INTRODUCTION TO COURSE

Housekeeping:

A. Each of you should include on the paper being sent around:

- name
- e-mail
- year
- major
- previous anthropology or sociology courses?
- why taking the course?

B. Books:

1. Available at the bookstore; they are required

C. The 2003 and 2007 versions of the course are available at OpenCourseWare site

1. This year’s version is radically changed

D. Misc.:

1. Lectures will be posted after being presented on the class website
2. All readings have been posted
3. I also sometimes add supplemental readings, usually from the mass media
   - If newspaper articles are posted for a particular class, they are always optional reading—only the scholarly pieces are required
   - Keep the supplemental readings in mind when you’re deciding on a paper topic
4. I periodically add to the supplemental readings
   - If you have a pdf or weblink that you think would be useful, send it along

Nature of course

A. CI-H course

1. Improve communication skills, especially writing
a. The syllabus contains the specifics of the CI-H component of the course

B. Course requirements

1. No prerequisites

2. Strong discussion component
   
   a. Basic format is one hour interactive lecture, followed by student-led discussion and activities
      
      1) For example, work in groups and present your findings
   
   b. Study questions on the readings will be posted at the website
      
      1) You’ll be asked to answer these in class at random, or use them when you’re leading a discussion
   
   c. You may be asked to submit discussion questions
   
   d. The Forum Section of the website allows us to read one another’s Reader Responses

3. Written assignments are fairly easy
   
   a. 3 papers

4. Reading
   
   a. As it says on the syllabus, you must do the reading
   
   b. Reader Responses
      
      1) Consisting of few sentences, a paragraph
         
         a) Nothing you can’t do in 5 minutes, after doing the readings
      
      2) I’ve found these to be quite useful: students come much more prepared to discuss the reading
      
      3) They must be reactions to the reading
         
         a) Not about the lectures
b) Not your random thoughts about ethnicity

c) Not a synopsis of the reading

4) Reader Responses can be about any of the reading for that week

5) They’re not graded

a) They are required

6) All of this is covered on the syllabus

7) They should be posted on the website in the “Forum” section

a) You can react to one another’s postings

8) First one is due next week, posted by noon Tues.

C. We will see several video/DVDs

Organization and intellectual thrust of the course

A. We begin with 3 books: ethnographies

1. What is an ethnography?

2. One book is about heteronormativity/masculinity

3. One about crack dealers in Spanish Harlem

4. One about maximum security prisons in Washington State

5. You will understand ethnographic research and writing after reading these three books

B. Obviously throughout the course we’ll be interrogating “normality”

1. A good way to find out about a culture is to find out about what is considered unnatural, abnormal, immoral, unfortunate, wrong

a. Do you want to find out about marriage in 17th century New England?

b. Historian Nancy Cott did, so she studied divorce
2. And the books do exactly this
   a. By looking at adolescence, because of the “intense identity work” Pascoe finds River High School to be a “particularly fruitful site for illuminating and developing these theoretical issues”
      
      1) The boys and girls are rehearsing for adult life; they exaggerate, they don’t always get it right
   b. Crack dealers in “El Barrio” teach us about illegal activities and institutions
      
      1) Also we’ll explore the role of race and ethnicity: Spanish Harlem
   c. The Rhodes book is about men seen to be so “abnormal” that society incarcerates them in “super-maximum” prisons
      
      1) They’re sort of “super-deviants”
      2) However, the cause of their periodic extremely deviant behavior within the prison is not clear
      3) Which creates a problem for the authorities, who need to define it so they can choose how to respond
      4) Is it intentional “bad behavior”? 
         a) Or are these men mentally ill and therefore not responsible for their behavior?

3. We’ll not only look at how society defines “normality”
   a. But also at what it does to police it
   b. The social science term is “social control”
   c. The title of the Pascoe book illustrates social control
      
      1) She discusses students working on a dramatic performance, where the “fag discourse” was absent:
         “Instead of constantly policing their own and others’ gender displays, they were able to be playful, emotional, and creative.” (p. 81)
2) “In groups boys act as a sort of ‘sexual police’...deriding each other’s expressions of love, romance, or emotional desire, such as Dax’s holding of his girlfriend’s hand.” (p. 89)

d. **DISCUSS:** other examples of social control you can think of?

C. Although for the most part we read anthropology and sociology

1. We do have some fiction readings, which often provide an inside perspective

2. Inside-outside, self/other, will be recurrent themes

   a) Social processes can be understood through the experiences of individuals who live them

   b) **DISCUSS:** the value of “insiders” telling us about their lives,

      1) As opposed to “outsiders” conducting research on these “insiders” and publishing their findings?

D. Progression of course:

1. 2 introductory sessions

2. Then we discuss what I’m calling “analytic perspectives”: research approaches that allow us to understand identity components

   a. Bodies, history, definitions, deviance studies, sociology of language

   b. A couple of these (bodies, language) are identity components in themselves, but we will stress their analytic, methodological sides

3. Next we look at certain *individual* identity components I’m calling “deviance”

   a. **DISCUSS:** difference between individual identity and group identity?

   b. Of course, deviance is in the eye of the beholder

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1 Nancy Chodorow (2000, as cited in Pascoe, p.16).
1) From some positions/viewpoints/perspectives, any of the group identity components will be “deviant”

4. Here I’m using “deviance” as an umbrella term

a. Stigmatized identity components—defined as “wrong” in some way—are usually considered to pertain to individuals and not entire groups

1) Criminality
2) Mental illness
3) Disability

b. Of course, once someone is labeled with a deviant identity, he or she is classified into a group

1) And people will speak abstractly about these groups, assigning them various characteristics

c. We will talk about the way some identity components may be chosen—optional to some degree

1) Whereas other components are ascribed, assigned, imposed.
2) Not optional

5. The next section focuses on components of group identity that receive a lot of attention in the literature

a. Sexuality (sexual orientation as identity)

b. Gender
c. Religion
d. Social class
e. Ethnicity
f. Race
g. There’s not much on national identity—take my other course, “Ethnic and National Identity”
h. And the readings are mostly about the U.S.

6. We will continually need to remind ourselves that in real life, identity components always co-occur, and are very much linked to one another

a. But if we want to analyze them, we need to break them down into components

b. Keep in mind that identity components are always interrelated

c. A number of readings demonstrate this, certainly ones by Pascoe and Nagel
Introduction to Concepts

Identity

A. Multiple meanings: here we are interested in individual and social identity

1. Related terms: “self,” “I,” “person,” “personality”

B. The French philosopher Derrida maintains that any identity is constructed in relation to difference

1. There is no solid, pre-given center or simple presence; these exist only in relation to something else.

   a. We will see that some anthropologists hold that this is how ethnic groups are constructed, too

C. Westerners tend to think of identity as fixed

1. DISCUSS: evidence supporting this assertion?

   a. Birth certificates

      1) Names changed normally only at marriage

      2) Social Security numbers

      3) Other societies may assign new names at certain life stages

   b. All countries fix citizens’ identity to some degree

      1) Census-taking and other record-keeping (health, etc.)

         a) For all kinds of reasons: taxes, conscription to the military

         b) Civil status (marriage licenses), tribal rolls for Native Americans

   c. Other institutions as well:

      1) Your credit rating

      2) “Identity theft” sounds like an oxymoron until you understand what it is
a) Its possibility demonstrates how bureaucratically constructed this identity is

d. The extensive cultural production focusing on themes of imposters and amnesia

1) Reveal an interest, perhaps anxiety, about just how fixed and permanent personal identity is

2. The self, of course, changes, but the West believes that a core identity remains

a. This is not universally true

3. The notion that the self should change in proper ways is very widespread

a. “Life crisis” rituals transform the self, person

1) Baptism, first communion, commencement, marriage, knighthood

2) Other rituals: ordination, initiations

a) “Ye must be born again”

D. Notion of a fixed core identity has been a foundational premise of Western social and behavioral science

1. An interest in personality, which is seen as relatively stable

a. An “unstable” personality suggests pathology

b. Development—childhood seen as leading to a fixed identity

2. Sigmund Freud (and many others) saw important links between how the body developed and how the personality developed

a. A biographer of Freud characterized him as a “biologist of the mind”

b. He saw the mind and emotions as developing the way the body develops

c. Necessary stages that all individuals have to go through

1) In the proper manner, otherwise, pathology results
Cross-cultural variation in notions about identity

A. Assumptions about the nature of the self, its relation to the body, the “identity” of, the nature of the body vary widely cross-culturally

1. In the West: a self, a person is an individual, physical entity
   a. In the West: we are seen as humans; humans are an animal species, *homo sapiens*
   b. Each one is very distinct from the others
      1) Bounded by skin
   c. **DISCUSS:** exceptions?
      1) The trend to construct the fetus as a separate entity even though it is inside of another individual
      2) The notion of “past lives”

2. Earlier in European history people’s bodies weren’t seen as so distinct
   a. You could be possessed by another being
      1) Today, “disassociation” is seen as pathology
      2) But plenty of other places in the world have institutionalized ideas and practices concerned with another being taking possession of one’s body and mind
      3) Brazil’s candomblé religion, also Haiti, Bali, India
      4) Some curing traditions involve this notion
   b. **DISCUSS:** any other examples of exceptions to this generalization?

3. Cross-culturally: all sorts of ways the self and the body interact with other forces or beings
   a. In a number of societies in the Americas a person possesses a spirit “familiar” in the shape of an animal
4. In the West (and elsewhere) a *person* is seen to consist of more than a body
   a. But there’s a huge variety of opinions about these other components
      1) “Mind,” “soul,” “spirit,” “aura”
      2) DISCUSS: other notions?

5. Other examples of cross-cultural variation
   a. Notions about paternity, maternity
      1) Among the Krikatí of the Central Brazilian Highlands
      2) Repeated acts of intercourse are needed to make a child, so a person can have several fathers
   b. Earlier in Europe
      1) An individual was considered to be contained in the sperm; the woman contributed the bed on which the “seed” could grow
   c. The Confucian model of personhood: the essential nature of humans is to be members of groups
      1) The family is seen as much more important than its individual members
   d. Anthropologist Margaret Lock says that for the Japanese, the main opposition is between family and society
      1) The individual is assumed to be subsumed within the family

6. Ways the conventional Western view is being challenged?
   a. Organ donation: a notion that a lasting physical “essence” remains in the recipient’s body)

Social and individual identity as concepts

A. Obviously the two concepts interact; the one constructs the other
1. Individual identity is seen as unique: pertaining to one person
   
   a. Notion of psychological identity
      
      1) Personality, character
      
      2) While “male” or “female” may be seen as biological—a given
      
      3) Masculinity and femininity are seen as acquired
   
   b. DISCUSS: other examples illustrating our notion of unique individual identity?

2. Social Identity: membership in groups
   
   a. Family
   
   b. Race, gender, ethnicity, geography, generation, social class

B. How identity is constructed
   
   1. What are seen as the givens: one’s date of birth, sex, the nature of family one is born into, one’s social class, etc.
      
      a. The notion of one’s unique genetic identity is currently getting a lot of play
      
   2. But the individual self is also constantly being constructed through cultural and social negotiation
      
      a. Which is political—what your identity is in part reflects your status in the group and your ability to interact effectively
      
      b. DISCUSS: examples from Pascoe?

C. Questions arise about free will vs. being acted upon, having very little agency
   
   1. To what degree are your actions, how your life plays out, due to the part of your identity that has been imposed by:
      
      a. Biological inheritance, parents’ and family’s assets, etc.
      
      b. Bad luck, fate, past lives, sins of the fathers…
      
      c. DISCUSS: other examples?
d. **DISCUSS**: this issue’s presence in fairy tales?

e. **DISCUSS**: genetic identity and normative issues?

2. Lots of cultural production in the West deals with this issue

   a. The self-made person

   b. “Go West, young man”

   c. **DISCUSS**: the American Dream

3. Such themes are widespread

   a. Mythology

   b. The literary notion of *bildungsroman*—a story about the quest, most often involving a journey, to “find oneself”:

      1) The young man who left home “to seek his fortune” (it is always a he)

      2) A youth develops into a man partly through his actions, his agency—by actively engaging the world rather than being passive

   c. **DISCUSS**: How have the plots of Disney movies changed over the years with respect to gendered agency?

D. Related issue: relationships between the individual and group: how these are conceptualized and valorized vary widely cross-culturally

1. The West often posits the individual in opposition to group, culture, etc.

   a. An individual gives up their “true” self in order to conform to the group

   b. Interest in the 19th century in feral children—reared by wild mammals

      1) It was believed they would show their “true” nature

         a) Because no overlay of socialization
c. It’s clear, however, that humans need to develop within a cultural milieu to be normal

1) Feral children are not normal—they exhibit very clear pathology

2. But the opposite idea exists, too: without culture we’d be monsters
a. DISCUSS: examples in books, movies?
b. William Golding’s Lord of the Flies

Conclusions

A. “Self” implies “other”
1. “I am” is defined by what “I am not”—Pascoe’s book illustrates this with respect to masculinity
a. Example: the binary heterosexuality/homosexuality
b. Masculinity’s relationship to heterosexuality is complex
1) As it is to homosexuality: “The Machine” is a “leather” bar on Beacon St.
   a) Drag queens
2) “Diesel dykes” and “lipstick lesbians”
c. Masculinity as both a process and a field through which power is articulated (p. 13 Pascoe)
d. Pascoe’s study shows that students see masculinity “as an identity expressed through sexual discourses and practices that indicate dominance and control” (p. 13)

B. Identity is dynamic
1. Pascoe: highly dynamic sexuality is an organizing principle of social life (pp.9-10)
2. We’ll be looking at how categories themselves are created/produced, maintained/sustained, and sometimes undone
   a. Through practices, rituals, discourses
3. Example: we have the binaries female/male, masculine/feminine
   a. But also transsexual, transgendered
      1) Which may support the binaries
      2) Or not: “I’m neither pre-op or post-op, I’m no-op”
         a) “Take me as I am—I’m opting out of your tired, rigid sex/gender system”

4. **DISCUSS**: whether women turn into women no matter what, but manhood has to be achieved
   a. Unmanly man is a sissy
   b. What is an unwomanly woman?

C. Reification and essentialization of identity occur for many reasons
   1. Social, political, cultural
   2. Pascoe on masculinity and femininity: the two are constructed to be opposing, complementary, unequal, and heterosexual
   3. Currently many areas of social science and psychology no longer see the self, the person, to have a basic identity that is characterized in terms of a core, defining essence
   4. Note: in this course we need categories
      1) And at times we’ll have to think of them as stable, opposing and discrete

D. Identity is multiple, depends on context, relationships with other identities
   1. Example: bilinguals will report being different “selves” in the two languages

E. Identity happens in groups: it is relational and almost always public and institutionalized
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http://ocw.mit.edu

21A.218J / SP.454J / WGS.454J Identity and Difference
Spring 2010

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ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVES: BODIES


I. The Body is “good to think” anthropologically, especially with respect to identity

A. The body simultaneously produces and is produced by culture

1. The body is the main source of metaphors of order and disorder

2. Identity and difference are constructed through reference to the body

3. Readings for today reveal some of the many ways bodies are classified, illustrate the various kinds of cultural work bodies do

   a. Classified as to race, gender, marriageability, permission to reproduce, sexuality

   b. Kondo finds herself to be a “conceptual anomaly”

      1) She is increasingly being fitted into the Japanese classification system

      2) In part because of the signals her body sends

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1 Schmidt and Moore p. 556.
c. Semen in semen banks is simultaneously a part of the body, a potential body, and, as represented in a donor catalogue, a series of codes.

4. **DISCUSS**: how many body labels do we apply to non-body objects?

5. We give personality to biological objects, including bodies, thereby naturalizing features that are in fact socially and culturally constructed

   a. “Sperm may be disembodied, but they are vividly personified.”

B. In pre-modern societies the body is an important surface on which identity can be displayed

   1. The marks of social status, family position, tribal affiliation, age, gender and religious condition can easily and publicly be displayed

      a. Foot-binding in China: what did it signal?

   2. Ritual transformations of the body

      a. Circumcision, scarification

      b. Create kinship—become “blood brothers”

3. **DISCUSS**: other examples you know about?

C. Modern societies

   1. Also use the body in rituals

      a. Slapping a girl who’s discovered her first menstrual period

      b. **DISCUSS**: circumcision

      c. Degradation ceremonies

        1) **DISCUSS**

   2. Use the body to display membership

      a. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu: class is marked by taste, and taste uses the body

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3 Schmidt and Moore p. 560.
“Everything that the body ingests and digests and assimilates, physiologically and psychologically. It follows that the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste”

b. **DISCUSS**: what do tattooing and piercing signal today?

3. To maintain the status quo, discursively rather than visibly
   a. Miscegenation cases: legal and scientific discourses needed
   b. Only elite semen samples are allowed to undergo the disciplining processes that turn them into cyborgs
      1) As explained in donor catalogues

II. The *human* body

A. Last time I mentioned how we in the West construct humanness
   1. We have a notion of *homo sapiens sapiens* as an animal that fits into a zoological taxonomy called a Kingdom
      a. Part of the rationale for classification is anatomical—we are recognizably different from closest relatives, bonobo chimps
         1) **DISCUSS**: how we differ from chimpanzees
      b. The *behavioral* definition of human has been hotly debated and quite dynamic
         1) Examples: tool-using; language; deliberate teaching
         2) Friedrich Engels: *labor* was what distinguished humans from apes
   2. The idea that we all belong to the “human race” is a relatively new idea in the West
      a. Famous debate following discovery of the New World between Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Sepúlveda (a Spanish priest) as to whether indigenous Americans were humans or animals

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B. Traditional societies’ notion of “real people” is likely to be much more circumscribed

1. In some societies’ classificatory schemes, “true” humans are those who have been initiated
   a. The main division is between initiated men, and women and children
   b. Initiation rituals produce a new body
   c. Oftentimes the divide is seen to be between a mere body and a truly spiritual being

C. There is a great deal of variety in notions about how much the body can be transformed

1. In the West, a constant debate about transforming one’s body into the “best” body
   a. Alterations produced by physical acts
   b. DISCUSS: examples?

2. Symbolic acts that transform?
   a. Performatives: symbolic action that effects change, sometimes very comprehensive change
      1) Upon ordination, a Catholic priest is transformed
   b. Catholic theology holds that a wafer and wine can be changed into the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ—his actual body
      a. Transubstantiation
      b. Which should be ingested

D. The readings illustrate some of the ways in which studying ideas about bodies

1. Can help us understand notions about human diversity
   a. Understand what this diversity is seen to consist of, why it exists

III. History of changing ideas about the body in the West
A. Empirically-based academic disciplines were developing, religion’s role as organizer of knowledge was declining

1. Science, continuing development of scientific method
   a. Example: hidden traits that can be discovered through scientific observation, measurement
   b. Paleontology, anthropology, sociology

2. Many examples of science acting as the firm ally of existing institutions
   a. In the Gordon, Gould, Schmidt & Moore, Pascoe essays

B. Evolution: progress or devolution (degeneracy) over time

1. 18th century Enlightenment notions of progress
   a. Humanist tradition that measured human achievement in terms of learned culture

2. 19th century: some interpretations of the theory of evolution
   a. Held that the superior human race is emerging, the result of evolutionary mechanisms
   b. Internally stratified biologically (races, stock, all kinds of notions)

3. But other interpretations saw the human “race” to be in genetic decline

C. Eugenics

1. Motivated by nativism that arose in response to huge numbers of immigrants

2. Reformist: “race progress”

3. Used by feminists, used by anti-feminists

4. **DISCUSS**: IQ test

D. The notion not only of developing correct classification schemes, but also of reading history into them

1. Familiar criteria: ape-like, childish, emotional
a. **DISCUSS**

2. Notion of recapitulation

   a. Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny

   b. It’s good to give Longfellow’s *Song of Hiawatha* to children; as they’re passing through the “savage” state, will identify with it

   c. Cope (American paleontologist): All adult nonwhite persons, all adult women, all southern as opposed to northern peoples, and the lower classes

      1) Compare with children of white males

      2) “Perhaps all men can recall a period of youth…” when they were like women (p. 117)

   d. Notice some geographical, geological, meteorological determinism in several versions

3. The opposite classification scheme: measure degree of neoteny to show relative, ranked degree of development

   a. Neoteny: birth at a relatively early degree of development

   b. Homo sapiens is a good example of neoteny, compared with other mammals

E. Ranking human groups and categories according to biological criteria can support the status quo:

1. Support hegemonic forms of social and physical power

   a. May justify imperialism

   b. Examples from Gould

      1) Our duty to the Philippines, Teddy Roosevelt

      2) “White man’s burden”

      3) “Manifest Destiny”

   c. Or may explain and justify gendered division of labor and power differentials between men and women
F. Or challenge the status quo:

1. Notion that men’s excessive sexual demands were not biological instinct but a social product
ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVES: WHAT IS “IDENTITY”? “DIFFERENCE”?

Read: Bourgois 1-173

I. Identity

A. Means being the same as oneself

B. But “the same” requires “different”

C. Identity is oppositional and relational in nature
   1. It is also multidimensional and structured by overlapping and intersecting discourses of race, class, gender, etc.

D. Anthropology has studied social identity, psychology has tended toward examining the depths of the individual mind
   1. But the one depends on the other

E. Identity can be external
   1. Or internal—we might call it “subjectivity”

F. There is a close relationship between both kinds of identities and social circumstances
   1. Identities may change as society changes
   2. They certainly are not as “inner,” as private and immutable, as common sense often insists.¹

F. Finding out about ourselves by looking at the other
   1. Abundant evidence of universal definitions of “us” through a detour that examines “the other”

G. Societies vary in the degree to which identities are chosen
   1. My example of a student saying, “Today I am 70% male and 30% female”
   2. But others may continue to classify the speaker as, in this case, 100% female

a. Because of appearance

b. Or because, despite appearance, they “know” that “deep down inside” she is female

3. Extremely important issue in this course

H. To understand identity, we need to find out about classification (ethnic, gender, sexual orientation)

1. We can call it categorical belongingness

2. What lies behind the classifications? What makes sense to the people involved?

3. For example, there was no “homosexual” identity before 20th century

   a. Yes there was same-sex desire and sexual behavior

   b. Yes there were values regarding those feelings and acts (opprobrium or tolerance)

   c. But “he likes men” is not an identity the way “homosexual” or “gay” has become

II. Classification

A. A kind of native theory whereby the infinite complexity of the experienced world is reduced to a finite number of categories

B. Systems of social classifications serve to order the social world and to create standardized cognitive maps of categories of relevant others

   1. Such systems of social classification and principles of inclusion and exclusion always create order

   2. But the kind of order created is related to aspects of the wider social system

C. Classifications are social and cultural products related to the requirements of the classifiers

   1. Social classification always expresses power disparities

D. But with any classification we will always have “anomalies”

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2 Eriksen, p. 60.
1. Example: the DVD “One in 2000”
   a. About a kind of physical anomaly—anomalous according to a certain system of classification
   b. The normative message of the DVD is that this shouldn’t be the case

2. Kondo was a physical anomaly according to the Japanese system of classification

3. DISCUSS: other examples?
   a. “Funny, he doesn’t look Jewish.”

4. Another example: 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants in Europe
   a. Turks in Germany
   b. They may feel they belong to both nations
   c. They may be bilingual
   d. They may have double citizenship
   e. They may experience conflicting loyalties
   f. They may say they do not feel at home in either
   g. These feelings may not be because the 2 cultures are incompatible but because the ethnic ideologies hold that they are

5. A student said, “I’m Mexican but I don’t feel Mexican”

6. Gender: we may have notions about androgyny
   a. But we basically set up gender as either/or

E. Classification system may try to account for these anomalies

1. Offspring of “mixed” couples
   a. Ethnic, religion, race (Pascoe piece on miscegenation)

2. Some systems provide labels indicating mixture:
a. Metis in Canada, gens de couleur in Mauritius, mestizos in Latin America

3. But although these groups are classified, the label signals the anomaly

4. Such “anomalous” people may exploit their ambiguity to their own advantage

   a. Become cultural brokers, entrepreneurs

   b. In Colombia, a substantial number of indigenous leaders have an indigenous mother but a non-indigenous father

II. History lessons

A. Herodotus (Greece, 484-425 BC):

1. The Libyan Tribes:

   “The Lotophagi a tribe which lives exclusively on the fruit of the lotus; among the Auses the women of the tribe are common property “and intercourse is casual—like that of animals”: “it is amongst them that the cattle are found which walk backwards as they graze”…“not to mention dog-headed men, headless men with eyes in their breasts (I don’t vouch for this, but merely repeat what the Libyans say), wild men and wild women…”

2. Much of it from hearsay

3. But he was trying to objectively give an account, for example, of the Scythians, and he tells us that his account of the Persians comes from his own observations

4. This is why he’s referred to as the father of history, and sometimes the father of anthropology

B. Ibn Fadlan: another well-known early ethnographer (who documented “the other”):

1. Scandinavians on the Volga in 922

2. Observed carefully and comprehensively and carefully wrote it up

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3. Although the Scandinavians’ customs were very different, Ibn Fadlan didn’t describe their bodies as different
   a. Unlike Herodotus’ Libyans

C. Travelers, explorers, government administrators
   1. Left accounts describing people, societies, cultures
   2. Almost always there’s a hierarchy: we are superior, they are superior, or a mix
   3. But in fact, with rare exceptions, “they” are inferior
      a. Their sexual habits
      b. What they eat
      c. How they talk
      d. Herodotus writes of “Ethiopian hole-men, or troglodytes…and speak a language like nothing upon earth—it might be bats screeching”
   4. Sometimes “the savage” is nobly savage
      a. The writings of Montaigne, Rousseau
      b. But they were mainly interested in critiquing the European society of their time

D. There is universal interest in knowing about “others” whose difference is significant to “us”
   1. Difference may be physical
   2. Oftentimes, as we saw in last week’s reading, difference in bodies, customs, morals, etc., are merged in the accounts
   3. And we also saw that all too often the descriptions are wrong
      a. Due to ignorance
      b. Or due to projections, biases, preconceived notions

E. What can these “others” tell us?
1. I mentioned in class Emile Durkheim’s notion of the primitive female being superior to her civilized counterpart (the most civilized being, of course, the Parisienne)?
   a. “Primitive” woman has a brain almost the size of “primitive” men
   b. And a much stronger body, etc., than civilized women
   c. Parisienne’s brain “the smallest on record”
   d. Durkheim’s conclusion: the evidence shows that woman sacrificed a lot in the journey of evolution, in order to achieve civilization

III. As well as universal interest in comparing “us” to “others,” universal interest in comparing “us” to “abnormals” and to “non-humans”

A. “Abnormals” are individuals rather than groups
   1. And live within the community (or are institutionalized)
   2. Cartoon character Police Detective Dick Tracy’s criminals almost always show a correlation between deformed body and deformed mind

B. Non-humans
   1. Have human-like bodies, but something’s wrong or at least missing
      a. Witches, ghosts, zombies, werewolves, Dr. Frankenstein’s monster, vampires
      b. Fairies, elves, giants, trolls, dwarves
      c. Seen as different on the inside, too
   2. Or have human-like bodies but are more powerful
      a. Wizards can do good
      b. Amazons
   3. Or are human-like but seen to be eternally within the wilderness—elusive, want to be left alone

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4 *Division of Labor in Society.*
a. Abominable Snowman of the Himalayas; Sasquatch in Northwest Coast of U.S. and Canada, Yeti

C. Gray area between non-human and subhuman: “the savage” “the wild man”

F. DISCUSS: Examples of human-like bodies; create a typology

1. The body is the same in some way, but profound change
   a. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (Robert Louis Stevenson)

2. The body looks human, isn’t
   a. Dracula

3. The body comes into being via new technology
   a. Frankenstein’s monster

4. The body changes because of external change
   a. Werewolves of London

VII. Classification system closer to home:

A. The Irish, who started immigrating as early as 1740, were stereotyped by English Americans

   1. On the one hand Irish were encouraged to settle on frontier as a barrier against Native Americans
      a. But the Irish were resisted in more settled areas, persecuted, some gave up their Catholicism
      b. By 1790 10% of the white population was Irish
      c. Many more immigrated between 1870 to 1925: famine, poverty
         1) Came from an agricultural setting, so had few urban skills, but low wages and institutionalized discrimination

B. Familiar stereotypes early on: lack of intelligence, ingratitude, wickedness, ignorance

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1. As immigration surged the stereotypes changed, emphasizing conflict and hostility
   a. They were said to be temperamental, dangerous, quarrelsome, idle, reckless

2. Examples of put-downs: “Paddy wagon” (Patrick); “Irish buggy” for wheelbarrow, “Irish promotion” for demotion
   a. **DISCUSS**: ethnic jokes pick on which groups today?

C. And the Irish body was seen to differ:

1. The notion that the Irish were apelike—the “missing link” between gorilla and human race
   a. Was imported from England
   b. Social Darwinism and threat of Irish rebellion

2. Irish were depicted with abnormal pug noses
   a. Contrasted with stereotypes of Jews with enormous noses

VIII. Analyzing the classification systems and their content, we see that they do a lot of cultural work

A. First, they show us more systematically, more explicitly who “we” are

B. Second, they teach us, teach our children about identity and difference

C. Third, they show the importance of community, one’s membership in it

D. Fourth, they illustrate proper behavior

E. Fifth, they explain unwanted phenomena

1. Something wrong with the body often indicates something more generally wrong

2. Explanations of illness frequently point to a breached taboo, etc.
DEVIANCE

Read: Bourgois 174-337

I. Witches as deviant “others”

A. How they are different teaches us about ourselves

B. What are our ideas about witches?
   1. Ugly
   2. Black magic, spells
   3. Do things in secret
   4. Women
   5. Puritain dress, ride on broomsticks, black cats, etc.

C. We know all this lore, but we don’t believe in witches
   1. But in our past we did
      a. Salem witch trials
      b. In the Old Testament Saul talks to a witch
   2. Beliefs and accusations about witchcraft continue in parts of Normandy, or did until very recently¹
   3. I have had several students in this class who definitely believed in witches
      a. “Shape-shifters” in the Southwest USA
      b. An African student who didn’t believe in them but brought in newspaper articles about witches from his home country, Nigeria
   4. Such beliefs definitely don’t go away with increased modernization, urbanization, globalization
      a. Sometimes the incidence of accusations increases
         1) This happened in Indonesia several years ago in the capital city of Jakarta

D. General anthropological definition of witchcraft

1. A witch does evil and secret antisocial behavior connected with magic and the supernatural in some way.

2. If it’s just evil and secret (like secretly poisoning someone), it’s not a witch.

3. The word “sorcerer” is sometimes associated with witchcraft; other times it’s got a different meaning—the relationship between the two words in general is dynamic and unstable.

4. This definition is more general than our folk” definition of “witch”—can serve as an analytic term for cross-cultural comparison.

E. Variations cross-culturally:

1. In some societies it’s possible that people don’t know they’re witches.

2. But in general they do, and are malevolent—intentionally bad.

3. In some societies witches choose to actively seek relationships with other witches to acquire their power.
   a. In other societies witches are born with their power.

4. Almost always witchcraft involves illegitimate power over others.

F. Who is a witch also varies cross-culturally:

1. Age, sex, etc.

2. Who one does witchcraft against varies: kin, in-laws, strangers.

3. The things a witch does varies.

4. And how one is cured of being a witch or being bewitched varies.

II. Why do so many people believe in witches?

EXERCISE: possible functions of witchcraft

A. Explanations in terms of causes and maintenance.

1. Types of causes:
a. Material, functional, historical

2. We are concerned not so much with explaining the origins of witchcraft beliefs (historical cause) but with their maintenance

3. Notion of a causal chain very important
   a. Proximate, distal, final causes

III. Social science explanations of witchcraft beliefs

A. Social structure

1. Politics and social structure
   a. Political infighting explanation
      1) Ndembu of Zambia: dispute over political succession—for headmanship—both sides hurl accusations of sorcery at the other
         a) A power struggle: whoever succeeds in making the accusation stick will have insured that that rival will not become headman
         b) Particularly effective if rival is executed or banished
   b. Eliminate antisocial, deviant individuals explanation
      1) Kuikuru of Brazil
         a) Shaman said the lightning that set fire to 2 houses was sent by a Kuikuru man who had previously left the village
         b) This man had only 1 male relative, also no longer living in the village
         c) The accused had been engaged to a woman but hadn’t taken her with him
         d) Shaman’s accusation clearly was not based on a spur-of-the-moment decision
(1) Long incubation period during which the shaman sounded out villagers

e) The accused:

(1) History of disputes and quarrels

c. Social Control explanation

1) Probably more people are accused of being witches than there are practicing witches

2) It’s practiced in secret, so everyone is afraid to some extent of being accused

3) So the Kuikuru try to act in an amiable, open, generous manner and avoid quarrels

4) Do everything to maintain the support of kinsmen

d. The reverse: witches are those with power who want to be seen as witches

1) Strong people may encourage beliefs that they are witches whereas weak people don’t

2) “Papa Doc” Duvalier, dictator in Haiti

b) Wanted people to believe he had an army of zombies, practiced very powerful black magic

3) Among the Kaguru (in Tanzania): powerful men want to be feared, if they can do so with impunity

2. Economics and social structure explanations

a. Accusations seen to be economic leveling mechanisms

1) Peasant communities: the idea that peasants have a notion of the “limited good”

a) The pie is only so big, so if someone is doing well, then someone else necessarily has less

b) So, if a man starts to dress better or spend more money
c) The conclusion might very possibly be that he's made a pact with the devil and someone else has misfortune.

d) If someone has more money, the pressure is on that person to spend it during a saint’s day festival. Or run the risk of being suspected of antisocial behavior.

b. This explanation sees witchcraft beliefs as a redistributive mechanism.

1) “Institutionalized envy”: the power of gossip, the belief that some people have the evil eye, or fear of witchcraft, is an effective leveler.

c. Also, fear of possible witchcraft accusations seen to inhibit accumulation of wealth.

1) Which can be disruptive—social ties
2) Encourages people to conform to society’s rules.

3. A boundary-maintaining social structure mechanisms explanation:

a. Zuni veterans returning home

1) If seen as imitating whites too much, they were considered to be witches.

1) One veteran said he had had the idea of opening a store in the village

a) But was afraid to because of possible witchcraft accusations.

4. Social structures produce psychological tensions which become expressed in witchcraft accusations.

a. Salem witch trials

b. McCarthy witch hunt
c. The Barotse of Zambia: a built-in tension between wife and mother-in-law

1) Which can't be resolved because they want the same things

2) A man who is closely attached to his wife and ignores his mother-in-law will likely be considered bewitched by his wife

d. Sexual antagonism

1) Nupe men (Nuba mountains, Sudan) do not practice witchcraft, but accuse women of it
   a) Witches are always women and are organized into societies headed by women

2) Tension: men are supposed to be dominant, but the economic activities of women threaten this

3) Men say their evidence comes from women being ill-tempered and bossy
   a) Women are affluent, independent, and “immoral”

4) Analysis: it's more convenient to believe in witchcraft rather than examine their own assumptions about women's nature and proper role

5. Changes in social structure as the cause of witchcraft beliefs explanation

a. Witchcraft accusations in Tudor and Stuart Essex: Alan MacFarlane’s studies


   1) New conflicts occurring in the context of old moral patterns

   2) Old patterns:
      a) Neighborliness
      b) Charity

   3) The Reformation ended various ways of obtaining comfort via ritualization of conflict
4) Of course, conflict had always existed, but there used to be universal standards

5) During the 17th century: new institutions, and new ethics were introduced

B. **Ecological** explanations

1. Hopi: social control necessary because of scarce resources
   a. Cooperation is vital for survival in a difficult life
   b. “If you have a good heart”—everything of importance is done communally
   c. Each adult is responsible to and for the whole community
   d. A slight mistake in a ceremony can ruin it, and so can a trace of “badness” in one’s heart
   e. All distress—from illness to crop failure—is the result of bad hearts or possibly witchcraft
   f. A witch has “2 hearts”: an extreme form of personal wickedness in which an individual sacrifices others, particularly his own relatives, to save himself
   g. Witchcraft explains famine and thirst
   h. If you think bad thoughts you are more vulnerable to witchcraft

C. **Psychological** explanations

1. Scapegoating
   a. McCarthyism—“witch hunts”—makes things reassuringly simple
   b. A process of psychological projection
   c. Scapegoats are symbols of society’s worst fears
      1) Women who don’t nurture babies, but eat them—witches
2) Government officials who aren’t patriots and civil servants, but in fact are in the pay of the international communist conspiracy

2. Explanation for why bad things happen to good people

3. “Hydraulic” theories
   a. Witchcraft beliefs reduce anxiety, etc., accusations channel free-floating anger

4. Make the world more secure
   a. You can cure illness (by determining who is the witch and reversing the spell)

5. Witchcraft beliefs reassure, and hide contradictions in the system:
   a. Nupe women aren’t aggressive by nature, witches are
   b. The European witch craze
      1) One hypothesis is that women with power were the most likely to be accused
      2) Midwives, herbalists: quasi legitimate power because women in general weren’t supposed to be independently powerful

IV. Deviance

A. Anomalous, unusual

B. Statistical deviance
   1. May be seen as positive or negative
   2. Gifted children (but are not called “deviant”)

C. Deviance, everyday meaning:
   1. Not just variation, but negative loading: disapproval (moral, aesthetic)
   2. “Normals” conform to cultural norms; deviants do not

D. DISCUSS: kinds of social deviance?
E. Clearly, what is considered deviant depends on context, on one’s perspective

1. Do we see those guerrillas as counter-insurgents, subversives, or Freedom Fighters?

2. Challenge authority, or a hierarchical status system
   a. Religious dissenters: Quakers
      1) Addressed their superiors with “thee, thou”
      2) Why we no longer use the “familiar” 2\textsuperscript{nd} person pronoun, although every other European language has it
   b. Resist an oppressive government
      1) Colonialism
         a) U.S. Founding Fathers
         b) Mahatma Gandhi
         c) Che Guevara
   c. Rebel against a corrupt or unfair system
      1) Nelson Mandela
      2) Robin Hood and his band of merry men
      3) Jesse James robbed the rich and gave money to the poor—or so the legend goes
   d. DISCUSS: Examples of romantic images of criminals or other rebels?

3. Deviant because is a member of the vanguard, the avant-garde, a distinct subculture, or the counter-culture
   a. The counter-cultural movement: hippies
   b. Artists—painters, composers, choreographers
   c. “Race music” evolved into crossover music, evolved into rock and roll
1) Chuck Berry, etc.

d. “Approved” deviance—transgressive, “in your face,” etc.

1) Again, romantic notions about the rebel

2) Bourgois: “I guarded myself consciously in this work from a voyeuristic celebration of street dealers and inner-city street culture…pornography of violence” (p. 15)

3) Rock stars

F. Context is everything, especially if we’re looking at other cultures

1. Montezuma’s reported use of people with *pinta* (a cousin of yaws, a distant cousin of syphilis)

   a. As his personal guard

   b. One stage of the disease produces very colorful blotches on the skin

2. **DISCUSS**: other examples?
DEVIANC, STIGMA, FREE WILL, SANITY,
RATIONALITY, AND THE OUTER LIMITS OF IDENTITY

Read: Rhodes 1-224

I. Characteristics of stigmatization

A. Negative trait, due to

1. Individual characteristic
   a. Disease, disability
   b. Rhodes: “dingy” (stigmatized)

2. Or resulting from membership in a group
   a. Race, ethnicity
   b. Widows are anomalous in some societies, and stigmatized because they shouldn’t exist

3. Of course, an individual characteristic will result in your being assigned to a group

B. Frequently, but not always, stigmatized people are deviant in the statistical sense—i.e., unusual

1. However, categories containing large numbers of people may be stigmatized
2. DISCUSS: Examples?

C. Original meaning: visible sign, not necessarily negative

1. Unusual, and due to a strange cause

2. The cross on tops of hands caused by a supernatural being

3. A superficial feature (religious “stigmata”)
   a. That reveals grace, holiness, innocence, etc., within

D. Erving Goffman, famous sociologist

1. Stigma results in a “spoiled identity”
2. Begins famous book *Stigma* with a letter written by a girl to a newspaper columnist asking for help; she was born without a nose

II. Stigmatizing processes

A. Categorization and generalization

1. People who share a characteristic feature (“the mark)—which refers to whatever elicits stigmatization)

2. Are lumped into a group and are seen to share certain other basic personal characteristics as well

3. Fairly superficial features are seen to indicate more fundamental traits that lead to deviant behavior or deficiencies of character

B. Stigma is an extreme form of categorical inference:

1. It often “engulfs” the identity of the individual, because the objectionable characteristics attributed become highly salient

C. For the most part, stigma is accompanied by very negative affect on the part of the stigmatizers

1. The affect elicited may be more complex than simple negative reactions

   a. Sometimes fascination appears—there may not be a feeling of abhorrence at all

      1) Little children will react this way

   b. Pornography sometimes includes people considered to be defective—obese, deformed

      1) This kind of pornography is playing with excess extremes and shock, seeking to invert what ordinarily is attractive

      2) So, the reaction might be a blend of fascination with repulsion

D. Classic stigma:

1. Visible features are seen to be an index of (to point to)

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a. The presence of more fundamental, invisible traits that are seen to produce deviant behavior or deficiencies of character

2. The reaction can be complex

a. In some kinds of stigmatization the stigmatizers know they should feel pity

b. Note that sometimes individuals who are stigmatized say they don’t want people’s pity, just equal treatment and respect

c. Or stigmatizers realize that some of this process is arbitrary and inappropriate

1) They realize that there simply is not enough evidence for their negative reactions

d. So, if guilt and sympathy mingle, the very common emotion accompanying stigmatizing processes—ambivalence—appears

III. Cross-cultural and historical variation

A. Some unusual, stigmatized conditions in the West (epilepsy, psychotic episodes) are, as it were, harnessed in other societies

1. A person who suffers from seizures might be recruited to be a shaman

B. Historical variation in what is stigmatized, and how stigmatized people are understood

1. Lepers a classic example

2. Witches

   a. Present-day secular, liberal explanations reject the notion

   b. Deviant, previously stigmatized behavior is often medicalized

3. DISCUSS: Examples?

IV. Four perspectives have been taken in social science to analyze stigma

A. The first examines how stigmatized people manage, cope
1. Accept the labeling, internalize the evaluation, see themselves as less valuable, feel shame

2. Try to manage it, manage information about themselves

3. Passing: costly to the individual who chooses this route

4. Covering: work to keep displays at a minimum

5. Dual consciousness: hyper-awareness, hyper-sensitivity
   a. W.E.B. DuBois—we’ll read his writing later on

6. Accept that one’s behavior is deviant, but disagree with totalizing label
   a. “Hate the sin but not the sinner” expresses this idea

7. Work to change meaning of stigmatized behavior or physical characteristic
   a. This process needs time
   b. DISCUSS: examples?
      1) African-Americans: reappropriate the N word
      2) Soul food becomes an emblem
      3) Even perform deviant stereotype (“Gangsta”)
      4) Turn mainstream society’s evaluation on its head
      5) Black is Beautiful

8. Results is double deviance:
   a. Belong to stigmatized group
   b. And don’t conform to society’s expectations for group members
      1) Examples last class: Mandela, Martin Luther King, Ghandi, Ida B. Wells

B. The second approach looks at self-fulfilling prophecy mechanisms, known as social labeling
1. The very act of putting a person into the category can result in that person being perceived to be like other members of the category

2. These scholars also look at “secondary deviance” in which markables (people with marks) come to behave in deviant fashion as a result of the labeling
   a. “Living up to their reputation,” as it were

C. The third approach analyzes stigma as a social control mechanism
   1. Stigmatized people serve as a warning, an encouragement to others to stay in line
      a. They illustrate the dire consequences of not conforming—what was said last week about deviance in general

D. The fourth approach sees stigmatization directed at people whose appearance or behavior challenges prevailing definitions of the social order, the cosmos—challenges the prevailing categories, classification systems
   1. Unlike third approach, which is about social control functions
      a. This targeting is not considered a conscious process

E. Example:
   1. Kondo describes how she was seriously pushed to conform to Japanese notion of what a daughter is and does, and knew she had to conform
   2. We can see the social control going on (pt. 3)
   3. But also, she was a “conceptual anomaly”—the disconnect between her appearance and behavior challenged the way the world was seen to work (pt. 4)

V. Summary
   A. Those subjected to the stigmatizing process are seen as a threat to community well-being
      1. Even though the threat is symbolic, not real
   B. The credibility of such reasoning is established by convincingly demonstrating the links between the person bearing the mark and danger
C. Such stigmatizing behavior affirms the values of the in-group

1. Displays the in-group’s superiority
2. Enhances its solidarity
3. Affirms its power—to define, to exclude, to punish
4. Affirms that the cosmos, the social order, the classificatory system is indeed what people believe it is—and it is a just world
   a. If you look the way you do, you (or perhaps your mother during pregnancy) must have done something wrong
      1) Accidents, illnesses, deaths don’t “just happen”
      2) Hypothesis that it’s just too threatening for people to consider the possibility that bad things randomly happen to good people and vice versa
      3) We are socialized during childhood to believe that good things happen to good people and vice versa
   b. And affirms that entire groups belong where they are, low in the hierarchy

VI. Criminality

A. **DISCUSS**: reasons for our affinity for rebels, criminals?

1. We all know, deep in our hearts, that we don’t fit in
   a. Few, if any of us can comfortably and at all times occupy the category ‘normal’
   b. We all chafe against being forced into society’s preconceived categories
   c. We all experience unacceptable desires, impulses

2. The world is unjust, corrupt, indifferent
   a. Nelson Mandela, Geronimo, etc.
   b. Vigilante groups in the Wild West—Clint Eastwood, etc.

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c. Civil disobedience, violence during political protests

3. Following a higher authority
   a. Jesus of Nazareth put on trial and crucified

4. On the surface engaging in criminal acts, but below the surface, something we can sympathize with
   a. Ignorance, naïveté, desperation (looting; Jean Valjean stealing a loaf of bread in *Les Misérables*)
   b. To right a wrong, even though action is against the law (vengeance, etc.)
   c. Our actions are justified because we have been mistreated by society
      1) Thelma & Louise—movie

5. Glamour, excitement, wealth of the (successful) criminal life
   a. Bourgeois?

6. The forbidden is tempting
   a. Johnny Cash's “Folsom Prison” song
      1) “I shot a man in Reno just to see him die”
      2) Big roar of appreciation from the prison population
   b. Rhodes (p. 64) speaks of the “popular fascination with the outlaw”:

      “Often centers on the possibility that someone outside the current regime of law could escape its guarantee of order and, by the use of force alone, establish a new regime based on his own, currently illegitimate, desires”

B. How the criminal is constructed:

1. Durkheim’s essay (posted as optional on the website) analyzes “abnormality” as benefiting society
   He sees it as organically related to the normative order. Crime provides an opportunity to represent it as an evil and spell out how it will not be
tolerated: it is stigmatized and punished. He sees it functioning to show to community members that there is a moral order

2. A “criminal” doesn’t just engage in criminal behavior, but IS a criminal, it is an identity
   a. We may break the law frequently (e.g. speeding), but we don’t see ourselves as criminals

3. A criminal is “other”
   a. Members of a society can project their repressed forbidden impulses, unconscious nonconforming desires onto the criminal
   b. Thus reassuring themselves they are OK
      1) Disavow their dangerous impulses—“only a criminal would do that”
      2) “Rapists are totally different from ‘normal men’”
         a) Even though there’s no profile that predicts what kind of man would commit rape (or murder)
         b) (There are, of course, profiles of rapists who repeat their crimes, as well as sexual crimes against children)

VII. What produces criminals?

A. Lombroso: criminals are apes in our midst
   1. Hereditary/biology determines their criminal behavior
   2. You can discover these individuals (stigmata)
   3. As Gould points out, notion that some people are inherently criminal continues today

B. A more recent theory: about XYY men
   1. If they have 2 Ys, then double trouble, of course they’re more aggressive

C. DISCUSS: Theories of causality in the Rhodes book?
SEXUALITY


Sexuality and “the Other”

A widespread concern about boundaries

The “Other” can be both very different, at times perceived as barely human

And too close for comfort

Mixed race children in India, Dutch East Indies (Nagel)

Fag (maybe YOU)

Examples from Colonialism

Nagel cites Stoler¹

Concern with sexuality in the colonies was about

Sexual access and reproduction

Class distinctions and racial demarcations

Nationalism and European identity

Example: the policy in Dutch East Indies

Early on concubinage was encouraged

Married men could not work for the company

Cheaper for companies (less housing, etc.) and native women were slaves, laborers as well as concubines


Sexuality 2010 12/14/2010
Later on there were problems, especially after mixed-race children appeared (too close)

Such arrangements gave rise to anxiety about possible political agitation

Problems with maintaining white prestige

Feared disloyalty of offspring

Later on in century

Concubinage came to symbolize European fears about the security of European hegemony and white prestige

So, European women emigrated to colonies

European women seen as fragile psychological, physically

So when they did emigrate to colonies, segregationist standards were what women deserved

Expanded racism, eugenics came into play:

Women were the solution to fears of “degeneration” as mothers and as maintainers

Of health, happy households (no prostitutes), good nutrition

A turnaround from notion that the native was stronger, more acclimated

So that mixed-race children represented fears of degeneracy from miscegenation

Europeans should NOT adapt to local food, language, and dress

The notion of superior women developed:

Men came to be considered more susceptible to moral turpitude than women

Women were thus held responsible for the immoral states of men

Women needed to insulate their men from cultural and sexual contamination

Remember Linda Gordon’s discussion of Victorian women being seen as morally superior? Cult of True Womanhood?
Native men seen as lustful, uncontrollable urges, aroused by the mere sight of white women

Such fears unified the often factionalized European community around a common threat from the outside

Remember lecture outlining possible functions of deviance classifications?

Stoler suggests that accusations often increased

Following heightened tensions within European communities during strikes and other kinds of unrest

Accusations stood in for a generally perceived need to secure white control, increase surveillance (of the women, too, of course)

**Slavery and its legacy in the U.S.**

Theme again of sexual slander

As Nagel says, seeing the other as “lustful” justified enslaving and otherwise mistreating slaves

This ideology camouflaged castration, rape, breeding programs, sexual servitude

After the Civil War, Nagel suggests—with ample evidence

That white men feared black men in part due to fears of retribution for mistreatment and abuse of black women under slavery (p. 111)

Men who were lynched: punishing the “uppity” Negro (coming too close)

But lynchings economically motivated as well

Ida B. Wells (p. 113), her friend murdered, economic competition

Movie “Rosewood” based on a true story in Florida: blacks’ houses burned, they were killed and had to flee for their lives

Accusations about sexuality between black men and white women inflamed white residents

As happened with lynching mobs elsewhere, economic competition from black-owned stores was a contributing factor
Sometimes the “insult to white women” was totally made up

Famous and transformative case of Emmett Till

14-year-old from Chicago visiting relatives in Mississippi

His mother’s decision to have an open casket galvanized the country

Early 20th century biological theories of race: black men said to be “hyperpotent”

Pascoe: in River High white boys are female to black boys

The male Other seen to be either effeminate or hypersexual

Nagel gives example of native in colonial India as weak, effeminate

“Hyperpotent” a symbol of native cheek, subversion (too close)

Lynchings seldom were the result of actual incidences of rape, but arose in part out of anxieties about “Black peril”

Also, lynchings seen as a deterrent: to “keep them in their place” (too close)

Durkheim’s analysis of the functions of crime fits here

Fantasies about black women:

“Of course” they were most attracted to white men

And, like the men, “hypersexual”

Nagel’s discussion of early Africa explorers; this theme goes back to Herodotus and before

Even after emancipation black women still weren’t seen as capable of being raped

Also projection was probably operating in some cases—unacceptable impulses

Perhaps helps explain some of the thousands of lynchings after emancipation:

If we desire their women, then our women desire them

Unacceptable, so need to maintain tight boundaries and project all agency onto black males
Classic answer to any arguments for equality between the races is sexualized:

Would you want your daughter to marry one? (too close)

The infamous Tuskegee study, which “othered” 400 rural black male tenant share-croppers in Macon County, Alabama

In the 1920s became subjects in a US Public Health Service study

Not informed they had been switched from status as patient to experimental subject

But continued to be told they were being treated for “bad blood”

Yearly check-ups, given placebos (dummy pills)

If they tried to get treatment they were hunted down and sent back to Macon County

Exempted from the draft (where they would be treated) during WWII

Their syphilis left untreated 1932-1970s

Even though treatment options were available, especially after penicillin appeared

The study was not hidden—over 30 articles about “untreated syphilis in the Negro male”

Presented to US Congress

Justifications

The disease originally thought to be different among African Americans

Wanted to see if this was true

In this sense, researchers were liberal: wanted to demonstrate that it wasn’t

Their loose morals created a danger to white population (“germs make no distinction between skin colors”)

Doing this they can help the black community
Woman as the Sexualized Other

Woman as sexual temptress, powerful, general theme

Theme of rape as woman’s responsibility…so powerful as to overwhelm the strongest man…white men’s vulnerability

Pascoe: black women hypersexualized

Theme of Beauty concealing danger (actually an ugly wicked witch)

The dangerous “other” woman gets too close

Betwixt and between is worrisome, divided loyalties, betrayer

La Malinche legend in Mexico

Movie: “How Tasty Was My Frenchman”\(^2\) and other “Wild Woman” themes

“Sleeping with the enemy” a frequent theme:

Infamous Mata Hari (1876-1917): exotic dancer and alleged spy

Margaretha Geertruida Zelle, Dutch

Took a Malay name, allegedly spied for the Germans, and was executed by the French

Stage name means sun, literally “eye of the day,” from Malay mata (eye) + hari (day, dawn)

Nagel mentions punishments like that doled out to the shorn women in WWII France

Reminds everyone in the nation, not just those labeled “deviant,” about the presence and power of national boundaries

“Our women” becoming the sexualized “other”:

Miscegenation laws during slavery “manifested an intense concern with controlling the sexual behavior of white women…”\(^3\)

E.g. if a freeborn Englishwomen intermarried with a Negro slave


\(^3\) Nagel, p. 106 citing Peter Bardaglio.
She was to serve her husband’s master until the slave died

She was reclassified as black

Actually this is a very general process

Wife always takes on husband’s status

The New World as female is a familiar image

William Blake’s famous etching of “Europe Supported by Africa and America”

A dusky, seductive, beautiful young woman ready for the taking (often in a languorous pose)

Theodore Galle’s “Vespucci ‘Discovering’ America”

Where America is depicted as a naked indigenous woman in a hammock (illustrated in Nagel)

Also texts like Sir Walter Raleigh’s famous characterization of Guyana as “a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead”

Clothing, work, children or native men are nowhere to be seen

Amazonian women also represent the mysterious jungle and Nature herself

The native woman in “How Tasty Was My Frenchman”

**Amazons**

Symbolize the Amazon forest, unknown terra incognita, challenging, powerful, dangerous, wild

Strong and independent women warriors of myth and explorer accounts

Independence from men

Additional attributes that also signal power and authority

Such as physical height, and, occasionally, relative whiteness of skin

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5 Slater 2002, p. 89.
Sexualized

Warriors, cut off one breast to be better archers

Reject heteronormativity, reject femininity

Use men only for conception

Or, if not renunciation, they indulge in a variety of sexual perversions

That invariably challenge European notions of patriarchal authority

Sexualized nationalism

Man as Nation

DISCUSS: virile, fertile; nationalism is masculine

Sexualized Woman as nation

Repository of nationhood DISCUSS

Women represent “us,” our traditions

Algerian resistance, many women fought, afterwards had to return to the kitchen, veil

Franz Fanon, Algerian revolution, authored *Wretched of the Earth*

French colonialism represented ripping the veil off (symbolic rape)

Independence required its restoration

Rape theme a frequent tool of nationalism

Nagel: threat of, by Jews, blacks

And of war

Notion of mother/wife/woman as at the heart of the nation

National, imperial and racial duty to produce and rear children

Teach the next generation to be “us”
Nazi doctrine
We find this theme in many places
1960s and 1970s Black Panther movement
Women should stay home and raise the next generation of warriors

Sexual orientation and “othering,” heteronormativity
Parallels with colonialism, slavery
“Othering” the “other” via sexuality
Fag discourse:
One way to respond to “fag” being hurled at you is to answer, as Josh did (p. 61)
“I have a bigger dick than all you motherfuckers”
Assert a commensality between masculine body and masculine identity
This suggests possibilities that they may be uncoupled
As Pascoe indicates, “fag discourse” is a fluid identity
Pascoe: Rebecca says she’s a pimp, not a ho (p. 128)

Heteronormative male loathing of homosexuality is absent for lesbianism
Eroticizing women’s bodies: no matter if they’re lesbians and unavailable, still available for consumption, fantasies
Pascoe’s interviewee said “girls are pretty, their skin is soft,” not so for hairy, stinky men
Pascoe (and Adrienne Rich) says eroticizing them makes them non-threatening, harmless to the sex/gender order
Also, lesbians are correctly imitating the powerful (even though they’re not supposed to), and homosexual men are seen as rejecting it
Lesbians are outside of heterosexuality and its games, rituals, anxieties—they can’t be “got at,” can’t be used in boys’ masculinizing projects
Gendered/Sexualized Criminal Bodies


Very differently from how Lombroso classified men

In part because women commit different kinds of crimes to some degree: prostitutes vs. “normal” women, “infanticides”

He discovered more “virile physiognomy” (p. 80) “The French women…are infinitely more typical and uglier, and here I would remark that the more refined a nation is, the further do its criminals differ from the average (Russia…less striking [the depraved type])…masculine aspect” (p. 95) “exaggerated frontal angle, such as one notes in savages and monkeys” (p. 95) “masculine physiognomy (p. 96) “hips and breasts so rudimentary…she consequently looked so masculine (p. 96) “virile physiognomy…thus softening the masculine and savage features” (p. 97) “virility of aspect” (p. 99)

Women prostitutes had the “beauté du diable…[which] disguises and conceals the betraying anomalies.” (p. 101) “but even the handsomest female offenders have invariably strong jaws and cheek-bones and a masculine aspect” (p. 102)

“…sexual selection. Man not only refused to marry a deformed female, but he ate her…” (p. 109)

“The primitive woman was rarely a murderess; but she was always a prostitute…” (p. 111)

“…and in order to understand the significance and the atavistic origin of this anomaly, we have only to remember that virility was one of the special features of the savage women [sic]” (p. 112)

“Examples of this masculine strength may still be found among women in country districts of Italy, and especially in the islands” (p. 113)

Her normal sister “is kept in the paths of virtue by…maternity, piety, weakness” (p. 152)

“want of maternal affection” (p. 152) “exaggerated sexuality so opposed to maternity…In the ordinary run of mothers the sexual instinct is in abeyance…” (p. 153)

“…atavistic diminution of secondary sexual characters…excessively erotic, weak in maternal feeling…virile characteristics…” (p. 187)
GENDER


The distinction between “gender” and “sex” is new

Gender: the meanings that a particular society gives to the physical or biological traits that differentiate males and females

It’s hard to understand nowadays that the notion of gender did not exist; “gender” was a grammatical term, not an analytic category

Masculinity isn’t so much about men as about processes and practices we associate with male bodies (p. 166 Pascoe)

Pascoe mentions Judith Butler’s dismissal of “male” & “female” as biological constructs

Gender is accomplished through day-to-day interactions, the “activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category” (in Pascoe pp. 13-14)

Brief history of anthropological thinking on gender

Earlier scholarship dealt with women’s lives in ethnographic chapters on division of labor by sex, personality, or marriage, family and kinship

Behavioral sciences research on men as men appeared only in the early 1970s because earlier, “men” meant “human”
The topics of men’s roles, masculinity, were found only in the subfields dealing with pathology and child development.

In anthropology, more attention was paid to these issues because of anthropology’s comparative approach.

For example, what men were supposed to do and think and feel, as men in an exotic society sometimes differed greatly from our notions of masculinity, and so was mentioned.

Very few studies focused on women; those that did appear continue to be regarded as important.

Otherwise, women were in the background; women appeared as the pawns of men’s exchanges in kinship theory, for example.

Women were strikingly absent in the anthropological literature on human evolution and research on stratification, power, and political economy.

An example of male bias: the research on foragers (hunter-gatherers) was done by men who talked to native men, or looked at male primates.

Some researchers were women who were male-biased.

The first book to appear that addressed gender issues was Margaret Mead’s *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*¹ (lowland New Guinea, all within 100 miles of each other).

She is very clear that she is not searching for “actual and universal differences between the sexes.”

Rather, has written “an account of how three primitive societies have grouped their social attitudes towards temperament about the very obvious facts of sex difference.”

Mead understood long before the women’s movement that women tend to lose out in the portrayals of them in social and biological theory.

“Temperament” indicated a focus on psychological differences that were produced by culture.

The book was read widely, even sold in drug stores along with popular paperbacks, and created a great deal of discussion.

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Because it did address questions about universal differences—Western assumptions were challenged if women in another society acted like Western men in some respects

Western assumptions held that biological differences (usually oppositions) manifest themselves in psychological differences that shape gender roles and relationships between men and women

E.g., sexual orientation is seen as homosexuality versus heterosexuality: polarized, non-overlapping groups

In the 1970s, at the beginning of anthropological gender studies the questions centered around just what are the differences between men and women? What is culture, what is nature?

First: just because something is a universal, can we conclude it’s biological?

Second: some of our Western assumptions about what’s universal are wrong

DISCUSS

Some examples of cultural universals:

Father: the social role of

Marriage—although universal only if we use a very minimal, weird definition

Division of labor by gender

Unique to our species

Not necessarily biological

And an almost-universal: higher male status

Matriarchy

Most scholars conclude there never has been a matriarchy

Ironic, because this is probably due to the fact that women mother

It’s easier to argue that there has been sexual equality in the past

There are matrilineal societies; these are not matriarchal
Iroquois

Other evidence seen to support earlier matriarchy?

Myths of ancient rule by women

Archaeological remains

**DISCUSS**

Cross-cultural variation in gender is impressive: examples

The third gender

Hijiras in India

“Neither man nor woman”

Many Native American tribes

In some of these societies the child’s spiritual development and interests are used as criteria for gender attribution

The Mohave recognize four genders: man, woman, hwami (female berdache) or alyha (male berdache)

“Third gender” also recognized in Saudi Arabia, Tahiti, New Guinea, Dominican Republic, Indonesian *warias*

We find this hard to understand

What’s more natural than to assume everyone is a boy or a girl?

What we do with hermaphrodites: intersexed persons, androgynes

As we saw in the film, we medicalize the condition and say it’s an abnormality

“Natural” = “normal” = “moral” is the assumption everywhere

Although many cultures lack a concept of “nature,” or “natural”

Our equation of “natural” with “moral” is why we initially react with disgust at obligatory homosexuality in New Guinea cultures

We don’t react with simple incredulity; not a neutral reaction
A culture’s prescriptions and proscriptions do not take the form of “it would be a good idea if you did/felt/believed this, but if you don’t agree, that’s OK”

Rather,

“This is how humans/real people/decent people behave”

“This is what the gods command you to do”

“Do it this way or you will be considered very deviant, abnormal, sick”

Knowing this, we can understand just how disturbing it can be when what you think is natural, a trait of the species, is by no means the case.

In “You Don’t Know Dick”

A friend of one of the men says a small part of her wanted his decision to result in a huge failure, demonstrating that he had been “out of his flippin’ mind”

Because then she wouldn’t have to rethink so much of what she’d come to believe.

Sexuality

Even though it was a very taboo topic, enough anthropological work was done in enough exotic places for there to be considerable knowledge about widely differing notions about how to think, feel, and behave sexually.

Activities condemned in one society are encouraged in another; ideas about what is attractive or erotic or sexually satisfying or even sexually possible vary a great deal.

A wide range of permitted behaviors

In some societies young people are encouraged to have a great deal of sexual experience (e.g., Tikopia).

In other societies women, rather than men, are seen as the sexually assertive ones.

Or some women are: Kapsalis mentions that black female sexuality was seen to be “heathen, lascivious, and excessive” (p. 41).
Societies where women are thought to have extremely strong “sexual desires,” “instincts”

Female circumcision, infibulation

In still other societies neither men nor women are supposed to have sex before or outside of marriage

With terrible punishments, such as death, for women who disobey

“Honor killings” in eastern Mediterranean countries, Pakistan

We can conclude that in all cultures:

The body and its actions are understood according to prevailing codes of meaning

If we define sexuality as: “sexual behaviors, feelings, thoughts, practices, and people’s sexually based bonding behaviors”

What would “female sexuality” mean in a society that says women are asexual, like mid-19th century America?

Note that there were blatant contradictions in this ideology

“Women” in this definition did not mean “all human women”

We’ve seen that “primitive” women were definitely seen as sexual

Lower-class women, minority women, prostitutes were seen as sexual

A book by a historian of technology, The Technology of Orgasm, on electric vibrators,

Reports that in the late 19th century in this country doctors manually stimulated patients until they reached orgasm for health reasons

And were very happy when the vibrator was invented; for they could do it more quickly

The author of the book cites evidence that physicians did not find this anything but a duty

Anthropological investigations into gendered authority, power, status

Some of the earliest theorists thought that there had been matriarchal societies in the past
Early feminist anthropology debated this question a great deal for the entire decade of the 1970s

Three books appearing in 1974-1975

Denied that biology determined women’s subordination

Argued that we must describe the variability in women’s lives and examine social and cultural explanations for that variability

Culture mediated the meanings and constraints of biology on human behavior

Some of the research pointed out how biased research on these topics had been

Research done by both men and women

But did assume that women’s subordination was pervasive

Some argued it was universal, even allowing for bias of male researchers

Two main types of argument

First: women’s childbearing and childrearing roles provide the basis for an opposition between a “domestic” and a “public” sphere in all human societies, and this constitutes the basis of hierarchical gender relations

This explanation assumed the centrality of motherhood in women’s lives, in cultural constructions of gender, and in the organization of families and social structure

Second: a materialist explanation made the point that different subsistence technologies correlated with different degrees of male dominance

Women’s roles in production varied

The evidence and the argument were revolutionary

That in many societies women produced food

Our model, which has the man going “out” and “bringing home” the bacon to the women and children

Which in fact appeared only with the Industrial Revolution—production left the domestic arena (Bordo points out)
But the idea that women only processed and consumed was so pervasive

It was found in archaeologists’ reconstructions of early hominids

And in science fiction authors’ depictions of life in other galaxies

The debate raged over whether hunter-gatherers were egalitarian or not

Those on the universal female subordination side pointed out differences, although slight, between males and females in forager societies

Those on the other side said all these societies had undergone contact with outsiders, which explained the asymmetry

Ortner, who had argued for universal subordination earlier

Later conceded that the material on the Andaman Islanders off the coast of India was comprehensive enough to warrant concluding they were egalitarian

Other Western notions about what is in fact universal were found to be inaccurate

For example, women in many other societies traditionally have been collectively involved in politics, something that began to occur only in the mid-19th century in the West

Women warrior societies in W. Africa

Wielded a great deal of power

The matrilineal Iroquois—powerful women’s groups

The arbitrariness of most sex specific tasks

And a pervasive sexual antagonism is found only in some societies, in others the lines of cleavage and opposition are stronger between:

Kin groups

Economically differentiated groups

Politically differentiated groups
Female reproductive system and female domestic roles are correlated, but not automatically so

West Africa market women travel far, are away for days at a time

Caribbean market women

Domestic and public arenas will be asymmetrical in terms of who plays what roles

And insofar as females are exclusively defined by their maternal and domestic roles, there will be subordination

Females will have less authority, prestige

And when they exercise power, it will be seen as illegitimate

Domestic power will be the only legitimate power, and its value will be limited by association with the domestic world

This is self-perpetuating psychologically because of the effect of women being mothers

Degree of seclusion of women correlates with rank in the societies that emphasize the importance of virginity, modesty, chastity, etc.

In part because the lower classes can’t afford to have half their adult labor power so confined

In part because women’s bodies are seen as the repository of family honor and the upper classes have more honor to maintain

In *Writing Women’s Worlds: Bedouin Stories*, about Morocco, there is a graphic description of a wedding involving a staged struggle between the groom and the bride’s kinswomen after which he forcibly penetrates her (but doesn’t continue, it’s very bad form to ejaculate)

And the bloodstained sheet is immediately displayed in front of the wedding guests, cause of great celebration and ululation

Students very frequently find this hard to take and hard to understand, to “make familiar”

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But the values are stated, the logic is clear

It is indeed a very different logic

In Middle Eastern countries women may be locked up for their own protection because their father and brothers are trying to kill them

With their mother and sisters agreeing this must be done

Ostensibly such “honor killings” are against the law, but law is not enforced

There are Pakistani men in British and Scandinavian jails who have killed their daughters or sisters and are not repentant at all

And women’s groups that work to help women in danger of being killed find a safe place to live elsewhere in the country

A universal that held was females having more responsibility for raising children of both sexes, but it’s a cultural universal

Although we can certainly see the biological inputs that made this more likely

A general question: what are the implications of these findings for today?

For example, even though big-game hunting and warfare are found out to be exclusively male occupations, producing effects on male-female dominance arrangements, what does this tell us about options today?

The origin of something will not explain its persistence

The more recent scholarship:

A more integrated, complex approach

Less of a focus on women as opposed to women and men; more focus on gender

Gender as a social construct and as a relation

Pascoe, Willis, Lucal
Insistence on not isolating gender, but looking at an entire system of distinctions, stratifications

Race/ethnicity, social class/caste

Exploring differences among women; influenced by critiques written by women of color

Nagel mentions this

Critique of white, middle-class feminists’ assumptions as ethnocentric, racist, and neo-imperialistic

Black feminists wrote about how neither white women feminists nor black males adequately represented their concerns

Less global theorizing about “women”, greater stress on history, regional contexts; on apt comparisons

There is also a kind of anthropological analysis that looks at symbols, here gender as symbol

Explain the world symbolically

Earlier I mentioned the symbolism of the Amazons

For example, the Adam and Eve account

Explain women’s position, yes, a just-so story

Later on Eve came to be seen as sexually transgressing

Even though in Genesis the sin is pride, the transgression is resisting authority

Second example, the symbolism of virgins

Not important in Old Testament, yes in New Testament

Vestal virgins

Will be notion of purity as power

Virgin men symbolically important

Here it will represent energy contained: power
Widespread dichotomy: secular/sacred; holy/profane

Often will employ sexual imagery

The Virgin Mary

**DISCUSS**

Exercise: analyze the Cherry Tree Carol

Struggle between Mary and Joseph

“Gather me cherries, for I am with child”

On the surface, over adultery

“Let the father of the baby gather cherries for thee”

But more deeply over authority

Joseph ordinarily would have authority, in a patriarchy

But Mary, because she is chosen of God and because she carries something holy in her womb, wins

Joseph is mistaken about the adultery – in a manner of speaking

It is extra-marital sex, but legitimate

A kind of *droit du Seigneur*, but for different reasons

Notice Mary doesn’t have authority or power herself

Jesus speaks from her womb: “bow down, cherry tree, let my mother have some”

Nice illustration of the usurpation of power by son from the father – in the carol the struggle is actually between them
Religion: Social Class


Mantsios, Gregory. “Media magic: making class invisible.”
Zinn, Maxine Baca, and D. Stanley Eitzen. “Economic restructuring and systems of inequality at century’s end.”

RELIGION

I. Anthropological views

A. Religion is seen as part of culture, a component of a particular cultural system
   1. Example: in the U.S. Southwest, the Navajo people practice the Navajo religion
      a. Illustrates conventional view: a close association with a group of people who identify themselves as a distinct culture with a distinct language
      b. It’s difficult to imagine what Navajo religion could be if someone who doesn’t speak Navajo believed in it and practiced it

B. But most often religions are linked to culture (in the sense of “a culture”), nation, and ethnicity in more complicated fashion
   1. World religions (Christianity, Buddhism, Islam)
   2. Such major religions have a core set of meanings, symbols, and practices that adapt fairly easily to different cultural contexts
a. Islam in Nigeria very different from Islam in Indonesia; both are very different from African American Sunni Islam

b. Faint echoes of the original culture will remain

c. Because all world religions began in a single culture

d. There will be premises, assumptions, and sometimes language from the original culture

e. Example: traces in Christianity and early Judaism

1) The list of approved-of practices and beliefs in the Bible that are no longer acceptable is extensive

a) Polygyny, stoning to death, slaves, witches

3. Another influence: concepts and practices from cultural systems that existed in between the original cultural context and the present

a. Many Orthodox Jewish practices originated in Central European communities over the last few centuries

b. Clothing; shaving the bride’s head at marriage and donning a wig

4. If it’s in the same locale there will be stronger connections between the culture that existed at the beginning of the religion and the present-day culture

But this varies as well

b. Islam in the Middle East

c. Judaism in Israel

5. Or if there’s a fundamentalist movement that stresses return to roots of the religion

a. Los Angeles African American women saying their prayers in Arabic

C. Local variants of world religions can resemble the one-culture-one-religion model a bit more

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1 Argentinean Jewish Sephardi women “converting” to Ashkenazi-inflected haredism more complicated; social class components; “Modernity” and rejection of “Third Worldism” components
1. Greek and Russian Orthodox

2. “Irish Catholic,” “Irish wake”

3. Tibet is perhaps the best example
   a. Tibetan religion is a local variant of a world religion (Buddhism)
      1) But a very strong conflation of religion, culture, politics has developed there
      2) Is a theocracy (the Dalai Lama is seen to be both the religious and political leader—of course, not by the Chinese government)

D. Some world religions are seen to “belong” to certain populations
   1. Even though they are practiced in many countries
   2. Judaism
      a. Even though the aggregate of people who self-identify as Jews shows enormous physical variation
      b. Sammy Davis, an African-American entertainer
      c. Converted to Judaism
      d. It was seen as odd
      e. Ethiopian Jews who migrated to Israel—Falashi—are seen as “odd” as well
      f. There is an association made between religion, culture, and “looking Jewish”
      g. Notions of Jewishness as raced can be quite pronounced among some categories of Jews
      h. So there will be rulings, for instance, about organ transplants
      i. Whereas “he doesn’t look Catholic”—what would that mean?
   3. A very different example: young Americans who followed South Asian gurus in the 1970s

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a. Hare Krishna, followers of the guru Rajneesh
b. Evoked laughter because their bodies didn’t seem to belong in the saffron-colored robes, their shaved heads looked odd

c. Hinduism, although practiced in many countries
   1) Is quite linked to India: not really a world religion

4. Many religions alter the body by inscribing religious symbols onto it
   a. Circumcision of Jewish and Muslim males
   b. Female genital cutting in areas of northern and central Africa
   c. Such inscriptions constantly remind the person they are members of a moral community—can’t do what they like with their bodies
   d. And are identity markers that make the person easier to identify as a member of X culture; practitioner of X religion

II. The relationship between religion and ethnic and national identity

A. A cookie-cutter model of culture that sees cultures as little islands, unchanging, internally homogeneous
   1. Doesn’t work in general, certainly not for religions
   2. Even though some religions appear to be fairly straightforwardly linked to a nationality and a locality
      a. Example of Tibetan religion
         1) If it is studied over time we have to understand the spread of Buddhism, etc.
         2) Look at the fame of the current Dalai Lama; what he represents, who his followers are
         3) Many practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism in Europe, the U.S.

III. How a given religion is born and how it evolves depends on its relationship with other religions and cultures it is in contact with
A. Example: the Chinese government designates Chinese Muslims
   1. As ten “nationalities”: non-Han
      a. Whereas Chinese Catholics, it’s strictly a religion

B. Transnational movement affects religious observance
   1. Buddhist Koreans converted to Christianity in substantial numbers when immigrated to U.S. and Canada
   2. African American Muslims

IV. “New religions”
A. All “new religions” draw on already existing religious components—symbolism, ritual, etc.
B. New religions may spring up in response to changes, pressures, oppression
   1. Christianity: ancient Israel was a colony of Imperial Rome
   2. DISCUSS: other examples?
      a. Nation of Islam in the U.S.
C. Another kind of “new” religion: syncretistic
   1. Are a blend of two or more “old” religions
      a. Come about through forces of creolization, amalgamation, assimilation
      b. Santería in this country
         1) Combination of West African Yoruba and Spanish Catholicism
         2) Santería is an ethnic signifier for certain Hispanic groups—in Florida, for example
D. Another type are religions that claim to be reviving old, extinct religions
   1. Wicca (witchcraft) in the U.S. and England
a. No major association with a current ethnic group, but do link themselves to a persecuted group in the past: Druids

2. Can be a very significant identity marker for adherents

V. Forces behind religious change

A. Are quite often powerfully linked to nation, ethnicity and related topics
   1. Change appears as response to crisis, or felt needs not being met
   2. The massive changes are threatening and the old religion cannot account for them
   3. Example: conflict with state:
      a. In France: schoolgirls wanting to wear the headscarf
      b. A religious identity signifier is seen to be incompatible with French citizenship

B. As a religion grows and becomes established, it will become associated with the society that mainstreams it
   1. May not be an entire nation-state, however
   2. The source of a great deal of conflict

STRATIFICATION

I. Types

A. Egalitarian societies
   1. No great differences in wealth, power or prestige
   2. Note: people are born with differences, and these play a big role in egalitarian societies

B. Ranked societies—symbolic ranking, prestige

C. Stratified societies
   1. Permanent hierarchy: some members by birth have greater access to resources: wealth, power, prestige
2. Caste is one kind
   a. Hierarchy stratified and closed, no movement

3. Class the other
   a. Open, can move up or down (groups and individuals)

II. Social class
   A. DISCUSS: components of?
      1. Job, nature of
         a. White collar, blue collar
         b. Manual labor

         1) DISCUSS: how many have had manual jobs?

      2. Economic status: income, assets, etc.
      3. Education
         a. Formal
         b. Informal (“educated”)

         1) Good manners—which fork to use
         2) DISCUSS: ways in which performing social class is gendered?

      4. Family standing
         a. Orwell: class position is not determined by just the amount of money one has

         1) Before WWI in Britain you were either a gentleman or not a gentleman: “shadowy caste system”

      5. Speech
         a. DVD “American Tongues”
b. Orwell in French restaurant: pronouns of power and solidarity illustrated—everyone called him “tu” (intimate version of “you”)

6. Consumption patterns
   a. Liquor, beer, dress, cigarettes

7. Leisure activities
   a. Bowling, NASCAR, opera, MFA, classical music

8. Religion
   a. **DISCUSS:** how is religion classed?

III. Maintenance of social class: ideology, culture, and structure

A. The early post-revolutionary war US: battle over what kind of republic would this be—Republicans vs. Federalists?
   1. Would there be aristocrats or not?
   2. **DISCUSS:** Americans’ notions about social class?
   3. Conflict with Mantsios’s point that we are the most stratified (economically) society in the world

B. Class is raced, race is classed, both are gendered, both are sexed, etc.
   1. Orwell’s “poor white trash” examples

C. The relationship between race, ethnicity, and social class
   1. Complex and varied; folk models of race and ethnicity often unconsciously include assumptions about socio-economic status
   2. *Correlations* can be found between race/ethnicity and low socio-economic status; but they are not due to race and ethnicity themselves
   3. History as cause
      a. For example, lack of English language skills prevents many immigrants engaging in some kinds of occupations

D. What is cause, what is effect?
1. Mantsios points out all the ways US society doesn’t see the poor, “blames the victim,” etc.

2. Newman says it’s the working poor who are invisible

E. “Structural oppression”: all of the ways in which political and economic structures in a society oppress groups of people within it

1. Examples: the economy moves from a manufacturing economy

   a. To one where the good jobs require much more education

   b. And the bad jobs are more numerous

      1) Minimum wage

      2) Little chance for advancement

      3) No job security

         a) For example, growth of temp companies

      4) No benefits

2. Real wages—what a paycheck could actually buy—decrease

3. When such conditions characterize an entire community, it can look like a third-world country

   a. If a factory that supplied a lot of jobs pulls out of town—Elizabethtown, N.J.

   b. Some communities have such a low tax base they can’t afford to pay police or firemen

4. Or a whole region deteriorates: “the Rust Belt”

F. Interplay between “structure” and “agency”: what role does culture play?

   1. The notion of “the culture of poverty”

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4 A well-known anthropologist, Oscar Lewis, coined this term to describe the people in Spanish Harlem in the 1960s. He published a book titled *La Vida*: compellingly written, became a best seller. Consists of life-history accounts: thousands of pages of notes on one extended family. Most of the women were involved in prostitution. Lewis “explained” their situation by focusing almost exclusively on the intergenerational transmission of destructive values and behaviors among individuals within families. His notion of culture was one of micro-culture—*within* an
2. The idea that somehow people “learn” to be poor

3. Or the idea that their culture doesn’t provide them with the right knowledge and skills to get out of poverty

   a. Concluded that the black family—its structure, its culture—explained the problems Blacks were facing
   b. In particular female-headed families robbed men of their self-esteem because such families were “matriarchal”
   c. Report was enormously influential
   d. Allowed people to assign blame to Blacks themselves

5. The legacy continues to this day in positions that argue:
   a. Restore family values—it’s their culture at fault

6. On the surface this explanation may seem reasonable: we know that children learn the values, etc. from their parents
   a. We certainly can see people choosing to behave in ways that are clearly self-destructive, criminal, unreasonable, etc.
   b. So we explain poverty, family structure, welfare, unemployment, and out-of-wedlock births using this model

7. We can come up with a long list for inner city problems:
   a. Gangs; drug dealing
   b. Drive-by shootings; high levels of many kinds of violence
   c. Drugs—HIV infection (VanderStaay article—parents are worried about their children’s safety)
      1) Crack-addicted newborns

extended family. Saw poverty as more a function of thought processes than of opportunities, physical environment. Lots of politicians and scholars found the theory extremely useful. The most famous was Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who wrote the 1965 Report.
d. Very early sexual activity (often coerced by older males)
   1) Unwed teenagers giving birth to unwanted babies

e. Prostitution and promiscuity leading to
   1) More HIV

f. An indifference that makes the neighborhood more dangerous
   1) For example, people not reporting criminal behavior they observe to the police

8. Clearly we don’t do these things, and so
   a. It must be a different “culture”: the values, etc., taught by the older generation to the younger

G. This kind of explanation is appealing
   1. We want clear explanations, we want to assess blame, and we want quick fixes
   2. Mantellos and Baca Zinn & Eitzen articles
   3. And if at all possible, we don’t want to have to blame ourselves

IV. But it’s both: structural oppression and culture interact in complicated ways
A. Something like inner city poverty is produced by a multitude of factors
B. Racism’s structural consequences
   1. People of color will pay more in inner cities
      a. For insurance and mortgages
      b. Prices are often higher in grocery stores in the inner city; low-quality produce, etc.
      1) No competition because there’s no transportation
      2) So the price is determined by what the market will bear
3) Store owners will justify higher prices by pointing to danger of being shot, higher insurance premiums, etc.

c. And higher rates of unemployment; bad public transportation; need to work two jobs; day care nonexistent except informally

C. Culture: some of the values immigrants bring with them from rural Puerto Rico are singularly maladapted for life in Spanish Harlem

D. Structural economic dislocations working class people have faced in the last thirty years

1. Shifts in the economy to information and service sectors (Baca Zinn and Eitzen)—postindustrial society
   a. Will have a greater impact on non-whites than whites

2. The restructuring of the US economy around service jobs has resulted in
   a. Unemployment
   b. Income reduction
   c. Weaker unions
   d. Dramatic erosions in worker’s benefits at the entry level

E. Especially hard for inner city young men to get traditional unskilled work because

1. Many middle-class and stable working-class families have moved out

2. Factory jobs difficult to get to—lousy public transportation

3. Many institutions that used to help have left
   a. Only the church remains, and these store-front churches are desperately poor

4. So the way most of this sector traditionally got jobs—through informal methods, connections and networks—is lost

F. Cultural dislocations of this new economy

1. Office-work service jobs have multiplied
a. Dramatic expansion of the finance, insurance, and real estate sector of NYC (FIRE)

2. Work in professional offices is the best route for inner-city youths to find entry-level jobs if they want to be upwardly mobile
   a. But these jobs—mail-room clerks, photocopiers, messengers in the corridors
   b. Require a wrenching cultural confrontation with the upper-middle-class white world
   c. Require obedience to the norms of high-rise, office-corridor culture
   d. In direct contradiction to street culture’s definitions of personal dignity, especially for males who are socialized not to accept public subordination

3. Can these young men succeed? Yes. But it’s extremely hard
   a. Simply learning what is proper clothing for the office isn’t automatic from looking at subway ads and watching TV
   b. You don’t wave a magic wand and get rid of your culture, exchanging it for middle-class taste, values, knowledge, feelings

4. When they fail, our reaction is it’s their fault:
   a. They’re lazy, they’re flashy, they’ve got attitude, they’ve got Puerto Rican machismo and so won’t work under a woman boss
   b. They can’t speak properly, they’re functionally illiterate
   c. It’s their culture
Race


Jensen, Robert. “White Privilege Shapes the U.S.”

Jensen, Robert. “More Thoughts on Why the System of White Privilege is Wrong.”


I. What is “race”?

A. A discourse: an ideology that holds that the presumed biological essence constitutes the core of one’s identity

B. Omni & Winant:

1. Race is a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies

2. Invokes biologically based human characteristics (so-called “phenotypes”)

C. In contrast to the other major distinction of this type, that of gender

1. There is no biological basis for distinguishing among human groups along the lines of race

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II. Race is always and necessarily a social and historical process; a social, historical construct

A. The notion that races exist with definable physical characteristics

1. And, even more so, that some races are superior to others

2. Is the result of particular historical processes…colonization by European peoples

B. What kinds of social constructions?

1. Example: in North America: category ‘black’ historically included anyone with a known ‘drop of black blood’

2. Omni and Winant begin their essay with court case over a woman 1/32 drop of Negro blood

3. In contrast, in Latin America: a continuum of racial categories and often only people who look quite African in appearance will be identified as ‘black’

   a. “Black” has no simple referent there

      1) The darkest of a set of siblings might have the nickname of “el negro” or “la negra”

   b. In Colombia people with very black skin can be classified as ‘blancos’ in settings where the main opposition is between indigenous and non-indigenous

   c. Cultural and regional criteria as well as appearance are used

   d. This is changing: there is now a U.S.-style Afro-Colombian movement, but still complex

   e. Other people are classified by a variety of terms denoting a position in between, or various mixtures

4. Some dark Puerto Ricans, Cubans, others from the Islands

   a. Are not classified as black at home, but find they are in the U.S.

C. Reasons behind variety of types of social constructions are complex

1. But are fundamentally historical
2. Connected with the type of colonial enterprise
   a. And sets of social relations established in each region

D. Can’t assume there is such a thing as the brute fact of phenotypical variation
   1. The apparently ‘natural fact’ of phenotypical variation
      a. Is itself socially constructed

E. Physical differences that have become cues for racial distinctions are quite particular ones
   1. Corresponding to the geographical encounters of Europeans in their colonial histories

F. It is specific combinations of skin color, hair type and facial features that have been worked into racial signifiers.
   1. Cannot be independent of history because only certain phenotypical variations make racial categories
   2. And the ones that count have emerged through history
   3. DISCUSS: examples?

G. So, can’t just recognize that races don’t exist as objective biological entities and leave it at that

H. Conclusion: race is not an elaborated social construction built on the basis of phenotypical variation
   1. Because this social construction uses the particular aspects of phenotypical variation
      a. That were worked into vital signifiers of difference during European colonial encounters with others

III. Biophysical variations cannot be foundation for a scientific construction of race
A. We cannot come up with some objective definition about phenotypical variation as a definition of race
   1. Because it changes over time and space, gradual, fluid
B. Classification schemes may “work” in one geographical region at one point in time

1. But race is seen as a classification scheme that applies to the entire *H. sapiens sapiens* species

2. Biophysical variations are continuous and gradual
   a. Population boundaries overlap, are fluid and subject to evolutionary changes

3. No matter what classificatory scheme you come up with (and there have been many)
   a. It won’t work everywhere

C. Conclusion: the study of race is part of that colonial, imperial history, not outside it

IV. Origins

A. 19th century

1. Only then did “race” impose social meanings on physical variations among human groups

2. Serving as the basis of the structuring of the total society

3. We assume this system has always existed
   a. We read modern meanings into, for example, Othello
   b. We think that only now are we becoming enlightened, tolerant, multicultural

4. Smedley shows we are wrong

B. Notions of heredity and permanence have existed for a long time

1. Kinship is sometimes constructed to go way back
   a. Old Testament patrilineal kinship structure: genealogies important
   b. West African *griots* (mouthpieces for elites singing their praises) reciting long lineages—over hundreds of years
1) Documented among the East African Luo

c. But these are lineages
d. Not racially formed

V. Earlier conceptions of “race”

A. “Race” referred to a lineage

1. All the descendants of a given set of ancestors were members of a common stock, a “race”

B. A classificatory term with no clear meaning: kind, type, breed, stock

C. “Race’s” several meanings were very rarely used to refer to enslaved populations being transported by Europeans

D. The meaning evolved to the nineteenth-century concept of race as type

1. In which humans were divided into a limited number of permanent racial types

2. Often seen as having distinct origins (despite Book of Genesis)

VI. Evolution of modern racial awareness

A. Earlier in Europe

1. “Others” were religious others: Muslims and Jews

2. But if you convert, you’re a “new Christian,” not a Jew

B. 16th-century argument in Spain over whether the New World’s native peoples are human or not

1. To determine the extent to which they could be exploited and enslaved

2. Note: encomienda system introduced slavery in that it was coerced native labor

   a. But in other respects it was not as harsh as plantation slavery

VII. Concept of Racial Formation

A. Omi and Winant:
1. Racial formation is the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed

2. Racial formation is a process of historically situated projects

3. O & W argue that the Conquest was the greatest racial formation project

4. In the 18th century it was found only in the American colonies

5. Soon the ideology was present in all overseas territories colonized by European powers

VIII. Varieties of colonization projects

A. English experience in Ireland

1. England had colonized Ireland: great enmity; Irish came close to being racialized—we can say it was a proto-racial formation

2. At its worst during 16th and 17th centuries
   a. English had an abiding contempt toward Irish
   b. No concern to understand Irish customs and institutions

   a. Proposed to eat the Irish, since they were causing so much trouble; would alleviate hunger among the poor

4. Phrase “beyond the Pale” referred to parts of colonized Ireland beyond colonial administration

B. French Canada: settlers were supposed to marry indigenous wives

1. There were so few settlers

C. England in the New World

1. Lots of interaction between English settlers and Indians
   a. Indians played French and English off of each other—formed alliances, won concessions of territory, food and goods
   b. Marriage occurred (Pocahontas)—but this was not a policy
2. “Settler societies” compete with natives for the same resources—natives are pushed off of land, exterminated

3. Latin American experience extremely different
   a. Highland areas: *encomienda*: coerced labor—did not happen to natives in the North American colonies
   b. Latin American Indians forced to grow food, other raw materials (work in gold, silver, tin mines)
   c. Spaniards and Portuguese were unsuccessful at enslaving lowland natives
      1) So, like North America and Caribbean, began to import African slaves

4. Historical factors making Britain unlike Europe:
   a. Were an island, not invaded since the Normans in 11th century
   b. France had nothing like the Magna Carta
   c. England had deposed a king, put a non-royal in charge (Cromwell)
   d. Had split from rest of Catholic Europe not long after Reformation began (16 years—in 1533)
      Early rise of merchant capitalism
   f. Development of new forms of wealth, notions about individual freedom, property rights, and self-sufficiency
   g. We understand better why they felt themselves unique, superior, even among Europeans

IX. New kind of identity developed in the New World: state of permanent bondage
   A. The first Africans
      1. Were very likely indentured servants, working toward their freedom
      2. They were not property during their time as indentured servants
B. A system of permanent bondage developed as ideology and practice for a number of reasons

1. Authorities’ fear that poor whites, Indians, blacks, mulattoes might join forces
   a. And so developed policies aimed at fostering distance, mistrust, etc.—divide and be more secure
      1) The piece we’ll read by Howard Zinn for next week discusses this
   b. Poor whites became constructed as whites
      1) Came to see themselves as having something in common with the propertied class—hadn’t before
      2) Symbolized by their light skins and common origins in Europe
   c. Various European settler groups coalesced into a white ‘racial’ category
   d. Led to magnifying and exaggerating differences between “races”
      1) White, indigenous, African
   e. And a developing ideology that held the inferiority to be natural and/or God-given

2. Jefferson was far more sympathetic to Indians than to the “negro race”

3. Of course the main reason was the developing need for plantation labor in the South
   a. Indigo, rice; later on, cotton, sugar

C. By mid 19th century the ideology had diffused around much of the world

D. Differences between the two “inferior” races:

1. Indians stood for many, many things that Africans did not, right from the beginning
   a. In part because Native Americans were endogenous and numerous
b. The colonial and Republic governments had to deal with the tribes as “nations”
   a) Entering into treaties with them

X. Omi and Winant’s concept of “racial dictatorship” in America:

A. Between 1607 and 1865 most non-whites were firmly eliminated from the sphere of politics

B. Consequences:
   1. Identified “American” identity as white
      a. Which served to negate any taint of racialized “otherness,” in both law and custom
   2. The racial dictatorship organized the “color line”
      a. It turned into the fundamental division in U.S. society
   3. Racial dictatorship consolidated the oppositional racial consciousness and organization that were originally framed by:
      a. Runaway slave communities (marronage) and slave revolts
      b. Indigenous resistance
      c. Development of nationalisms of various sorts
         1) “Black” where once there had been Asante or Ovimbundu

XI. Race exclusions in U.S. became worse after end of Civil War

A. Even though slaves had been freed

B. Immediately after the war:
   1. Back communities and families were surprisingly strong and vibrant
   2. Men could be hired as any kind of skilled laborer: carpenter, etc.
   3. Blacks voted their own into office as senators, congressmen

C. Exclusionary practices developed:
1. Jim Crow laws

2. Even though industrial revolution was creating great need for labor
   a. The country turned to immigration to solve the problem

D. Policies and practices were developed to prevent blacks from competing with white labor and from learning new industrial skills
   1. Can’t join unions, etc.
      a. This was everywhere, not just in the South
   2. Racist ideology already in place

E. Southern economy dependent on black labor
   1. So, with aid of northern industrialists who wanted cheapest raw materials possible
   2. Jim Crow laws returned Blacks to an impoverished and dependent position of tenant farming and sharecropping

F. Eugenics movement was developing, helped justify exclusionary ideology
   1. An alliance of social policy and science that aimed to restrict the breeding of ‘races’ seen as less ‘fit’
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Race, Gender, Ethnicity I


Brown, Claude. “Everybody white she saw was Mr. Charlie.”
Johnson, James Weldon. “To be a Negro.”
Twain, Mark. “Huck breaks the white code.”
Wright, Richard. “The price of keeping one’s place.”


I. History of African Americans after Civil War:

A. Larger picture:

1. Zinn gives overview of some of the earlier developments
2. Eugenics movement
3. Social Darwinism
4. Manifest Destiny
   a. Philippines, Hawaii, Cuba
   b. Compare to “White Man’s Burden” (Kipling 1899)
5. Such theories provided moral and theological justification
a. Albert J. Beveridge, Senator from Indiana commenting on “liberation” of Cuba and Philippines:

The American Republic is a part of the movement of a race—the most masterful race of history—and race movements are not to be stayed by the hand of man. They are mighty answers to Divine commands. Their leaders are not only statesmen of peoples—they are prophets of God. The inherent tendencies of a race are its highest law. They precede and survive all statutes, all constitutions…The sovereign tendencies of our race are organization and government.¹

B. Reconstruction:

1. Elected 2 senators, 20 Congressmen, numerous state officials

2. Black-dominated legislatures created new and progressive state constitutions

C. Jim Crow established by 1890s

1. Synonymous with segregation, poll taxes, literacy tests, etc.

2. The Democratic Party’s “White Primary” forbade black voting

   a. Wasn’t against the law because Democratic party was a private organization

   b. This ended the period of Reconstruction²

3. In 1898 there were 130,000 Black registered voters

   a. 8 years later only 1,342

D. Politics of Accommodation emerged:

1. Booker T. Washington:

   a. Willing to forego social equality until White people saw Blacks as deserving of it

   b. Blacks should be educated because it would be a wise investment for Whites


c. Whites liked him

d. First time Blacks saw a leader achieve fame among whites

2. Easy to criticize him now, but look at the context in 1900

3. Lynchings, between 1889 and 1938 3,000 Blacks were lynched

   a. One was simply charged with “threatening and frightening” a White woman

E. Black migration to urban North an important component

   1. Harder to ignore than as rural sharecroppers

   2. Black urban voter had potential power

F. DuBois’ Niagara movement ended up in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

   1. First time since pre-Civil War a merging of White liberalism and Black militancy

G. WWII

   1. Black servicemen were segregated, but did serve

   2. A. Philip Randolph, president of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

      a. 1941 threatened to lead 100,000 Blacks to Washington

         1) To ensure their employment

      b. New tactic of nonviolent direct action, inspired by Gandhi

      c. Roosevelt signed an executive order prohibiting discrimination

   3. During the war there were riots, growth in civil disobedience

   4. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) founded in 1942

   5. 1947 “Freedom riders” test a court ruling prohibiting segregation in interstate bus travel

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3 Schaeffer p. 193.
4 Schaeffer, p. 195.
H. Post-war period

1. Jackie Robinson 1947 integrated major league baseball

2. Supreme Court 1948 ruled that restrictive covenants were not constitutional
   a. Property owners agreeing not to sell to Jews, Blacks


4. Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
   b. Huge backlash—Little Rock 1957, cities closed schools
      1) Eisenhower: “I don’t believe you can change the hearts of men with law”
      2) **DISCUSS**: can you?

I. But civil rights movement had begun:

1. Freedom Riders

2. Voter registration drives

3. U Mississippi integrated by James Meredith

4. Tactic of Civil Disobedience:
   a. Rosa Parks refused to sit in the back of the bus: Montgomery Bus Boycott 1956
   b. Martin Luther King, Jr.

5. Mass marches met with police dogs and high-pressure hoses on marchers
   a. Photographs were dramatic, appeared throughout the country
   b. Killings of the 3 civil rights workers and Medgar Evers received nationwide attention

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Schaeffer p. 195.
7. 1960: sit-ins, beginning in Greensboro, NC
8. 1961: Freedom Rides Alabama: national attention
9. March on Washington in 1963
   a. 200,000 marched
10. JFK assassination threw everything in doubt
11. But Johnson signed Civil Rights Act, 1964
   a. 24th Amendment (no more poll taxes)
   b. Voting Rights Act 1965
   c. Fair Housing Act 1968
12. Federal vs. states:
   a. U.S. govt. arguing that killing a person violated that person’s civil rights
   b. Grounds for prosecuting crimes southern states wouldn’t indict on
J. Continuing dissent
1. SNCC Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
   b. The phrase offended many Blacks and frightened Whites
   c. Shift in terminology is telling
2. Beginning of identity politics
3. Black Panthers
   a. Panthers’ self-presentation, rhetoric and programs alienated many in Black community
   b. Panthers had many community service, outreach efforts
4. Later (1973) it came out that FBI systematic program
   a. To infiltrate civil rights groups in effort to discredit them
   b. COINTELPRO
      1) Counter-intelligence programs
      2) Tried to discredit dissent

II. What we have today:
   A. Say “race” and the black/white divide immediately comes to mind
      1. And, oh, yes, there are Asians and Native Americans
      2. Different in other countries (some do not use a classification system anywhere near our concept of “race”)
      3. But anywhere the word “race” is used, “inferior” is included in the system
         a. A system of social stratification
      4. S. Africa under apartheid: official scheme was tripartite:
         a. Black, white, and “colored” composed of mixed white and black
         b. In South Africa, a revealing example of a categorization of Chinese as “Asian”
         c. But the Japanese, economically important
            1) Were “honorary Caucasians”
      5. DISCUSS: U.S. terms for African Americans over time
   B. Class or caste?
      1. U.S. usually considered to have a “social class” system of stratification
         a. But arguments can be made that we also have a caste system with the black/white divide
         b. DISCUSS: half the class argue in favor, half argue against

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6 Carol R. Ember & Melvin Ember, Cultural Anthropology, 11th ed. Upper Saddle River: Pearson/Prentice Hall, p. 120
C. Dominant themes in U.S. Census classifications of race up until recently\textsuperscript{7}

1. Preoccupation with skin color as definite indicator of race

2. Belief in racial purity or in the idea that people can be classified as belonging to one race

3. A pattern of transforming many ethnic groups into one panethnic racial group

4. General tendency to admit no sharp distinction between race, ethnicity, and national origin

III. Racism:

A. Word was not used much before 1960s

1. Before: problem seen as bigotry and discriminatory practices

2. General view in America re: racial disparities and discrimination:
   a. It’s a few bigots, and the deprived status of the Negro that are causing racial tension.

3. Not in terms of institutional racism

B. But in fact part of a system of structured racial inequality

C. Discrimination

1. Has been a structural feature of U.S. society

2. Racism manifests itself principally this way
   a. Rather than, as most people think:
      1) Through individual actions or conscious policies

D. By end of 1960s, racism was understood to be a combination of prejudice, discrimination, and institutional inequality

E. Concept of structural violence

1. Where there is no perpetrator—is built into the system
2. Example of experiment with 3rd graders (read)\(^8\)
3. Hard for us to see
4. Individualism a major part of our ideology
5. Ku Klux Klan murdered the civil rights workers
   a. But the state of Mississippi refusing to indict the killers is institutional racism
   b. Yes, there were individual decisions at this level, too, but that they could get away with it is institutional racism, structural violence

F. Symbolic violence
   1. Omi & Winant: racial formation processes
      a. Occur through a linkage between social structure and cultural representation
   2. DISCUSS: examples of symbolic violence?
      a. DuBois
         1) Moment when he realized why children didn’t want to exchange cards with him
         2) “I was different…shut out from that world by a vast veil.”

G. DISCUSS: Examples of:
   1. Readings for today or Jensen?
      a. Symbolic violence
      b. Individual prejudice leading to individual discrimination
      c. Structural violence
   2. Wright?
   3. “Momma” in the Brown piece?

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\(^8\) Ferrante & Browne, pp. 5-7.
4. Huck Finn?
Questions on Pascoe 1-174

1. Did your high school have anything like the “Mr. Cougar” contest? If so, describe.

2. What do we mean by “masculinity”? 

3. “Very few men, if any, are actually hegemonically masculine, but all men do benefit, to different extents…” (p. 7). Discuss. What does “hegemonic” mean? Is the same true for women—very few are hegemonically feminine, but all women do benefit…?

4. “…in the United States, adults interpret adolescent sexuality as problematic and disruptive, as opposed to a normal part of the life course…” (p. 29). What’s your opinion on this?

5. What is “queer theory”? (some info on p. 10)

6. Describe “compulsory heterosexuality.”

7. “‘Being a lesbian is accepted because guys think, ‘Oh, that’s cool,’” Assume this is so. Does it surprise you? What are the reasons River High students give? What are the ones Pascoe gives? Any other possible reasons?

8. Why do gay male personal ads ask for “‘straight-appearing, straight-acting men’” (p. 59)?


10. Discuss how male sexuality is racialized (“raced” is another way of putting it) at River High. (pp. 71-77)

11. “The theater is a place for all sorts of experimentation, so why not a metaphorical and physical space for gender and sexual experimentation?” (pp. 80-81) Was this the way it was at your high school?

12. Compare MIT to River High with respect to homophobia; enacting masculinity and femininity, or repudiating these identities; and gender maneuvering or bending.

13. “[Adrienne] Rich argues that heterosexuality not only describes sexual desires, practices and orientations but is a ‘political institution’ (23).” (p. 86). Discuss, including a definition of “institution.”

14. “…while heterosexuality may be personally meaningful, it can simultaneously function as an oppressive social institution.” (p. 86). Discuss “oppressive.” Can homosexuality ever be an oppressive institution?

15. What is your understanding of Judith Butler’s notion of “gender performativity”? (p. 86)
16. “In groups boys act as a sort of ‘sexual police’…” (p. 89). What is Pascoe referring to?

17. “Boys still look to ‘score,’ and girls’ bodies still serve as proof of masculinity.” (p. 92). Did this characterize your high school? Does it characterize MIT?

18. Also on p. 92 Pascoe uses the phrase “masculine capital.” What does she mean?

19. “Boys…who can’t ‘get’ a girl often respond with anger or frustration because of their presumed right to girls’ bodies…‘Whore’.” (p 95). Provide two examples from other contexts where a notion of this kind of “right” might be operating—that is, influencing decisions about behavior.

20. Is the female version of the fag the whore? (p. 95)

“But mixed girls are for me.” “…racialized, gendered, and sexual identities intersect.” (p. 96). As a “mixed” guy he “saw his options as somewhat limited…girls and girls’ bodies were constructed as a limited resource…” Discuss.

21. “In general, superiors touch subordinates, invade their space, and interrupt them…” (p. 96). What experiment could you design to test this notion?

22. “While these sorts of touching interactions often began as flirtatious teasing, they usually evolved into a competition that ended with the boy triumphant and the girl yelling out…‘uncle’.” (p. 97). Did this happen in your high school? To you? What were your thoughts? How would you act today in this kind of scenario?

23. What do you think of the notion of “rape paradigm” as described on pp. 99-100?

24. “These stories also highlighted femininity (much like the fag) as an abject identity.” (p. 104). Connect this with Pascoe’s statement that “whore” is the female equivalent of “fag” (see above).

25. “Grown women ‘bargain with patriarchy’ by submitting to sexist social institutions and practices to gain other forms of social power.” (p. 105). Describe an instance you observed or participated in where this was going on.

26. “…as they tread the shifting and blurry boundary between sexy and slutty.” (p. 105). Provide an example from your high school or MIT.

27. “…this giggle and smile response signifies submission and appeasement, usually directed from a lower- to a higher-status person.” (pp. 106-107). Do you agree, or is this an example of “analyze to death”?

28. “…spoke with pride about tomboy childhoods.” (p. 117). List all the reasons you can think of that explain the difference between how tomboy (girl) childhoods are viewed and how sissy (boy) childhoods are viewed.
29. “Rebeca’s ability to remain in gender flux certainly added to her popularity.” (p. 130). How would someone like Rebeca be viewed at your high school? In your MIT living group?

30. Discuss the ways in which, for Basketball Girls, “doing gender” involved racialized meanings (p. 132). Discuss the ways their practices, which Pascoe calls “gender maneuvering” looked like “compulsory heterosexuality” (p. 133).

31. Discuss “deep play” (p. 150) at River High.

32. “Fags, for all that boys defined them as powerless, weak, and unmanly, seemed to wield an immense amount of power.” (p. 157). Describe these “powerful” fags and analyze the power they wield. If you can, provide a similar example from another identity field.

33. “These processes of confirmation and repudiation…are ways of reproducing a gendered racial inequality.” (p. 157). Describe in more detail such processes of reproduction.

34. List at least 3 ways River High teachers and administration treated African American boys differently from white boys (p. 160).

35. What is Pascoe’s sexual orientation? How do you know?

36. “Through this sort of capitulation girls traded their own subjectivity for boys’ point of view.” (p. 162). Does this happen at MIT? Give 2 examples of it happening or 2 pieces of evidence that it does not.

37. Pascoe states that alternative, non-heteronormative interactions, rituals and gendered ways of being occur in political action, parody, and play (p. 163). Provide an example of each at River High. If you can, provide an example of each at MIT.

38. Provide one or more examples of masculinity and femininity not being located at opposite ends of the same axis, but rather occupying different axes (p. 164), either at River High, MIT, or elsewhere.

39. If you can, provide an example of an MIT professor trying to garner masculine favor “by allowing sexism or homophobia to go unchecked.” (p. 172).

40. Pascoe says that negotiating gender identities at high school is hard (p. 173). Give examples from your own or someone else’s experience.
QUESTIONS ON GORDON, GOULD, SCHMIDT & MOORE, KONDO, AND P. PASCOE

1. Describe the social purity movement, as described by Gordon. What contemporary reform movements resemble it?

2. What did the suffrage, free love, and temperance movements advocate?

3. Describe the “voluntary motherhood” movement.

4. Discuss the 19th century notion that men had excessive sex drives. Include the ideas about causation, and about correcting such excess.

5. Discuss the concept of “the right of children not to be born” (p. 122). Is this notion still with us in 2010? If so, what form(s) does it take?

6. Describe the goals of the feminists of the latter half of the 19th century.

7. How did “the cult of true womanhood” differ from “the glory of motherhood”? (p. 133).

8. Discuss Lamarckian notions of evolution.

9. Discuss any notions you are familiar with that concern the effects of pregnant women’s behavior on the embryo/fetus. Are any of these psychological? (p. 122)

10. Discuss the role of eugenics in the evolution of feminism in the latter half of the 19th century.

11. Discuss notions about the superiority of women in the latter half of the 19th century.

12. What is Social Darwinism? Does it continue today?

13. What was the appeal of the trappings of science for the authors Gould discusses?

14. In what ways do you see men as superior to women? Women as superior to men?

15. What does IQ measure? What is your definition of intelligence?

16. Discuss the notion of primitive peoples and animals as “criminal.”

17. Are humans more “criminal” than animals in some respects?

18. In connection with the above question, discuss the reasoning behind the differential treatment of sexual offenders following release from prison (in this country), as compared to the rest of the prison population.
19. Look at the bottom of p. 126 of the Gould chapter; what are your explanations for the physical insensitivity being analyzed?

20. Have you heard the term “mongoloid” used for Down’s syndrome? Why was the name changed, do you think? Can you think of a similar case of name substitution?

21. In what ways have advances in genetics revived notions that “anatomy is destiny”?

22. Discuss how technosemen is seen as superior to “natural” semen.

23. Provide one other example of the increasing influence of the “medical-industrial complex.”

24. Discuss Schmidt & Moore’s notion of dematerialized bodies resulting from the virtual reality of bodies in internet chat rooms.

25. Do we continue to believe in Lamarckian evolution in some ways?

26. What’s a cyborg? Give some examples.

27. According to Kondo, she was an anomaly in Japan. Why? Have you ever felt this way?

28. Kondo found living with the Sakamotos difficult. Could she have done it differently and felt less uncomfortable?

29. What are some of the contradictions between the roles of daughter and researcher discussed by Kondo?

30. Kondo says that a white person who speaks flawlessly idiomatic and unaccented Japanese meets with “what generously could be described as unpleasant reactions...treated as repulsive and unnatural...the better their Japanese becomes” (p. 11). Discuss. Is there anything like this in the U.S.? What lies behind these displays of “revulsion”?

31. Kondo says that her relationship of dependency was “an extremely advantageous position to be in, for people did not feel the need to reflect my views back to me, as they might with a more powerful person.” Discuss.

32. Kondo says that her identity “fragmented.” What does she mean? Has this happened to you?

33. The decision to leave the Sakamotos was made when Kondo caught a glimpse of herself being reflected in the metal surface of the butcher’s display case. Put yourself in her shoes. What would be the most bothersome aspect of this image for you?

34. Discuss the differences between Japanese conceptions of the individual and U.S. ones.
35. “You are not an ‘I’ untouched by context, rather you are defined by the context.” (Kondo p. 29). What contexts in the U.S. come closest to this notion of the “I”?

36. What did you know about U.S. miscegenation laws before reading the Pascoe essay?

37. Compare the information Pascoe presents about earlier notions of “race” and eugenics with the information presented in Gordon’s essay.

38. The essays for today were chosen because they illustrate societal processes of defining and drawing boundaries around categories of people—classifying them according to certain socially recognized presumed features of their bodies. If you can, provide an example of a similar classification scheme.

39. What were the contradictions in miscegenation laws?

40. Both the concept “mixed race” and “bisexual” classify kinds of people seen to belong to more than one category in some fashion. Discuss. What cultural work do these concepts do? Are they totally successful?

41. What are the current major ethno-racial groups recognized by the U.S. government? What are these categories used for?

42. Argue in favor of the U.S. government adopting a race-blind approach to classifying the country’s citizens. Argue against such an approach.
Questions on Bourgois 1-337

In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in el Barrio

1. On p. 11, Bourgois says that “Any detailed examination of social marginalization encounters serious problems with the politics of representation…” What does he mean?

2. What does “the interface between structural oppression and individual action” refer to? (p. 12)

3. Bourgois both appreciates the postmodern trend in anthropology and critiques it. What does he mean by “postmodern”? By “self-conscious reflexivity?” (pp. 13-14)

4. Bourgois refers to “anthropology’s functionalist paradigm” in a critical manner. Discuss. (p. 14)

5. “Participant-observation requires researchers to be physically present and personally involved.” What are the risks of this research strategy? Compare Bourgois’ approach to Pascoe’s.

6. What does Bourgois mean when he writes about “succumbing to a pornography of violence that reinforces popular racist stereotypes”? (p. 15) How can one avoid doing this? Did you succumb while reading the book? Describe your reactions.

7. Bourgois refers to anthropologist Oscar Lewis’s research in Spanish Harlem in the 1960s as containing “psychologically reductionist descriptions.” What does this mean?

8. Bourgois says he cannot resolve the “structure-versus-agency debate.” What does he mean? (p. 18)

9. Bourgois talks about behavior that appears to be irrationally violent, “barbaric,” and ultimately self-destructive, as capable of being reinterpreted according to the logic of the underground economy. The behavior can be reinterpreted as judicious public relations and long-term investment in one’s “human capital investment” (p. 24). Give an example.

10. Bourgois refers to “Nuyorican culture” as a hybrid. Discuss.

11. Bourgois, describing Ray, says he lacks the “cultural capital” to join the middle class, despite earning a lot of money. Discuss.

12. Do you agree, or disagree with Bourgois’ characterization of social class structure?

13. How did Bourgois “enter” his research site? Compare to Pascoe.

14. What struck you about Bourgois’ participation in a street culture involving illegal activities? About his experiences with New York City police officers?

15. Bourgois speaks of a professional and personal imperative to deny or “normalize” the culture of terror – as do many local residents. What was involved in this?
16. Bourgois refers to a “profound moral – even righteous – contradictory code of street ethics” (p. 41). What does he mean?

17. What was Bourgois’ eventual relationship with the people he interacted with?

18. What does “white nigga” mean? (p. 41)

19. Why did folks in El Barrio at first think Bourgois was gay?

20. Discuss racial dynamics in El Barrio.

21. Describe the historical and current relationship between Puerto Rico and the US. What were the consequences for Puerto Rican immigrants to Spanish Harlem?

22. This can be described as an offensive book. Do you find it offensive? If so, what most offended you? Did Bourgois’ contextualization help you better understand the behavior and become more tolerant, or not?

23. Why was it useful for crack dealers to hire addicted workers? (p. 86)

24. Bourgois states:

   I finally solved the mystery of why most street-level crack dealers remain penniless during their careers, when I realized that their generous binge-behavior is ultimately no different from the more individualistic, and circumscribed, conspicuous consumption that rapidly upwardly mobile persons in the legal economy also usually engage in. (p. 91)

Discuss.

25. Bourgois describes the “cultural dislocations” of the new service economy of Manhattan. Give three examples.

26. Discuss the symbolism of dress in El Barrio.

27. Discuss the ethnic bigotry Bourgois found in El Barrio. Discuss the prejudice against the disabled. Given that crack dealers are looked down upon, why aren’t they more tolerant?

28. Compare the performance of masculinity in El Barrio to how it was performed in River High.

29. Discuss gang rape. What were the reasons men raped women? Discuss both their conscious reasons as well as other ones they don’t know about/haven’t thought about. Compare to rape themes at River High.

30. How is Candy a New Woman? How not? (pp. 228-240)

31. Describe how the gender line is being redrawn in Spanish Harlem. With what negative social consequences?
32. Discuss the ways in which Bourgois communicated his own reactions to the pain and misery he found in El Barrio.

33. Jackie was kidnapped when she was 12 years old. Describe the reactions of people close to her. (p. 267-272)

34. Why do women get pregnant under very adverse circumstances in El Barrio?

35. What does Bourgois say about efforts to coax poor men back into nuclear households in neighborhoods like El Barrio?

36. Why are fathers absent, or, if present, so often abusive?
QUESTIONS ON RHODES 1-224

1. What did you know about maximum security prisons prior to reading this book?

2. List the ways in which maximum security prisons differ from ordinary prisons.

3. When did these maximum security prisons begin to be built? What were the rationales for establishing them?

4. The jacket blurb (text on the back cover) states that incarceration tells us about who we are as a society. What is your opinion on this? If you agree, list five lessons that maximum security prisons teach us about our society.

5. Another part of the back cover contains a blurb by Philippe Bourgois, who states that in maximum security prisons “good, bad, and evil fall by the wayside.” What do you think he means?

6. Bourgois also refers to “the correctional high-tech machine.” List eight ways maximum security prisons fit this description. If you have enough knowledge about regular prisons, spell out the differences.

7. Compare how Rhodes entered into her research field site with how Bourgois did it. Then find similarities between the Washington maximum security prison and River High with respect to conducting ethnographic fieldwork in them.

8. How often, while reading the book, did you think about how you would fare as a maximum security prisoner? Discuss.

10. “Then they would drive him to a nearby city and drop him off outside the emergency room of a public hospital.” (p. 3). This is what would happen to Vincent, about to be released, if attempts to commit him to a state hospital fall through. Describe the differences in Vincent’s social (including legal) identity in these three institutions.

11. “The tighter the control becomes the more problematic are the effects it precipitates.” (p. 4). Discuss the ways in which these effects are problematic.

12. “These prisoners are entangled in institutional contradictions within which they become…the extremes and exceptions that mark the limits of the rational.” (p. 5). The title for today’s lecture includes the phrase “the outer limits of identity.” What does the phrase mean to you? How does it apply to maximum security prisoners, in your opinion?

13. Rhodes discusses the history of penal institutions in the U.S. What were the underlying premises regarding human rationality, in particular with respect to bringing about changes in criminals’ attitudes and behavior?
14. Discuss the assumptions about humans, in particular misbehaving adult humans, underlying the maximum security prison technologies of punishment and containment.

15. In his Introduction Bourgois discusses structural violence as compared to individual agency (e.g., actor-centered). He also says he “cannot resolve the structure versus agency debate” (p. 18). How does this debate apply to an analysis of maximum security prisons?

16. What are some of the contradictions experienced by correctional workers in the maximum security prison, especially the guards?

17. Permanent, preventive detention. Discuss, bringing in, if you can, notions of human rights and citizen rights as expressed in the U.S. Constitution and penal law. Connect this practice and the ideology behind it to the notion of “preemptive strike” as a military strategy.

18. The U.S. has over 60 maximum security prisons. Make the argument that this kind of treatment is enlightened and civilized, especially when compared to earlier incarceration practices. Critique this position.

19. On p. 45 Rhodes speaks of “an element of attraction, even seductiveness, to this mining and manipulation of the body. It offers…an opportunity to play with meaning.” What is she referring to?

20. “One way a social boundary can be sustained is through the projection of disgust onto those on the ‘other’ side of it.” (p. 46). Discuss, then compare to River High and El Barrio. Gold stars if you can bring in Kondo.

21. “Many prisoners believe that they can leave these units only by ‘turning the other cheek,’ that is, through self-control bordering on self-abnegation.” (p. 55). Rhodes speaks of prisoners’ “logic of masculine self-respect” (p. 55). Compare to River High and El Barrio with respect to notions about power, weakness, and masculinity.

22. Describe some of the ways maximum security prisons “unsettle” and “complicate” “shared notions of individual autonomy, rational action, and free choice” (p. 59).

23. To what degree do officers make the prisoner obey them as individuals, “enacting his or her own will,” as opposed to the officer merely being “the efficient instrument of a larger, institutional power” (p. 63)?

24. Rhodes describes how “going to a control unit can be seen as a way to bolster a man’s reputation and protect him from assault later” (p. 78). She then quotes a prisoner who says “…you look at me, I’m young…I look like a fish [a new prisoner]…I’m probably gonna end up getting in a lot more fights.” Compare to El Barrio and River High.

25. Discuss the debate about stun belts and taser guns.
26. Describe the deinstitutionalization of public psychiatric hospitals in the 1970s and early ‘80s, focusing on the effects on the U.S. penal system (p. 102).

27. Being in prison also “involves constant exposure to threatening or difficult interpersonal situations” (p. 113). List all the ways confinement exacerbates any tendency toward unstable mental state.

28. Discuss prisoners’ notions about masculinity, weakness and self-image as they relate to powerful medications like Mellaril and Thorazine (which prisoners refer to as “dummy dope”) (p. 115).

29. Discuss how mental health workers’ views about how prisoners should be treated differ from correctional officers’ (e.g., p. 119).

30. Prisoners and prison workers sometimes refer to “Catch-22” (e.g., p. 138). What does this phrase mean, and how does it apply to prisoners’ choices about their behavior? Does anyone know the origin of the phrase?

31. “Some officers feel that psychiatric medication interferes with this potential for responsibility; one objected that if prisoners are medicated ‘you can’t get into any of the causes of their behavior’.” (p. 156). Defend this position. Critique it.

32. Lack of conscience; antisocial (pp. 175-190). Discuss. Are these people “bad” or “mad”? Refer back to Question 17, about preventive detention.

33. List as many ways as you can in which “other than human” haunts maximum security prisons (p. 206).

34. “The prospect of less trouble threatens some staff and inmates because of the way control is understood as a matter of ‘hard’ versus ‘soft’.” (p. 208). “Less trouble” would seem to be a good thing. Describe the factors that make “less trouble” threatening.

35. “I showed them a video of Byrd in Texas…and one about Matthew Shepard.” (p. 214). Do you know who these men are? If not, read endnote #27. Then compare to similar expressions of hatred collected by Pascoe in River High and Bourgeois in El Barrio.

36. “‘Making them human,’ being human, and humanizing oppose the ‘animal’ and the ‘inhuman’.” (p. 215). Discuss the methods used to get prisoners to think about these issues during class.

37. What’s the problem with the term “psychopath”? (p. 316)
Questions on Nagel 1-56; 91-126; 140-167

1. Nagel says she considers ethnicity to be the core concept, with race and nationalism being two major forms of ethnicity (p. 6). Discuss. How do you see the relation between these 3 terms?

2. Describe the hegemonic sexuality that defines socially approved men’s and women’s sexualized bodies in the U.S. in 2008 (p. 8) Compare Nagel to Pascoe.

3. Discuss the tendency to assume that individuals’ sexual identity can be determined by observing their sexual behavior (you are what you do in bed) (p. 9)

4. Give 3 or more examples of cultural production (drama, fiction, etc.) that deals with individuals forging sexual links with ethnic Others across ethnic boundaries.

5. What is the “one drop rule”? Do you think it still applies in the U.S.? If not, what has taken its place?

6. Discuss the controversy over Jefferson-Hemings’s descendants. In what ways does this dispute portray broader issues in U.S. racial history? (p. 18)

7. With black-white marriages, odds are 3 to 1 that the wife will be white. With Asian-white marriages, odds are 2 to 1 that the husband will be white. (p. 25) Discuss; how do we explain these different patterns?

8. List the most common ways “we” say we’re superior to “them” and that “we” are good and “they” are bad. (p. 39)

9. Discuss the many ways that race is an official fact in the U.S. (p. 42)

10. “An individual’s ethnicity is as much the property of others as it is the person’s making the ethnic claim.” (p. 42). Discuss degrees of choice or non-choice in several kinds of ethnicity.

11. What does “queering heteronormative assumptions” refer to? (p. 50)

12. What were Sodom and Gomorrah? (p. 51) Do we have equivalents in today’s society?

13. Do you believe men and women are “real”? (p. 51) Argue in favor. Argue against.

14. “The sexual exploitation of the enslaved female, incredibly, served as evidence of her collusion with the master class and as evidence of her power…” (Sadiya Hartman in Nagel 103). Discuss.
15. Describe the “contest between white men played out on the body of an enslaved woman” during bidding for light-skinned enslaved women, where the price paid “was as much a measure of the buyer as the bought” (Domínguez, cited in Nagel 108).

16. During the civil rights movement, for both blacks and whites, “interracial sexual contact was pregnant with sexual, political, social, and cultural meanings” (p. 119). Describe as many of these meanings as you can.

17. How is sexual orientation raced in the U.S.?

18. Look at the 2 photos on pp. 122 and 123. Describe the meanings being communicated by the men’s clothes. Are any of the meanings identical?

19. Discuss the Tuskegee study described on p. 126. Would this study have been conducted on white subjects with syphilis?

20. “Thoughts and actions on nationalist peripheries draw their power from their resonance with familiar and acceptable themes in mainstream culture.” (p. 145). Give 3 examples.

21. On pp. 146-147 Nagel summarizes the argument made by Durkheim (in “The Normal and The Pathological”) regarding crime. What is this argument? Connect this to points made during the class lecture on stigma and deviance.


23. In what ways is nationalism masculine?

24. Describe the way gay Macedonian and Albanian men enacted nationalist scripts in their sexual desires and behavior as described on pp. 164-165.
Questions on Jacobson, Rouse and Hoskins, Orwell (2), Mantsios, Baca Zinn and Eitzen, VanderStaay, Newman

1. Compare the conservatism of fundamental Baptist beliefs and practices to the conservatism of Argentinean haredi Jews described by Jacobson.

2. Jacobson says that context plays a fundamental role in determining the meanings haredi beliefs and practices in Argentina—even though “haredi Judaism is perhaps an archetype of such standardization” (p. 337). What are these meanings?

3. We have looked at the concept of performing identity, thereby instantiating—creating it. Compare how the haredi women instantiate identity to how the River High School heteronormative boys discussed by Pascoe instantiate masculinity.

4. Discuss the discrimination experienced by Sephardic Jews as opposed to Ashkenazi Jews (p. 340). What are the social class elements here? Are these women betraying their ancestral, traditional identity in making these changes toward Ashkenazi versions of haredism?

5. Jacobson discusses consumerism’s role in the haredi lifestyle. How do foreign-obtained “modern” goods like slow cookers fit into haredi women’s lives?

6. Jacobson warns against a tendency to “reduce women to their gender.” Discuss.


8. List five examples of how the production and eating of food constitutes performance of identity.

9. Describe how perceptions of lawful and unlawful foods changed over time due to the relationship between the Nation of Islam and Sunni Islam as practiced by African Americans.

10. Discuss how women’s bodies pollute in haredism and African American Sunni Islam/Nation of Islam.

11. Is food an obsession in contemporary America? What is your evidence? What examples can you provide of the role of food in religion? In social class?

12. “The Nation, with its focus on hard work, discipline, and community empowerment…” (p. 239). Compare to Jacobson’s analysis of what haredism means to Argentinean women.

13. How do you embody your identity?
14. Orwell’s essays are about England and were written in 1933 and 1937. Choose one of his themes and describe how it would have to be changed to fit present-day America.

15. How, according to Mantsios, do the media make class invisible?

16. What are some of the structural causes of inequality?

17. Do the brief essays by VanderStaay and Newman remind you of a family you know?

18. Provide one or two examples of how the essays by VanderStaay and Newman counteract stereotypes about the nation’s poor.
Questions on Malamud, Takaki, Biolsi, Zia, Article XIX,
Gould, Ferber, Cosgrove, Ortiz Cofer, Moraga

1. Malamud’s “The Jewbird” is fiction. What are the advantages and disadvantages of using fiction to explore and discuss race and ethnicity, as opposed to social science non-fiction?

2. Takaki states that “American” has been defined as “white” (p. 53). Discuss.

3. Takaki also says that there is an intensifying racial crisis in America. What do you think?

4. During the conquest of Ireland by England, the English called the Irish “savages” before they applied that label to people elsewhere in the world. If you can, discuss some of the consequences of the colonization of Ireland (Takaki p. 57).

5. Discuss why some parents refuse to teach their children their native language, believing this to be the way their children will be able to speak perfect English. (Zia)

6. Biolsi distinguishes between Native Americans seen as a minority in the U.S. and Native Americans seen as belonging to nations colonized by Europeans. How is the struggle of Native American activists “not the same fight” as the struggles of other victims of oppression in America?

7. What is a “nation”? Describe some of the legal and social consequences of seeing Indian tribes as sovereign nations.

8. “The Original Crazy Horse Malt Liquor.” Describe this case (Biolsi p. 180). Who do you side with?

9. Why would some Native Americans argue that civil rights are “anathema” to Indian people (Biolsi, p. 182)?

10. What’s your opinion regarding the use of Native American symbols in sports? With respect to Native Americans’ use of illegal (“controlled”) substances as part of religious rituals?

11. Why were the Binet intelligence tests developed? Why were the subsequent Stanford-Binet “IQ” tests developed (Gould, p. 317)?

12. How does the work by Goddard discussed in Gould resemble the current debate about immigration, in particular policies concerned with undocumented immigrants?

13. Compare Goddard’s research with Pearson’s (Gould, p. 316-320).

14. What were the lessons that Abby Ferber learned from white supremacist literature?
15. “While it has become an academic commonplace to assert that race is socially constructed, the revelation is profoundly unsettling to many…” (Ferber p. 118). What does “socially constructed” mean?

16. What do white supremacists and some strict Orthodox Jewish leaders have in common, according to Ferber?

17. “The zoot suit was a refusal: a subcultural gesture that refused to concede to the manners of subservience.” (Cosgrove p. 347). Discuss.

18. Cosgrove says the zoot suit is more than an exaggerated costume. What else is it?

19. If you can, describe two similar cases of what we might call “protest fashion.” Compare the role played by the zoot suit and that played by hip-hop clothing, as you understand it.

20. List the reasons why young men wore zoot suits.

21. Discuss two of the “culture clashes” Ortiz Cofer describes.

22. Have you ever found yourself over- or under-dressed? Was it linked to an identity component in some way? Describe.

23. Why were pachucos “ambivalent”? The pachuco subculture was defined not only by ostentatious fashion, but by petty crime, delinquency and drug-taking. They “flaunted” their difference. How do other ethnic groups in the U.S. “flaunt” or otherwise show their difference?

24. Moraga discusses the intersection of racialization and ethnicity. Discuss what she has to say, adding examples from the other readings for today, or experiences you’ve had or know about.

25. We have discussed how social class is gendered, sexual orientation is raced, etc. (and vice versa). Discuss how oppression of different kinds is in some ways the same, but also varies, depending on the nature of the link between the specific kind of oppression and other identity components. Discuss what Moraga has to say about this.

26. “What the oppressor often succeeds in doing is simply externalizing his fears, projecting them into the bodies of women, Asians, gays, disabled folks, whoever seems most ‘other’.” (Moraga, p. 32). Do you agree? Discuss.

27. What, in your opinion, do people fear that prevents empathy towards an “other”? Moraga says “it is not really difference the oppressor fears so much as similarity. He fears he will discover in himself the same aches, the same longings as those of the people he has shitted on.” Do you agree? Discuss.

28. “Self-hating Jew.” “Ignoring my own homophobia” (Moraga). Give other examples of this process.

1. Omi and Winant: says discovering that by legal definition one is not white because one is 1/32 Negro is “catastrophic.” Why?

2. In contrast to the other major distinction of this type, that of gender, there is no biological basis for distinguishing among human groups along the lines of race (p. 55). Discuss.

3. Racial formation is a process of historically situated projects. Provide two examples of such projects.

4. Race is a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies. Provide two examples.

5. Omi and Winant write that racial formation processes occur through a linkage between structure and representation. Give 2 examples of such linkage.


7. Discuss the neoconservative and liberal conceptualizations of equality with respect to race.

8. If you can, prove an anecdote about a person encountering a non-white person and assuming they are servants or tradespeople.

9. Omi and Winant on p. 64 speak of an essentialist approach. What is this?

10. Do you agree with Omi and Winant that the U.S. has until recently been a racial dictatorship? Discuss.

11. Omi and Winant state that hegemony operates by simultaneously structuring and signifying (p. 68). Give an example.

12. Omi and Winant write that discrimination, far from manifesting itself only (or even principally) through individual actions or conscious policies, is a structural feature of U.S. society (p. 69). What do they mean? Give an example.

13. Omi and Winant say it is important to distinguish racial awareness from racial essentialism (p. 71). What’s the difference?

14. How does Smedley distinguish between “race” and “ethnicity”?

15. When, according to Smedley, did “race” appear in human history? What transformation did it bring about (p. 693-694)? What was its “real meaning”?
16. Discuss “racial ideology” (Smedley p. 696-697).

17. Describe “blood quantum.” What is its purpose? What membership criteria did it replace? Who is the official judge of who is and is not Native American in the U.S.?

18. To what degree is it true that “the black parent has ‘black’ culture and the white parent has ‘white’ culture”? (p. 697)

19. “It was not only slavery that robbed African Americans of their identity. Far more powerful and telling has been the cruelty of racism.” (p. 695). What evidence does Smedley offer for this position?

20. How is race a “social invention” (p. 699)?

21. Compare the Jefferson piece to Peggy Pascoe’s essay on miscegenation law.

22. The Du Bois work, part of a book, was published in 1899. What evidence can you find within the work that it was written more than a century ago?

23. Describe the differences in style between the excerpts from “The Philadelphia Negro” and “The Souls of Black Folk.” Why, do you think?


25. List ten examples of white privilege (Jensen).

26. Describe 3 of the negative responses to Jensen’s newspaper Op Ed essay, and his responses to the points made.

27. Harriet Jacobs’ narrative is very moving. Pick a passage that especially drew your attention you and discuss it. What features made this part so moving?
Questions on Merry, Brown, Johnson, Mark Twain, Wright, Anderson, Dyson, Zinn, Pollock, Rotimi

1. What argument does Merry use in support of Affirmative Action?

2. “The proponents of critical race theory” argue “that racial divisions in the United States are profound and fundamental to the social order, rather than expressions of class inequalities…” (Merry p. 121). Discuss.

3. “Naturalized citizenship was granted to ‘white’ immigrants only, a restriction in force until 1952.” (Merry p. 122). Did you know this? Describe the evolution of U.S. immigration legislation in the 20th century.

4. Also on p. 122, Merry discusses one of the fundamental premises of the political philosophy of liberalism. Describe.

5. What were “domestic dependent nations” (Merry pp. 125-127)?

6. Compare the experience of mainland Native Americans with Native Hawaiians.

7. The excerpts by Du Bois (last week), Johnson, Brown, and Wright provide examples of symbolic violence experienced by non-whites. Discuss.

8. Compare Anderson’s “Police and the black male” to Bourgois.

9. Discuss the interaction between race and gender in the Anderson essay, and in the Dyson essay.

10. Describe three or more socio-economic factors that influence what happens to young black men who catch the attention of the police.

11. Discuss “blame the victim’ social logics and policies” (Dyson, p. 150).

12. Discuss Dyson’s analysis of how rap music influences young black males.

13. The end of Dyson’s essay contains an anecdote showing how race can trump class. Discuss.

14. Zinn discusses unjust treatment of white indentured servants in the colonies. Describe two examples that particularly caught your attention.

15. “One fact disturbed: whites would run off to join Indian tribes, or would be captured in battle and brought up among the Indians, and when this happened, the whites, given a chance to leave, chose to stay in the Indian culture. Indians, having the choice, almost never decided to join the whites.” (Zinn, p. 313). Why, do you suppose?
16. Discuss colonial authorities’ policies that were intended to “create an aversion in them [Indians] to Negroes” (Zinn p. 314).

17. What does Pollock mean by “strategic racialization”?

18. Would you argue that using any race labels is “inherently racist” (Pollock p. 30)? What do Omi and Winant say about this?

19. “We don’t belong to simple race groups, but when it comes to inequality, we do.” (Pollock p. 32). Describe two examples from the Pollock essay.

20. Why did young people work daily in school “to squash their diversity into six groups they called ‘racial’” (Pollock p. 35)—what was in it for them? To what degree were these six groups in fact “racial,” in your opinion?

21. Compare “what are you mixed with?” to “race-bending.”

22. Describe some of the structural supports of the “race-bending”/simple race categories system in Columbus High School.

23. “Still, talk about ‘multicultural’ events and classroom curriculum continually referenced simple racial groups as if these groups had clear-cut borders…” Discuss.

24. Should African Americans use genetics to trace their lineage back to Africa? What is Rotimi’s position?

25. What was the origin of the Yoruba tribe? Did you know this?
Questions on Cole and Guy-Sheftall, McIntosh, Williams, TIME, Lei, Forbes, P. Brown

1. “Is our attainment of patriarchal power through the oppression of women any less insidious than white people’s perpetuation of a system of racial oppression to dehumanize us?” (Cole and Guy-Sheftall: 71). Defend this position. Oppose it.

2. Describe the debate between Frederick Douglass and white suffragists in 1869.

3. What arguments were made by those who opposed equality between black men and women, according to Cole and Guy-Sheftall?

4. Compare Cole and Guy-Sheftall’s essay to the chapters we read by Nagel on the intersections between ethnicity, sexuality, and gender.

5. What are the similarities between racism and sexism? The differences?

6. Define the concept of social control. Then describe Davis’s argument regarding street harassment and social control.

7. Davis speaks of “embodiment.” What does she mean?

8. Davis says that street harassment “can be understood as an element of a larger system of sexual terrorism” (p. 498). Discuss.


10. Imagine some of the arguments men might make opposing the idea that street harassment is harmful. Discuss.

11. Why, according to Davis, is African American street harassment not only a form of gender subordination but also a form of racialization?

12. Describe the “Jezebel image” (p. 502).

13. Davis argues that black men are denied what we might call “patriarchal privilege.” Discuss.

14. Davis refers to African American women’s “multiple consciousness” (p. 504). Compare to Du Bois’ notion of “double consciousness”.

15. What does Patricia Williams mean by “spirit-murder”?

16. Compare McIntosh’s discussion of white privilege to Jensen’s.
17. McIntosh: “I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will.” (p. 97). Is this the way you were taught?

18. McIntosh says that “privilege” carries the connotation “of being something everyone must want. Yet some of the conditions I have described here work to systemically overempower certain groups. Such privilege simply confers dominance.” (p. 101). Discuss.

19. How is white privilege damaging to whites? How is male privilege damaging to males? Compare both to heterosexual privilege.

20. Analyze Williams’ experience buying her house in terms of racism. Then analyze it in terms of “social class considerations.”

21. Lei mentions “discursive and representational acts in producing students as academic and social beings” (p. 158). What does she mean? Give an example.

22. Give an example of Southeast Asian males and black females responding “with strategic acts, resistance, conformity, and disruption to the regulatory systems” (p. 159) in the school (Hope High) Lei studied.

23. Compare Lei’s findings to Cosgrove’s analysis of the zoot suit war.

24. What were the various explanations offered by faculty and students as to why “loud black girls” behave the way they do?

25. How do the people Lei talks to contrast black females with “white womanhood” (p. 2003)? How are the “loud black girls” constructed as Other?

26. Describe one kind of “disciplinary technology” present in the high school you attended.

27. Why, according to Lei, did the (mostly Hmong) “quiet Asian boys” act the way they did?

28. “It is not unusual that there are two opposing representations of a subordinated group, with one ‘good’ image and one ‘bad’ image.” (p. 175). Give two examples, using any minority.

29. Lei says that a risk of the kind of research she conducts is “furthering the harmful reiterations [of stereotyping] simply by writing about and discussing them” (p. 178). Discuss.

30. Summarize Forbes’s argument about the ways in which the categories “Indian” and “Black” are radically different.

31. Contrast the notion of “real Indians” with the notion of “real Blacks.” “The last Indians” with “the last Blacks.”
32. Discuss the obsession with “blackness” as a genetic evil, comparing it to the view of Indians as “a social or cultural evil.” (p. 165). Then substitute another word for “evil” that maintains the basic idea of inferiority.

33. Compare P. Brown’s analysis to Forbes’s. Then, if you can, bring the film “Black Indians” into the discussion.

34. What historical facts concerning European/African/Native American interactions mentioned by Brown were new to you?
General comments on papers:

Be sure to hand in your 1st draft with the final one.

Read your next-to-final draft out loud; you’re likely to catch any awkward phrasing. Switching to “print layout” view and reading through can help, too.

Proofread! Do a spell check!

Provide definitions for terms you’re using a lot. These don’t have to be permanent choices; the best definition is one that helps you the most in your current task.

Make every sentence say something.

Check for redundancies.

Provide a road map somewhere on the first page that lets the reader know what the paper will do.

**How to Write a Paper**

I often offer the following suggestions to undergraduates writing class papers.

**GENERAL FORMAT**

The following general format is often appropriate: "tell them what you're going to tell them; then tell them; then tell them what you told them."

**INTRODUCTION FORMAT**

Begin your paper with a short summary introduction. This summary introduction should answer up to five (5) questions:

1. What question or questions do you address?
2. Why do these questions arise? From what literature or real-world events? Offer background that clarifies your questions and puts them in context.
3. What answer or answers do you offer? Summarize your bottom line in a few sentences.
4. How will you reach your answers? Say a few words about your sources and methods.
5. What comes next? Provide a roadmap to the rest of the paper: "Section I explains how I began my life of crime; Section II details my early arrests; Section III describes my trip to death row; Section IV offers general theoretical conclusion and policy implications." Something of that sort.

Number 1 ("What is your question?") , number 2 ("Why does this question arise?") , and number 3 ("What is your answer?") are essential: make sure you cover them. Numbers 4 and 5 are optional.

Summary introductions of this sort help readers grasp your argument. They also help you diagnose problems with your paper. A summary introduction can be hard to write. A possible reason: gaps or contradictions in your arguments or evidence, which summary exposes. Solution: rethink and reorganize your paper.

**CONCLUSION FORMAT**

Authors often recapitulate their argument in their conclusion; however, a good summary introduction often makes a full summary conclusion redundant. If so, recapitulate quickly and then use your conclusion to explore the implications of your argument. What policy prescriptions follow from your analysis? What general arguments does it call into question, and which does it reinforce? What further research projects does it suggest?
ARGUMENTATION

Four injunctions on argumentation should be kept in mind.

1. Use empirical evidence-- facts, numbers, history-- to support your argument. Purely deductive argument is sometimes appropriate, but argument backed by evidence is always more persuasive.

2. Clearly frame the general point(s) that your evidence supports. Don't ask facts to speak for themselves.

To summarize points 1 and 2: offer evidence to support your arguments and state the arguments your evidence supports.

3. "Argue against yourself." After laying out your argument, acknowledge questions or objections that a skeptical reader might raise, and briefly address them. This shows readers that you were thoughtful, thorough, and paid due regard to possible objections or alternate explanations.

Often, of course, the skeptic would have a good point, and you should grant it. Don't claim too much for your theories or evidence!


WRITING

Good writing is essential to clear thinking and effective communication. So bear the following points in mind:

1. Your paper should make a single point or a handful of related points and should follow a simple organization. Avoid cluttering it with extra points. If you developed an argument that later became ancillary as you rethought your paper, drop the argument from the paper. This is painful ("I sweated hours on that idea!") but extraneous arguments drain power from your main argument.

2. Break your paper into numbered sections and subsections. More sections is better than fewer. Sections help readers see the structure of your argument.

I recommend the following structure for sections / subsections:
a. Your argument;
b. Your supporting evidence;
c. Counter arguments, qualifications, and limiting conditions of your argument.

3. Start each section with several sentences summarizing the argument presented in the section. You may cut these sentences from your final draft if they seem redundant with your summary introduction, but you should include them in your first drafts to see how they look. Writing such summaries is also a good way to force yourself to decide what you are and are not doing in each section, and to force yourself to confront contradictions or shortcomings in your argument.

Often these section summaries are best written after you write the section, but don't forget to add them at some point.

4. Start each paragraph with a topic sentence that distills the point of the paragraph. (Note: The topic sentence can appear as the second sentence in a paragraph, but should not appear later than that.) Later sentences should offer supporting material that explains or elaborates the point of the topic sentence. Qualifications or refutation to counter arguments should then follow. In short, paragraphs should have the same structure as whole sections.

A reader should be able to grasp the thrust of your argument by reading only the first couple of sentences of each paragraph.

5. Write short, declarative sentences. Avoid the passive voice. (Passive voice: "The kulaks were murdered"--but who did it? Active voice: "Stalin murdered the kulaks.")

6. Write from an outline. Outlines are major aids to coherence and readability.

7. Write at a level appropriate for college undergraduate readers--i.e., smart readers without too much background knowledge on your topic. In fact your class papers will be read by teachers who probably know something about your topic, but they want to see how you would lay out your argument for folks who don't. For more advice on writing, see William Strunk Jr., and E. B. White, The Elements of Style, 3d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1979).
VETTING  Ask a friend or two to give your paper a look before you turn it in; and return the favor for them when they have a paper underway. Two heads are better than one, and giving and receiving comments are important skills.

GENERAL BEAUTY TIPS

Take care to turn in a neat, clean paper. Run your spellchecker. A messy-looking paper suggests a messy mind.

HOW TO LEARN MORE ABOUT HOW TO WRITE PAPERS

Reread articles you or others admire and imitate their better aspects.
SOME RULES OF THUMB FOR WRITING PAPERS

Josh Cohen, MIT

Here are a few suggestions about writing papers. Please read through them before you write the first paper.

1. State the main thesis of your paper at (or near) the beginning: say, in the first paragraph. It is not bad to say something like: "I will argue that ...." If you do not have a thesis, get one.

2. Stay focused. Your papers should critically assess some important aspect of one of the theories we have been discussing: the thesis of your paper, stated near the beginning (see point 1 above) will say what that aspect is. Before you get to the evaluation you will need to describe the relevant aspect(s) of the theory you are assessing. But do not try to provide a comprehensive overview of the theory. Instead, guide your presentation by the particular problems that animate your paper. For example, if you are writing on John Rawls's "difference principle," you should not first try to sketch his theory of the original position and the argument for the principle within the original position. Confine yourself to the aspects of Rawls's view that are of immediate relevance to his account of fair distribution. Anything else will be a distraction (and in the short space available, will be done badly).

3. Do not lead with (or conclude with, or otherwise include) sweeping generalities: "Rawls's theory of justice is the most important recent contribution to the perennial human search for the ideal society." "Since Plato, philosophers have sought out the meaning of justice." "For thousands of years, human beings have searched for truth. "Philosophy is based on reason, not rhetoric." (What about: "Man is born free, but is everywhere in chains." If you are Rousseau, then you can break any rule that I have stated here.) Such remarks add nothing of substance; indeed, they subtract by distracting from the issues at hand. Moreover, they suggest that the writer is unsure what to say, and is looking for a way to fill some space. You do not want to create that suspicion. So just get right to the point.

4. Write clearly. That's easier said than done, and hard to make operational. But you can make a first step by writing short sentences, avoiding page-long paragraphs, and being careful to signal transitions. Operationally: If a sentence goes on for more than (say) 5 lines, find a way to divide it up; if a paragraph goes on for more than 20 lines, find a way to divide it up; if your paper falls into sections, make sure to include a sentence or two of connective tissue between the sections. Moreover, put things as simply as you can. Writing philosophy does not require elaborate formulations, esoteric words, purple prose, neologisms, or polysyllabophilia. In a poetry course, things would be different, but in this course,
your writing should focus readers’ attention on the ideas you wish to express, not to the words you have chosen to express those ideas.

5. Do not make the writing boring and clumsy, even if it is clear. Introduce some stylistic variety. For example, do not start every sentence with the subject. Moreover, stay away from passive constructions: instead of "The wheel was invented by Joe," why not: "Joe invented the wheel." Do not have too many sentences that begin "It is..." or "There is...." Though such constructions are sometimes appropriate, overusing them slows things down. Avoid long strings of prepositional clauses. And try not to repeat the same words (unless, by repeating the same words, you are aiming at emphasis).

6. Support assertions. When you attribute views to the person whose ideas you are addressing, indicate the evidence for the attribution by noting relevant passages. But you need not include quotations. As a general rule, you should only quote a passage if the passage plays an important role in the paper (say, it is a passage that you will want to be able to refer back to at various points in the argument), or if you think that there is some controversy about whether the philosopher actually held the view that you are attributing to him or her. Do not submit a paper that strings together lots of quotations.

7. Take the views you are discussing seriously. The philosophers we are reading are not fools. If, as you describe the relevant parts of their views, you find yourself attributing foolish views to them, assume you have misinterpreted. (Perhaps you have not. But treat "misinterpretation" as the default setting.) One strategy for taking a view seriously is to “argue against yourself”: ask yourself how the philosopher you are criticizing would respond to your criticism. Try to get “inside” the conception you are discussing; develop a sense of its internal integrity, and see if you are able to understand how someone (who is neither a moron nor a sociopath) might have come to hold the views in question. The books and articles we are reading are the product of sustained reflection, over a long period. The authors often distributed drafts of their manuscripts to other people, and then tried to incorporate responses to the objections they received. The result is not that their views are right, or genuinely coherent, or nice. But you can be sure that they have greater depth and coherence than you may suspect on first reading.

8. When you finish writing, read your paper out loud. Writing that does not sound right will not read right.

Applying these rules of thumb will require that you spend some time editing your papers after writing a first draft. But the additional time will be worth it. Your papers for this course will be better than they would otherwise be, and you will eventually start to edit as you write.
A few points about writing assignments:

1. Papers will be handed back one week after you hand them in, so if you ask for an extension, the entire process will be extended.

2. Your revision is due a week after you get your first draft back. If scheduling with the writing tutor becomes difficult, let me know and we’ll extend the deadline. You must tell me the new deadline you are requesting.

3. A “first draft” of a paper does NOT mean that you can hand in a “rough” draft. It needs to be as finished as you can possibly make it, which includes proper citations, date, title, numbered pages (!!), correct spelling, logical structure, introduction and conclusions, etc., etc.

4. If you have questions about proper citation practice, consult any of our readings.

5. Avoid long quotes. If you must include one, any quote that takes up more than 5 lines needs to be indented. But far more preferable is to paraphrase, which is perfectly fine so long as you cite your source. For example:

   Johnson notes that the quick brown fox jumped over the lazy poodle, and goes on to say that colorless green ideas sleep peacefully (1987: 16).

7. When writing your papers, create a reader in your mind and then write addressing that person. Your Aunt Sue or your Uncle Bob are good candidates. This imagined reader should be someone you have to explain a fair amount to. Keeping that reader in mind will help you to include important background information. Do NOT write thinking of me as your reader.

6. Read “Written Assignments—Rules of Thumb” and “How to Write a Paper” on the class website.