the Men’s Hut as a “masculinized female,” a kind of “honorary male”! This culture sees the genders “cross-over” as males and females age, gender not being a permanent assignment as it is among us.

- **Gendered Intersex “Life Goals:”** If, instead of being tracked into masculine or feminine roles, a culture allows individuals to seek their own “intersex” identity then the

“feminized male” and the “masculinized female” can become mature adult goals, rather than just stages in the life cycle or old age convergences. This too happens among highly warlike societies with the polarized “super masculine/feminine” statuses of “warrior” and “squaw,” the Plains Indians of the American West. The classic case involves the "*Berdache*" (male transvestite homosexual) in Sioux Plains Indian society, where one of a warrior’s “wives” may have been a *berdache*, and the

"Manly-Hearted Women" (aggressive female, but heterosexual) or "Woman Chief" of the Gros Ventre, who paid bride price for and "married" several females to do feminine tasks, but her sexuality is not known, although presumed to have been bisexual.

- [**“Purely Male Homosexual Societies:”**] Some hyper-warlike New Guinea groups have produced the ultimate logical extension of gendered male / female opposition. If women are so dangerous, why not get rid of them altogether?

Thus they have formed unique homosexual societies that make war on others, not for women, but for boys! Here truly is a society based on adoption. This is unique in the ethnographic literature.

- [**“Other Sex Emulation:”**] A pattern whereby the biological capacity of another sex is “emulated” by the contrasting sex, perhaps out of a kind of Freudian “womb-envy.” This takes at least 4 forms:

- **“Male Menstruation:”** In Melanesia, e.g., the famous ethnography by Ian Hogbin,

The Island of Menstruating Men = Wogeo, off northern New Guinea, men monthly wade into the ocean & cut their penises to get rid of the "bad blood" of male/female contamination via intercourse, like women do in menstruation. Perhaps this reveals that men may subconsciously "envy" the female capacity for childhood and thereby seek to give birth to men "culturally" via life crises rites while at the same time oppressing women via segregation and

doctrines of menstrual blood pollution. Men would not engage in such acts of “phallic aggression” as Robert Anderson has called it, were they not uneasy about the permanence of their power.

- [**“Male Parturition:”**] Even in cultures with greater sexual equality, like the Huichol Indians of north-west Mexico, this emulation appears when a woman gives birth. She holds in her hands cords attached to her husband's testicles and pulls

- on them to “share” the pain of childbirth!
- [**Masculine Emulation in Myth:**] If not in actuality, male emulation can occur in myth via the Freudian equation of the nose with the phallus, as in New Guinea, or in the Caribbean where mucus from hallucinogenic snuff use magically causes male “pregnancy” via hunch-backed deities (Pané on the Taíno)!
 - [**“Masculine Appropriation of Feminine Gestation:”**] Even if done in

current practice, male womb envy can be manifest in myth via “**male mythic parthenogenesis**” (reproduction without heterosexual sex) where males assert men could give birth first, or even taught females how to do so in mythic time. The Sambia & other New Guinea tribes believe this, as did the Taíno Indians of the Greater Antilles who had 1st male ancestors “building” children in round, hollow receptacles, such as turtles or gourds! This required the

“androcentric theory of conception where females are mere passive “containers” for the infants that males “build” via repeated ejaculations (see Kinship). In all these phallogentric mythologies (including the Biblical version) males thus appear 1st and then create females.

- [**“Role-Reversal,” Fragile Masculine Power:**] Or, conversely, men believe that women 1st have had the penis and men menstruated and gave birth. This is case among some South Ameri-

can jungle Indians like the Mehinaku who believe in "First Phallic Females" until men steal the phallus in the shape of the phallic flutes played to terrify current women (such flutes are also common in Melanesia). This is the current male fantasy of their vulnerable power (and why women must be oppressed; they could yet reverse the tables). The myth of the "Amazons," a society of female warriors without men which gave its name to the River among the equally

androcentric Greeks represents a Western counterpart). Religion can therefore provide a “mythic charter” for current asymmetrical gender relations, in exotic (non-Western) as well as in Western contexts.

- **Physical Force as the “Strong Arm” of Patriarchy:** Where physical force or its threat underlies morality to ensure male dominance in gender hierarchy. This is done to control women and turn them into male “property,” common in the androcentric

fundamentalist “Desert Religion” tradition of the Middle East, based as it was on ancient pastoralism and patrilineal descent groups. From an emic point of view the sequestering of women in houses, the preventing of their unchaperoned mingling in public, their covering (the extreme Afghanistani *burka* is an example where a woman has only a small mesh rectangle to peer through in a complete body covering-robe) is for modesty. From an etic perspective it gives males absolute control

over females and their bodies. For ex., among the *haredim*, lit., "those who fear [God]," the ultra-orthodox of Israel, distinguished by the black hats, beards & suits of the men and covered hair and long dresses for women, in 1996 *haredi* "modesty patrols" began attacking women on the streets of Jerusalem for exposing their arms or legs, as is done in other countries like Pakistan by fundamentalist Muslims sharing a historically-similar androcentric culture despite their mutual hostility. The latter's

modesty patrols are more radical, throwing acid in the faces of women caught without veils!

- [**“Honor Killings:”**] An even more extreme form of force is the practice in Iraq and Saudi Arabia are famous for “honor killings” where males (brothers, fathers or husbands) can kill women they believe have dishonored the family, usually for adultery or prostitution, with little or no legal penalty. Indeed, this is widely believed to be the honorable thing

to do!

- **["Male Deprecation of Females:"]** These practices are usually coupled with a negative image of females and a doctrine of menstrual blood pollution as a segregating mechanism. In 1997, for ex., *haredi* Rabbi Yosef pronounced that men should not walk between two women, just as they should not walk between two donkeys, lest they take on the attributes of these "lesser" beasts! [*Time*, May 11, 1998, p.34]

- **[Transvestism as A**

Burlesque:] Here men make fun of women by dressing up as an old hag, as in the New Guinea Iatmul *Naven* ceremony made famous by the ethnographer Gregory Bateson. Women may do the same to men.

- **[Female Impersonators in Theatre:]** In more complex, but still androcentric societies, such as ancient Greek or Indian or Japanese drama, actresses were not permitted on stage, their parts being played by male transvestite actors. While still a part of

female exclusion, such roles tended to lampoon or glorify each gender.

- **Masculine Dominance in the “External” World of the Spirits (Religion) & “Others” (Politics):** This male power is usually extended into religion and politics as masculine preserves while some feminine authority is recognized in the domestic sphere of the household or kin group. Even in cultures with relative "gender equality," like the Wana of Sulawesi, Indonesia (P&B), men are usually assigned exter-

nal relations (*men : politics= [interaction with alien men] & shamanism [spirits]=the public realm :: women : domestic realm*). But, as always, there are a few exceptions, in Korea most traditional shamans are women.