“Review for Midterm Exam”

I. Announcements:

The Test?

The Make-up test.

Sections this week.

Questions?
“Review for Midterm Exam”

I. Plan for the Review:

A. Main Idea: Individual and Institutional Centered Explanations.

B. The Individual Centered Explanation.

1. The “Natural” Perspective.


3. Individual Centered Theories to explain Gender.

4. Individual Centered Theories to explain Sexuality.
“Review for Midterm Exam”

I. Plan for the Review:

C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?

2. How Institutions Make the Self.

3. How Institutions Make Gender.

“Review for Midterm Exam”

I. Plan for the Review:

D. Linking the particular and the general.

E. Study Strategies.
A. Main Idea:
Individual and Institutional Centered Explanations.

1. I/I-Centered Explanations. What are they?

A. Theories.
   Theories about why things happen in society.

B. Ideologies.
   Coupled to interests or systems.

C. Hypotheses.
   Links to explanatory accounts.
A. Main Idea:
Individual and Institutional Centered Explanations.

2. I/I-Centered Explanations. How related?

A. There is a Duality between the individual and the institution. Neither can exist w/o the other.

B. But this is different than saying, both are true.

C. Because they are dual, their character is different. Friedland is working on this problem.

D. Before you get to duality, you need to understand I/I.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

1. The “Natural” Perspective.
   • We live in individual bodies
   • We live in an age that highlights the ‘self’

2. On the Historical Emergence of the Individual Centered approach?
   • The ‘self’ not always so prominent
   • When did become so? How did it happen?
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

3. The Age of Enlightenment:

- Period of time in philosophy, Reason, science and the individual seen as primary.

- Marks a break with middle ages, “theocracy, aristocracy, “the Divine Right of Kings.”

- Starts w/ Descartes’ “Discourse on Method,” 1637

- Ends: French Revolution, 1789
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

4. René Descartes (1596-1650)

- from moral dilemmas of self to scientific dilemmas of the universe.

- Cogito Ergo Sum— I think therefore I am.

- The human mind can discover the natural order of things.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

5. Thomas Hobbes (1589-1679):

- English Civil War (1642-1651) (Royalists vs. Parliamentarians) led to execution of Charles I (1649).

- *The Leviathan* (pub. 1651)

- How to reconcile power of Individuality & Feudal Power?

- (Sympathies with Royalists), fled England.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

State of Nature:

War of all against all...

...the life of man was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

The sovereign is the solution. *He* is *we*. 
B. Individual Centered Explanations.


- Inverts Hobbes
- Give up Rights? no.
- Sympathies with Democrats.

Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men (1755)

- “Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains”, The Social Contract (1762)
- 1761 forced to flee Paris
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

7. The American Revolution

(1776): “The Declaration of Independence”
Rejects the Rights of a Monarch to govern “free men”

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it....
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

8. The French Revolution (1789):
“The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen”
Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.”

- Execution of Louis XVI, 1793
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

9. Adam Smith (1723-1790): (Scottish)

An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776)

The Invisible Hand guided free markets emphasizing that if individuals are left alone to pursue own interests, needs, rational calculations, then the greatest good for the greatest number will result.

Makes the individual foundation of all political economy.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

10. Tenets of the Individual Centered (philosophical) approach:

i. The individual is *logically prior* to society.

ii. The individual is a *rational*, calculating person, who knows his or her needs (desires, wishes) and acts in such a way as to rationally maximize the fulfillment of those desires.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

10. Tenets of the Individual Centered (philosophical) approach:

iii. Society is the result of a social contract, entered into (implicitly) by all the members of the society.

iv. Society has no legitimate right to infringe upon the natural civil liberties of the individual.

v. Social institutions consist of the accumulated aggregate outcome of all the rational choices made by all the individuals that are members of that society.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on **Biological Determinism**.

A. What is Gender and what is Sex?

1. Biology and Craniometry (the measure of heads)
   (Part of "Anthropometry" = df Measurement of Human Body)

- (Stephen Jay Gould, *Panda’s Thumb*)
  19th Century explanation was simple: Biological Capacity (mental/bodily)

- Paul Broca (1824-1880):
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on Biological Determinism.

A. What is Gender and what is Sex?

- Skull Size = Intelligence.

- 292 Men 1,325 grams (avg.)
  140 Women 1,144 grams (avg.) (Gorilla size)

- Gould used modern statistics to show height/weight corrections perfectly explain variance
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on “Biological Determinism”.

2. E. O. Wilson (1929-) — Differences in Character (Not Intelligence).

- Women (by nature) are Nurturant, Passive, Emotional, Commitment Oriented.
- Men (by nature) are Aggressive, Combative, Competitive, Fickle.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on Biological Determinism.

Genetic Constraints/Opportunities Differ.

- Goal=Pass on those Genes!!!
- Females 20 (max!) opportunities.
- Males Endless Supply.

Genetic Strategies Differ.

- Females Be Coy, Be Choosey, Be Faithful, Sacrifice.
- Males Be Opportunistic, Macho, Sly
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on Biological Determinism.

Wilson's Proof?

1. Animals Are the Same.
   • Baboon Troops (Males Have Authority).

2. Natural Experiments.
   • Boy Accidents.

3. Children's Play.
   • Boys Play Rougher.
   • Girls Smile More.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on Biological Determinism.

A. What about Sexuality?

• Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)

• Austrian, founder of modern psychotherapy

• Id, ego and super-ego
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on Biological Determinism.

A. What about Sexuality?

- **Id** = impulsive, child-like portion of the psyche that operates on the "pleasure principle" and only takes into account what it wants and disregards all consequences.

- **Superego** = is the moral component of the psyche, which takes into account no special circumstances in which the morally right thing may not be right for a given situation.

- **Ego** = attempts to exact a balance between the impractical hedonism of the id and the equally impractical moralism of the super-ego; it is the part of the psyche that is, usually, reflected most directly in a person's actions.
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

11. Other types of Individual Centered Explanations based on Biological Determinism.

A. What about Sexuality?

• Freud: Individual Centered or Institutional Centered?

• Less Clear. Id is biological and it has natural drives. (Hence, we juxtaposed to Foucault for whom Id is an institutional construct).

• But note: Freud sees super-ego as “institutional”
B. Individual Centered Explanations.

A. What about Sexuality?

The Repressive Hypothesis?

- *Civilization and its Discontents*: Freud argued that The Ego has to control the Id in order to enable civilization to happen.

- Victorian era was about the superego running wild, controlling all the natural pleasures of life.

- All natural sexual desires and urges were repressed.

- Freud was a part of the solution, showing sex was natural.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?
2. How Institutions Make the Self.
3. How Institutions Make Gender.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?

A. Berger and Berger. What is an institution? (The Case of Language).
1. What is an Institution?

Examples of Institutions:

- A hospital
- A prison
- A family
- A Marriage
- A Wedding
- Democracy
- A handshake
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?

B. Definition:

A social arrangement or pattern of action, way of behaving or way of knowing that is enduring, widely shared and persistent.
1. What is an Institution?

C. (Berger & Berger) Language as THE fundamental institution:

1. It Objectifies Reality (makes things concrete, reduces flux) makes stability.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?

C. (Berger & Berger) Language as THE fundamental institution:

2. Have Coercive Power:
   - Cannot wish it away
   - transgressions are sanctioned
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?

C. Language as THE fundamental institution:

3. Has moral Authority:
   - Right to legitimacy
   - moral indignation is involved

“Now! That should clear up a few things around here!”
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?

C. Language as THE fundamental institution:

4. Has Historicity:
   - Preceded the individual
   - Will outlast the individual
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.
1. What is an Institution?
D. Duranti: Language and Culture

1. Franz Boas (1858-1942)

Emphasized need to know the language to understand a people
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.
1. What is an Institution?
D. Duranti: Language and Culture

Our Capacity for being “human” is defined by our capacity for abstraction.

Our capacity for abstraction is defined by our ability to use language to represent the world.
1. What is an Institution?

D. Duranti: Language and Culture

Boas famous example Eskimo language used to represent snow:

Aput: Snow on ground
Qana: Falling snow
Piqsirpoq: Drifting snow
Qimuqsug: Snowdrift
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

1. What is an Institution?

D. Duranti: Language and Culture

Boas point: Language comes interactively from experiences of the world.

But also, our experience of the world is shaped by our ability to name it, classify it, represent it.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.
1. What is an Institution?
D. Duranti: Language and Culture
2. Linguistics Relativity Hypothesis aka Sapir/Whorf Hypothesis.

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) student of Boas focused on internal logic of language systems
II. What is an Institution?

D. Duranti: Language and Culture

2. Linguistics Relativity Hypothesis aka Sapir/Whorf Hypothesis.

Benjamin Whorf (1897-1941) chemical engineer (interest in language) studied Hopi Language (esp. grammar): Cryptotype (Covert Category) (languages both enable/constrain)
II. What is an Institution?
D. Duranti: Language and Culture
2. Linguistics Relativity Hypothesis aka Sapir/Whorf Hypothesis.
Argued how we experience fundamental physical, material, spiritual, emotional states, conditioned on a linguistically given “world view”

How Time happens.
How Space is experienced, etc.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.
II. What is an Institution?
   6. G. H. Mead:

   How important social interaction is for defining the character, the meaning, the very experience of the self.

   (see John Baldwin’s Lecture)
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. What is an Institution?

   6. G. H. Mead and the State of Nature?

If we believe these arguments about the role of institutions, raises powerful questions about “feral persons” and the founding mythology of the individual centered perspective (the state of nature).
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. What is an Institution?

7. The Self outside of the Social

Experiments might be able to tell us?

Harry Harlow (1905-1981) on “the nature of love”. Rhesus monkeys raised in isolation.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

III. What is Gender and what is Sex?

A. Some Differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Occ's</th>
<th>Female Occ's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engineers 8%Women</td>
<td>Secretaries 99%Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist 10%Women</td>
<td>Receptionst 97% Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police 14%Women</td>
<td>Nurses 95%Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elect. Tech 14%Women</td>
<td>Bank Teller 90%Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect 17%Women</td>
<td>Teacher-Elm 86%Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers/Judges 19%W.</td>
<td>Librarians 83%Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians 20%Women</td>
<td>Waiter/ess 82%Women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. What is Gender and what is Sex?

- Fortune 500 **Senior** Managers 5% Women.
- 4,012 **Top Officers** Corp. 19 Women (1/2 %)
- 6 U.S. Senators (6%)
- 48 U.S. Reps. (11%)
III. What is Gender and what is Sex?

• 3/4 human societies are polygonous.

• 75% Human Societies Patrilocal
  10% Matriliocal.

• 5:1 Patrilineal/Matrilineal.

• Males (Almost) Always Have Formal Power (Authority).

Soc. Question: Why are Women and Men Different?
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

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Soc. Question: Why are Women and Men Different?
III. What is Gender and what is Sex?

B. Explaining Differences (Individual Centered Explanations).

2. E. Other Interpretations of Wilson's Proof.

1. Animals Vary.
   - Jane Lancaster (Baboon Authority with Females).
   - Gender Reversal in Owl Monkeys, Marmosets, etc.

2. Boy Accidents (Not Very Reliable).
3. Children's Differences Due to Institutions.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

III. What is Gender and what is Sex?

C. Explaining Differences (Institutional Centered Explanations)

A. Institutions Mediate.

Genetics (Sex) --> {Institutions} --> Gendered (Self)

—Thus, Instead of....

Genetics --> Self-->Behavior

—We have...

Genetics --> {Institutions} --> Self-->Behavior
III. What is Gender and what is Sex?

C. Explaining Differences (Institutional Centered Explanations)

B. Margaret Mead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Nuturant, Dependent</th>
<th>Aggressive, Responsible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arapesh</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>— —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundugumor</td>
<td>— —</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchambuli</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

A. How Do Institutions Create Gender Differences?

1. Language (Nancy Henley, M. Hamilton, Barrie Thorne):
   - **Ignores** – “he” is generic.
   - **Defines** – Women (and Children) take Men’s Names. Possessions (ships, cars, etc.) feminine
   - **Deprecates** – 220 vs. 22 terms for sexually promiscuous - ess or - ette (poetess, majorette, usherette)
A. How Do Institutions Create Gender Differences?
   1. Language (Nancy Henley, M. Hamilton, Barrie Thorne):
      - Self-Disclosure – Women more allowed/expected to talk familiarly about self.

   - 2. Nonverbal Communication
      (a) Demeanor – Men can be more relaxed in body posture (feet on desk), relaxed open stance, swearing, etc.

      (b) Use of Space – Wide gestures, exaggerated movements, more aggressive body space
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

A. How Do Institutions Create Gender Differences?

- 2. Nonverbal Communication
  (c) Smiling – A gesture of submission, non-threatening.
  (d) Touching – Power very much carried in who can touch, how, where, etc. Hierarchical expression.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

A. How Do Institutions Create Gender Differences?

3. Gendered Styles of Play (Thorne & Luria):

- play styles differ by gender.

- But, study as “institutions” (not innate).

- High segregated (by gender)

- Bonding (Girls) Intimacy, Romance
- Bonding (Boys) Group Rule Breaking, non-disclosure, objectification
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

I. Foucault’s General Project.

A. Michel Foucault (1926-1984), Who was he?

1. French Intellectual (studied psychology, went on to earn doctorate in 1961, results in *Madness & Civilization (1961)*).

- Series of Important Books:
  
  *Birth of the Clinic (1963)*
  *The Order of Things (1966)*
  *The Archeology of Knowledge (1969)*
  *Discipline & Punish (1975)*
  *The History of Sexuality (1984)*
II. Foucault’s General Project.
A. Michel Foucault (1926-1984) Who was he?

2. Eventually moved to top tier of French intellectual world (Professor of the History of Systems of Thought at the College de France, 1970).


C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. Foucault’s General Project.

B. Pushed a very strong “Institutional-Centered” Theory of Society.

- In many ways carried forward “Linguistic Relativity” thesis.

- Argued that every historical period had its own “Episteme” = historical a’priori that grounds knowledge and discourses and represents the conditions for their possibility.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. Foucault’s General Project.
B. Pushed a very strong “Institutional-Centered” Theory of Society.

• Conditions for “Truth” — What can be known, what can be said, what counts as knowable, what conditions the possibility of what is knowable.

• Truth/Power tightly coupled. Argues that what can be known or said has immense implications for conditions of people’s lives.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. Foucault’s General Project.

B. Pushed a very strong “Institutional-Centered” Theory of Society.

(Opening Passage *The Order of Things*)

“‘A certain Chinese encyclopedia’ in which it is written that ‘animals are divided into:
(a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) *et cetera*, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies’.” (Borges)."
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. Foucault’s General Project.
C. Focus on Power.

*Discipline and Punish:*

Provocative Thesis, the movement from a system of Punishment to a system of Discipline was a result of (and accompanied) general increase in deployment of Social Power.

Why Provocative?
II. Foucault’s General Project.

C. Focus on Power.

1. Punishment was brutal:
   Offenses against the King were treated as symbolic affronts and the response had to be spectacular so as to convincingly demonstrate the mighty power of the King.

Poor Damiens:
II. Foucault’s General Project.

C. Focus on Power.

Punishment was brutal:
First half of the book fascinating account of the history of torture. Explains that this was not just unconstrained violence, but a careful and complicated theory (episteme) of how pain and truth were connected.

Elaborate rules about who would be tortured in what ways.
II. Foucault’s General Project.

C. Focus on Power.

2. Discipline came later:
   - He Documents the turn against torture and public executions.
   - Rise of the Prison system as an alternative (attack on the free self rather than on the body)
   - But central, is the idea that power could come more effectively through careful knowledge, analysis, and re-making of the subject.
   - Panopticon
II. Foucault’s General Project.

- Panopticon

- Invented by Jeremy Bentham

- Model for a number of actual prisons.

- Perfect knowledge

- Surveillance
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. Foucault’s General Project.

C. Focus on Power.

3. Discipline started in monastery:

- Focused attention on individual commitment to God in every tiny aspect of the self
- Time Tables for every minute of the day
- Practiced recitations
- Body in special motion, posture, control
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. Foucault’s General Project.
C. Focus on Power.
4. Discipline moved to other Organizations:

• Army — detailed drilling and control of the body
• Schools — Control of students in space, in ranks, in files.
• Factories — Ordering production, locating people in space, in time, in sequence, controlling bodily movements
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

II. Foucault’s General Project.

C. Focus on Power.

5. So from the horrible power of the king, to the subtle and pervasive powers of discipline.

• Foucault argued that greatest power is in modern society.

• Knowledge/Power tight couplet.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

III. Foucault’s Perspective on Sexuality.

A. The History of Sexuality:

1. Against the Repressive Hypothesis:

• Beginning of the Text:

“For a long time, the story goes, we supported a Victorian regime, and we continue to be dominated by it even today...”

• Notice here — he is telling a story, he will differ with
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

III. Foucault’s Perspective on Sexuality.

A. The History of Sexuality:
1. Against the Repressive Hypothesis:

• At the beginning of the 17th century a certain frankness was still common…”

• “But twilight soon fell upon this bright day, followed by the monotonous nights of the Victorian bourgeoisie…”

• “Everyone knew children had no sex…”

• “The brothel and the mental hospital ... places of tolerance”
III. Foucault’s Perspective on Sexuality.

A. The History of Sexuality:

1. Against the Repressive Hypothesis:

   • (Giddens):
   • Sex was turned into a secret

   • An extension of the religious confession (the origins of this form of control)

   • Taken over by other regimes of Truth (Science, psychiatry, etc.)
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

III. Foucault’s Perspective on Sexuality.

A. The History of Sexuality:
1. Against the Repressive Hypothesis:
   • Campaigns against Masturbation in children
   • Campaigns against sexual pleasure in women (seen to be properly a man’s domain).
   • With Freud, movement to seeing sex and its urges as foundational of all that is psychological.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

III. Foucault’s Perspective on Sexuality.

A. The History of Sexuality:

3. Foucault disagrees with Freud:

- Foucault thinks there may be no clear “natural”. Sees sexuality as culturally produced.

- Moreover, sees an ironic quality to Victorian prudishness, in an attempt to banish perversion, suddenly it is everywhere in our minds, in our actions, in our attention.

- Power is not repressing sex, power is creating sex.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

III. Foucault’s Perspective on Sexuality.
A. The History of Sexuality:
3. Foucault disagrees:

- Foucault sees the rise of sexual discourse as another component of the rise of disciplinary society.

- Like the workers in the factory, discourse on sex controls our bodies in the most minute and intimate ways. It is a huge acceleration of social power.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.
IV. Critiques of Foucault.

A. Giddens has some disagreement:

• Gender not just Sexuality matters.
• Changes in institution of marriage
• Rise of romance
• Change in the home
• Rise of contraception
• Creates “Plastic Sexuality”
• Rise of homosexuality as open lifestyle
• Contributes to overall sense of modernity as self as a project.
C. The Institutional Centered Explanation.

A. Institutions Mediate.

Genetics (Sex) --> {Institutions} --> Gendered (Self)

—Thus, Instead of....

Genetics --> Self-->Behavior

—We have...

Genetics --> {Institutions} --> Self-->Behavior
“Review for Midterm Exam”

I. Plan for the Review:

F. Study Strategies.

1) Questions multiple choice & True/False

2) Memorize & Understand.

3) Practice with Others.
“Review for Midterm Exam”

1) According to Berger & Berger in “What is an Institution?” which of the following is NOT a characteristic of all institutions?

A) Institutions have cores and peripheries.
B) Institutions have an external reality.
C) Institutions are experienced as possessing objectivity.
D) Institutions have power and can’t be wished away.
E) Institutions have moral authority.

A.
“Review for Midterm Exam”

(2) According to Mauss, the Zuni (Pueblo Indians) sense of self...

(a) revolves around the individual as a citizen of the state.

(b) is embedded in the clan so that the individual is totally absorbed into the identity of the clan.

(c) is socially constructed so that the self takes precedence over society.

(d) all of the above.

b.
“Review for Midterm Exam”

3) Which of the following theorists were not known for advancing the concept of the “social contract”?

a) John Locke
b) Thomas Hobbes
c) Emile Durkheim
d) Jacques Rousseau
e) All of these were “social contract” theorists.

c.
In “Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies” Margaret Mead gives examples of the behavior of men and women in three different cultures to show that:

a) All societies have developed a system of gender that splits tasks and behaviors between the sexes.
b) Women’s gender roles are the same throughout societies, but the gender roles of men frequently fluctuate.
c) Language in these societies defines the ways in which people think about the importance of gender.
d) Men’s gender roles are the same throughout societies, but the gender roles of women frequently fluctuate.
E) The temperament and behaviors of the sexes are dependent on the social construction of gender roles within societies as opposed to being biological and universal.