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THE MICROPOLITICS OF GENDER IN NONINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

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Regression analysis using coded ethnographic data from a sample of 93 nonindustrial societies showed that patterns of child rearing and property control are significantly associated with outward displays of men's dominance. In societies in which women exercise significant control over property and men have close relationships with children, men infrequently affirm their manliness through boastful demonstrations of strength, aggressiveness, and sexual potency. Under these conditions, women show less deference to men, and husbands are less likely to dominate wives. Displays of manliness are also prevalent in less complex societies with frequent warfare. An ideology of women's inferiority was found to be most common in complex societies with distant father-child relationships. Illustrative cases are presented, and theoretical explanations for observed correlations are discussed.

In modern industrial societies the everyday rituals of face-to-face interaction provide occasions for actively constructing gender (Goffman 1977; West and Zimmerman 1987). The same is true in nonindustrial societies—perhaps even more so, as status norms are not mitigated by bureaucratic rules. Using a representative cross-cultural sample of 93 nonindustrial societies, I investigated the circumstances associated with various asymmetric gender interactions and displays. The central research problem was to isolate the social conditions under which men are likely to assert and defend their manliness, women are apt to show deference toward men, and husbands are likely to dominate wives. Gender ideology was also investigated by assessing the likelihood that society members would consider women, in general, to be inferior to men. While the focus of this research was on men's involvement

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in child rearing and the extent of women's property control, hypotheses concerning other social conditions and processes were also tested.

Using a similar methodology and a complementary sample of nonindustrial societies, I reported previously (Coltrane 1988) that the closeness of father-child relationships and the strength of fraternal interest groups were significantly related to women's public office holding and participation in community decision making. In contrast, in this study I focused on the micropolitics of everyday interaction by investigating interpersonal deference and patterns of gender display. Including a measure of women's property control unavailable for the previous study allowed for the testing of additional hypotheses derived from materialist theories.

Although the gendered social relations of production, politics, marriage, and child rearing are mutually determining aspects of a complex social whole, for the purposes of this analysis, I assumed that distinct societal patterns could explain cross-cultural variation in men's displays of manliness and women's deference. While it is unrealistic to assume that a specific form of gender display has a single cause, it is useful to isolate and compare the contributions of hypothetical competing independent variables. For instance, if ecological, economic, or political variables accounted for most of the observed cross-cultural variation in men's display of manliness, then child-rearing practices could be considered an epiphenomenon. Similarly, if specific subsistence activities or the frequency of warfare accounted for most of the variance in patterns of women's deference toward men, then we might consider women's property control a secondary factor.

GENDER DISPLAYS IN NONINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Ethnographers have provided richly detailed descriptions of myths, rituals, and everyday life in societies that are preoccupied with separating men and women. Most of these descriptions are of small-scale preliterate societies from the New Guinea Highlands or the Amazonian forests, where men's antagonism toward women is especially vivid and widespread (see Gelber 1986; Herdt 1981; Randolph, Schneider, and Diaz 1988; Strathern 1987). The Mundurucu of Brazil are often used to illustrate men's fierce public displays and denigration of women. Competitive physical contests, vociferous oratory, ceremonies related to warfare, exclusive men's houses and rituals, and sexual violence against women are common among the Mundurucu. Wives, although assertive, are typically deferential to their husbands, and

young women are expected to sit in the rear, walk in the rear of a file, and eat after the men (Murphy and Murphy 1985).

Not all tribes of the Amazonian rain forests exhibit these patterns. The men of the Machiguenga tribe of Peru cooperate with their wives in subsistence activities, take part in child care, and do not formally initiate boys into exclusive men's houses or rituals. The ideal man in Machiguenga culture is soft-spoken and nonviolent. He is honest, hardworking, loyal to his family, has some shamanistic healing skills, behaves decorously, and is respectful of others' independence. Machiguenga men are not expected to be violent or aggressive, and men who become enraged or have trouble controlling their aggression are described as *tovatu iseraritake*—literally, "plenty of he-male-is." Rather than being honored or respected, such men are avoided, and if they cause too much fear in the community, they are driven off or even killed (Johnson and Johnson 1988).

Societies that are relatively unconcerned with demarcating men from women are less common than those concerned with affirming men's masculinity, but comparatively egalitarian societies have existed in every major region of the world (Whyte 1978c). When Europeans first encountered the people of Tahiti, they were surprised by the lack of differentiation between genders. Women could do almost anything a man did, including conversing with whomever they pleased, initiating sex, participating in men's sports, occasionally wrestling with men, and even becoming chiefs. Later field work among the Tahitians (Levy 1973) revealed that gender differences were still "blurred" or "blended." Men were no more aggressive than women, and women did not seem "softer" or more "maternal" than the men. Men routinely cooked and prepared food, showing little concern for defining themselves as essentially different from women. For example, Tahitian men often assumed the role of women when explaining local customs to visitors:

Teri'i Tu [a Tahitian informant] demonstrated the traditional method of giving birth to men and to his youngest children by pretending he was pregnant and sitting down on the floor in the proper position. He then asked his oldest sons to pretend to help him with the delivery. Other men when talking about the nursing of a baby, showed how it was done by holding an imaginary baby to their own breasts. (Levy 1973, 235)

The Tahitian language also reflects the society's lack of concern with gender difference: Pronouns and nouns do not indicate the gender of subject or object.

Tahitian men have been described by ethnographers as passive and timid. In actuality, they are gentle and mild tempered and show little concern for

expressing or protecting their manliness. Masculine rites of passage are simple and unstressful, and no onus is attached to crying out, showing fear, or fainting during a minor superincision of the penis. Because there is no concept of "male honor" to defend, even when Tahitian men are cheated, they do not seek revenge; when provoked, they rarely become aggressive (Gilmore 1990).

In contrast to Tahitian men, those from Amhara, an African Semitic-speaking tribe of rural cultivators, seem obsessed with their masculinity. They have a passionate belief in manliness called *wand-nat* that involves aggressiveness, stamina, and bold "courageous action" in the face of danger. Adolescent Amhara boys must show their *wand-nat* during whipping ceremonies, and any sign of weakness is greeted with taunts and mockery (Levine 1966). In addition to showing courage while enduring physical punishment, young Amhara men must demonstrate potency on their wedding night by waving a bloody sheet of marital consummation before the assembled villagers (Reminick 1976). This ceremonial defloration demonstrates the man's sexual prowess as well as the bride's virginity. According to Gilmore (1990), a young man's performance in the marriage bed and on the mock battlefield must be visibly displayed, recorded, and confirmed by his Amhara kinsmen. Such public displays are essential to being considered a true man.

Men's displays of manliness are often found in conjunction with women's displays of deference toward men, such as following men's orders, refraining from challenging men in public, or sitting behind them at gatherings (Whiting and Whiting 1975). The association between displays of bravado and institutionalized deference is illustrated by the reindeer Chukchee of Siberia. Women do most of the daily work but are not allowed to eat until after the men and must sleep in the cold outer tent to make room for visiting guests. The Chukchee saying "Being women, eat crumbs" has a behavioral counterpart: Only men consume choice cuts of meat and delicacies such as brains and marrow; women must gnaw on bones and collect food scraps. Men consider women to be inferior, generally treat them harshly, and frequently beat their wives. The Chukchee saying "Since you are a woman, be silent" is repeated every time a severely reprovved woman dares to defend herself. Chukchee men enjoy ribald sayings and lewd gestures, and when their sexual advances are refused by a woman, they are inclined to violence and rape.

Chukchee men also engage in various boastful competitions among themselves. Warfare was common in the past, and men still occupy much of their leisure time with athletic exercise, wrestling, running, and fencing with spears. Chukchee men are described as volatile and easily angered:

The Chukchee, when angry, growls, shows his teeth, and makes a threatening bite on his sleeve or on the handle of his knife, in defiance of his foe. Some of them, when angered, shed tears of rage, and tear their hair like unruly children. Their language is singularly poor in abusive terms, and quarrels are immediately settled by blows or wrestling. (Bogoras 1909, 45)

Not all societies with institutionalized patterns of wifely deference consider women to be inferior or require that men display prowess in public demonstrations. Powdermaker (1933) described sexual and social relationships among the Lesu of the South Pacific as complementary and equal, and husband-wife relationships as intimate and affectionate:

No woman is ever taken against her will, and rape by a native is unknown. If a woman does not want to go with a man she merely says 'no,' giving an excuse or not, as she pleases. Usually she will merely say that she does not feel like it, and that ends the matter. (p. 245)

Compared to Chukchee men, Lesu men are more nurturant toward children and less antagonistic toward women. Nevertheless, Lesu husbands often hit their wives, and women are excluded from many social gatherings. Exclusive men's houses exist, where men participate in rituals and older boys, unmarried men, and husbands of pregnant wives sleep at night. While Lesu women show some deference toward men, displays of manliness are virtually absent. Antagonistic behaviors are rare, boasting and bravado are considered in very bad taste, and Lesu men frequently disparage themselves and belittle their own contributions in public speeches made at feasts and rites (Powdermaker 1933).

The foregoing examples illustrate a wide range of variation in patterns of gender display and interaction between men and women. In some societies, men are preoccupied with expressing their manhood and separating themselves from women. In others, they are relatively unconcerned with establishing or maintaining distance and dominance. Although public demonstrations of men's dominance and women's submission tend to occur together, these examples also show that displays of manliness, women's deference, husband's dominance, and an ideology of women's inferiority can vary independently. In the ensuing discussion, I identify some of the social patterns that have been suggested as causes of these phenomena.

SOCIAL PATTERNS AND GENDER DISPLAYS

Variation in gender displays is theoretically linked to child-rearing practices, conflicts over resources, and property control. While many theories

span two or more of these categories, I will briefly summarize their central arguments separately in order to identify hypotheses for testing.

Child Rearing

Mead (1949) was one of the first to claim that men's preoccupation with pride in masculinity reflected womb-envy, which resulted from infant boys' initial close relationship with their mothers. In order to realize themselves as different from their mothers, Mead suggested, men create exclusive male activities and devalue women. Whiting (1965) also suggested that infrequent contact with fathers promotes "protest masculinity" in boys, who attempt to prove their manliness through threatening or violent behavior and daring acts of physical strength and athletic prowess. Similarly, Slater's (1968) investigation of gender relations in Ancient Greece and other non-industrial societies found an association between "narcissism" (pursuit of military glory, pugnacity, sensitivity to humiliation, boasting, scorning, and exhibitionistic displays) and what he called "diluted marriage" (polygynous family form, lengthy postpartum sex taboo, and exclusive mother-son sleeping arrangements).

Other researchers investigating men's behaviors in nonindustrial societies have focused on rituals, suggesting that male circumcision, initiation rites, bloodletting, and the *couvade* symbolically resolve men's gender-identity problems that stem from father-absent child rearing (Burton and Whiting 1961; Herdt 1990; Munroe and Munroe 1973; Munroe, Munroe, and Whiting 1981). Broude (1989) suggests that father-absent societies may produce male adolescents who are preoccupied with their masculinity, not because they must break an overidentification with their mother, but because they lack stern fathers who might curb their supposed "natural" aggressiveness.

Contemporary social theorists suggest that modern men's alienation from the birth process (M. O'Brien 1981) or lack of participation in child rearing (Chodorow 1978; Dinnerstein 1976) promotes gender inequality by encouraging men to develop exclusive masculine enclaves and to devalue women. In addition, men's estrangement from infant care is seen as perpetuating various forms of masculine rationality, aggression, violence, and domination (Balbus 1982; Easlea 1981; Hearn 1987). These theories imply that men in societies with fathers who are not involved in child rearing will define themselves in opposition to women. Because they are preoccupied with establishing and reaffirming their manliness, men in father-absent societies would be expected to boast and act belligerently, demand ritual deference from women, and define women as inferior.

Conflicts over Resources

Theories stressing the importance of subsistence practices and conflicts over resources explain men's boastful and aggressive behavior and wives' deference by focusing on the potential impacts of warfare, hunting, and herding. Some posit links between ecological scarcity, armed conflict, fraternal interest group formation, and gender inequality. For instance, Harris (1977) and Sanday (1981) see an ideology of men's superiority as a defensive response to ecological stress that requires men to make war. Warfare, in turn, is seen as encouraging outward displays of manliness.

In cases of endemic warfare, the solidarity of men as a political unity capable of mobilizing for offense or defense takes priority over attachment to family, which is viewed as "womanly." The combat effectiveness of men is enhanced by participation in competitive sports such as wrestling, racing, dueling, and many forms of individual and mock combat (Divale and Harris 1976, 524-25). An idealization of bravery and violent glory are seen as motivating men to risk their lives repeatedly (Chafetz 1984; Slater 1968). Under the constant threat of war, myths and ritual practices tend to portray women as inferior to men (Divale and Harris 1976; Sanday 1981). By defining themselves as superior, men symbolically elaborate their separateness from women (Johnson and Johnson 1988). Thus, in societies with chronic warfare, men would be expected to place great emphasis on displays of manliness, demand ritual deference from women, and maintain an ideology of women's inferiority.

Some theorists suggest that when the basic subsistence activities of a society are hunting large game or herding large domestic animals, men will monopolize those activities (Chafetz 1984; Martun and Voorhies 1975; Tiger 1969), form all-male collectivities, and display manliness in ways similar to those found in warlike societies (Divale and Harris 1976; Ferguson 1988; Tiger and Fox 1971). In addition, since herding is likely to produce conflict over territory, warfare is more likely, further encouraging displays of manliness (Chafetz 1984; Friedl 1975; Whiting and Whiting 1975).

Property Control

The foregoing theories grant temporal priority to subsistence activities, scarce resources, or warfare but suggest that these factors promote the formation and maintenance of strong fraternal interest groups. Men's control over warfare, resources, and women becomes institutionalized in the form of men-centered lineage systems and residence patterns. Whereas matrilineality is typically associated with a relatively low degree of gender stratification,

patrilineality is often associated with low status and prestige for women (Blumberg 1984; Chafetz 1984; Friedl 1975; Martin and Voorhies 1975; Schlegel 1972). In a system of patrilineage, not only is descent reckoned through the male line, but there is a tendency for inheritance to flow disproportionately to men (Chafetz 1984). Patrilocal residence requires women to move near their husband's kin groups at marriage and is commonly seen as enabling men to appropriate women's labor and products while it enhances the authority of senior men (Coontz and Henderson 1986). In sum, patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence create strong fraternal interest groups linking coresident, related men; enhancing their power; and limiting women's power and prestige (Collins 1971; Paige and Paige 1981; Ross 1986). Therefore, one can predict that patrilineality and patrilocal residence will tend to be associated with men's displays of manliness, women's deference, and an ideology of women's inferiority.

Johnson and Johnson (1988) describe how societal complexity and resource accumulation can lead to an emphasis on displays of manliness (here called hypermasculinity):

Many factors—warfare, large-scale capital (e.g., whaling boats), food storage and redistribution during a famine season, and trade—can bring about the need for family men to abandon their precious independence and join a community of families. In so doing, they place themselves in a competitive political economy in which other men, some of them quite fierce and ruthless, are continually “elbowing” for room. A man who does not rise to the challenge of the political sphere, to be strong and feared, to maintain a network of reliable political and military allies, to push back when pushed or even to push first, is a “fool” who can count on no mercy from others. He must arouse himself to hypermasculinity and maintain that state of arousal continuously, or slip in others' esteem and be shoved aside. (Johnson and Johnson 1988, 52-53)

Whether rising levels of societal complexity and wealth accumulation necessarily lead to lowered status for women is the subject of some debate (see, e.g., Collins 1971; Coontz and Henderson 1986; Leacock 1986; Leibowitz 1978; Lenski 1966; Whyte 1978c). Although large contributions to the subsistence economy are not necessarily associated with high status for women (Coltrane 1988; Whyte 1978c), materialist theories predict that women's control over the disposal and use of the fruits of productive labor will be associated with greater prestige for women (Blumberg 1984; Sacks 1979). High levels of women's control over valued property should also correspond to less deferential treatment of men by women, and an ideology of gender equality.

The relationship between women's control over property and men's display of manliness is more difficult to predict. Men's public displays could

be seen as either compensation for, or confirmation of, property relations. Women's control of resources might be perceived by men as a threat to their status, thus evoking defensive posturing and shows of bravado. On the other hand, when women control the fruits of productive labor, men are more likely to interact with them as equals on a daily basis. This cross-gender exchange, complementary division of labor, and maintenance of mixed-gender interest groups could result in more egalitarian interactive behavior.

Summary of Hypotheses

Using the preceding theories, I predicted that men's display of manliness, women's deference to men, husbands' dominance of wives, and an ideology of women's inferiority would be associated with (1) distant father-child relationships, (2) low levels of women's control over property, (3) patrilineal descent systems, (4) patrilocal residence patterns, (5) frequent warfare, (6) high reliance on the hunting of large game, (7) high reliance on the herding of large animals, and (8) high levels of societal complexity. In addition, I predicted that the four dependent variables would covary together; that is, that an ideology of women's inferiority would be sustained and enacted in ritual displays of manliness, husbands dominating wives, and women deferring to men.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sample

The sample for this study was composed of the odd-numbered societies of the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (SCCS) from the *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock 1967; Murdock and White 1969; Whyte 1978a). Other recent research on the status of women in nonindustrial societies (Coltrane 1988; Ross 1986) used the even-numbered societies (with substitutions in cases of missing data). The SCCS is a stratified purposive sample intended to represent all nonindustrial cultures that have been known to exist and about which there is some information. The major geographical regions of the world—Sub-Saharan Africa, Circum-Mediterranean, East Eurasia, Insular Pacific, North America, and South America—are approximately equally represented.

The earliest "anthropological present" for societies with information on the variables of interest is C.E. 110 (Romans), but over 90 percent of the ethnographies used to construct codes for this sample were written after 1800.

One of the problems of coding these societies for social behaviors and beliefs is the necessity of making unitary judgments about an entire culture. Whyte (1978c, 18) addresses this problem by using the local settlement as the coding unit and coding for the customs of the largest part of the cultural group, or men and women who are commoners, rather than focusing on practices that apply only to ruling elites or to despised minorities.

In addition, some of the data may not be valid because most of the ethnographers were men who might have lacked reliable informants to describe women's social realities. Although Whyte (1978b) contends that similar topics were covered by both men and women ethnographers and that no systematic distortions are introduced by relying on the available ethnographic accounts, some recent research by feminist anthropologists challenges this assumption (D. O'Brien 1984). In light of a probable neglect of women's perspectives, it can be assumed that strictly behavioral measures have the highest validity and that measures of ideology, while intended to represent the entire culture, may be biased toward men's perspectives. A confounding problem, however, is that codes sometimes conflate behaviors and norms, ostensibly because of the lack of detail in the ethnographic sources. Given these threats to validity, findings based on these data must be interpreted cautiously. While the SCCS is perhaps the most detailed and representative data source of its kind, the codes should be considered approximations of broad cultural patterns rather than detailed specifications of exact practices.

Most of the 93 societies in the current subsample are relatively small scale, with about one-half representing autonomous local communities with populations of under 1,500. About one-third of the societies have subsistence economies primarily reliant on gathering, hunting, or fishing—with the remaining two-thirds dependent on agriculture or animal husbandry. Almost one-third of the societies are seminomadic or nomadic, almost one-fourth are composed of dispersed home sites or hamlets, and under one-half have permanent villages or larger settlements. (For a more complete description of sample characteristics see Whyte 1978a, 1978c).

Dependent Variables

Men's display of manliness. A three-point score measured defiant displays of manliness. Whyte (1978a) originally labeled this variable "machismo" and coded it by answering the question, "Is there a generally high value placed on males being aggressive, strong, and sexually potent?" In 27

percent of the societies there was "little or no emphasis" on such behavior; in 41 percent, "moderate emphasis"; and in 32 percent, "marked emphasis" (Whyte 1978a, 226).

Women's deference toward men. A six-item Guttman scale measured institutionalized deference shown by women to men. Whyte (1978a, 224) labeled this variable "wife to husband institutionalized deference," because many of the items contributing to the scale explicitly refer to marital relations (domestic decisions, wife disputes husband, wife kneels and bows when greeting husband). Two items, however, are more general indicators of ritualized deference showed by all women to all men (attendance at social gatherings and seating priority). While the Guttman scale is thus a combination of both wife-to-husband deference and women-to-men deference, the more inclusive label is used in this study. In 65 percent of the sample societies, wives defer to husbands in domestic decisions; in 48 percent, women are excluded from many social gatherings; in 23 percent, wives rarely dispute husbands; in 12 percent, men are given seating priority; and in 4 percent, wives kneel and bow when greeting their husbands.

Husbands' dominance of wives. A three-point measure of husbands' dominance was coded in answer to the question, "Is there an explicit view that men should and do dominate their wives?" (Whyte 1978a, 225). Note that this item explicitly includes both normative and behavioral components. In 67 percent of the sample societies, husbands were rated as dominating wives. In 30 percent of the societies, there was evidence of rough equality between husbands and wives, and in 3 percent of the societies, wives dominated husbands.

Ideology of women's inferiority. A dichotomous measure of gender ideology was coded in response to the question, "Is there a clearly stated belief that women are generally inferior to men?" Whyte (1978c, 87) clarifies the coding of this variable by specifying that it means "inferior in several different ways, and for all women." In 29 percent of the societies, such a belief was evident, but a full 71 percent of societies had no such belief.

Independent Variables

Child-rearing patterns. In over 80 percent of the sample societies, children between the ages of 18 months and five years were coded as

spending less than one-half of their time with their mothers (Barry and Paxson 1971). While other caretakers are often women, many of these societies have involved fathers. Barry and Paxson (1971) rated the sample societies in terms of a five-point scale of paternal proximity during early childhood. Four percent of societies exhibited no close proximity; 14 percent exhibited rare instances of close proximity; 31 percent exhibited occasional or irregular close proximity; 46 percent exhibited frequent close proximity; and 5 percent exhibited regular close relationship and companionship. The Barry and Paxson rating is technically a measure of physical proximity, but after reviewing the source materials, Katz and Konner (1981, 172) concluded that "this scale is a global measure of the father-child relationship in terms of both emotional warmth and physical proximity."

Women's control of property. This variable was measured by a four-point scale of the equally weighted means of five separate variables: (1) property inheritance, (2) ownership and control of dwellings, (3) control over the disposal and use of the fruits of men's labor, (4) women's labor, and (5) joint labor (Whyte 1978a). In this sample, 11 percent of societies ranked high on this scale, 65 percent ranked moderately high, 20 percent ranked moderately low, and 4 percent ranked low.

Patrilineal descent. A dichotomous measure indicating presence (39 percent) or absence (61 percent) of this form of descent reckoning was used (Murdock and Wilson 1972).

Patrilocal residence. Following Paige and Paige (1981, 283), avunculocal residence was included with patrilocality. Seventy percent of the sample were rated as having patrilocal postmarital residence patterns (Murdock and Wilson 1972).

Frequency of warfare. Sample societies were coded as high (49 percent) if local intercommunity armed conflict was endemic, and low (51 percent) if it was absent, or if it took place before the adulthood of living community men (Whyte 1978d).

Reliance on hunting. This was a dichotomous variable indicating if large animals (e.g., buffalo, bear, deer, lion) were both hunted and important to the local diet. Forty-nine percent of sample societies were rated as reliant on hunting (Whyte 1978d).

Reliance on herding. This was a dichotomous variable indicating that at least moderate numbers of large domestic animals (buffaloes, cattle, horses, mithun, reindeer) were kept and whether they were milked or not. Forty-four percent of the sample societies were rated as reliant on herding (Whyte 1978d).

Societal complexity. This variable was operationalized with an additive scale that included writing and record keeping, fixity of residence, reliance on agriculture, urbanization, technological specialization, land transport, use of money, density of population, level of political integration, and social stratification (Murdock and Provost 1973). The range for this variable was from 0 to 40, with the societies dispersed relatively evenly across the possible scores.

Data Analysis

Bivariate correlations and multiple regression were used in this analysis. Like other researchers using the SCCS, I employed statistics that are designed for random samples, so tests of significance should be interpreted as reflecting only minimum potential error. Technically, the data also violate the formal assumptions of the fixed regression model, since variables do not reflect an interval or ratio level of measurement. Nevertheless, many researchers using the SCCS employ multivariate correlational techniques similar to those used in this analysis (see, e.g., Paige and Paige 1981; Ross 1986; Sanday 1981). For a justification of why inequality of intervals does not preclude use of ordinary least squares regression models, see Cohen and Cohen (1983, 241).

FINDINGS

Bivariate analysis of the data revealed that most of the independent variables were associated with the dependent variables in the predicted direction. Exceptions to this pattern are discussed below when multivariate results are presented. The bivariate analysis also indicated that problems associated with multicollinearity were minimal. Only three of the Spearman correlation coefficients between independent variables exceeded an absolute value of .37: patrilineality and patrilocality ($r_s = .43$); societal complexity and hunting ($r_s = -.50$); and societal complexity and herding ($r_s = .51$). The bivariate correlation between women's property control and men's child

rearing was small and negative ($r_s = -.09$). Of the independent variables, only reliance on hunting was correlated with father-child relationships at an absolute value of more than .09 ($r_s = -.15$). Correlations between dependent variables ranged from a low of $r_s = .19$ for women's deference and men's display of manliness to a high of $r_s = .57$ for husband's dominance and women's deference. The moderate strength of association between dependent variables (mean $r_s = .39$) suggests that they can be considered relatively distinct dimensions of asymmetric gender display.

Table 1 summarizes the results of the multiple regression analysis. Results are discussed separately for each dependent variable.

Men's Display of Manliness

Three of the eight social patterns hypothesized to account for men's display of manliness reached statistical significance in the predicted direction: father-child relationships ($\beta = -.38, p < .01$); women's control of property ($\beta = -.27, p < .05$); and frequency of warfare ($\beta = .26, p < .05$). Thus men in societies with distant father-child relationships, little control of property by women, and frequent warfare were most likely to affirm manliness through public displays of strength, aggressiveness, and sexual potency. Societal complexity reached statistical significance ($\beta = -.29, p < .05$), but in the opposite direction from that predicted. Men in *less* developed societies were the most likely to boast and act belligerently. The regression model predicted a significant amount of the variance in this dependent variable (Model $R^2 = .35; F = 3.8, p < .01$).

Women's Deference to Men

As predicted, societies with close father-child relationships ($\beta = -.29, p < .01$) and significant control of property by women ($\beta = -.41, p < .01$) had the lowest levels of institutionalized deference. While the bivariate correlation between patrilocal residence and women's deference was nonsignificant ($r_s = .004$), in the multivariate model, patrilocal residence had a significant *negative* effect on deference ($\beta = -.45, p < .01$). While nonsignificant, the statistical effect of frequent warfare on women's deference was also negative rather than positive as predicted ($\beta = -.24, p = .09$). The statistical effect of patrilineal descent approached, but did not reach, significance in the predicted direction ($\beta = .24, p = .09$). Equation 2 presents the regression model for women's deference toward men ($R^2 = .32, F = 3.27, p < .01$).

TABLE 1: Regression Equations for Displays of Men's Dominance in Nonindustrial Societies

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables (Standardized Coefficients— β)										F Ratio	Adjusted R ²	R ²
	Close Father- Child Relations	Women Control Property	Patrilineal	Patrilocal	Frequent Warfare	Hunt	Herd	Societal Complexity					
Men display manliness (n = 66)	-.38**	-.27*	10	-.02	26*	08	11	-.29*	3.80**	26	35		
Women defer to men (n = 64)	-.29**	-.41**	24	-.45**	-.24	15	07	07	3.27**	22	32		
Husbands dominate wives (n = 48)	-.34*	-.34*	27	-.13	-.12	-.15	-.15	-.10	1.76	11	27		
Women considered inferior (n = 72)	-.23*	-.16	08	-.08	02	04	13	29*	2.35*	13	23		

*p < .05; **p < .01

Husbands' Dominance

Primarily because of case loss resulting from missing data, the fit of the regression model for husbands' dominance was not as good as for the other dependent variables ($R^2 = .27$, $F = 1.76$, $p = .12$). Nevertheless, results are similar to those reported for manliness and deference. Close father-child relationships ($\beta = -.34$, $p < .05$) and control of property by women ($\beta = -.34$, $p < .05$) predicted less dominance of wives by husbands. Among the remaining independent variables, only patrilineal descent approached statistical significance ($\beta = .27$, $p = .10$). While nonsignificant, coefficients for patrilocal residence, warfare, hunting, herding, and societal complexity were opposite from that predicted by the theories.

Ideology of Women's Inferiority

The regression model predicting an ideology of women's inferiority was statistically significant ($R^2 = .23$, $F = 2.35$, $p < .05$). Societies with distant father-child relationships ($\beta = -.23$, $p < .05$) and those that are more complex ($\beta = .29$, $p < .05$) were most likely to have clearly stated beliefs that women are inferior to men. Women's control of property had the next largest coefficient but did not reach statistical significance ($\beta = -.16$, $p = .19$). Other independent variables had nonsignificant effects on gender ideology.

DISCUSSION

Theories of gender stratification suggest that at least eight different social patterns promote interactional displays and cultural ideologies of men's dominance in nonindustrial societies: distant fathers, propertyless women, patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, frequent warfare, hunting, herding, and societal complexity. In this multivariate analysis, only the variable distant father-child relationships was consistently correlated with men's display of manliness, women's deference toward men, husbands' dominance of wives, and an ideology of women's inferiority. In addition, little control of property by women was consistently correlated with the first three dependent variables (see Figure 1). Patrilocal residence had an effect opposite to that predicted and influenced only one aspect of men's dominance behavior—women's deference. Frequent warfare had a predicted effect but only on displays of manliness. Patrilineal descent and reliance on hunting and herding had no significant effect on the dependent variables when the other independent variables were simultaneously entered in the regression equa-

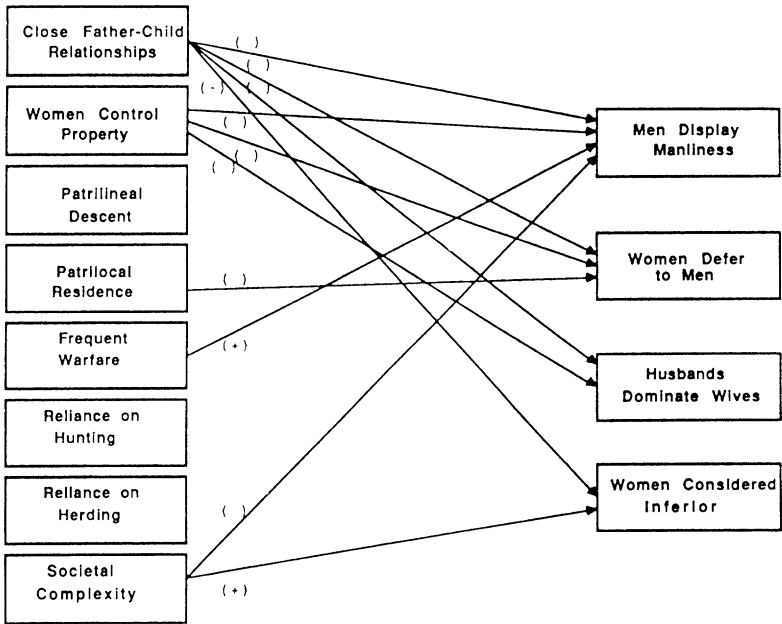


Figure 1: Social Patterns and Displays of Men's Dominance

NOTE. Arrows represent statistically significant regression coefficients ($p < .05$).

tions. Societal complexity had opposite effects on two of the dependent variables: Low complexity was associated with more frequent displays of manliness and high complexity with an ideology of women's inferiority. While correlational analysis cannot specify causal processes associated with these behaviors and beliefs, the results of this analysis provide support for theories stressing the importance of child socialization (e.g., Chodorow 1978) and theories focusing on control of economic resources rather than just subsistence contributions (e.g., Blumberg 1984).

The best fitting multivariate regression model was for men's display of manliness. This variable captured both normative and behavioral dimensions of men's emphasis on boastful demonstrations of strength, aggressiveness, and sexual potency. As predicted by socialization theories, men in societies with distant father-child relationships were the most likely to be preoccupied with displays of manliness. Men in societies with close father-child relationships, in contrast, were unlikely to emphasize their masculinity through public displays of bellicosity. As suggested by some materialist theories, wom-

en's lack of control over property—including the ability to inherit wealth, own dwellings, and use the fruits of productive labor—was associated with men's displaying more belligerence and bravado. This finding suggests that men's displays of dominance confirm and reinforce existing property relations rather than compensate for a lack of control over valued resources. Another predicted relationship that reached statistical significance was between warfare and displays of manliness. Men in societies engaged in frequent warfare were more likely to be preoccupied with boastful and antagonistic displays than those in societies where warfare was rare. Finally, in societies that were more complex, as evidenced by factors like population density, technological development, and political integration, there was less emphasis placed on men's displaying strength, aggression, and sexual prowess.

The findings concerning women's deference toward men reflect the substantial influence of both child rearing and property holding on institutionalized patterns of gender display. If women control the use and distribution of property and men participate in child rearing, societies are much less likely to require that women show deference to men through a variety of ritualized behaviors. A surprising anomaly was that when the effects of all other independent variables were simultaneously accounted for, societies with patrilocal postmarital residence patterns were found to have *lower* levels of women's deference. While this could be a statistical artifact resulting from moderate association between patrilocality and other independent variables, it might also reflect a substantive third-order effect that emerges after controlling for such factors as woman's control of property and patrilineal descent. In patrilocal societies, wives' dependence on husbands is more assured than in matrilocal, neolocal, or ambilocal residence patterns, so ritualistic deference displays may be unnecessary, although some patrilocal societies do develop and institutionalize various forms of wife-to-husband deference. When men move away from their own kin upon marrying, they are subject to institutionalized controls by the wife's kin. The tenuousness of their access to valued resources may be symbolically reversed by requiring that wives defer to husbands in public settings and domestic decisions. This finding was one of the few suggesting an interpretation of ritual compensation, rather than confirmation, of existing property and political relations between women and men.

Findings for husbands' dominating wives followed the same general pattern as for the other dependent variables. Close father-child relationships were associated with more behavioral and normative equality between husbands and wives. Similarly, those societies with substantial property holding

by women were found to exhibit less dominance in marital relations than societies in which men control most of the valued resources.

Although displays of manliness were found to be most common in smaller and less differentiated societies, ideologies of women's inferiority were most common in more complex societies. This was true in spite of the fact that displays of manliness and an ideology of women's inferiority were moderately and positively correlated with each other. Thus what is acted out in ritualized daily interactions in less complex societies may be institutionalized in more general cultural belief systems in larger and more stratified societies. At all levels of societal complexity, however, distant father-child relationships were significantly associated with a general belief that women are inferior to men. These findings lend support to theories suggesting that a social psychology of men's superiority is linked to exclusive maternal child rearing.

Because women's control of property can be considered causally prior to men's involvement in child rearing, the modest association between them was unanticipated. Equally surprising were the low levels of association between men's child rearing and a host of other ecological and political variables. Descent systems, residence patterns, frequency of warfare, reliance on herding, and societal complexity were virtually unrelated to father-child relationships, and reliance on hunting was only moderately related to low levels of fathers' involvement with children. Imprecise specification and measurement may account for the lack of association between independent variables in this sample. While such matters are difficult to test empirically, I assume that ecological scarcity, subsistence techniques, armed conflict, and political economies are temporally prior to various forms of parent-child interaction. I hope that more detailed data can be developed on these and other variables, so that we might begin to untangle the complex relationships between child rearing and subsistence techniques, political organization, and economic stratification. What this analysis suggests, however, is that regardless of the ultimate reasons for fathers' being involved with their children, when they are, it has important consequences for a social psychology of gender equality.

CONCLUSION

Studying patterns of deference and display in nonindustrial societies tells us about power and control in everyday life. Who eats first, sits last, or talks back reflects the micropolitics of gender. Men's public displays of manliness

also reveal the importance of gender in the allocation of status and prestige. By defining themselves as essentially different from women, men in some societies have been able to maintain microstructures of inequality.

This analysis correlated broad patterns of social organization with routine displays of men's dominance. Results challenge the view that hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985) results from a single causal factor such as biology or ecology. Strong support was found for the notion that women are treated with more respect when they control the distribution of important societal resources. This is only a partial explanation, however, because only when mothers share child rearing with fathers are women likely to avoid the harassment and humiliation that comes from being simultaneously feared and denigrated by men.

When fathers help take care of children and women control property, boys are apt to grow up with fewer needs to define themselves in opposition to women, and men are less inclined toward antagonistic displays of superiority. When wives are not required to defer to husbands and men are not encouraged to display bravado and fierce hostility, then cultural ideologies are unlikely to portray men as superior and women as inferior. While the causal connections between these phenomena deserve further elaboration, this analysis showed that these factors tend to coexist and reinforce each other. Everyday interactions both reflect and sustain gendered patterns of property control and child rearing. Social structures and public displays both express and promote ideologies of dominance. Recognizing the dialectical and multidimensional character of the micropolitics of gender might help us to understand the depth and persistence of gender inequality in its material, interactional, and ideological forms.

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