ANTHROPOLOGY · STUDY GUIDE

Exam 4 Study Guide

This guide covers chapters 7 and 8. You will separate sex from gender, see how the division of labor and gender categories vary, sort out the words for women's power and learn why behavior is not identity. Then you will see why race is a social construction with real effects, how ethnic groups keep their boundaries, how racism works at three levels and how nations are imagined and built. Treat the people and categories here with care: they are living communities and identities. Read the "what to know" paragraphs, copy the tables by hand and try each worked case with the steps covered. Finish each chapter with its ten self-test items, then use the cram sheet.

WHAT THIS GUIDE COVERS

- Chapter 7 · sex versus gender, intersex, Mead's three societies, gender roles and the division of labor, Weiner and Boserup, hijra, two-spirit, muxe, fa'afafine and bissu, patriarchy and stratification, the matri- words, woman-marriage, Rubin, sexuality and Foucault.
- Chapter 8 · Lewontin's apportionment, clines, hypodescent, Brazil, apartheid and Rwanda, ethnicity and Barth, primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism, prejudice, discrimination and structural racism, Anderson, Gellner, Hobsbawm and Smith, scientific racism and its demolition.

CHAPTER 7

Gender and Sexuality

Read it in full: **Chapter 7 in the textbook**. Practice it in the lab: **More Than Two** and **Sex or Gender?**.

What to know

Sex is the biological distinction between females and males: chromosomes, gonads, hormones and reproductive anatomy. **Gender** is the cultural meaning, expectation and behavior a society attaches to those bodies. Sex is roughly similar everywhere; gender varies dramatically, which is the evidence that it is learned through enculturation.

The line is real but not perfectly clean. **Intersex** people are born with chromosomes, hormones or anatomy that do not fit neatly into female or male, and every society decides what to make of them. Even "biological sex" categories are partly cultural readings of bodies. Biology is not irrelevant; culture has the last word on what a body means.

Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament in Three New Guinea Societies* (1935) compared three Sepik peoples. Among the Mountain **Arapesh**, both sexes were raised gentle and nurturing. Among the **Mundugumor** (Biwat) of the Yuat River, both were fierce and aggressive. Among the **Tchambuli** (Chambri), women were assertive and practical and controlled fishing and trade, while men were decorative, emotional and focused on art and ceremony. If temperament flips between neighbors, it cannot be fixed by sex. Details of her fieldwork were later criticized, but the core claim has held.

A **gender role** is the set of activities, rights and duties assigned to a gender. A gendered division of labor is close to a human universal; its content is not. Cross-cultural surveys by George Murdock and Caterina Provost show farming, weaving, pottery, trade and building assigned to men in some societies and women in others. **Agta** women of the Philippines hunt with bows and dogs. In many foraging societies women's gathering supplies most of the calories, so the "man the hunter" image is inaccurate and **androcentric**.

Other exceptions: the *agojie*, the women's regiments of Dahomey, and Aka fathers of Central Africa, among the most involved on record. Societies assign value as well as tasks. Malinowski described Trobriand yam gardens and the kula; Annette Weiner later found women producing and exchanging banana-leaf bundles and skirts, wealth essential to mortuary ceremonies that gives women real autonomous power. Ester Boserup argued that **plow agriculture** concentrates farm labor in men and is linked to steeper gender inequality than the **hoe horticulture** it often replaces.

Many societies count past two genders, and the strict binary is a Western assumption. The **hijra** of South Asia (Serena Nanda, *Neither Man Nor Woman*), assigned male at birth, are devotees of Bahuchara Mata who bless newborns and weddings. **Two-spirit**, an intertribal English term adopted at a 1990 gathering in Winnipeg, replaced the colonial term *berdache*; it is an umbrella, not a substitute for each nation's own word. The Zuni *lhamana* We'wha, a weaver, potter and ambassador, traveled to Washington in 1886 (documented by Will Roscoe).

The **muxe** of Juchitán, Oaxaca, are assigned male at birth and hold a valued role. Samoan **fa'afafine** ("in the manner of a woman") are accepted in village life. Sharyn Graham Davies documented five genders among the Bugis of Sulawesi, including the ritually powerful **bissu**. Balkan "sworn virgins" (*burrnesha*) vow celibacy and live socially as men. "Third gender" is an **etic** umbrella; emically, each is a distinct status in its own religion and history (Gilbert Herdt, *Third Sex, Third Gender*), and none should be assumed to map onto Western "transgender."

Gender stratification is unequal access to power, prestige and resources by gender; systematic male dominance is **patriarchy**. It is common but variable, and control in one domain can sit beside the other gender's control in another. Sherry Ortner's 1974 essay asked whether women are universally linked to nature and so devalued; most anthropologists now find that too sweeping. Eleanor Leacock, drawing on Engels, argued many foraging societies were egalitarian and that colonialism, missionization and private property intensified male dominance.

Matriarchy, rule by women as men rule under patriarchy, has never been documented on the strict definition. Do not confuse it with **matrilineal** (descent through mothers), **matrilocal** (living with the wife's kin) or **matrifocal** (households centered on mothers). Haudenosaunee clan mothers controlled longhouses and stored food and nominated and could remove male sachems. The Minangkabau of Sumatra, the largest matrilineal society, pass land through women; Peggy Reeves Sanday calls them a "matriarchate" of balance. The Mosuo (Na) of China, described by Cai Hua, keep partners in separate homes through "walking marriages."

Among the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard described **woman-marriage**: a woman without children pays bridewealth for a wife and becomes the legal father, the **pater**, of children fathered by a male genitor. Husband and father are social offices. Gayle Rubin's "The Traffic in Women" (1975), building on Lévi-Strauss, argued that marriage systems exchanging women between groups of men are a foundation of the **sex/gender system** that produces male power.

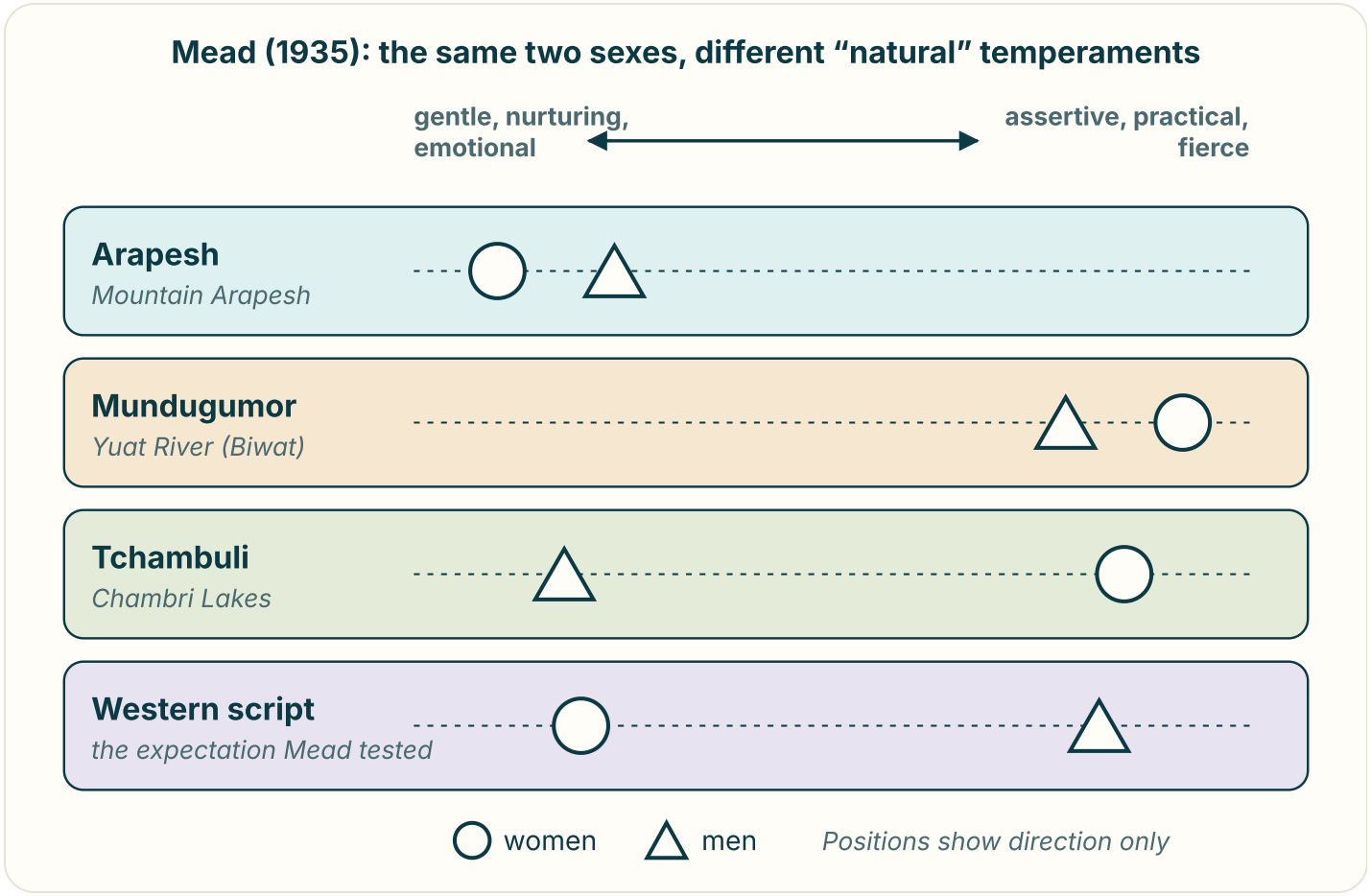
Sexuality is cultural: what is desired, who is a permitted partner, when sex is allowed and what it means all vary. Malinowski's 1929 Trobriand monograph described relatively open adolescent relationships. Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) claimed low adolescent sexual anxiety, a claim contested by Derek Freeman in a landmark debate. Among the Sambia (Herdt's pseudonym), years of male initiation include ritual semen ingestion, understood emically as

making boys into strong men; it is a rite of passage, and the men later marry women. The Etoro of the Great Papuan Plateau impose long taboos on heterosexual intercourse, and Evans-Pritchard documented age-structured relations among Azande warriors.

The lesson is that **behavior is not identity**. Michel Foucault argued in *The History of Sexuality* that “the homosexual” as a kind of person was a 19th-century Western invention; before that there were forbidden acts, not identities. Anthropologists keep sexual behavior, desire and identity apart and learn each society’s own categories rather than sorting people into ours.

LOCK THESE IN

- Sex is biological; gender is cultural meaning, learned through enculturation.
- Mead (1935): Arapesh gentle, Mundugumor fierce, Tchambuli reversed.
- Gendered division of labor is near universal; its content is arbitrary (Murdock and Provost; Agta women hunt).
- Weiner found Trobriand women’s wealth that Malinowski missed. Boserup: plow agriculture and inequality.
- Hijra, two-spirit (replaced berdache, 1990), muxe, fa’afafine, bissu, sworn virgins.
- “Third gender” is etic; each status is emically distinct.
- No matriarchy documented; matrilineal, matrilocal and matrifocal are different things.
- Behavior is not identity (Sambia; Foucault).



Mead’s three societies. If temperament were fixed by sex, women and men would sit in the same places in every row. They do not, so the “natural” temperaments are cultural patterns.

Sex and gender compared

Question	Sex	Gender
What is it?	Biological difference: chromosomes, hormones, anatomy	Cultural meaning attached to those bodies
Where does it come from?	Largely biology and development	Learned through enculturation
How much does it vary?	Roughly similar across societies	Varies dramatically
How many categories?	Usually two; intersex bodies exist	Two, three or more by culture
Can it change in a lifetime?	Mostly stable	Can shift with age, ritual or status

Beyond two genders

Category	Where	In brief
Hijra	South Asia	Bless births and weddings; Bahuchara Mata; Nanda
Two-spirit	Many Native North American nations	Umbrella term from 1990; replaced berdache
Lhamana	Zuni	We’wha, weaver and ambassador, Washington 1886
Muxe	Zapotec, Juchitán, Oaxaca	Assigned male; valued family and festival role
Fa’afafine	Samoa	“In the manner of a woman”
Bissu	Bugis, Sulawesi	One of five genders; ritual specialists (Davies)
Sworn virgin (burrnesha)	Albania, Montenegro	Assigned female; vow to live socially as men

Power words that get confused

Term	What it refers to	Example
Patriarchy	Systematic male dominance	Common but variable
Gender stratification	Unequal power, prestige, resources by gender	Ranges from steep to near absent
Matrilineal	Descent and inheritance through mothers	Minangkabau, Mosuo
Matrilocal	Couple lives with the wife's kin	Common alongside matriliny
Matrifocal	Households centered on mothers	Not rule by women
Matriarchy	Rule by women, mirror of patriarchy	Not documented on the strict definition
Woman-marriage	A woman marries a woman and becomes pater	Nuer (Evans-Pritchard)
Sex/gender system	Marriage exchange of women produces male power	Rubin, 1975

Worked cases

WORKED CASE 1 · READING A DIVISION OF LABOR

In the fictional Kesra valley, women plant and weed hoe gardens and men clear land. When plows arrive, fields move farther from homes and men take over most field work, while women's work shifts to the home. A visitor writes, "Farming is men's work here, as it is everywhere." Correct the visitor.

STEP 1 · UNIVERSAL OR CONTENT?

A gendered division of labor is near universal, but which tasks go to whom is not; farming is women's work in some societies and men's in others.

STEP 2 · APPLY BOSERUP

Plow agriculture, needing upper-body strength and distant fields, tends to concentrate farm labor in men and push women toward the home.

STEP 3 · PREDICT

Boserup links this shift to steeper gender inequality than under hoe horticulture.

STEP 4 · REWRITE THE CLAIM

“Farming became men’s work here after the plow arrived” is accurate and local.

WORKED CASE 2 · IS IT A MATRIARCHY?

In the fictional Tavel society, children join their mother’s clan, a couple lives with the wife’s family, land passes to daughters, and a council of senior women nominates the men who speak in the village council. Is Tavel a matriarchy?

STEP 1 · NAME EACH FEATURE

Descent through mothers: **matrilineal**. Living with the wife’s kin: **matrilocal**. Land to daughters: matrilineal inheritance.

STEP 2 · COMPARE A REAL CASE

Senior women nominating men resembles Haudenosaunee clan mothers, who nominated and could remove sachems.

STEP 3 · APPLY THE STRICT DEFINITION

Matriarchy would mean women rule as men do under patriarchy. Here women hold strong power, but men still speak in council.

STEP 4 · VERDICT

Not a matriarchy on the strict definition, but a society that gives women real power. No matriarchy has been documented.

WORKED CASE 3 · EMIC OR ETIC GENDER CATEGORIES

A student report lists hijra, muxe, fa’afafine and bissu under one heading, “the third gender,” and says they are all the same as Western transgender identity. What is wrong?

STEP 1 · THE LABEL

“Third gender” is an **etic** umbrella, useful for comparison.

STEP 2 · THE EMIC VIEW

Each is a distinct status in its own religion, kinship and history; hijras serve Bahuchara Mata, bissu are ritual specialists among five Bugis genders.

STEP 3 · THE MAPPING ERROR

These roles sometimes overlap with Western identities and often do not; assuming they match is ethnocentric.

STEP 4 · FIX THE REPORT

Describe each category in its own terms first, then compare.

WORKED CASE 4 · BEHAVIOR VERSUS IDENTITY

An outsider learns that men in a fictional society, like the Sambia in Herdt's work, took part in ritual practices with older men during initiation and later married women. The outsider concludes these men are "secretly gay." Evaluate.

STEP 1 · EMIC MEANING

The practice is understood locally as part of growing into a strong man.

STEP 2 · RITUAL STRUCTURE

It is a rite of passage: separation from women, a long liminal period and reincorporation as adult men.

STEP 3 · THE CATEGORY ERROR

Reading it as a fixed orientation imports a Western hetero/homo binary; behavior is not identity.

STEP 4 · HISTORY OF THE CATEGORY

Foucault argued the homosexual as a kind of person is a 19th-century Western idea.

TRAPS PEOPLE FALL INTO

- **Using sex and gender as synonyms.** Sex is biological; gender is the cultural meaning.
- **Assuming men hunt and women gather everywhere.** Agta women hunt, and gathering often supplies most calories.
- **Saying matrilineal means matriarchal.** Matriarchy has not been documented; matriliny can still give women power.
- **Calling berdache the current term.** It is outdated; two-spirit replaced it in 1990.
- **Lumping all third genders together.** The label is etic; each status is distinct.
- **Treating Ortner's nature claim as settled.** Most anthropologists now find it too sweeping.
- **Equating behavior with identity.** Sambia men marry women; the practice is age structured and ritual.
- **Forgetting the Mead and Freeman debate.** Freeman contested Mead's Samoa claims; it became a landmark debate.

Chapter 7 self-test · ten items

1. Why does the wide variation in gender across societies matter to anthropologists?

A. It is evidence that gender is learned rather than inborn
B. It proves biological sex differs by continent
C. It shows every society has exactly two genders
D. It means gender has no link to bodies at all

A. It is evidence that gender is learned rather than inborn Gender varies far more than sex, which points to enculturation.

2. In Mead’s study, which society showed both sexes expected to be fierce and aggressive?

A. Mundugumor
B. Arapesh
C. Tchambuli (Chambri)
D. Trobriand

A. Mundugumor Arapesh were gentle in both sexes; Tchambuli reversed the Western script.

3. Agta women of the Philippines are notable because they

A. rule as a matriarchy
B. form a third gender
C. practice fraternal polyandry
D. hunt with bows and dogs

D. hunt with bows and dogs They are a real exception to the usual pattern of men hunting large game.

4. What did Annette Weiner find on her return to the Trobriand Islands?

A. That the kula ring had stopped decades earlier
B. Women’s banana-leaf wealth that Malinowski had overlooked
C. That descent there was actually patrilineal
D. That yam gardens were run only by women

B. Women’s banana-leaf wealth that Malinowski had overlooked Women’s wealth is central to mortuary ceremonies and gives them real power.

5. Boserup linked which change to steeper gender inequality?

A. A shift from pastoralism back to foraging
B. The arrival of wage labor in the cities
C. A shift from hoe horticulture to plow agriculture
D. The spread of matrilineal descent groups

C. A shift from hoe horticulture to plow agriculture Plow farming tends to concentrate field labor in men and push women toward domestic work.

6. Which term replaced the colonial word berdache?

A. Fa’afafine
B. Third gender
C. Two-spirit
D. Lhamana

C. Two-spirit Two-spirit was adopted at a 1990 intertribal gathering in Winnipeg as an umbrella term.

7. Among which people did Davies document five recognized genders?

A. The Zapotec of Oaxaca
B. The Zuni of New Mexico
C. The Mosuo of China
D. The Bugis of Sulawesi

D. The Bugis of Sulawesi The Bugis system includes the ritually powerful bissu.

8. Haudenosaunee clan mothers had the power to

A. rule as sole heads of the confederacy
B. nominate and remove the male sachems
C. arrange all marriages for the men
D. collect taxes for a central treasury

B. nominate and remove the male sachems They controlled longhouses and stored food and could remove sachems, without the society being a matriarchy.

9. In Nuer woman-marriage, the woman who pays bridewealth becomes

A. the legal father, or pater, of the children
B. the genitor, or biological father, of the children
C. a member of a recognized third gender category
D. the junior co-wife of her own brother’s household

A. the legal father, or pater, of the children Husband and father are social offices a woman can hold.

10. Foucault argued that "the homosexual" as a type of person was

A. a universal found in all societies
B. first described among the Sambia
C. a 19th-century Western invention
D. a category from Mead's Samoa

C. a 19th-century Western invention Before that there were forbidden acts, not sexual identities.

CHAPTER 8

Race and Ethnicity

Read it in full: **Chapter 8 in the textbook**. Practice it in the lab: **Same Body, Different Box** and **Where the Boundary Runs**.

What to know

The folk view treats race as biology: a few great stocks (Linnaeus named four, Blumenbach five), each breeding true. Genetics dismantled it. In 1972 Richard Lewontin found that roughly **85%** of human genetic variation lies within any local population, about **8%** more separates populations within a so-called race, and only about **6%** distinguishes the classic continental "races." Two people from one Nigerian village can differ more from each other than either does from a Norwegian. Traits also vary independently: skin color, blood type and lactose digestion do not travel together.

Most variation is **clinal**, changing gradually across geography. Skin pigmentation tracks ultraviolet radiation and latitude, and dark skin evolved independently near the equator in Central Africa, South India, Melanesia and Aboriginal Australia; those populations share an adaptation, not a race. The sickle-cell trait maps onto the historic range of malaria (West Africa, the Mediterranean, Arabia, India), not onto any folk race.

The same person is classified differently in different places. The United States uses **hypodescent**, the "one-drop rule." Brazil uses dozens of color terms (branco, pardo, moreno, preto) assigned by

appearance and wealth, so siblings may differ and “money whitens” (Marvin Harris, Conrad Kottak). Apartheid South Africa fixed race by law in the **Population Registration Act of 1950** and reclassified people by decree, sometimes splitting families. Belgian rule in Rwanda froze fluid Hutu and Tutsi statuses with identity cards and the “Hamitic hypothesis,” helping make the 1994 genocide thinkable (Mahmood Mamdani). Omi and Winant call this **racial formation**.

Constructed does not mean unreal. Because societies act on race in housing, policing, medicine and marriage, it produces measurable gaps in wealth and health and, in Rwanda and apartheid South Africa, real graves.

Ethnicity is a group’s sense of shared descent, history and culture, expressed through language, religion, homeland, food, dress and a common name. Race is usually imposed from outside and read off the body; ethnicity is usually claimed from within. Emic and etic names differ: the people outsiders called Navajo call themselves Diné, and Inuit were labeled Eskimo. Ethnic groups imagine a putative common ancestry.

Fredrik Barth’s *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) moved the focus from cultural content to the **boundary** a group maintains. Content can change or cross the line while the line persists; on the Afghan-Pakistan frontier a Pathan who could not keep Pathan norms of honor and hospitality could “become Baluch.” Ethnicity is **relational** (no “us” without a “them”) and **situational** and nested: Yoruba at home, Nigerian abroad, African in a wider frame.

Primordialism (Geertz’s “primordial attachments”) stresses that ethnic ties feel ancient and given. **Instrumentalism** (Abner Cohen; “ethnic entrepreneurs”) treats ethnicity as a resource mobilized for jobs, land and votes. **Constructivism**, the mainstream view, holds that groups are made in history through **ethnogenesis**; colonial states often invented the “tribes” they claimed to govern. Real cases blend all three.

Prejudice is an attitude; **discrimination** is an action. Robert Merton showed they can come apart: the “timid bigot” who never acts, the “fair-weather liberal” who discriminates when a biased system rewards it. **Racism** is prejudice joined to power, a doctrine and system that ranks groups and justifies unequal treatment.

Institutional or structural racism is disadvantage built into the normal working of housing, lending, schooling, policing and health care, needing no bigoted individuals. Redlining, government mortgage maps that denied loans to Black neighborhoods for decades, still shapes the racial wealth gap; school funding tied to property taxes and gaps in sentencing and bail work the same way. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva calls it "racism without racists." Anthropologists link it to **structural violence** (Johan Galtung, Paul Farmer) and to Bourgois's *In Search of Respect* in East Harlem. After 1945, biological racism largely mutated into **cultural racism**: same hierarchy, safer vocabulary.

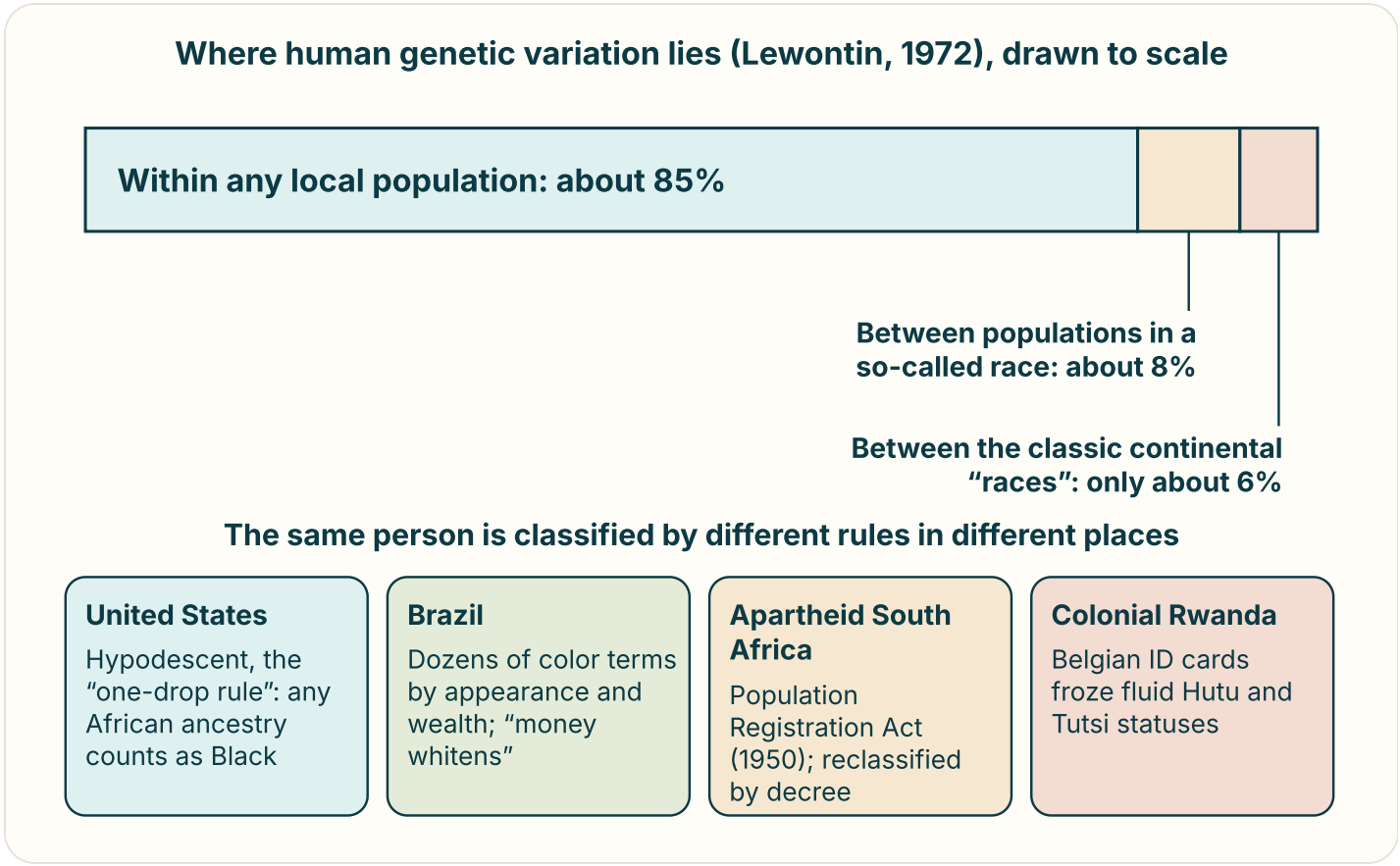
A **state** is a governing apparatus claiming sovereignty over territory; a **nation** is a people who imagine themselves one community entitled to self-rule; a **nation-state** claims the two coincide, which almost no state literally meets. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) defined the nation as "an imagined political community," limited and sovereign, felt as "a deep, horizontal comradeship," made possible by **print capitalism**. Imagined does not mean imaginary.

Ernest Gellner argued that nationalism creates nations: industrial society needs a mobile workforce sharing a standardized high culture through mass schooling. Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* showed that many "timeless" customs are recent, such as the clan tartan and kilt as Scottish national emblems. Anthony Smith's **ethnosymbolism** says nations build on an older ethnic core, an *ethnie*. Nationalism may be **civic** (shared institutions and citizenship) or **ethnic** (descent); the ethnic key, at its extreme, shades into exclusion and ethnic cleansing.

Scientific racism dressed hierarchy as measurement: Linnaeus (1758), Blumenbach (who coined "Caucasian"), Samuel Morton's *Crania Americana* (1839; later re-examined by Stephen Jay Gould), Nott and Gliddon's *Types of Mankind* (1854) with its polygenism, the **cephalic index** and eugenics. Boas's *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants* (1912) showed head form shifting within one generation. His students (Benedict, Mead, Hurston, Deloria, Kroeber, Herskovits) carried the work on; Ashley Montagu wrote *Man's Most Dangerous Myth* (1942) and drafted the **UNESCO Statement on Race** (1950); the **AAA Statement on Race** (1998) called race a folk idea born of colonialism and slavery. Variation is real but clinal, not racial.

LOCK THESE IN

- Lewontin (1972): about 85% within populations, 8% between populations in a race, 6% between "races."
- Variation is clinal; traits vary independently (skin, blood type, lactose; sickle cell follows malaria).
- Same body, different box: US hypodescent, Brazil's color terms, apartheid's 1950 Act, colonial Rwanda.
- Constructed is not unreal: race has measurable effects.
- Ethnicity is claimed from within; Barth: the boundary, not the contents.
- Primordialism, instrumentalism, constructivism; real cases mix all three.
- Prejudice (attitude), discrimination (action), structural racism (no racists needed).
- Anderson's imagined community; Gellner; Hobsbawm and Ranger; Smith. Boas 1912; UNESCO 1950; AAA 1998.



Variation within, boxes without. Drawn to scale, almost all human genetic variation sits inside local populations. The racial boxes come from rules that change from one country to the next.

Same body, different rules

Society	Rule for assigning race	Result
United States	Hypodescent: any Black ancestry counts as Black	Rigid binary
Brazil	Appearance plus wealth; dozens of color terms	Fluid continuum; siblings may differ
Apartheid South Africa	Population Registration Act (1950)	State-enforced; reclassified by decree
Colonial Rwanda	Belgian ID cards froze Hutu and Tutsi	Fluid status turned into racial caste

Ethnicity and nation: key terms

Term	Meaning	Thinker
Ethnic boundary	The maintained line between groups	Barth (1969)
Primordialism	Ties felt as ancient and given	Geertz
Instrumentalism	Ethnicity as a mobilized resource	Abner Cohen
Constructivism / ethnogenesis	Groups made and remade in history	Mainstream view
Situational ethnicity	Salient identity shifts by context	Yoruba, Nigerian, African
Imagined community	Limited, sovereign, horizontal comradeship	Anderson (1983)
Nationalism makes nations	Industry needs a shared high culture	Gellner
Invention of tradition	Recent customs presented as ancient	Hobsbawm and Ranger
Ethnosymbolism	Nations built on an older ethnic core	Anthony Smith
Civic / ethnic nationalism	Membership by citizenship / by descent	The two keys

Racism and the science of race

Item	What it is	Example or date
Prejudice	Attitude; a prejudged stereotype	Believing a group is lazy
Discrimination	Unequal treatment in action	A landlord rejecting a tenant by name
Structural racism	Inequality built into institutions	Redlining; school funding; bail
Cultural racism	Claims of deficient culture, not genes	After 1945
Morton	*Crania Americana*	1839; re-examined by Gould
Nott and Gliddon	*Types of Mankind*; polygenism	1854
Boas	*Changes in Bodily Form*	1912
Montagu	*Man's Most Dangerous Myth*; UNESCO draft	1942; 1950
Lewontin / AAA	Genetics / Statement on Race	1972 / 1998

Worked cases

WORKED CASE 1 · ONE PERSON, THREE COUNTRIES

A fictional woman, Lia, has one grandparent of African ancestry and three of European ancestry. She has light brown skin and is a doctor. How might she be classified in the United States under the one-drop rule, in Brazil and under apartheid in South Africa?

STEP 1 · UNITED STATES

Hypodescent assigns any African ancestry to Black, so historically she would be classed as Black.

STEP 2 · BRAZIL

Color terms follow appearance and wealth; with light brown skin and a doctor's income she might be called parda or even branca: "money whitens."

STEP 3 · APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

A state board under the 1950 Act would assign her an official category, and could reclassify her by decree.

STEP 4 · THE CONCLUSION

Her genes did not change; the rules did. That is the proof that race is a social construction.

WORKED CASE 2 · BARTH'S BOUNDARY AT WORK

Two fictional valley groups, the Arn and the Tesh, now speak the same language, wear the same clothes and grow the same crops. Yet each still marries mostly within its group and celebrates a separate founding festival. A visitor says, "They are really one people now." Use Barth.

STEP 1 · OLD VIEW

The older "culture-bearing unit" view would agree: same culture, same group.

STEP 2 · BARTH'S VIEW

Ethnicity lives in the **boundary** members maintain, not in the cultural content behind it.

STEP 3 · FIND THE MARKERS

Marriage patterns and separate festivals are the markers both sides treat as the border.

STEP 4 · VERDICT

They remain two ethnic groups. Content changed; the boundary persisted.

WORKED CASE 3 · WHICH LEVEL OF RACISM?

Sort: (a) a hiring manager believes one group is lazy but always hires fairly; (b) a landlord refuses tenants with certain surnames; (c) a city funds schools from local property taxes, so schools in historically redlined neighborhoods get less money, though no official intends harm.

STEP 1

(a) is **prejudice** without discrimination, Merton's "timid bigot."

STEP 2

(b) is **individual discrimination**.

STEP 3

(c) is **institutional or structural racism**: a neutral-looking rule reproduces inequality without racists.

THE TEST

Judge a system by the inequality it reproduces, not by its administrators' feelings.

WORKED CASE 4 · IS THIS TRADITION INVENTED?

A fictional country, Valdor, celebrates a "thousand-year-old" national costume. Records show it was designed in 1880 for a royal parade and spread through schools after 1900. Analyze.

STEP 1

A recent custom presented as ancient fits Hobsbawm and Ranger's **invention of tradition**, like the Scottish tartan and kilt as national emblems.

STEP 2

Spread through mass schooling fits **Gellner**: nationalism builds a shared high culture.

STEP 3

Smith's **ethnosymbolism** would ask what older symbols the 1880 design drew on.

STEP 4

Invented does not mean weak: imagined communities are real enough that people die for them.

TRAPS PEOPLE FALL INTO

- **Saying race is "not real."** It is biologically empty but socially powerful; constructed is not unreal.
- **Treating skin color as a racial package.** Traits vary independently and clinally.
- **Thinking sickle cell is a "Black" trait.** It follows the historic range of malaria, not a folk race.
- **Saying ethnicity is fixed cultural content.** Barth: content can change while the boundary persists.
- **Confusing prejudice and discrimination.** One is an attitude, the other an action.
- **Requiring a bigot for racism.** Structural racism works without one.
- **Hearing "imagined" as "fake."** Anderson meant too large to meet, not unreal.
- **Treating nation and state as synonyms.** A state is an apparatus; a nation is an imagined people.

Chapter 8 self-test · ten items

1. According to Lewontin's 1972 analysis, about how much human genetic variation lies within any single local population?

A. About 6%
B. About 8%
C. About 85%
D. About 50%

C. About 85% Only about 6% distinguishes the classic continental "races."

2. Dark skin evolved independently in Central Africa, South India and Melanesia. This shows that

A. shared traits can reflect shared adaptation, not one race
B. these populations together form one biological race
C. skin color always travels together with blood type
D. skin color has no relation at all to sunlight

A. shared traits can reflect shared adaptation, not one race Pigmentation tracks ultraviolet radiation; the populations share an adaptation.

3. The US “one-drop rule” is an example of

A. ethnogenesis
B. polygenism
C. hypodescent
D. ethnosymbolism

C. hypodescent Hypodescent assigns mixed-ancestry people to the subordinate group.

4. In Brazil, the saying “money whitens” means that

A. wealth affects which color term a person is given
B. wealthy people are able to change their genes
C. race is assigned only by a person’s ancestry
D. skin color is ignored in all Brazilian life

A. wealth affects which color term a person is given Brazilian terms follow appearance and wealth, so siblings may be classed differently.

5. Barth argued that an ethnic group is defined mainly by

A. the fixed cultural content held inside it
B. the boundary it maintains with others
C. its biological ancestry
D. the state that governs it

B. the boundary it maintains with others Cultural content can change or cross over while the boundary persists.

6. A politician rallies voters by stressing their shared ethnic identity to win land rights. Which approach explains this best?

A. Primordialism
B. Hypodescent
C. Ethnosymbolism (Smith)
D. Instrumentalism

D. Instrumentalism Instrumentalism treats ethnicity as a resource mobilized by leaders.

7. Bonilla-Silva's phrase "racism without racists" refers to

A. a society in which no inequality of any kind remains
B. prejudice that people hold but never once act on
C. the final end of race as a category in public life
D. inequality defended in the language of markets and merit

D. inequality defended in the language of markets and merit It describes color-blind racism that reproduces inequality without open bigotry.

8. Anderson said print capitalism made nations possible because

A. shared vernacular print let strangers imagine one community
B. printing presses were owned and run by the state alone
C. books replaced spoken language entirely in daily life
D. newspapers were read only by a small and wealthy elite

A. shared vernacular print let strangers imagine one community Newspapers and novels let scattered readers picture themselves moving together in time.

9. What did Boas's 1912 study of immigrants and their children show?

A. Skull shape fixed racial type forever
B. Head form shifted within one generation
C. Immigrants' children kept identical head form
D. Head form depended only on language

B. Head form shifted within one generation The cephalic index, the supposed racial marker, proved environmentally plastic.

10. Who drafted the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race?

A. Samuel Morton
B. Richard Lewontin
C. Ashley Montagu
D. Ernest Gellner

C. Ashley Montagu Montagu, a Boas student, also wrote *Man's Most Dangerous Myth* (1942).

Cram sheet

Everything from chapters 7 and 8 in one place. Cover the right column and see if you can rebuild each row.

Dates to know

Date	Event
1758	Linnaeus sorts humans into four varieties
1839	Morton, *Crania Americana*
1854	Nott and Gliddon, *Types of Mankind*
1886	We’wha, Zuni lhamana, in Washington
1912	Boas, *Changes in Bodily Form*
1928 / 1935	Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* / *Sex and Temperament*
1942 / 1950	Montagu, *Man’s Most Dangerous Myth* / UNESCO Statement
1950	Population Registration Act, South Africa
1969	Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*
1972	Lewontin’s apportionment
1974 / 1975	Ortner’s essay / Rubin, “The Traffic in Women”
1983	Anderson, *Imagined Communities*
1990	Two-spirit adopted in Winnipeg
1994	Rwandan genocide
1998	AAA Statement on Race

Distinctions that are tested

Pair	The difference
Sex / gender	Biology / cultural meaning
Matrilineal / matrilocal / matrifocal / matriarchy	Descent / residence / household focus / rule by women (not documented)
Emic / etic gender labels	Hijra, muxe and bissu in their own terms / “third gender”
Behavior / identity	Sambia ritual practice / a fixed orientation category
Race / ethnicity	Imposed from outside, read off the body / claimed from within
Prejudice / discrimination	Attitude / action
Individual / structural racism	A person’s act / an institution’s normal operation
Nation / state	Imagined people / governing apparatus
Civic / ethnic nationalism	By citizenship / by descent

Who said what

Thinker	Idea
Boserup	Plow agriculture and gender inequality
Weiner	Trobriand women’s wealth
Leacock	Colonialism intensified male dominance
Sanday / Cai Hua	Minangkabau “matriarchate” / Mosuo walking marriage
Foucault	The homosexual as a 19th-century category
Mamdani	Colonial Rwanda and the Hamitic hypothesis
Bonilla-Silva	Racism without racists
Galtung, Farmer	Structural violence
Gellner / Hobsbawm and Ranger	Nationalism makes nations / invented tradition

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